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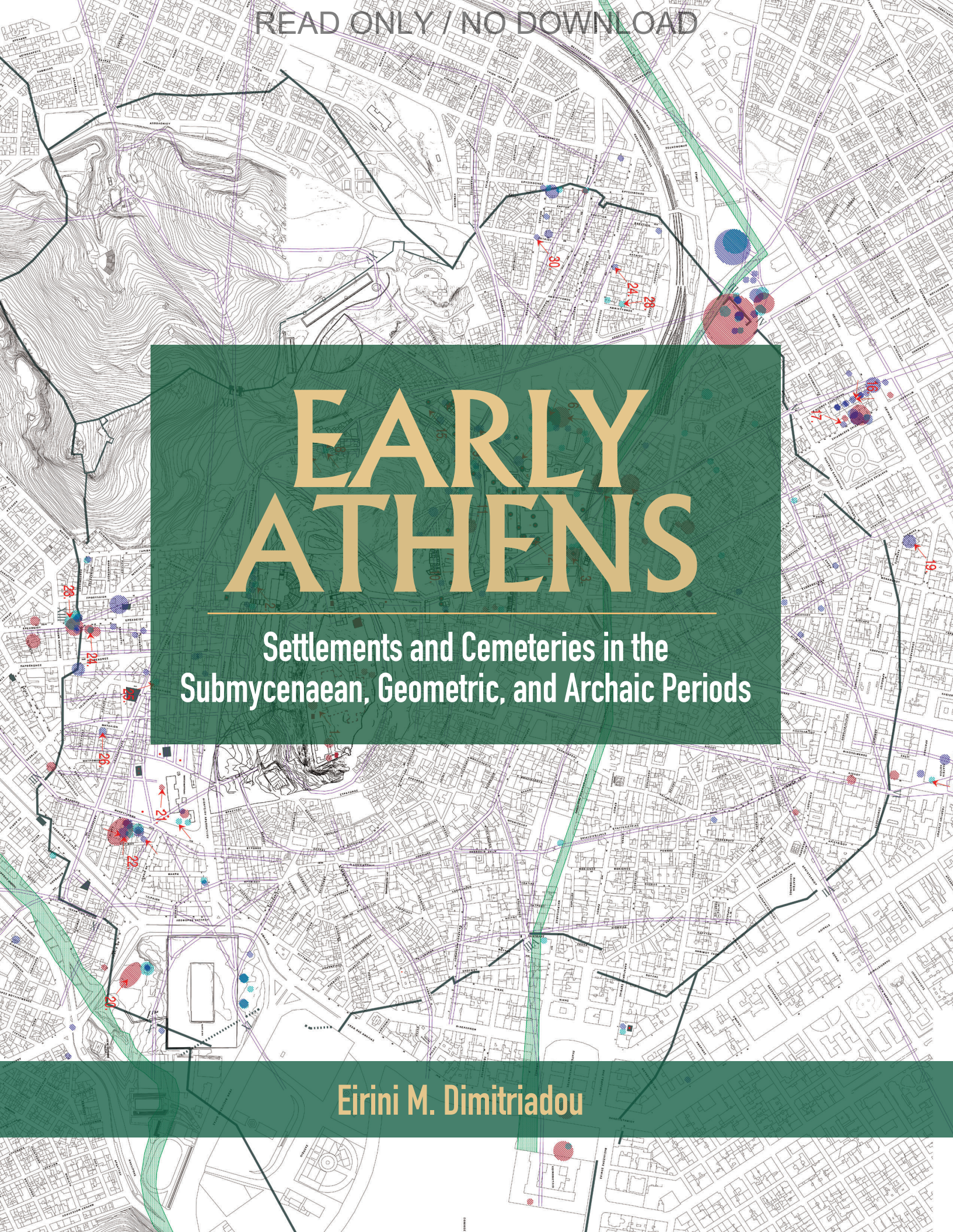

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Settlements and Cemeteries in the Submycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic Periods

Eirini M. Dimitriadou

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Settlements and Cemeteries in the Submycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic Periods

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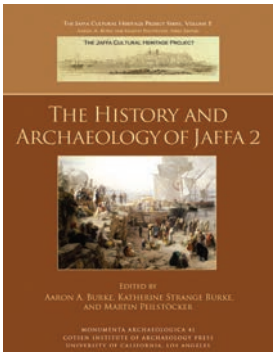

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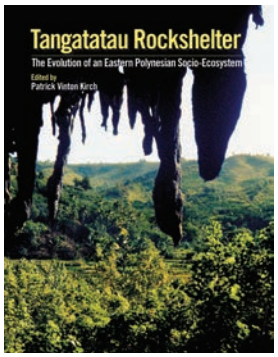

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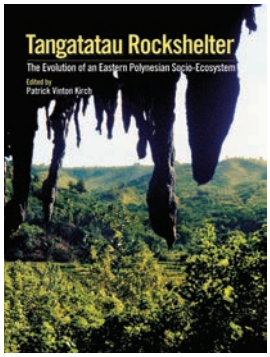

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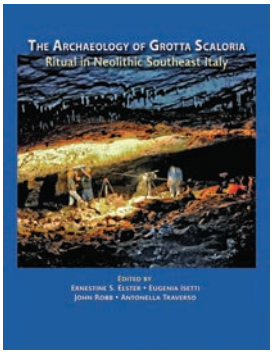

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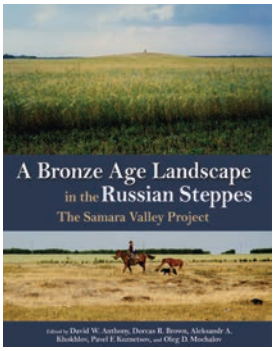

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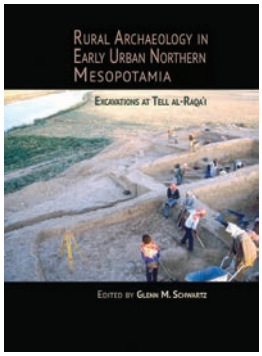

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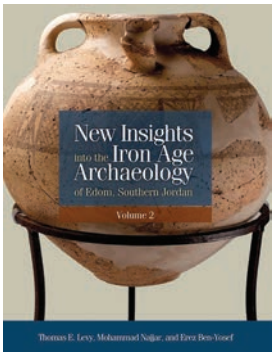

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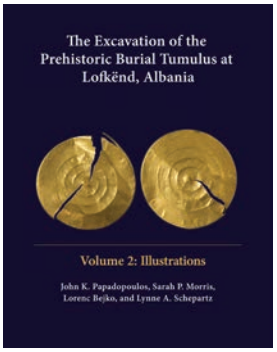

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Settlements and Cemeteries in the Submycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic Periods

Eirini M. Dimitriadou

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To my parents,
Vilma and Michalis, with love and gratitude

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Ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀρχαιοτάτην εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὀνομαστοτάτην.

Isocrates, *Panegyricus* 23

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Part 1

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Preface

This monograph is based on my doctoral dissertation, successfully defended in 2012 in the Department of History and Archaeology of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Athens, before Professors Panos Valavanis, Lydia Palaiokrassa, and John K. Papadopoulos (University of California at Los Angeles). It is the end product of many years of research, starting in 2000. In that year, when I was employed by the Unification of Archaeological Sites of Athens project, archaeologist Eleni Phoka-Logotheti, then head of the site of the Ancient Agora, assigned me to carry out a small-scale investigation on the lower northwest slope of the Areopagus. The rock-cut wells and conduits, the staircases and narrow streets leading to threshholds of rooms, as well as the fragments of mosaic floors in androns, visible to this day, stimulated my interest in the houses and topography of Athens during historical times.

Under the supervision of Professor P. Valavanis, I started working on a doctoral thesis, with the aim of filling in lacunae in research on the houses of the Classical and Hellenistic periods of ancient Athens, including those of the rural demoi. Soon, however, objective difficulties forced us to abandon this subject and to replace it with one with a more topographical orientation. The new subject, which proved to be particularly ambitious, involved examination of the development of settlement in Athens from the Submycenaean period into late antiquity. However, as work progressed and the enormous volume of data from the Classical period onward became apparent, the time frame was gradually cut down to 86 BC. For the first periods of the Iron Age, the available data were scant, which limited somewhat the scope of the subject. This was the situation until 2003, when J. K. Papadopoulos published his groundbreaking monograph *Ceramicus Redivivus*.

After much deliberation and discussion with the three members of the committee of examiners, we decided to shift the research target, as whatever was considered well-known and established in the bibliography relating to Early Athens was clearly being overturned. So, taking 1075 BC as conventional terminus post quem, we turned our attention to the early phases of the city's topographical development. The aim was to determine the nature and extent of settlement in the early years, to examine the relationship between the settlement spaces and the cemeteries, and, through these, to estimate the spread and the spatial layout of the city around the Acropolis and within the boundaries of the later walled asty. The year 480 BC, when the Archaic polis was destroyed by the Persians, was set as the terminus ante quem of the study.

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During the preparation of this study, I have enjoyed the help of many people, to whom I owe immense gratitude. First and foremost, Professor P. Valavanis, who has had a seminal influence on my career in archaeology, has been a guiding light at all stages, generously offering his time and energy, his wisdom and affection, simply and directly. His personal synthetic perception and comprehension of archaeological knowledge helped me approach the subject from different angles, and many of the aspects that are examined emerged as ideas in our fruitful discussions. Last but not least, alongside what he has taught me about archaeology, I have benefited from his example in many other spheres, including our attitude toward scholarship, people, and life itself.

I am deeply indebted too to Professor John K. Papadopoulos, who with unbridled interest has supported my efforts. He inducted me into the Early Iron Age, reinforced my research criterion, and kindly shared with me his thoughts on numerous issues relating to the site of the early Athenian Agora. Queries and problems that arose at all stages of this work always found a solution. Even thousands of miles away from Athens, he always managed to banish the distances of time and place — whether from America or wherever else in the world he happened to be — whenever I needed his advice and assistance. I thank him wholeheartedly for his consistent encouragement, from the preparation of this work to its publication, in which he was largely instrumental. I thank him also for reading my manuscript a second time, in its revised English version, as he was not only one of the three examiners for my PhD but also one of the two main reviewers of the text before it went to press.

The other reviewer, whose contribution was invaluable for the final form of my monograph, is J. Rutter, professor emeritus of archaeology (Darmouth College). I thank him unreservedly for his close scrutiny of my manuscript, which led to numerous additions and clarifications. He also waived his anonymity as a reviewer to offer any help that might be needed. The discussions with him were a most profitable scientific experience and an opportunity to expand my inquiries in relation to Late Mycenaean Athens. Thanks are also due to the other anonymous reviewers of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press for their careful reading and constructive comments.

I am especially grateful to the professors of archaeology at the University of Athens, Lydia Palaiokrassa-Kopitsa, Eva Simantoni-Bournia, Nota Bozana-Kourou, and Naya Polychronakou-Sgouritsa, as well as Professor Emerita Lila Marangou of the University of Ioannina, who laid the foundations of my archaeological knowledge.

I am hugely grateful to a group of good friends and collaborators who helped me, from beginning to end, in bringing this project to fruition: Dimitris Photiadis, systems analyst and software engineer, for creating the electronic database on which the collection of the material and the articulation of the study is based; Christos Choudeloudis, architect-engineer, and Ioulia Karavasiloglou, graphic designer, for drawing the maps and topographical plans; Manuela Berki and Dimitris Kitsos, who repeatedly edited my work at various stages of its preparation; Soti Papastavrou, Zina Karachristou, Ilaria Simiakaki, and Sophia Grammenou.

In the course of my preoccupation with problems pertaining to Early Athens, I had the opportunity to meet Greek and foreign archaeologists and to benefit from their expertise. I take this opportunity of thanking them: Professor John McK. Camp, director of excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in the Agora; Professor Barbara Tsakirgis; Rune Frederiksen, director of the Archaeological Institute of Denmark at Athens; Stamatia Eleftheratou, archaeologist of the Ephorate of Athens (former First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities [EPCA]), responsible for excavations on the site of the new Acropolis Museum; Effie Baziotopoulou-Valavani, head of the former Third EPCA; archaeologists of the First EPCA Eleni Phoka and Tatiana Poulou; Evgenia Giannouli, assistant professor at the University of the Peloponnese; Ourania Vizyinou and Eleni Salavoura, archaeologists-researchers. Two other colleagues, Leda Costaki and Anita Theocharaki, merit a special mention — the first for offering the digitized template of Athens, part of her doctoral thesis on the street system of the city, and the second for permission to use and to transfer to this template the updated course of the city's fortification wall, part of the results of her dissertation.

For permission to use drawings, maps, and photographs, I thank all the Greek state authorities, museums, and agencies, as well as the Directorate of the National Archive of Monuments, the Ephorate of Athens, the Archaeological Receipts Fund, the National Archaeological Museum, the Acropolis Museum, the Museum of Cycladic Art, and the Archaeological Society at Athens. I wish to thank personally those colleagues who from their posts dealt with my — often long — requests and who with professionalism and goodwill helped with whenever I needed: Charilaos Tselios (Directorate of the National Archive of Monuments), Eleni Serveta-Servetopoulou (Ephorate of Athens), Angeliki Voskaki (Archaeological Receipts Fund), Kostas Paschalidis (National Archaeological Museum), Angeliki Kouveli (Acropolis Museum), Nikos

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Papadimitriou (Museum of Cycladic Art), and Ioanna Ninou (Archaeological Society).

Warm thanks are owed also to the foreign archaeological schools in Greece, their directors, and those personnel with whom I communicated for efficiently handling the endless lists of photographs and drawings I sought and received permission to use. I thank the American School of Classical Studies and Carol Stein, publications director; the British School at Athens and Amalia Kakissis; and the German Archaeological Institute and Katharina Brandt. I thank also the American Institute of Archaeology, the *American Journal of Archaeology*, the University of Heidelberg, and especially Professor Nikolaus Dietrich and Polly Lohmann, curator of the university's vase collection.

In several cases I needed to contact the authors of articles and books from which I drew data for my study, and to ask them personally for permission to include their photographs and drawings as illustrations in this book. For their immediate positive response and encouragement regarding this publication, I express my heartfelt gratitude to Maria Brouskari (former director of the Acropolis), Athina Kakouri-Iakovidi, Wolfram Hoepfner (Freie Universität Berlin), Jeffrey Hurwit (University of Oregon), Manolis Korres (National Technical University of Athens), Lydia Palaiokrassa (National and Kapodistrian University of Athens), T. Leslie Shear Jr. (Princeton University), Elena Walter-Karydi, Albert Ammerman (Colgate University), Robin Osborne (University of Cambridge), John K. Papadopoulos (University of California–Los Angeles), Florian Ruppenstein (Universität Freiburg), and Walter Gauss (Austrian Archaeological Institute).

I thank also the personnel of the library of the British School at Athens and especially Penelope Wilson-Zarganis and Sandra Pepelassis, as well as the personnel of the library of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for facilitating my research over many years.

I warmly thank Alexandra Doumas for the English translation and excellent collaboration and for the infinite patience and the always cheerful disposition with which she undertook the countless corrections and modifications of the Greek text. I am most grateful to her for her personal interest and support in many ways. For the attractive publication of my work and our excellent collaboration, I thank the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press at UCLA and its editorial director, Randi Danforth, who from beginning to end coordinated and supervised publication procedures, always finding the best solutions. For the digitization of the accompanying drawings, plans, and maps and the solving of technical problems relating to the illustrations, I thank the ever eager and effective Deidre Alyse Whitmore (Digital Archaeology Lab and data publication manager). For the scrupulous copyediting of the text translated from Greek to English, as well as critical interventions with regard to technical difficulties presented by the original manuscript, I offer my thanks and praise to Peg Goldstein.

Last, I owe immense gratitude to two special persons close to me, Alexandros and Pantelis, who from the outset of this protracted project until its publication supported me at different times, each in his own way. This book is dedicated to my parents, Vilma and Michalis, as a token of my inestimable gratitude to them.

Athens, April 2017

Postscript

This work was completed in April 2017 and submitted for publication two months later. In the meantime, new studies were added to the ever-growing bibliography on early Athens. With the forbearance and kind understanding of Randi Danforth, publications director of the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press, and copy editor Peg Goldstein, I have included some of these in the present publication, modifying to a greater or lesser degree and literally at the last moment the submitted manuscript. Even though I made use of this great favor, I have no doubt that some works from the massive relevant bibliography — not only recent but also earlier ones — have escaped my attention. So I ask in advance the reader's forgiveness for any nonintentional oversights.

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About the Author

Eirini M. Dimitriadou graduated in 1996 with a degree in history and archaeology from the University of Ioannina in Greece. She continued her studies in the United Kingdom and holds a master's degree in classics from King's College, University of London. In 2012 she successfully defended her doctoral thesis at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens. Since 1998 she has been working with the Greek Archaeological Service, as well as with private museums and cultural foundations in Greece, primarily on exhibition and museum projects. She is currently employed as a contract field archaeologist with the Greek Archaeological Service, conducting excavations in eastern Attica, and is a research fellow at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The limits of the city (asty) of Athens, the determination of land use, and the separation of areas for habitation (intra muros) from those of burial and of cultivation (extra muros) become clear archaeologically after the destruction of the city by the Persians, when its Classical fortification walls were constructed. This is not the case in the preceding centuries. In the absence of architectural remains of a fortified enceinte later than the Mycenaean ramparts of the Acropolis and earlier than the Themistoclean Wall, the topographical boundaries of Archaic Athens are vague, just as other evidence relating to the extent of the Geometric and the Submycenaean settlement is scant.[1] The present study examines the topographical development of early Athens from around 1075 BC until 480/479 BC, as this is ascertained from the archaeological remains, particularly of the cemeteries but also of the few houses or other indications of habitation. Taking the graves as stable starting points and correlating their location with the Acropolis, the administrative, residential, and religious center of Athens, an attempt is made to approach the areas in which the early nuclei of habitation, which are related to the nearby burial grounds and cemeteries, developed. Through the overall assessment of the continuous interaction between the areas of burial and of settlement, we try to detect the limits of habitation in each period, as this becomes clear from the development of the Submycenaean cemeteries in Geometric times, the Archaic settlement remains, and the successive changes in the uses of space down until the Persian destruction.

The geographical boundaries within which the present study moves coincide with those of the walled asty and of an area of small compass outside these. This peripheral zone was imposed by the material itself, so as to include the early cemeteries that were founded close to the Submycenaean nuclei of habitation and to basic, very ancient thoroughfares linking Athens with the outskirts, but at a distance from the Acropolis and the Mycenaean settlement.[2]

The temporal limits set for this study follow the conventional distinction of the historical periods of the city, which are determined by its destructions. However, the terminus post quem of 1075 BC, which has been defined conventionally as the beginning of the Submycenaean period, is not historically clear, as in Athens there are no traces of destruction analogous to those at other Myceneaean centers to mark the transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age. The terminus ante quem is the first clear archaeological watershed in the history of Athens and is defined by the double destruction of the city by the Persians, in the autumn of 480 BC and in the summer of 479 BC.

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The study that follows is structured in three parts. Part I, the text, is divided into three chapters, one for each period examined: the Submycenaean, the Geometric (Protogeometric, Early/Middle Geometric, Late Geometric), and the Archaic. In each chapter all the excavation data for the corresponding period from the entire city, divided by area, are presented and discussed. Old and recent research proposals concerning the location of the settlement and the cemeteries are cited, evaluated on the basis of observations resulting from study of the archaeological material, and commented upon. The issues raised are then debated and new views are expressed regarding both the sites of the cemeteries and the areas in which habitation developed. In the chapter on the Submycenaean period, importance is attached to the continuities and the discontinuities observed with regard to habitational and mortuary activity in relation to the settlement's Mycenaean past, and sites where the new Submycenaean cemeteries were founded are noted. The chapter on the Geometric period examines the relation between graves and wells, as evidence of settlement, in the area of the Ancient Agora, as well as the development of the cemeteries and other burial grounds in the city. In the chapter on the Archaic period, our attention turns to the generalized changes in the use of space and the interaction between the residential areas and public space as the city grows. From the co-examination of all these data, conclusions emerge on the evolution of early Athens, as this was shaped through successive foundations, abolitions, and transformations, which took place around its age-old core, the Rock of the Acropolis. Last, presented in the epilogue is the latest evidence from excavations conducted in the years 2001 to 2009.

Part II is for the most part a gazetteer of the 168 archaeological sites that were examined. This is followed by indexes of these sites (by area and in alphabetical order); an appendix of ancient literary sources; an appendix of tables outlining the development of the sites with habitational and burial activity, by areas and periods; a list of figures; and, last, a bibliography. Part III consists of the digital plans and maps, and are online at www.dig.ucla/early-athens. These are (a) 65 individual maps showing the archaeological material and the excavation data classified geographically into 13 conventionally defined areas that make up the city and chronologically by periods; and (b) 13 general topographical plans of the city.

History of Research

For a long time, study of the settlement remains and the development of Athens in the early centuries of its history was not of high priority for researchers, who focused more on the burial habits of these years or on the artistic achievements of the succeeding ones. Such issues have only recently begun to appear in the bibliography of Athens, and no comprehensive approach to the city has been attempted. This is due in large part to the formidable volume and extent of the archaeological material, which is being enriched continuously by ongoing excavations ("salvage" and "systematic"), as well as to the lack of publications of the earlier investigations and the delay in studying and publishing the new ones.

As a result, views regarding Athens in the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age rely on the first approaches by V. R. d' A. Desborough (1952, 1972) and A. M. Snodgrass (1971, 1977), as well as by J. N. Coldstream (1968, 2003 [1977]), which are to this day widely accepted by researchers. These scholars, the first two through studying the early pottery and the third through studying finds from the graves, proceeded to extract preliminary conclusions on the settlement of Athens in its early years. Their theories on its Geometric settlement were confined to the findings of research at that time. These came from the two excellently excavated archaeological sites in southwest Athens, the Kerameikos cemetery and the Ancient Agora, in which the scholars identified the early settlement nucleus in direct relation to the cemetery. The linking of the two sites, which had been proposed from early on, due to their topographical proximity, was considered to have been confirmed by the finds from the Geometric period in the site of the later Agora, since the wells located and investigated there were interpreted as habitational remains, attesting that this was the site of the early settlement of Athens. This theory set its seal on research, despite the fact that it was posited prematurely, while the excavation of the site was in its early stages and the material from the wells had not yet been studied. Furthermore, it failed to take into account the indications of habitation in prehistoric times, as these become apparent through the continuous operation and use of individual spaces and areas.

The first synthetic study of the city as a whole is I. Travlos's doctoral thesis, published in Greek in 1960 and entitled *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξις των Αθηνών* (Urban-Planning Development of Athens). This seminal work on the topography of Athens, after the corresponding one by Judeich (1931), is still unsurpassed, even though it begs updating with new data from excavations conducted over the past 50 years. Drawing on all the evidence available at that time, as well as on the ancient Greek literary corpus, Travlos discussed the extent and the form of early Athens, which he attempted moreover to illustrate on two maps of the set of 11 he prepared on the history of the city's growth

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until the Ottoman period. On these maps, he also indicated the city's Archaic fortification wall; this has been reproduced in every topographical study written since, even in those that question this wall's existence.

Since 1960, the bibliography relating to the topography of Athens has been enriched by highly commendable works, monographs, and articles, which, however, deal with particular areas or individual issues of the city. Even Travlos never returned with a revised and augmented edition of his original study but limited himself to references that supplemented or modified points raised in his magnum opus, which were given in specific entries in his second book, the *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, published in 1971.

The only one of the works that examines the entire settlement, although for a single period, is M. Pantelidou's doctoral dissertation (1975) on Late Bronze Age Athens. With the study of the Mycenaean pottery of Athens as incentive, she collates all the Mycenaean material then known from the city and points out the areas in which there was habitation toward the transition to the Iron Age. This work, which is still a basic tool for researchers on Athens, was supplemented with new data and some reassessments on matters of dating by P. Mountjoy (1995), who from a combination of evidence presents the picture of Mycenaean Athens on the basis of the then latest available information.

Very recently, two works by Italian researchers have been added to the bibliography on prehistoric Athens. The monograph by Privitera (2013) and the big article by Benvenuti (2014) present the earlier excavation data for Athens and Attica, add the latest evidence, and examine the development of the cemeteries and of habitation, both in the center and the countryside, in the closing years of the Bronze Age down to the end of the LH IIIC period.

A similar work collecting together the evidence for one period, the Protogeometric, but for the entire Aegean region, is I. Lemos's doctoral thesis (2002), which includes all the archaeological data from Athens of the eleventh and tenth centuries BC. This notable study touches on — albeit peripherally — issues of Protogeometric habitation, linking it with the antecedent Mycenaean and Submycenaean periods, as well as with the subsequent Geometric period. Furthermore, Lemos takes a new look at long-established opinions on the association of settlement and mortuary sites, as well as on burial practices. Indeed, her views on the early settlement of Athens are expressed even more lucidly in her article "Athens and Lefkandi: A Tale of Two Sites" (Lemos 2006).

Two recent and almost contemporaneous studies on the streets and roads of Athens concentrate exclusively on its topography: L. Costaki's doctoral dissertation (2006) and L. Ficuciello's book (2008) published two years later on the same subject. These works expand our knowledge of the topography of the ancient city. Although utilizing the same archaeological data, each focuses on different aspects (Ficuciello in passim also on issues of the early topography) and both conclude with a resynthesis of the ancient street network of Athens. Although this framework concerns the periods from 479 BC onward, it nonetheless sets the basis for identifying and investigating the earliest thoroughfares, which are related directly to the early mortuary sites and obviously also to the settlement sites.

The next studies concentrate on individual areas of Athens. Fundamental for the Mycenaean period as well as the years of transition to the Iron Age is S. E. Iakovidis's doctoral thesis (1962), which preceded Pantelidou's and relates to the Acropolis of Athens. Iakovidis's contribution is enormous, as the results he presents derive from excavations and cleanings made at specific points of the Mycenaean fortification, where he needed to check data of the early research in the late nineteenth century with the excavations of Kavvadias and Kawerau (1906). It was Iakovidis who dated the houses on the flat summit of the Acropolis and pointed out the dense habitation of the space from LH III onward. His remarks were confirmed recently by a study prepared by Gauss and Ruppenstein (1998), who, through perusing the first excavators' plans and daybooks, verified from the pottery the dating of the Acropolis graves. As a result, 11 of these have been dated securely to the Submycenaean period, raising the issue of the existence of contemporary habitation on or around the flat summit. Also important for the Acropolis are recent studies by Hurwit (1999) and Holtzmann (2003), which approach the history and the development of the Rock through time, as locus of a settlement, a fortress, and then a sanctuary, drawing on all the modern bibliography.

Again with regard to the Rock of the Acropolis, but in this case the periphery of its flat summit, there is a series of long articles relating to the North, the South, and the East Slopes. These publications are important for our knowledge of the history of the city's development because they consider, albeit in passim, issues of habitation in these places. The first are by O. Broneer (1933, 1935, 1938, 1939), who in his excavations on the North Slope of the Acropolis revealed LH IIIB–C habitation sites, the Mycenaean Fountain, the Classical Klepsydra, and its wells. The information he gives lays the foundations for understanding the north side of the Rock as a place of settlement

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toward the end of the prehistoric period and later. A. Parsons's publication of the Klepsydra (1943) moves in the same direction, with his references to the prehistoric and protohistoric habitation around its wells. Among the more recent studies on the site, noteworthy for dating the Mycenaean habitation on the North Slope is the article by Gauss (2003). The author, relying on Rutter's (1974a, 1977) dating of the pottery from the northeast prehistoric pathway to early LH IIIC, ends up dating the sudden abandonment of the Mycenaean Fountain to these years. This theory strengthens Bundgaard's hypothesis (1976) that the settlement on the North Slope was destroyed by an earthquake in LH IIIC.

Particularly important for the South Slope is the article by M. Brouskari (2004) on Miliadis's excavations over the decade 1955–1965, which remain in large part unpublished. Brouskari prefaces her publication of the sculptures from the South Slope with a concise "exposition of the history of the successive and diverse uses of the space and of the main building remains brought to light,"[3] endowing scholarship with a study based on Miliadis's excavation reports, which fills the void in our knowledge. She provides not only all the necessary evidence for understanding the change in the use of the area between the Herodeion and the South Slope, from cemetery to sanctuary and then to settlement, but also information that leads to correlations with the Makrygianni neighborhood, which is the southward continuation of the slope and presents an analogous picture during Submycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic times.

Last, important too is N. Robertson's article (1998) on the East Slope and the east part of Athens, which after the discovery of the Aglaureion inscription (Dontas 1983) was shown to be the point where the city's early Agora, the "Agora of Theseus," should be sought. By marshaling all the relevant early bibliography and the ancient testimonies, Robertson attempts a new reading of the space, on the basis of Pausanias's description and route, and determines the quarter occupied by the early administrative buildings of the polis. In this way, the wider area of habitation around the heart of the city is defined by contradistinction. Revealed too are the correlations with the Archaic Olympieion, the sanctuaries on the banks of the Ilissos, the demos of Diomeia, the change in use of the areas in the southeast of the city from the seventh century BC onward, and the spread of the city in this direction in Archaic times.

For the Agora, it is extremely difficult to refer to specific works and researchers, as almost all those involved with its study have referred in one way or another to issues of habitation, both in the *Agora* series (especially in volumes VIII: E. Brann; XIV: H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley; XXVII: R. F. Townsend; XXXI: M. Miles; and, hot off the press, XXXVI: J. K. Papadopoulos and E. L. Smithson) and in articles in the periodical *Hesperia*. Generally speaking, most scholars still consider the Agora as the par excellence locus of early settlement in Athens. The use of the space as the Classical Agora is projected backward in time to the early phases, and there is also a tendency to monumentalize the earliest Archaic remains, particularly those found under Classical public buildings. The studies by T. L. Shear Jr. (1978, 1994) deviate somewhat from this general predisposition, as he interprets the space as one in which private property ownership dominated until the end of the sixth century BC. He speaks about expropriations of houses and workshops, which were pulled down to deliver the space to the state, and identifies as private houses buildings hitherto considered public.

Even more divergent is the study by J. K. Papadopoulos (2003), who argues for a completely different use of the space from that prevailing in the bibliography to date and attempts a general reassessment of early Athens as a whole. Through detailed study of the material from certain of the Agora wells, and shortly before the imminent publication of the material from the early wells at the site,[4] Papadopoulos demonstrates that the late Submycenaean and Protogeometric wells served the needs mainly of workshops and not of houses. He proposes the Agora as the initial site of the Potters' Quarter (Kerameikos) and poses a methodological obstacle to using wells as criteria for locating lost houses and settlements if the fill from their shafts has not been examined meticulously. As a result, he disassociates the site of the Agora from the old but still accepted theories that this was the core of early settlement, and he steers research toward the Acropolis, the paramount settlement nucleus of Mycenaean Athens.

Ruppenstein's monograph (2007) in the *Kerameikos* series (volume XVIII) moves along the same lines. From his study of the Submycenaean necropolis, he reaches the conclusion that Athens in the early years of the Early Iron Age was probably a more organized settlement than we imagine and that its center was the Acropolis. Furthermore, he comments on Submycenaean cemeteries of Athens in which funerary vases that are parallels for those from contemporary graves in the Kerameikos have been found. Thus he sheds light indirectly on aspects of these mortuary spaces that are obscured or, rather, overshadowed by the glory of the Kerameikos. Last he proposes correlation between the founding phase

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of the Kerameikos and the final years of Perati, as well as with regions both outside Attica (Macedonia, Phokis, and Lokris) and outside Greece (FYROM, Albania). He claims that population groups migrated from these regions and settled in Athens at the end of the eleventh century BC.

The recent monograph by Bohen (2017) moves in the same vein. From studying the kraters brought to light in Athens, she argues that use of the particular vase type as a funerary ritual vessel was introduced to Athens — where the vessel later developed into a tomb marker — by representatives of deposed royal houses of the Peloponnese (Neleids, Philaids, Alkmaionids), who resettled there from Achaea, the Argolid, and Messenia in the last quarter of the eleventh century BC. Indeed, by proposing a slight modification of Coldstream's time frame of the Geometric period and correlating it with the reigns of the kings of Athens, she takes a bold step forward: not only does she try to link cemeteries and grave groups with specific royal lineages of the above but she furthermore attributes the wealthier tombs to specific Athenian kings. Her correlations could be how the archaeological record confirms historically Athens's remote mythical past. However, such proposals are rather audacious. The essential precondition for accepting these correlations is the a priori acceptance of the new time frame for the Geometric period. However, even if this is accepted, the association of a tomb with a particular historical personage is in any case difficult to accept, even when it is based on absolutely dated data (inscriptions, coins, and so on). It becomes even more difficult if one takes into account the fundamental factor of chance in the preservation and discovery of archaeological remains within the modern urban tissue of any city in existence in the same place for millennia. The rich graves that we know are not all those that existed but merely those that managed to survive and be excavated. Consequently, any attempt to correlate such graves with specific Athenian kings, however attractive, is somewhat risky. Bohen argues also that the cist grave type, which replaced the use of the chamber tomb, reached Athens from the Peloponnese. However, this proposal is challenged by new evidence presented in the recent publication of the Early Iron Age graves in the Agora (*Agora* XXXVI).

In this volume in the *Athenian Agora* series, study of the typology of the four cemeteries around the central space of the Classical Agora, and of all manner of material from them, leads also to topographical observations, with ramifications relating to use of the space. Papadopoulos demonstrates, among other things, the continuity of mortuary use of large spaces from the palatial period, the use of the pit and the cist grave already from LH IIB, and the gradual prevailing in Athens of the cist grave type, which at Perati was used widely and concurrently with chamber tombs during LH IIIC. As a result, he strengthens the view that in the cemeteries of Athens that were not founded in the Submycenaean period (such as the Kerameikos) but continued in operation from the Bronze Age into the Early Iron Age, there is no detectable watershed in the transitional years from one age to the other.

I. Morris's book (1987) also deals with mortuary issues of Athens and is basic for study of the early cemeteries, to which he devotes a large part of his research. Morris specifies principles governing the use of spaces in which there is mortuary activity, classifying them according to specific criteria as cemeteries and burial grounds. He endeavors, through their size, to associate them with settlements, the area of which he tries to determine. However, his demographic approach and his theories with elements of social stratification (αγαθοί – κακοί and right of burial), upon which he constructs his conclusions, in most cases cannot be confirmed archaeologically. Moreover, other views of his, which are based on the outcome of surveys, do not take all the known data into consideration, so creating one-sided theories. The burial of children inside the early settlements, the exclusion of child burials from the cemeteries for adults, and the underrepresentation of child burials during the Protogeometric, Geometric, and Late Geometric periods are theories not documented by the comparative examination of the evidence available from all the Geometric cemeteries of Athens. Furthermore, they are rebutted by recent results of anthropological studies of early cemeteries of the Agora.

Maria Liston's (2017) examination of osteological material of the LH IIIC to the Middle Geometric period shows that children were buried in all the Agora cemeteries (except the group of graves east of the Areopagus), and in no case are they underrepresented, as the number of nonadult individuals (newborn to about 15 years old) buried with due care at the site is about 44 percent. The basic counterarguments to Morris's most generalizing theories, as well as the views of other contemporary researchers, are brought together in the book by R. Étienne (2004). Although this is a general textbook on Athens from prehistoric times to the end of the third century BC, the author adopts a synthetic approach to the city, drawing on the latest findings of research and targeting the changes observed over the centuries and the causes of these.

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By contrast, in an article (2007–2008), Mazarakis Ainian cleaves to Morris's views and argues that there is no clear boundary between areas of burial and areas of settlement. He bases his view on the existence of graves inside or close to architectural remains. Considering as houses all the apsidal buildings in the interior or immediate environs where graves of children and young individuals have been found in Early Iron Age settlements, he maintains that there was a general phenomenon of intramural burials, which he links with the successful development of these settlements into city-states. For Athens, Mazarakis Ainian takes as cases in point the Submycenaean burials on the Acropolis, the controversial Geometric house in the Agora, the "Sacred House" in the Academy, and the elliptical building in the Olympieion, which other researchers identify as the early temple of Apollo Delphinios.

The same views relating to the proximity of mortuary and settlement areas of early Athens are expressed by A.-M. D' Onofrio in her article based on data from excavations in the north and south sectors of the city (2007–2008). She considers the relationship between mortuary and settlement areas during the Early Iron Age still unclear and considers the separation of the two types of spaces as characteristic of later periods (2007–2008, 2011). Modern research has little to say about the topography and development of Athens in the Archaic period. F. Lang's doctoral thesis (1996) on the Archaic settlements of Greece concentrates on their architectural structures and the development of the typology of Archaic houses. For Athens she confines herself exclusively to the space of the Agora, using for the Archaic remains interpretations offered by their excavators, without taking into account the new reevaluations of these. Thus buildings that are no longer considered public (e.g., Buildings C and D) are included in her study as such, therefore possibly losing the opportunity of looking at them differently.

K. Lynch's exemplary publication of the content of one Late Archaic well in the Agora was also the motivation for studying the house to which it belonged (Lynch 2011). She uses her detailed study of the pottery from Well J 2:4 to situate the find in the historical and political circumstances of the period, and she examines issues relating to the destruction of Athens by the Persians. The practical matters she discusses with reference to the destruction of the Late Archaic wells — the Persian destruction deposits — the clearing of the city, and the rebuilding of the houses sketch the topography of the north side of the Agora, particularly on the north bank of the Eridanos, and approach the time of the city's transition from the pre-Classical to the Classical phase.

W. Hoepfner (1999) makes reference to the spatial planning and architecture of Archaic settlements in his diachronic approach to the *History of the House: 5000 BC–AD 500*, but without paying particular attention to Athens and its scant Archaic architectural remains. When he does mention the city, he focuses mainly on the question of the site of the Archaic Agora and the change in use of the area to the northwest of the Acropolis, drawing on the existing bibliography but without venturing beyond clichés.

An exception is S. Houby-Nielsen, who in her article (2009) ruffles literally and metaphorically the waters of the city by proposing a perspective of the settlement from its beginnings down to the sixth century BC, by which time the characteristics of the city-state were fully developed, in relation to water (sea and rivers). In her view, Athens was a riverine city, and she interprets its entire history, the development of its urban tissue, and especially the major social and historical changes that took place in the Early Archaic period as consequences of the growth of trade and of maritime contacts with Ionia, principal agent of innovations in the period.

M. Greco (2010), in the volume edited by him to launch the series of the Italian Archaeological School on the topography of Athens, summarizes the data from the excavations on the Acropolis and in the wider area of the Agora, bringing together the old bibliography and updating it with the new. In the introduction to this publication in Italian, he makes some perspicacious deliberations on topographical problems of early Athens and proposes correlations in the structure and the development of the Archaic city with Rome. Returning to the Greek bibliography, the catalog of the exhibition *The City Beneath the City* (2000), in which results of excavations occasioned by the Athens Metro project are published, is in effect a handbook presenting finds and new data relating to the topographical development of Athens from prehistoric to Byzantine times.

However, in the final analysis, the fundamental source offering a plethora of new evidence is none other than the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, in which reports of the excavations carried out by the Greek Archaeological Service are published annually. Notwithstanding the patchy nature of contributions to the periodical, it is these that constitute and refresh the archaeological portrait of the city, and keep researchers abreast of new data. A serious shortcoming of the *Archaiologikon Deltion* is the delay in its publication. Suffice it to say that we are still awaiting reports on a host of excavations in Athens from 2009 onward, the results of which could have been utilized in the present study.[5]

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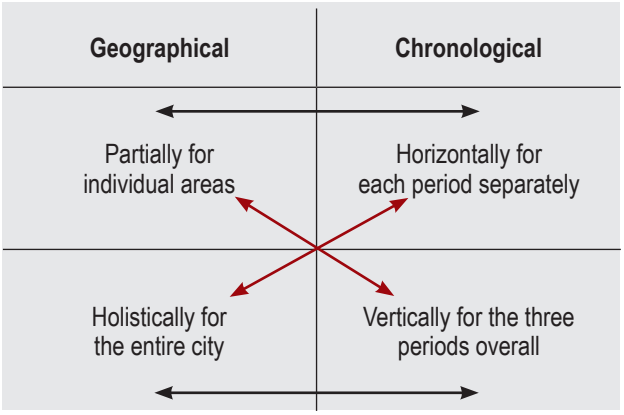
Methodology: Collecting the Material, Inventorying and Classifying, Mapping, Graphic Solutions, and Contributions

The present research project demanded the collection of all the archaeological data from the early periods of the history of Athens. This material led to an overall topographical assessment of the development of the city; for the first time, the results of rescue excavations conducted over decades in building plots and streets in the modern urban tissue were included and examined. As a whole they constitute a systematic compilation of evidence in the form of a corpus or gazetteer, accompanied by a series of topographical plans and maps on which the archaeological sites and their data are plotted.

The diachronic approach to the development of the early city necessitated the combinatory study of the archaeological data, the ancient sources, and the relevant bibliography. The analysis and the subsequent synthesis of the totality of information that emerged from the above were achieved through specific stages of work. The stages preceding the synthesis and the writing of the present study relate to the following procedures, which in most cases took place in parallel:

(a) Collecting the material
(b) Inventorying and classifying
(c) Mapping

With regard to management of the material, the nature of the object and the need to approach the whole of early Athens over six centuries led to the adoption of a method of combinatory spatial-temporal study, analysis, and final synthesis of settlements and cemeteries:



Thus synthetic ideas and conclusions on the development of Athens over the early centuries emerged. That is, through the combinatory negotiation of mortuary and habitation evidence we are able to present a vivid picture of the spatial articulation of the ancient city, and especially the dialectical relationship between areas of burial and areas of settlement over some 600 years.

Collecting the Material

The greater part of the material collected comes from excavation reports published in volume B΄1, *Chronika*, of the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, from *ArchDelt* 11 (1930) to the latest in the series (*ArchDelt* 64, 2009, B΄1 [2014]), and concerns excavations to monitor land use, otherwise known as rescue or salvage excavations,[6] conducted within the modern urban tissue.[7] Collected in the gazetteer are all the settlement and funerary remains, movable finds (vases, jewelry, weapons, inscriptions, fragments of grave markers and of sculptures), and pottery recovered from inside the geographical space investigated. Pottery found in the fill of the plots was treated only as indicative of human activity at that location and in the period to which it is dated. Intact funerary vases recovered from the fill or from the bedrock were taken as indications of the existence of destroyed graves and w–ere co-examined in relation to neighboring archaeological sites.

For the 23-year hiatus (1936–1959) in the publication of the *ArchDelt*, information was drawn from summary entries in the periodicals of the foreign archaeological schools in Greece: *JHS* (*Archaeological Reports*) and *BCH* (*Chroniques des Fouilles*). In all, the *PAE, AAA, AE, Horos, Archaiognosia*, and *Anthemion* were examined. The contribution of evidence relating to the Agora excavations, all found in *Hesperia* and its supplements, proved to be of inestimable value. Furthermore, much data incorporated in the gazetteer were gleaned from the periodicals *AJA, AM,* and *BSA*.

Information on finds from the major systematic excavations of the Kerameikos and the Ancient Agora was drawn from the Kerameikos and the *Agora* series, published respectively by the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) and the American School of Classical Studies (ASCSA) at Athens, with the results of their research. For the finds from excavations conducted in the framework of construction of the Athens Metro, also unpublished, the catalog of the exhibition *The City Beneath the City* was consulted extensively.[8]

Inventorying and Classifying

To organize, classify, and study the material, a specialist computer programmer designed, in collaboration with the author, an ACCESS database. Entered into it were are all the archaeological sites in Athens at which data used in the study were found.

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The inventorying includes all the usual fields (area, period, kind of remains, architectural and movable finds, identification and description of these, correlations with other sites, bibliography, and so on) and makes provision for the addition of others that may arise in the future. This database secures easy and safe management of the very wide-ranging corpus of archaeological material and allows diverse possibilities of accessing and studying it, through chronological, topographical, and architectural correlations, which it is able to implement. Its design is the transfer to an electronic program of all the complex reasoning followed during the analysis and subsequent synthesis of the totality of information from each archaeological site.

The principles set for the creation of the database are identified with the way in which the study and the mapping of the results were structured. With the Rock of the Acropolis as benchmark, the defined areas develop around it from north to south, clockwise, as follows: I. Kerameikos, II. Ancient Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki, III. Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square, IV. Varvakeios – Omonoia Square, V. Commercial Center, VI. Plaka, VII. National Garden – Syntagma Square, VIII. Acropolis, IX. Olympieion, X. Makrygianni, XI. Kynosarges, XII. Koukaki, XIII. Theseion (fig. 1.1).[9]

Figure 1.1. General topographical map of Athens showing the boundaries of the conventionally defined areas of research.

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In this way, each archaeological site was included in one of these 13 areas, in alphabetical order, and on the basis of this classification was given a serial number. The finds were entered, studied, and drawn by building plot or other space (archaeological site open to the public, trenches for laying electricity cables, works for the construction of the Athens Metro, and so on).

For the optimum classification of the remains in typological and chronological groups, electronic data forms were created. These were the basis for the entries of archaeological sites in the gazetteer (part II). For each site these forms include all the excavation data taken from reports in *ArchDelt* or other sources, the drawings/plans of the excavations (when these exist), the finds, correlations with adjacent or neighboring spaces, and comments of the author. In the text, reference is made to the corresponding gazetteer entry (data form), and there is only brief reference to architectural remains and movable finds where this is essential for presenting a general picture to the reader.[10] The reference in the text to the gazetteer entry is made on the basis of the Roman numeral of the area and the serial number of the plot. For example, V.3 corresponds to Area V (the Commercial Center) and to Archaeological Site 3 (the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 4).

A color scale (fig. 1.2) is used to distinguish remains from the different periods, as these are presented in the plans of each gazetteer entry. Each color corresponds to a period, from Submycenaean to Classical. The existence of each phase is marked on the scale by a bold outline.

Last, to follow development of the sites with habitational and mortuary activity by areas and periods, pivot tables were compiled (see part II, Appendix of Tables). These present all the sites investigated according to the type of remains, mortuary, and settlement. In the pivot tables for the habitational remains, the evidence is allotted according to the three periods examined (Submycenaean, Protogeometric and Geometric, Archaic). For the Geometric period, no distinction is made between Protogeometric, Early/Middle Geometric, and Late Geometric because of the lack of a more detailed dating of these subperiods. An exception is made for the area of the Agora, where, thanks to the fuller documentation, the table of the habitational remains follows the same subdivisions as that for the mortuary remains. This manner of presentation was a spin-off of the function and structure of the database created. The reference to the pivot tables is by the numbering of the areas they concern (e.g., Appendix of Tables: III, where III corresponds to the area of Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square).

Figure 1.2. Color scale of gazetteer entry, denoting the use of space during the Geometric and Archaic periods.

Mapping

After inventorying and classifying the data, the next decisive stage for the progress of the study was to map the data. The topographical utilization of the 168 archaeological sites, each with at least two chronological phases, was only feasible by mapping its actual geographical position in the city. By plotting the loci of human activity during the early centuries of the city's history, it was possible to give a visual image of Athens for each period.[11]

The conventional definition of the areas was transferred to a topographical map of the modern city, which was the template for all the plans and maps (plans of individual areas and general topographical maps) that accompany this study. Twenty-two plates of photogrammetric plans of Athens, from the former Ministry of the Environment, Regional Planning, and Public Works, in scale 1:1000, were digitized, updated, in some cases corrected, and finally unified to form the overall topographical map (fig. 1.3).[12]

Further, in collaboration with an architect-engineer who undertook the mapping, the general template was enriched with the names of the streets and the numbers of the plots in which the material of the study had been found. Then, on the basis of the latest research findings, the course of the Themistoclean fortification wall of the city and the ancient street network were drawn. Last, the Eridanos and Ilissos Rivers were added.[13]

The material was transferred to the digitized template using the design program AutoCad (2008 and 2010), which offers precision and flexibility, both in classification and presentation. The architectural remains were plotted by area, period, and type (mortuary remains; habitational remains). This enabled the management of all the information in the gazetteer by chronological and typological layers, which can be shown in electronic or printed form, either for the whole topographical map of the city or for its individual areas.[14]

The colors and the symbols chosen for marking the remains of each period are those described in the key to the maps.

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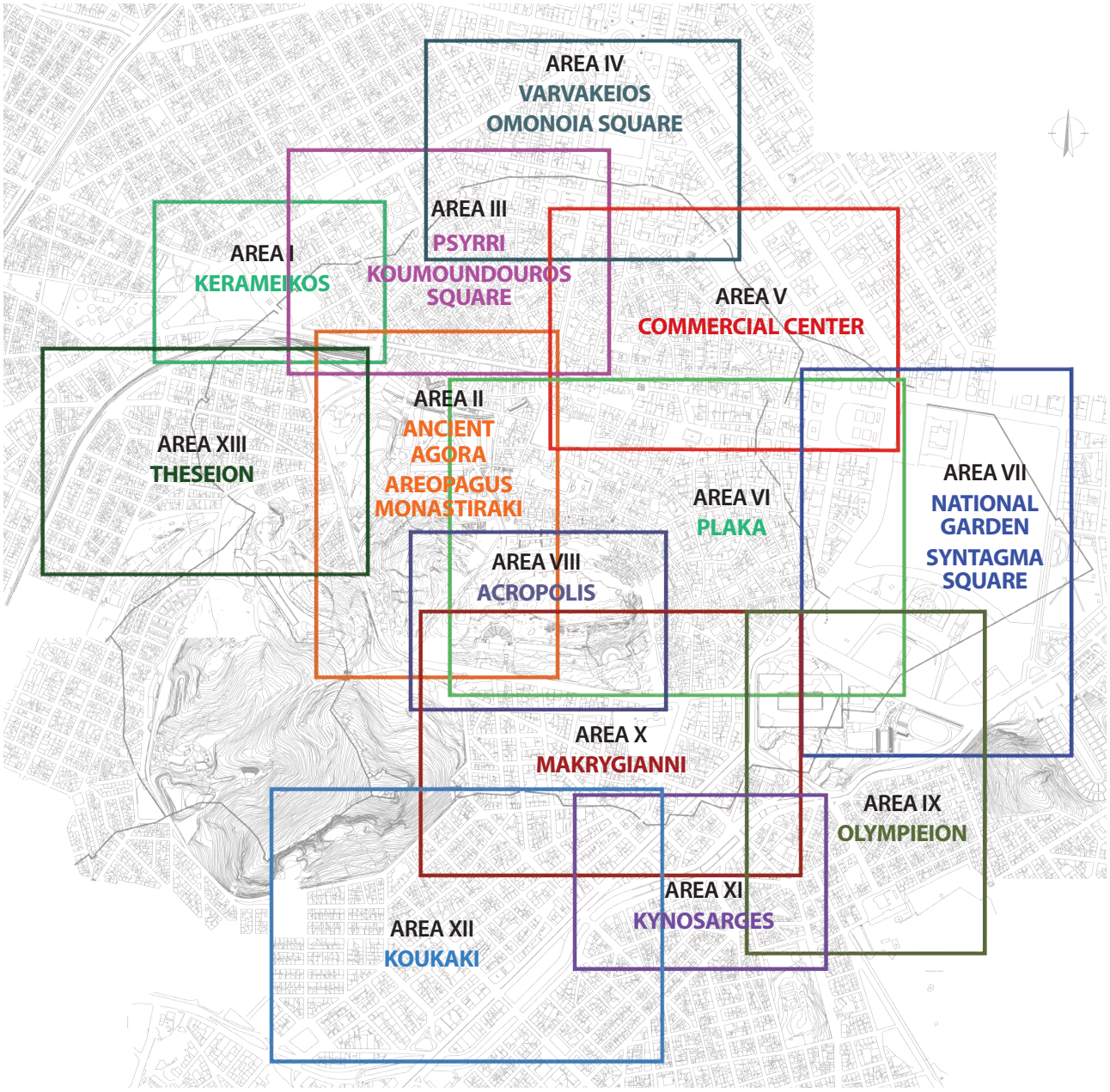

Figure 1.3. General topographical map of Athens showing the boundaries of the topographical maps for each area of the city.

The totality of archaeological information for each site was plotted on the individual topographical plans, where the larger scale (1:100 and 1:200) allows in most cases the mapping of details.[15] The large numbers in bold print next to data plotted with some other color or symbol correspond to numbers of entries in the gazetteer (e.g., Site 30 on the map of Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square corresponds to III. 30). Apart from the coloration of each plot according to the type of its remains (settlement remains or undeciphered), the graves (▲) and the wells deposits (●) were plotted.[16]

The graves follow the following codification with regard to the number of appropriate symbols (table 1.1).

Of the wells referred to in the excavation reports, only those that have been dated by their excavators are marked. Otherwise they are omitted, since it is not possible to include them in any of the chronological maps. Remains dated to the transition from one period to another are presented on the topographical map of the earlier of the two periods. Archaeological data dated to an interval spanning part of two periods are depicted only on the map of the

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Number of Symbols	Number of Graves
▲	1–2
▲ ▲	3–4
▲ ▲ ▲	5–6
▲ ▲ ▲ ▲	7–10
▲ ▲ ▲ ▲ ▲	11–15
▲ ▲ ▲ ▲ ▲ ▲	16–20

Table 1.1. Correspondence of number of symbols to number of graves

period in which they first appear, while remains of the same period but that are not absolutely contemporaneous are presented overall. It is not possible to image the temporal phenomenon of the founding and the abandonment of installations in the same period.[17] The reference in the texts to the plans of the individual areas is by the Roman numeral of the area and the period. For example, the Digital Map VIII SM corresponds to the Submycenaean period of Area VIII —that is, the Acropolis.

On the general topographical plans in Part III (online only), the archaeological sites with graves are identified with the symbols (▲), and a hatched circle in the color of the period presented in each case, which helps the immediate perception of the extent of mortuary activity overall for the entire city. This hatching is placed above graves (if they are more than two and are neighboring, they are covered by one common hatched circle), sites at which intact vases from destroyed graves were found, and sites with pottery attributed to burial activity. The reference in the text to general topographical plans is by the general numbering. For example, Digital Plan 1 corresponds to the Submycenaean period, Digital Plan 6 corresponds to the Geometric period, and Digital Plan 12 corresponds to the Archaic period.

The greatest research challenge of the present study — following the spatial development of early Athens — was confronted by producing, in addition to the three basic maps imprinting the remains of each of the periods examined (Submycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic),[18] a composite map and a series of five further maps presenting the development of Athens by period in relation to the preceding periods (Digital Plans 3–5, 9, 11). The last map, chronologically, of this series (Digital Plan 5) is a general topographical map on which all the periods examined are presented simultaneously. Thus we succeeded in giving the graphic conspectus of the movement of human activity in the entire city from the Submycenaean into the Archaic period, the limits of which are methodological conventions, and we are able to follow both the development of each space with regard to its growth, shrinking, shifting, or even abandonment by the period in which this happens and the correlation of these spaces with the rest in the city. Last, the same reference system is followed for the topographical map, marked on which are the sites of the old and new burial grounds and cemeteries of the Submycenaean period, around the Acropolis (Digital Plan 2), as well for the map showing the sites of child burials in Athens by the periods examined (Digital Plan 13). As is usual, all plans are orientated to the north.[19]

Previous Maps of Submycenaean and Geometric Athens and the Graphic Solution of the Tripartite Division of the Geometric Period

To date, the sole maps imprinting the archaeological picture of Athens during the early centuries are those of the *Agora* series, which concern only the limits of the excavated archaeological site, and of Morris, which are for the whole city by periods. The former are now out of date, as they show finds known until the year of their publication.[20] Recently, in the monograph by Papadopoulos (2003), an attempt was made to cover the need for a single and updated map by creating a new map encompassing the Agora and the Acropolis, synthesized graphically from a topographical map by Travlos, all the earlier maps of the *Agora* series, and the plotting of the "Persian destruction" deposits (Shear Jr. 1993).[21] The basic disadvantage of these maps is that they present all the remains — that is, wells and graves — from the Submycenaean into the Early Archaic period together, using different symbols for each kind of remains by period, resulting in a mishmash of wells and graves that is virtually incomprehensible.

On Morris's topographical maps, which cover the entire city, an attempt has been made to cope with the problem of imaging remains from many centuries simultaneously. The remains are divided by periods, from the Submycenaean into the Early Classical, and are plotted on corresponding topographical maps.[22] With reference points the Acropolis, the surrounding hills, and the two rivers of the city, Morris places intra muros of the Classical fortification the sites of graves and notes as settlements the areas in which wells have been found. His maps are accurate as far as the mortuary data until 1987 are concerned, but not with regard to the settlement remains. Again, the basic shortcoming of these maps is the vagueness regarding the exact positioning of the data in relation to the sites where they were found. The blank template on which the burial and settlement sites are marked makes the visual result

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easy to read, but it impedes the possibility of immediate determination of their location within the modern city and of correlations between neighboring sites. Furthermore, and understandably, the maps do not include the results of the published rescue and systematic excavations in the city over the last 25 years, or those of the Metro and the site of the Parliament building, and they do not incorporate the most recent conclusions of the bibliography on the Acropolis and the Agora.

In the absence of other maps for early Athens, research of necessity continues to rely on the *Agora* series and Morris ones, which continue to be used as the medium of graphic documentation of the topography in those years. Given this situation, it became abundantly clear as the present study progressed that the above maps for the entire city and the individual areas of which it is made up needed to be redrawn and filled in to the degree that the dating of the available archaeological material allows. As mentioned already, the chronological issue of mapping all the early remains was confronted by splitting the time span into three periods: Submycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic. However, specifically for the Geometric period, which is not only the longest but also the most problematical, we decided not to present it in an overall manner for the 250 or so years of its duration but opted instead for its tripartite division into subperiods: the Protogeometric (PG), the Early/Middle Geometric (EG/MG), and the Late Geometric (LG).

The reason for our deliberation on how to handle the Geometric material, at the level of not only mapping but also study, was the observation that the cemeteries and their sites, which are indicators of the city's growth, were being modified continuously within the time frame of the period. The necessity of examining the Agora wells and the positions at which they appear in relation to the graves, during the course of the Geometric period, further exacerbated the problem.

The transfer to paper of both types of data, in which the changes of use of the spaces for one period, which corresponds to about seven generations, are presented as contemporaneous, was considered flawed and in part responsible for the hitherto prevailing view that places the Geometric habitation of the city in the same space as the graves. This manner of mapping does not facilitate the monitoring of the growth and the shrinking of the cemeteries in the space, in articulation with the increasing appearance of wells. It hampers also our understanding of the choice and use of the mortuary spaces in relation to the areas where there is possibly habitation. This can become clear only if the wells and the graves are initially depicted separately by period (e.g., the wells of the Protogeometric period/the graves of the Protogeometric period) and then together by period (the wells and the graves of the Protogeometric period).

For these reasons, it was decided to split up the totality of the archaeological material, to map it, and then to study it by subperiods, as the only way to garner the maximum of information. This method was applied over the entire city and was easier for the mortuary data, which due to their nature are dated with greater precision than the material from the wells, the majority of which remain unpublished, excepting those of the Agora.[23] At the level of mapping, this was achieved in two ways: by creating different individual plans of the areas of the city for each period and by plotting the Protogeometric and Geometric period on the general topographical map in three shades of the same color (PG: blue, EG/MG: pale blue, LG: dark blue).

The partial mapping of the remains facilitated first their study by area and period, second the correlation of each one of these to the next,[24] and third the elucidation of the changes that took place in the city from century to century in the Geometric period. The observation of the results of this method on the comprehensive topographical plan of Geometric Athens led to the formulation of conclusions concerning the development of the settlement during these years and the use of its specific spaces for habitation and/or burial.

Problems, Criteria, and Conventions of the Present Study

The primary archaeological material on which the present study is based is, for the most part, data from graves and cemeteries, and far less from areas of habitation, which particularly for the first two periods examined are meager indeed. What is impressive is that, in the overwhelming majority of cases, the data come from underground constructions of the inhabitants of Submycenaean and Geometric Athens — that is, graves, wells, and refuse pits. This is also the archaeological picture we have for even earlier phases, such as the Mycenaean or the Middle Helladic, although a few remains above ground have survived from these periods, such as Middle Helladic road surfaces and fill in the site of the Agora, and Mycenaean fill on the North Slope of the Acropolis, above the northeast path.

The lack of corresponding remains from the Submycenaean into the Protogeometric period may be another arrow in the quiver of researchers who deny the existence of a historical period between the end of LH IIIC late and the Protogeometric. On the other hand, it would be remiss of us not to take into consideration the

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continuous habitation of Athens to this day and the stochastic nature of what has been revealed of the ancient layers of this palimpsest in the modern urban tissue. With the exception of remains in designated archaeological sites that are investigated systematically, these remains are brought to light sporadically, in excavations occasioned by the construction of buildings or public works projects. Consequently, what we know about early Athens is, generally speaking, not what existed but what escaped destruction and has been found to date.

The gathering together of the fragmented and dispersed primary material was one of the most laborious and difficult procedures of the research project. The greatest problem with regard to this material is that it has not been studied and published. This compounds even further the problems surrounding its provenance, since it is well known that the conditions in which rescue excavations are carried out are extremely difficult for archaeologists and are inimical to the detailed research and mapping that are part and parcel of "systematic" excavations.[25] The large number of excavation reports for the years 1960–1974, during which the population and the area of Athens doubled due to urban drift and the land-for-flats system of building apartment blocks (antiparochi), reflects the enormous workload with which the Archaeological Service had to cope. The number of plots explored over these years, in order to salvage archaeological remains prior to construction works, is overwhelming. Little wonder that, due to pressures of time, some plots were only partly investigated (e.g., only at the points where the foundations of the prospective buildings were to be put down) and that they were often reexcavated a few years later, occasioned by the expansion of the buildings.[26] As a result, the data given in *ArchDelt* are selective and most times presented tersely, incompletely, and sometimes even erroneously, particularly with respect to the numbering and the orientation of the plots. The more common deficiency is that references to the remains are not accompanied by measured drawings, plans, or photographs, while clear description, interpretation, and sometimes even dating of both architectural and movable finds are lacking.[27]

There were problems also with regard to a large part of the published primary material of this study — that from excavations of the American School of Classical Studies in the wider area of the Ancient Agora. The wells (like all the underground assemblages) of the Agora are characterized in the deposit summaries of the *Agora* series as "deposits" and are identified by grid numbers. The clarification of the type of deposit (e.g., well, burial, pit, drain channel, house fillings, packing, pocket) follows.[28] Most of these deposits were initially wells that were turned into refuse pits after their abandonment.[29] Others appear to have been opened in the bedrock to be used from the outset as refuse pits,[30] while others, although intended as wells, did not function as such for some reason and the shaft was filled with debris, so in effect they too were used as rubbish pits from the outset.[31]

The early wells and deposits of all kinds had not been studied until recently. Their publication in the *Agora* series (Papadopoulos and Lis) is in progress. So far, their dating was rather general, as it was not based on the study of all the material from them but on categories of pottery that have been studied from their fill. As a result, there are wells such as B 18:6 (II. 4), which in 1962 was dated by Brann[32] to the third quarter of the eighth century BC and was reexamined in 1970 by Sparkes and Talcott,[33] who date the upper layer of the fill to 500–480 BC By the same token, Well S 17:2 (II. 18) is dated by Brann[34] to the second half of the seventh century BC and by Papadopoulos to the Subgeometric period.[35] In reality, it is not the Agora wells that have been studied in detail but pottery found inside them. This does not provide knowledge of the whole of the fill with which the shafts were sealed, or of their stratigraphy.

For the majority of the wells, particularly those excavated before the Second World War, there is no information on the period of their sinking, use, or abandonment.[36] Consequently, although these are closed assemblages, in most cases we are unable to date the phases of their use or to fathom the reasons for the filling of their shafts (e.g., the clearing of building plots after a destruction or change in use of the space). Nor are we able to determine the type of structures that these wells served (e.g., workshop or house).

The lack of basic documentational evidence applies not only to the early wells in the Agora site but also to the Archaic ones, as well as to the Klepsydra, and the problem becomes more acute when we compare this with data that emerge from how we study and publish wells today. Now, apart from rigorous monitoring of the total contents of the fill, before characterizing a well's use and linking it with a corresponding structure (e.g., a house or workshop),[37] we take for granted that constructional details (unfinished, rock-cut, stone-lined, and so on) and dimensions will be given. But above all, the stratigraphy of the fill is defined and dated, and the depths and content of each separate level are recorded.

In the present work, information relating to the pits and wells of the wider area of the Agora is not drawn from reexamination of their material. It is taken exclusively

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from the publications of their excavators and the authors of articles in the periodical *Hesperia* and of monographs in the *Agora* series relating to study of pottery from the Agora, the descriptions and dating of which are used exactly as given.[38] It goes without saying that a new detailed study of the deposits is imperative if they are to be used to advantage.

From the very beginning of this project, the need to adopt criteria and conventions underpinning the research became apparent. In order to arrive at the most basic of these, earlier as well as contemporary related views, and especially certain criteria concerning the location and identification of sites of the settlement, were checked. Even so, the bibliography is so multifarious and often scrappy with regard to the settlement, as well as the periods examined, that it is impossible to muster it overall, and even more so with reference to all the indirectly related issues that preoccupy research. Consequently, it soon became clear that it would not be possible to deal with certain issues as we would have wished. Inevitably, the same inquiry also subsumes issues relating to mortuary sites, as for the early periods we often end up at conclusions relating to the development of the habitational areas of Athens by delimiting its cemeteries.[39] As far as the definition of the mortuary sites is concerned, for the Submycenaean and the Protogeometric, as well as the Geometric period, Morris's classification into two types (cemeteries and burial grounds) has been followed.[40]

Considered as a cemetery is an area designated for mortuary use that is differentiated spatially from the settlement areas and from other cemeteries. An example is the Kerameikos, which consists of a number of smaller grave groups/clusters that in turn are made up of a number of burials (e.g., Pompeion, Agia Triada hill). These clusters are sometimes characterized too as cemeteries, because there was always a gap between them.

Considered as a burial ground is an area with few or more burials, the boundaries of which are not always easy to detect. Thus the term is chosen mainly for sites where one or two isolated or seemingly isolated burials have been found. Even so, the term *burial ground* is used sometimes also for the Agora, which, although an extensive necropolis consisting of localized smaller cemeteries, is characterized as a burial ground because of the difficulty in locating the boundaries of these cemeteries or correlating them with other analogous places.

The sites of organized cemeteries were considered in general indicative of the boundaries of the settlement, and the site of each cemetery as an indicator of the existence of an area of habitation established nearby and related to it. The exact site of each habitational area in relation to each cemetery cannot be found, due to the lack of architectural remains. Specifically for the Geometric period, during which there were also many smaller burial grounds around the Acropolis in the northwest and south areas of the later city, the problem is more acute, as the area in which a settlement could have developed and remained from the beginning of the period is limited.[41]

Toward the end of Geometric times, there was an overlapping of the organized cemeteries, the smaller burial grounds, and the areas of habitation. This situation resulted from the proximity and coalescence of these spaces, due to their contemporaneous development to such a degree that in many cases the boundaries between them were no longer clear-cut. For this reason, the general reference to habitational areas of the settlement in relation to the existence of mortuary activity is preferred in the present study. Observations relating to the expanding or the shrinking of the mortuary sites are taken as indicative of analogous development of the related areas of habitation.

At this point, the in-depth examination of the theory of the coexistence of Protogeometric and Geometric graves and houses in the Agora site, which had been based on the results of excavations there, was considered essential. The tripartite division of the Geometric period, as noted above, and the study of the data from the wider space of the Agora by subperiods produced different results on the use of the area and the reason why a concentration of graves and wells is indeed observed during the Geometric period as a whole.[42]

The reexamination of the wells as absolute criteria of locating lost houses, and by extension settlement sites, as these were considered from Desborough's day to the present, also proved necessary.[43] With the latest research findings on the workshop and not purely household use of many of the Agora wells as a launching pad, the interpretation of their use was modified.[44] In the present study, the wells continue to be treated as remains of habitation, but in a general sense, and a more honed approach to the character of the installations that used them was attempted wherever the degree of study of their fill allowed this. It is pointed out that the existence of house and workshop under one roof, known also in subsequent periods both in the wider area of the Agora and around the Piraeus Gate, cannot be precluded.[45] It should also be stressed with regard to isolated wells that the definition of a building, through the content of the wells, as a workshop or a house is extremely difficult due to the similarity of the material from both and that the only way to achieve this is through the detailed examination and

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study of fill.[46] However, the locating of many wells with indications of workshop activity in their fill, which tend to be concentrated near sources of raw materials, central street arteries, and loci of trade, does not constitute a criterion for identifying a space as a settlement site in the sense of purely residential activity but of craft-industrial activity, where any parallel habitation is related to those who were working in the space.[47]

Last, the old theory that during the Submycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric periods children were buried inside settlements and indeed under the floors of houses was put under the microscope.[48] If true, this would have been the par excellence criterion for locating lost houses and a research tool for determining the early settlements of Athens for the present study. However, since the mapping of all known early child graves showed that these fall within the boundaries of regular cemeteries and burial grounds in which adult burials have also been found, it was rejected as a research criterion.[49]

It was decided to create "bridges" between the chapters of this book, in the form of short texts briefly reiterating information from the previous chapter, as we do not take it for granted that readers will read all the chapters in order. This would mean that a reader particularly interested, for instance, in the Archaic period (chapter 4) ought to start from the Submycenaean period. To the contrary, our aim is a multiple and handy way of reading the book, which can be used as a gazetteer-corpus of the published archaeological sites of Athens, as a guide to the early topography of Athens within the modern city, or as a topographical handbook of Athens by period, by area, and by type of archaeological remains. To this end, in the chapters on all three periods studied, the examination of each type of remains is presented separately (examination of the habitational sites; examination of the mortuary sites). Then the data are repeated in a synthesis (relation between mortuary and habitational sites) to present the development of the settlement in each phase of it.

For the ancient streets of Athens (and roads of Attica), for which ancient names are unknown in most cases, M. Korres's proposal is followed. On the basis of this, it is more correct to say that a road links, for example, Athens with Eleusis or runs between A and B than to say that the street or road starts from A and ends at B, since the last manner of expression is based on an arbitrary and subjective viewpoint as to the road's starting point and terminus.[50]

For the gates in the Classical fortification wall of the city, the names given by Travlos are used, accompanied by the Roman numeral in parenthesis.[51]

The abbreviations in the bibliography are consistent with the system of the periodical *Hesperia*. For subjects of major historical or archaeological importance, on which there is a vast bibliography, for reasons of economy, reference is made in the footnotes to recent studies in which this bibliography is collected.[52] The extensive use of the Greek bibliography, beyond the principal source, *Archaiologikon Deltion*, sine qua non of the monograph's preliminary version as a doctoral dissertation prepared at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, has been kept for obvious reasons, even though knowledge of the Greek language, ancient and modern, has alas dwindled of late in the international archaeological community.

Notes

1 Athens began to acquire features of a city (polis) from the late eighth century BC. For the preceding periods, we may speak about habitation or settlement within the bounds of its geographical territory.

2 The limits are defined by two important cemeteries: the cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street, which was founded in Submycenaean times about 1,250 m away from the Rock of the Acropolis, and the old Mycenaean cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou Street, which continued to receive burials in the ensuing centuries and is about 1,000 m distant from the Acropolis.

3 Brouskari 2004, p. 2.

4 The volume by Papadopoulos and Lis on the Early Iron Age wells and deposits of the Agora is in progress in the *Agora* series.

5 The last volume of *Archaiologikon Deltion* (*ΑΔ* 64) was published in 2014 (together with the three preceding ones) and relates to excavations conducted in 2009.

6 For criticism of the prevailing terms *rescue excavation* and *systematic excavation*, see Parlama 1996, p. 46.

7 The results of excavations published in 2010 and after, when study of the material had been completed, are gathered in the epilogue, where they are presented and commented on, but they are not included in the accompanying topographical maps.

8 Parlama and Stampolidis 2000.

9 These areas are defined conventionally, and in general outline they correspond to those of the modern city. For this reason, in most cases their present names have been kept, while for their demarcation the modern streets surrounding them are used. Names given conventionally by the author are Area III: Varvakeios – Omonoia Square; and Area IV: Commercial Center. For the rest, see *Χάρτης – Οδηγός Αθηνών, Πειραιά και προαστίων* (Map – Guide to Athens, Piraeus and Suburbs), Kapranidis Publications, 2005.

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10 In the second chapter (Submycenaean period), particularly in the presentation of sites that will be referred to continuously, a rather fuller description of the archaeological data is given to familiarize the reader.

11 The mapping of the architectural remains within the boundaries of each site in which they were found was not deemed necessary because the reconstituting of architectural types of buildings or the observation of the arrangement of graves in the cemeteries is not endeavored.

12 Ministry of the Environment, Regional Planning, and Public Works maps compiled 1971 to 1974. The greater part of the digitized template of the city was kindly made available by L. Costaki (Costaki 2006).

13 The correct and most up-to-date transfer of the course of the fortified enceinte to the working template is taken from the PhD thesis of A. Theocharaki (2007). The ancient street network is taken from the study by L. Ficuciello (2008). Any deviations from these two models are not due to the researchers but to my attempt to adapt their maps to the graphic template of the present study. The mapping of the beds of the Eridanos and the Ilissos corresponds to that detected today archaeologically. Of the Eridanos in particular, it corresponds to Classical times, when its course was arranged in the area of the Kerameikos.

14 According to P. Kalligas (2000b, p. 24), "The ancient city, with center the Acropolis, developed uniformly and it is natural for it to be treated as an organic whole. On the contrary, the splitting up into areas and parts that is proposed by modern architects (A. Papageorgiou-Venetas, *Athens, The Ancient Heritage and the Historic Cityscape in a Modern Metropolis*, Athens 1994, p. 133–201) is possibly useful for the study of the ancient remains but is artificial and causes confusion with regard to the unity of the archaeological space, as this emerges unquestionably from the unity of the ancient city and its functions." This view is absolutely correct, which is why the splitting of the city into 13 individual areas (digital maps, online at www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens) for the needs of the present study is followed by the presentation of the results of the research also as a whole on large-format topographical maps (digital plans, online at www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens).

15 The scale of the maps is the same everywhere. It is related to the size of each area, which for reasons of uniformity in presentation was adapted to the measurements of the A3 sheet of paper (scale 1:200 for all areas except I: Kerameikos and XI: Kynosarges, which are in scale 1:100).

16 See key to the maps.

17 Nonetheless, in cases where the complexity and significance of the archaeological data demanded it, larger plans were created. These were incorporated in the text as figures and present the development of the use of the spaces of one period by centuries. This was deemed essential for examining the Ancient Agora during the Archaic period. With regard to the gradual abandonment of the wells in the space, see chapter 4, fig. 4.2 and fig. 4.5.

18 These maps and the map of the three periods are included in smaller scale as figures in the text, in the chapters with the conclusions for each period, and in the general conclusions at the end of the study.

19 Exceptions are some of the topographical plans of plots in the gazetteer of archaeological sites, which are taken from *ArchDelt* and have been drawn with another orientation.

20 *Agora* VIII, pl. 45 (1962); *Agora* XIII, pl. 25 (1970); *Agora* XXIII; topographical map of the Agora (1986); *Agora* XXX; topographical map of the Agora (1997).

21 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 2, fig. 1.2.

22 Morris 1987, p. 64, fig. 17, p. 66, fig. 18.

23 It was not possible to apply this also to wells found in other places in the city and dated by the excavators generally to the Geometric period. That is why they appear on the map of the Protogeometric and of the two subperiods of the Geometric (EG/MG and LG).

24 See Digital Plans 6–10 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan6)

25 For the problems of excavations of this kind and the history of their establishment, necessitated by circumstances, as the mode of research in Athens, mainly since 1960, see Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1988, pp. 88–89; Parlama 1990–1991, p. 231; Parlama 1996, p. 46. For an earlier eloquent description of the pressing conditions of an excavation in Dionysiou Areopagitou Street, see Miliadis 1957, pp. 36–38.

26 Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 44–47; III Archaeological District 1965, p. 41; Alexandri 1969, pp. 48–50. Alexandri 1976, p. 134; Alexandri 1968, pp. 112–114; Alexandri 1984, p. 25; Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, pp. 27–28.

27 Mentioned indicatively are cases of unclear interpretation of the remains: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 47–49; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 56–60; Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1985, p. 12. Cases of unclear dating: Alexandri 1969, pp. 48–50; Alexandri 1970, pp. 32–37. Cases of a wrong name or number of the plot: Philippaki 1968, p. 71; Alexandri 1968, pp. 112–114; Alexandri 1969, pp. 58–60; Chatzipouliou 1997, p. 30. Cases of noncorrespondence: III Archaeological District 1965, p. 41; Theophanidis 1930, pp. 2–3.

28 *Agora* XXIII, deposit summaries, pp. 329–336.

29 The generic term *deposit* (αποθέτης) has to be specified on the basis of the material disposed of in it (domestic refuse pit, workshop deposit, deposit of votive offerings, and so on).

30 II. 3. O 7:4 (the Kylix Pit).

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31 The wells of the Submycenaean and Geometric periods are sunk in the bedrock and are simple shafts. In Archaic times, stone-lined shafts — for part or the whole of the depth — are encountered (e.g., II. 1. I 14:1, II. 10. J 2:4). Quite often there are one or two rows of rock-cut foot holes or footholds in the internal walls of the early wells. The presence of these does not constitute a secure criterion of identifying a well that was used as a refuse pit after its abandonment. Although sometimes they are absent from unfinished, shallow pits (e.g., II. 9. J 13:1, II. 12. J 18:8), there are also cases of pits of small or great depth that were never completed (usually due to the hardness of the rock or not finding the water table) yet have such footholds (e.g., II. 7. L 11:1, II. 3. R 12:2, Q 13:5). It seems that before the footholds allowed for descent into the well shaft to clean it, for instance, they facilitated the descent and ascent of the artisan who sunk the well.

32 *Agora* VIII, p. 125.

33 *Agora* XII, p. 385

34 *Agora* VIII, p. 131.

35 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 145. In such cases, both datings are given in the site's gazetteer entry (e.g., II. 18).

36 Characteristic of the level of the period of use is the presence of broken or whole water-drawing pots that fell into the shaft when the well was functioning and were never retrieved. The level of abandonment (sealing) of the well contains fragments of rock, fieldstones, or stones from the lining of the shaft (where this existed), earth, fragments of vases, and all manner of discarded objects, sometimes even bones of humans or animals. This material sometimes constituted a single fill or dump, if the well was sealed in one go, and sometimes consists of more than one layer, if the fill accumulated gradually. For the separation of the level of use and the level of abandonment to be clearly distinguished, a period of abandonment of the well must intervene between the two, before the filling of the shaft.

37 Papadopoulos 2003; Lynch 2011.

38 *Agora* VIII; *Agora* XII; *Agora* XXIII; *Agora* XXVIII; *Agora* XXX.

39 Parlama 1996, p. 47.

40 Morris 1987, pp. 72–74.

41 The separation of the Submycenaean and Geometric graves in organized cemeteries and smaller burial grounds follows Morris's classification (Morris 1987, pp. 72–74). It is observed that the first organized cemeteries, in Morris's sense of the space selected and committed for burials, are the Mycenaean ones, the type of which is continued by the Submycenaean ones. This is the case not only in the area of the Agora (Papadopoulos 2003, p. 273) but also in the rest of the areas where Mycenaean mortuary sites are located (Makrygianni: Erechtheiou Street cemetery, Olympieion: north and south of the temple of Zeus, Koukaki: Dimitrakopoulou Street cemetery).

42 See chapter 3, "Ancient Agora: Site of Settlement or Workshops?"

43 Concerning Desborough's consolidated view, see Papadopoulos 2003, p. 21. For the subject of the methodological convention on the basis of which the wells are a secure criterion for locating settlements and identifying architectural remains of houses, see indicatively *Agora* VIII (1962), p. 108; *Agora* XIV (1972), pp. 10, 16–17; Camp 1986, p. 53; *Agora* XXVII (1995), p. 11; Valavanis 2008, p. 130; Étienne 2004, p. 22. Even so, the wells are not used in the same way without exception. Smithson (1974, p. 330) evaluates them as indicators of settlement or workshop installation. Last, Miles stresses the need of studying their fill to ascertain the type of structure to which they belonged and underlines the need of finding workshop discards, which clearly point to the presence of workshops in the space, from which, however, it is possible that domestic discards also come; *Agora* XXXI (1998), p. 15.

44 Papadopoulos 2003. The assemblage that is found in the wells of the houses and was once their equipment resembles the diverse objects that a pottery workshop produced: domestic pots for everyday use and more luxurious symposium or votive vases, loom-weights, and figurines.

45 Thompson 1984, p. 8; Greco and Osanna 1999, p. 161; Greco 2010, p. 13; *Agora* XXXI (1998), p. 15; Lynch 2011, pp. 42–43.

46 Consequently, the determination of a building, through the content of its well, as workshop or house is extremely difficult due to the similarity of the material. In the case of the deposit L 11:1 of the Agora, definitive for linking it to a workshop was the exhaustive study of the material, through which the details were perceived on the defunct vessels, and these were identified as workshop discards. In any other case, L 11:1 would have been considered a well and would have been included in the long series of wells interpreted generally for years now as an indication of habitation at the site or as the only structure that survived from a house.

47 For the sites of the workshops, see Hasaki 2002, p. 286. Concerning the Agora and the fine distinction between the use of the space as principal settlement and as craft-industrial site with features of habitation, see Tsakirgis 2009, p. 48.

48 See chapter 3, "Child Graves of Geometric Times."

49 Digital Plan 13 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan13

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50 Korres 2009, p. 20, note 1.

51 Travlos 1971, pp. 159–161, 168–169, drawing 219. An exception is Gate V, or the Eriai Gate. According to Travlos, its name is disputed with convincing arguments by Matthaiou (1983), for which reason it is put inside quotation marks in the present study.

52 For example, for all the theories proposed at various times regarding the collapse of the Mycenaean world, see Hurwit 1999, pp. 81–82. For a concise analysis of all the theories that have been formulated by archaeologists, historians, and linguists for the "Descent of the Dorians," see Lemos 2002, pp. 191–193, with relevant bibliography.

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Chapter 2

Submycenaean Period
1075–1050/1000 BC

Excavation Data

The area and the aspect of Athens in the early years of its history, when the natural landscape was still predominant, are not easy to determine, unlike in Classical times, when the city was delimited by the Themistoclean Wall. As is the norm, the initial uses of space were dictated by the nature of the terrain, and human habitation was adapted to this. Basic factors in ensuring a safe and viable settlement were the natural fortification of the site, access to sources of potable water, and proximity to arable land.[1]

Although Athens was one of the centers of the Mycenaean world, with confirmed traces of habitation on the Acropolis and its slopes (North, West, and South), as well as to the south and southeast in the direction of the Ilissos River, remnants of the settlement in the years following the decline of the Mycenaean kingdoms, the so-called Submycenaean period, are scant.[2] They consist mainly of graves, which are found over the entire extent of the ancient city, excepting its western part, and very few building remains concentrated on and around its core, the Rock of the Acropolis. Consequently, most of our information on Submycenaean Athens does not emerge directly from the negligible traces of habitation but indirectly from the far more plentiful mortuary data.

The fact that, unlike other Mycenaean centers, Athens does not seem to have been destroyed in the late thirteenth century BC deprives modern scholarship of a conventional watershed defining the end of its late palatial phase and the beginning of the ensuing period. The absence of this watershed in Athens is ascertained archaeologically in many ways: by the lack of destruction levels, by indications of continuous use of spaces, and by the development of the ceramic tradition, in which there is a predictable decline in the range of shapes and decorative motifs, as well as in the quality of their execution.[3]

The material on which the first period of this study of early Athens is based reflects the above picture: the clearly more abundant funerary remains are dated on the basis of the vases deposited as grave goods to Submycenaean times, while the related settlement remains are dated to LH IIIC late. It is characteristic that in Athens, no clear Submycenaean layers have been found, except in closed mortuary deposits, and nowhere has been identified a clear interface between an underlying layer of the LH IIIC late period and an overlying layer of the Protogeometric period.[4] The known archaeological data from post-palatial Athens are of little help in answering the question of whether the Submycenaean period is indeed an autonomous chronological phase. That is why the very term *Submycenaean* continues to be debated and doubted by researchers, with regard to both the expediency of its use and the time span to which it corresponds.[5]

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The lack of an archaeologically distinct separation between the two categories of remains (mortuary and settlement) leads to the co-examination of these within the conventional time frame of 1075 BC to 1050/1000 BC. The term *Submycenaean* is used for both, with reservations at least in regard to settlement remains and pending new evidence from research.

Settlement Remains

The settlement remains of the period examined are limited to three areas of Athens: (a) the summit of the Acropolis; (b) high up on the North Slope of the Acropolis, in the area of the later Klepsydra; and (c) low down to the northwest of the Acropolis, in and around the site of the later Classical Agora.

Analytically, the settlement remains that have been identified are the following:

Area VIII: Acropolis[6]

On the top of the Acropolis, building remains dated to the end of LH IIIC have been found in the area that was enclosed by the Mycenaean enceinte (VIII. 1).[7] These are walls, in some cases forming rooms in which floors survive, but the state of their preservation is so poor that it is impossible to restore ground plans of the buildings. Such walls have been identified in four places, on the north, west, south, and southeast sides of the flat summit of the Rock.

On the north side of the flat area, a group of walls was found on top of the caves of Apollo and Pan. Abutting the inner face of the Mycenaean fortification wall, they are founded in fill that accumulated after construction of this enceinte.

On the west side of the flat area, below the site of the Pinakotheke, one corner of a room was found. This building too abutted the inner face of the fortification wall and indeed preserved part of its mud-brick superstructure.

On the south side of the flat area, close to the southeast corner of the Parthenon, one more mud-brick wall was uncovered. With a surviving length of 13 m and a height of approximately 1 m, it ran parallel to and almost in contact with the Mycenaean fortification wall. Hidden in the narrow gap between the two walls was a hoard of bronze weapons and tools, and a stirrup jar, which Graef and Langlotz date to the same period as the sherds from inside the wall, LH IIIC.[8]

Close to this wall, one other group of foundations formed at least two irregular spaces, inside which floors were preserved. A few other walls around this complex may well have been parts of the same building. The excavators, Kavvadias and Kawerau, ventured neither an interpretation nor a date for these remains. However, in the view of Iakovidis, who reexamined the material, the masonry and the level of the floors indicate that these belong to buildings contemporary with the aforementioned ones, which occupied the space intra muros of the Acropolis and were part of the settlement.[9] Last, again according to Iakovidis, the walls even farther west are also contemporary. Their position — almost in contact with the fortified enceinte — confirms the initial impression that they belong to buildings that abutted the inner face of the Mycenaean fortification wall.

In the southeast corner of the flat summit, a complex of four large rooms has been excavated. These are formed by walls just like the aforesaid ones, both in construction and in position in relation to the Mycenaean fortification wall. The east rooms all have the same orientation and are adapted to the curvature of the enceinte at this point. The only difference observed is that in this architectural complex, which is perhaps not a single building, the rooms are more spacious and at least two of them (B and Γ) are aligned frontally.[10]

Iakovidis stresses the lack of stratigraphical indications for dating the building remains. He dates them in the LH III period, on the basis of the type of masonry, the relation of the walls to each other, and their relation to the fortification wall.[11] According to Mountjoy, in the absence of pottery — on which her study is exclusively based — the building remains on the flat summit of the Rock can be dated from the years following the construction of the Mycenaean enceinte (LH IIIB2) to any time in LH IIIC.[12] However, her terminus ante quem is at odds with Iakovidis's observation regarding the excavation data — namely that the fill in which the walls of the north side (which are of the same construction as those of the south) are founded is about 1 m thick, which distances them from the LH IIIB2 period.

Whatever the case, these settlement remains are a rare instance of architectural finds from such an early period in the history of Athens and indeed in this particular place. The Acropolis Rock is a unique space in Athens, which from the beginning of the city's history has been used continuously and in diverse ways. With every change in its use, the existing buildings were destroyed or buried under fill, in order for the succeeding ones to be constructed in their stead. This can be seen also from the findspots of the meager settlement remains of the Submycenaean phases, which are at the edges of the flat summit, in contact with the Mycenaean fortification wall of the Acropolis and under the Persian destruction level. It is to these two factors that they owe their protection from construction works in the succeeding periods, carried out mainly on the rest of the surface of the summit.

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North Slope of the Acropolis – Area of the Klepsydra[13]
On the North Slope of the Acropolis, two large cuttings were found in the bedrock under the paved court of the Klepsydra of Classical times. These were for collecting water from the natural Empedo (later Klepsydra) spring.[14] The cuttings/pits are dated to an advanced phase of LH IIIC on the basis of the pottery from the single dump of fill, which abolished them. No level from the period of use was identified, probably because the cuttings/pits were shallow, which meant that they could be cleaned regularly and objects fallen inside could be removed easily.[15] In neither of the two "deposits" was building debris found, nor objects originating from the clearing of a destroyed settlement.[16]

Very close to them is the slightly later Well U 26:4, which is dated to the final years of LH IIIC. The fill of the shaft consisted entirely of domestic deposits, which makes it a very important find, as pottery of these years that is not associated with graves is rare.[17]

Area II: Ancient Agora[18]
The settlement remains at this site are represented to date, and before the final study and publication of them, by two deposits and two wells.[19] The deposits, O 8:5 and O 7:4, were found in the northeast corner of the Agora, in front of the Stoa of Attalos (II. 3). These are pits containing pottery like that recovered from graves, as well as various other objects. In other words, they are refuse pits. Their presence at the site is enigmatic, because if they are considered as traces of settlement, they are far away from the fortified Acropolis and coexist with contemporary and earlier graves on the site of the Mycenaean cemetery. One possible explanation is that they contain refuse from the surrounding area, perhaps from destroyed or abandoned houses on the North Slope of the Acropolis.[20]

Of the wells, one was found in the southwest corner of the square, in front of the Tholos (H 11:2) and close to the so-called Archaic House A (II. 5); the other between the southeast corner of the Odeion of Agrippa (N 12:3) and the Middle Stoa (II. 9). The latter is particularly interesting with regard to the conclusions that can be drawn from examination of its content. The pottery recovered from the topmost 2 m of its fill could be considered domestic. Some jugs and water jars found at greater depth perhaps represent the period of use of the well. In addition to these, fragments of funerary vases and bones were also found, as well as three test pieces that are workshop discards. All the above are dated to the Submycenaean period and to the early years of the Protogeometric period. Study of Well N 12:3 is still in its preliminary stage. However, as far as we can judge by the preliminary observations, a pottery workshop, which possibly used the well, must have existed nearby. Graves too existed hereabouts. These were destroyed and their content was dumped in the same well, which in the meantime had obviously been abandoned.[21]

Data from Cemeteries and Roads

Area VIII: Acropolis[22]
Apart from the settlement remains, 18 graves and one enchytrismos have been uncovered on the flat summit of the Acropolis (VIII. 1).[23] Most of these were considered from the outset to be children's graves, either because of their small size or because of the skeletal remains they contained. Their dating is still a highly complicated issue, on the one hand because at various times they have been considered from Middle Helladic to Mycenaean and Submycenaean, and on the other because very often they were presented indiscriminately as a group together with burials on the South and the Southwest Slope, as well as in the Makrygianni neighborhood. Nonetheless, the terminus ante quem given them by all scholars is the Submycenaean period.[24]

W. Gauss and F. Ruppenstein recently tried to give a more accurate chronological classification of these graves, on the basis of the excavation daybooks and Bundgaard's research. They demonstrated that of the 18 graves studied, seven can be dated securely and another four most probably to the Submycenaean period.[25] All the graves were found on the margins of the flat summit of the Rock. The 11 Submycenaean graves were found in two places: three (1, 6, 7) on the northwest side and the other eight (9–17) on the south and southwest sides. In fact, the latter are located very close to the ruins of contemporary houses. All the graves are cists, lined and covered with stone slabs. In only seven were remains preserved, mainly bones, while just two of them were furnished with grave goods.[26]

Furthermore, the presence of two lekythoi dated to the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period indicates that burials continued to be made on the flat summit of the Rock in these years.[27]

Area II: Ancient Agora – Areopagus[28]
In the wider area of the later Agora and on the slopes of the surrounding hills, Submycenaean graves have been found in the following places.[29]

- Inside the square and on the east side of the Agora
- On the north and southwest lower slopes of the Areopagus

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- On the hill of Agoraios Kolonos
- To the north, alongside the Eridanos River and on both its banks

Specifically, in the central square of the Agora, one Submycenaean grave has been found at the southwest corner of the temple of Ares (II. 6). On the east side of the Agora, two graves have been excavated, one in the southernmost part of the Library of Pantainos and one a few meters farther south in the garden of the Kolettis residence at 13 Polygnotou Street (II. 2).

On the north slope of the Areopagus, three burials have been found: two inhumations (an adult and a child) and one cremation. In the view of their excavator, who takes into consideration other remains of the same period, which, however, are not specified further, they represent part of a cemetery that covered the entire north slope of the Areopagus.[30] On the southwest slope of the hill, a child's cist grave was found — the so-called Heidelberg Grab A (II. 15, fig. 2.1).

On the west side of the Agora, there are indications of the existence of Submycenaean graves on the hill of Agoraios Kolonos, west of the temple of Hephaistos, and on its west slope in the area of what was Theseion Square in the 1930s (II. 8, fig. 2.2).

Furthermore, there were hereabouts many empty cuttings or pits in the soft limestone bedrock, which Papadopoulos interprets as empty graves of the Submycenaean period, since their form and measurements are the same as those of other Submycenaean graves on the site. Consequently, these are remains of an Early Iron Age cemetery that survived thanks to its location far from the central part of the Agora, where continuous rebuilding erased all traces of early human activity, mortuary and other.[31] Burials were also made on the top of the hill of Agoraios Kolonos. One more Submycenaean pit grave (D 7:1), of a child, was found undisturbed, directly north of the later temple of Hephaistos (fig. 2.3). Its careful covering over was the reason it escaped the attention of the builders of the Classical temple.[32]

Last, very interesting is the north side of the Agora, where graves have been found along the south bank of the Eridanos, close to the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (O 7:1 and O 7:16, II. 3) and to the northwest under the Stoa Basileios (II. 11). Recently, other graves have been revealed more or less opposite the last, on the north bank of the river, northwest of the Stoa Poikile (II. 10). Sherds of Submycenaean vases, obviously from destroyed graves, have been found a short distance to the northwest too, in the plot at Agiou Philippou 5 (II. 22).

Figure 2.1. Athens, Agora. West slope of the Areopagus. The vases of Heidelberg Grab A. *CVA*, Heidelberg 3 [Deutschland 27], pl. 101 [1295]:1–8. Courtesy of Universität Heidelberg.

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Figure 2.2. Athens, Agora. Hill of Agoraios Kolonos; Theseion Square (1930s). Empty pits in the soft limestone, the bedrock of this area, and of Athens generally. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 274, fig. 5.1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

All the above remains are located near roads, contemporary or of even earlier date, which are associated with the existence of Mycenaean graves.

Area I: Kerameikos[33]

Most of the information we have on the Submycenaean period comes from the area of the Kerameikos, the space intimately linked with the Eridanos River, which flows through it. The width of the riverbed fluctuated according to the season of the year and the volume of water issuing from the river's sources on the south lower slopes of Lykabettos, while its course was changing continually due to overflowing and the creation of tributaries.[34] Excavations have shown that in periods of heavy rainfall — by the standards of arid Attica — the bed was quite wide, whereas in summertime the water dried up and people could walk on the dry banks and use the riverbed as a natural pathway.[35] So for most of the year the Kerameikos was a soggy area

Figure 2.3. Athens, Agora. Hill of Agoraios Kolonos. A pit grave with child inhumation (D 7:1) and offerings: (a) Grave D 7:1 as found; (b) Submycenaean skyphos; (c) Submycenaean oenochoe. Papadopoulos 2007, p. 97, fig. 98. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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affected by the quantity of water in the Eridanos, which meant that it was unsuitable for habitation.[36]

In fact, there are no traces of settlement in the Eridanos Valley, either in Submycenaean or Mycenaean times.[37] On the contrary, from early on the space was used for burials (fig. 2.4).

On the north bank of the Eridanos River, a cemetery of more than 100 graves has been located under the Pompeion and part of the Classical fortification wall of the city, which passes from here.[38] The graves developed between two important gates in the Classical wall: the Sacred Gate (III) and the Dipylon or Thriasia Gate (IV), through which passed correspondingly two of the most important roads of the city, the Sacred Way, linking Athens with Eleusis, and the road leading to the Academy.[39] The estimated total number of graves is around 140, taking into account that there must be others under the banqueting halls of the Pompeion, which cannot be revealed, and that some graves would have been destroyed in 479 BC, in the course of building the fortification walls.[40]

These are cist graves and pit graves, which each contained a single inhumation, in accordance with the mortuary practices of the period.[41] The grave goods, which differ in number during the course of the period, were mainly a few vases and sometimes jewelry (pins, fibulae, and finger rings), the majority of bronze, rarely of iron, while from about the end of the Submycenaean period, in the transitional years to the Protogeometric, a few weapons are encountered too.[42] Until the 1980s, the careful arrangement of the graves in rows was considered distinctive of this particular cemetery,[43] which is why it is referred to in the bibliography as the first organized cemetery of the settlement, founded in the Submycenaean period.[44]

Mountjoy raises the date of the founding of the cemetery to LH IIIC late (1070–1050/1030 BC, according to her dating) and argues that the burials, possibly in family plots, began to be made contemporaneously in different parts of this mortuary space. Furthermore, she considers that this founding phase (Phase 1) represents a period of use spanning 50 to 70 years or two generations, which coincides chronologically

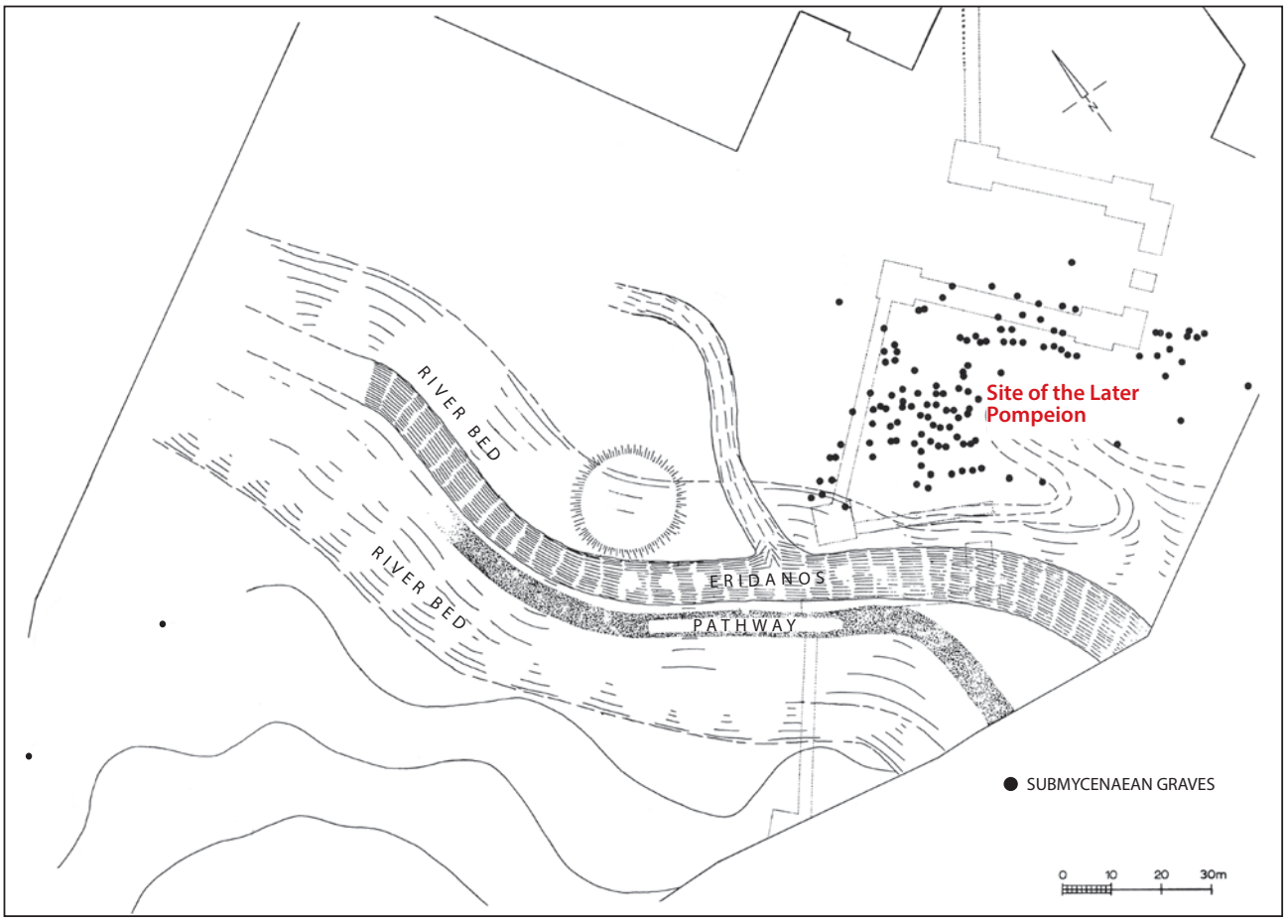

Figure 2.4. Athens, Kerameikos. Cemetery of the Submycenaean period on the site of the later Pompeion. Redrawn from Knigge 1991, p. 15, fig. 4.

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with the final phase (Phase 3) of the cemetery at Perati on the east coast of Attica.[45] According to Ruppenstein, who has studied the Submycenaean necropolis, at least five graves (17, 33, 105, 106, and 138) of the 20 constituting the initial nucleus (Ruppenstein's Stufe I) contained vases that can be identified securely as LH IIIC late style. These differ from the other characteristic vases of the cemetery, which are a development of them and find parallels in both type and decoration in the last period of the Deiras and Perati cemeteries (end of LH IIIC).[46] However, as far as the first phase of use of the Kerameikos cemetery (Phase 1) is concerned, Ruppenstein disagrees with Mountjoy, arguing that it was in use for about 100 years.[47] Furthermore, he observes a short interval of overlap between the Kerameikos and Perati cemeteries, at the end of one phase and the beginning of the other, but not the coincidence of the entire Phase 3 of Perati with Phase 1 of the Kerameikos.[48]

The recognition of two separate but continuous phases of use of the Kerameikos, of the LH IIIC late (Ruppenstein's Stufe I) and the Submycenaean (Stufen II and III), sheds a different light also on the matter of the cemetery's organization. Kraiker argued in 1939 that the earlier graves — that is, the ones considered Submycenaean — are located in the southwest part of the space and are arranged in successive rows oriented northeast–southwest. In his view, over the years the cemetery spread eastward and northward. Consequently, the closer a grave to the Eridanos, the greater its age.[49] Hoepfner's supplementary excavations in 1967–1968 brought to light other early graves at various points in the site.[50] Ruppenstein's 2007 comprehensive study of these showed that burials of the LH IIIC period are dispersed all over the area of the cemetery. The initial nucleus (Stufe I) consists of some 20 graves, including the aforementioned five earliest ones, which make up six different groups. The graves in each group are arranged in rows but not strict lines. Graves not belonging to any group existed too. In the early years of the cemetery's use, the grave groups were at some distance from each other (Stufe I). Gradually, these increased in number and their development in the space expanded, bringing the groups closer and closer to each other, to the point where their boundaries merged, creating the impression of a single cemetery in which the graves were arranged in rows (Stufen II–III). In the transitional years from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period, the cemetery filled the entire area near the riverbed, spreading at the edges and moving farther away from the Eridanos (Stufe IV).[51]

From the early years of the cemetery's existence, cremation was practiced there, as it had been earlier in Attica, in the Perati cemetery during all phases of its operation (LH IIIB2/IIIB3 to LH IIIC late),[52] and in Athens from LH IIIC late if not before,[53] in the site of the Olympieion and the cemetery of the Eriai Gate (or Dipylon cemetery).[54] Twenty-four cremations have been located. They occur in Ruppenstein's four chronological phases; six of them date to Stufen I–III, which correspond to Submycenaean times, while the other 18 are dated to Stufe IV — that is, to the years of transition to the Protogeometric period. The number of Submycenaean cremations is very small, and even in Stufe III they are an exception. The fact that the six Submycenaean cremations were found in the north and east parts of the cemetery, whereas none have come to light in the rest of the space among the other graves from the time of its founding, suggests that during this period, not all the social groups using the space practiced inhumation.[55]

Last, it is observed that infants are entirely absent from the age groups buried in the Kerameikos. Anthropological examination of the skeletal remains and the dimensions of the graves indicate that the youngest individuals found in the cemetery were aged five to seven years (Graves 44 and 143).[56]

Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square[57]

Very close to the Kerameikos cemetery, to the west of Koumoundouros or Eleftheria (Freedom) Square, lies yet another burial ground, use of which began in the Submycenaean period and continued into the Classical. Traces of it were found at four sites: one grave in the building plot at 68 Peiraios Street (III. 25); 11 graves farther south on Kriezi Street, at nos. 23 and 24 (III. 19, fig. 2.5); in the adjacent plot at 22 Kriezi and Psaromilingou Streets (III. 18), where the continuation of the burial ground is indicated only by pottery; and last, one grave in a trench opened along the length of the street outside the two previous plots (III. 7).

All types of burials of this period are represented: inhumation in simple pits and in stone-lined pits, accompanied by at most one vase, but also cremations like those found in the neighboring Kerameikos.[58] The cemetery developed along both sides of the ancient road linking Athens with Hippios Kolonos. Its propinquity to Gate V in the Classical fortified enceinte of the city, named conventionally — not without serious objections — the Eriai Gate, led to its designation in the bibliography as the "cemetery of the Eriai Gate."[59]

This cemetery has been neither investigated systematically nor published. It was discovered by chance and little by little in the late nineteenth century, when it was named the Dipylon cemetery because it was considered a continuation of the Kerameikos.[60] Excavations were

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Figure 2.5. Athens, Psyrri. Kriezi 23–24: (a) amphora; (b) stirrup jar from Submycenaean Grave LXX. Alexandri 1968, pl. 85α–β. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

resumed in the 1970s, occasioned by the construction of new buildings in the area, and are ongoing. It goes without saying that due to the piecemeal nature of research, much evidence eludes us and so prevents us from drawing conclusions. Furthermore, the fact that what has been found has yet to be published[61] prevents us from confirming indications of similarities to the Kerameikos, such as that it is made up of smaller grave groups.

Nonetheless, some indirect conclusions regarding the founding of the cemetery of the Eriai Gate and the period of its use can be extracted from the comparative study of the material from the Submycenaean phase of the Kerameikos. Ruppenstein, examining graves also from other sites in the city, dated one of the graves in Kriezi Street to Stufe I (the end of the LH IIIC period), a second to Stufe II (the beginning of the Submycenaean period), and two more to Stufe IV, which corresponds to the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period.[62] Indeed, these last contained two of the four cremation burials inside cinerary urns located in the said cemetery.[63] The grave in the plot at Peiraios 68, which when found in the early twentieth century was dated generally to the Submycenaean period on the basis of the vase that was the sole grave good, can now be dated confidently to the final years of the LH IIIC period (III. 25).

These are very important conclusions because they date three of the graves in the cemetery of the Eriai Gate to the same phase as the earliest graves in the Kerameikos (Stufe 1). This points to the contemporaneous commencement of mortuary activity in the two neighboring sites, which although only a short distance apart were from the outset and throughout their existence two separate cemeteries in the north–northwest part of the settlement.[64]

Farther south, in Area III, one more Submycenaean grave has been found at Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki, on a site where earlier mortuary activity is attested, close to the road running northeast-southwest (III. 4). This road, which continued in existence for several centuries, seems to have been a natural path or thoroughfare already in use from those early years.[65]

Last, a concentration of pits directly north of Ermou Street, in the area between Karaiskaki and Avliton Streets, is perhaps indicative of mortuary use, although most of these remain unspecified by the excavators. These pits have been found at three neighboring sites, in the plots at Avliton 10 (III. 11), Arionos 12 (III. 9), and Arionos 4 and Ermou (III. 10). The fill from them yielded not only Geometric sherds but also Mycenaean ones, which were found on the surface of the soft limestone bedrock.

Area IV: Varvakeios – Omonoia Square and the Commercial Center[66]

Other Submycenaean graves have been found in the northern part of the city, not far from the cemetery in Peiraios and Kriezi Streets, and at about the same distance from the Acropolis, in the area of the Varvakeios to the south of

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Omonoia Square and the Commercial Center, on plots at Aiolou 93 and Sophokleous (IV. 2), Aiolou 72 (IV. 1), and Evripidou 5 and Praxitelous 42–44 (V. 2).

At the first site (IV. 2), a Submycenaean grave was found to the northwest of the Acharnai Gate (VI) in the late nineteenth century. Some 80 m southwest of this is the second site (IV. 1), where another two burials have been located. The presence of vases of the same period in the fill of the plot indicates the existence here or nearby of other graves, from which the grave goods came. Last, approximately 60 m southeast of the second site, in the plot at Evripidou 5 and Praxitelous 42–44 (V. 2), one further Submycenaean grave has come to light.

The above graves are located in an area of about 4,500 m^2, between Gates VI (Acharnai) and VII (Dragatsaniou Street) of the fortified enceinte of the Classical city, and on either side of old thoroughfares that developed into basic road arteries that passed through these gates. Their proximity to one another and the finding of Submycenaean vases in the fill of the plot at Aiolou 72 (fig. 2.6) suggest the existence of other nearby graves, now lost.

Area VII: National Garden – Syntagma Square[67]

In the eastern part of the city, Submycenaean graves have been unearthed in the area between Syntagma Square, the Parliament building, and the National Garden in recent excavations occasioned by the construction of the Athens Metro.

All that was known from previous research was the existence of a large early cemetery in the northeast corner of the National Garden, at the junction of Vasilissis Sophias Avenue and Irodou Attikou 2 (VII. 3). There, in the course of building a new barracks for the Presidential Guard, 76 graves (16 containing inhumations and 60 cremations) dated to Submycenaean and Protogeometric times were revealed inter alia. This cemetery has never been published, and the only information we have is drawn from reference to the excavation in the *Archaiologikon Deltion*, where the exact number of Submycenaean graves is not specified.[68] However, the excavation report gives the impression that the Submycenaean graves are fewer than the later Protogeometric ones. Their arrangement in rows and the northeast–southwest orientation of most of the pits suggest that this was an organized cemetery[69] and presupposes the existence of a very ancient thoroughfare on the axis of present Irodou Attikou Street. So far, the only ancient road uncovered near the cemetery, during the Athens Metro excavations, lies farther south and runs parallel to present Vasilissis Sophias Avenue. This was the road linking Athens, via the Diochares Gate (VIII), with the fertile farmlands of the Mesogaia.[70]

Excavations on the road surface of Amalias Avenue, again in connection with the Athens Metro project, and in the precinct of the Parliament building, occasioned by the construction of an underground car park, have filled in the picture of the extent of mortuary activity in this part of the city, which in the early years of the Iron Age spread from the northeast corner of the National Garden as far as Amalias Avenue (VII. 1). At this point there was a hillock (of Agios Thomas or Agios Athanasios, named after the chapel on the top), which was leveled in 1836 when the

Figure 2.6. Athens, Varvakeios. Aiolou 72. Submycenaean vases: (a) amphoriskos; (b) flask from Grave I; (c) lekythos with cylindrical body from Grave II. Alexandri 1976, pl. 31β–δ. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

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Figure 2.7. Athens, Amalias Avenue (in front of Syntagma Square). Submycenaean Grave 126. One-handled bowl and trefoil-mouth oenochoe. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 163, fig. of entries 128–129. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

Figure 2.8. Athens, Amalias Avenue (in front of Syntagma Square). Submycenaean/Protogeometric Grave 55: (a) amphoriskos and trilobe oenochoe; (b) two lekythoi and two cups; (c) two bronze fibulae. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 164, fig. of entries 130–131, p. 165, fig. of entries 132–136. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

palace of King Othon was built upon it.[71] This particular area, including the hillock, seems to have been used as a burial ground from the early years of the Iron Age, as is revealed by the three Submycenaean/Protogeometric burials in cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock, one found on the west slope of the hill behind the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and the other on the southeast slope, southeast of the precinct of the Parliament building. These too are correlated with the same ancient road connecting the city with the Mesogaia, which passed between them.

Two other contemporary graves (126, fig. 2.7, and 55, fig. 2.8) were found west of the previous ones, under the road surface of Amalias Avenue, about 50 m apart (VII. 2). They were located beside the Eridanos or a tributary of it, as confirmed by part of the riverbed, about 50 m wide, uncovered transverse to Amalias Avenue, at the height of Othonos Street and adjacent to the ancient road to the Mesogaia.[72]

Area X: Makrygianni[73]

In the southern part of the city, in the modern Makrygianni neighborhood, Submycenaean graves have been found in two places, quite densely arranged and over a wide area. The first site is in Erechtheiou Street, where in plots on either side of it a cemetery of Submycenaean times has been located over an area of about 0.75 ha.[74] This extends from the plot at Erechtheiou 24–26 (X. 17), which

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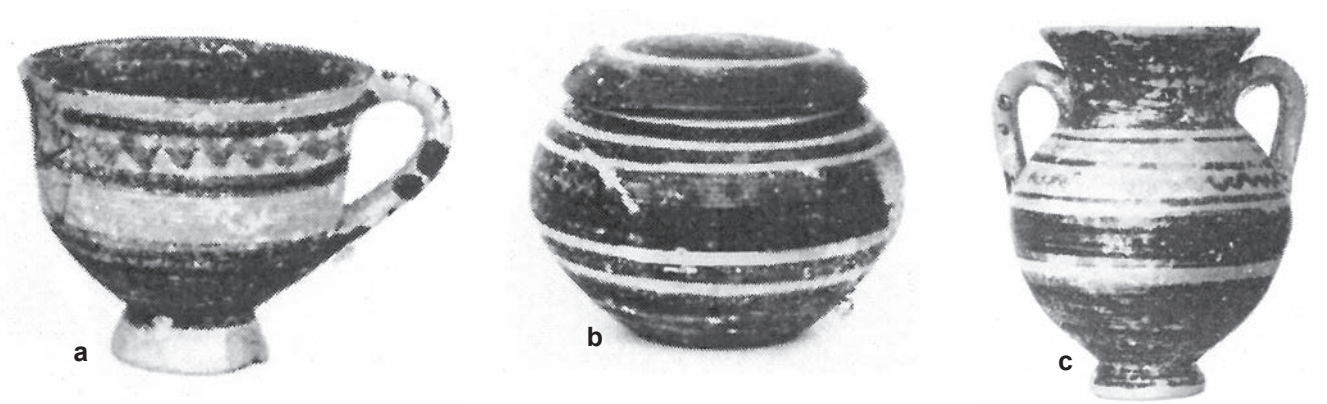

Figure 2.9. Athens, Makrygianni. Erechtheiou 21–23 cemetery. Submycenaean Grave Z: (a) one-handled cup: EPK 542; (b) globular pyxis with lid: EPK 545; (c) amphoriskos: EPK 544. Brouskari 1980, pl. 3f–g. Courtesy of M. Brouskari.

gives the terminus post quem of its use, as far as the plots at Erechtheiou 9–11 (XII. 11) and Renti 8 (XII. 17), the southernmost boundary on present evidence.[75] In the intervening plots on Erechtheiou Street, graves have been unearthed at nos. 20 (X. 15), 21–23 (X. 16, fig. 2.9), 24–26 (X. 17), and 25 (X. 18), and pottery of the same period was recovered from the fill of the plot at Propylaion 34 (X. 41).

The cemetery developed along the sides of a very ancient road, which in Classical times passed through the South Phaleron Gate (XIII) and connected the city with Phaleron, the first harbor of Athens. The LH IIIA graves found on the plot at Erechtheiou 24–26 date the beginning of mortuary use of the space, as well as the road, to Mycenaean times. Consequently, the ancient road followed the course of a natural pass that served the area of the South Slope of the Acropolis, linking it with the lower-lying southern areas.[76] This old Mycenaean burial ground was used intensively during the Submycenaean period and for another four centuries or so, until the end of the Geometric period, indeed with no apparent gap in the years of transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age: some of the vases from the plot at Erechtheiou 24–26 find parallels in vases of Phase 3 of the Perati cemetery and also of Stufe I of the Kerameikos (LH IIIC–Submycenaean period).[77]

There is no uniformity in the arrangement of the Submycenaean graves in Erechtheiou Street. Here too there are empty pits, as in the Agora (west slope of Agoraios Kolonos), the Olympieion, the cemetery in Makrygianni Street and on the South Slope of the Acropolis, which, due to the existence of Early Iron Age graves in adjacent or nearby plots, were also interpreted as destroyed graves. Last, no uniformity is observed either in the quantity and quality of the grave goods, as unfurnished and poorly furnished burials coexist with some very richly furnished ones, such as those in the plots at Renti 8 and Erechtheiou 20.

The second burial ground identified in the southern part of the city is on the east edge of the present Makrygianni neighborhood, to the east of Makrygianni Street. It is yet another Submycenaean cemetery that continued in use during the Geometric period. Submycenaean graves have been uncovered in rescue excavations in the plots at Makrygianni 19–21 (X. 33), Makrygianni 23–25–27 and Porinou (X. 34), and Lembesi 9 and Porinou 15 (X. 27). The Submycenaean grave found in the northeast part of the Makrygiannis plot seems to belong to the same group, along with three other graves close to it, which are dated to the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period (figs. 2.10, 2.11).

Also contemporary with these is the fifth grave (57, fig. 2.12) found, in the east part of the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35), about 100 m west of the burial sites in Makrygianni Street.

Here again there are empty pits that have been interpreted as disturbed graves.[78] The space in which these graves developed is smaller than that of the Erechtheiou Street cemetery (0.2 ha), but again it is on the side of a road that seems to have been one of the earliest pathways of Athens.[79] It ran almost vertically through the city, connecting its north and south parts, starting from the Acharnai Gate (VI) in the Classical fortification wall and ending at the East Phaleron Gate (XII; Halade Gate), passing through the point where the Archaic Agora, or the so-called Agora of Theseus, is thought to have stood, to the east of the Acropolis. It is interesting that this road can be traced, through the later surfaces, up to this day and that it coincides with present Makrygianni, Adrianou, Agias Philotheis, Evangelistrias, and Agiou Markou Streets.

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Figure 2.10. Athens, Makrygianni. Makrygiannis plot. Submycenaean Grave B1. Plan of grave; scale 1:5 (drawing by L. Vranopoulou). Palaiokrassa 2006, p. 617, drawing II. Courtesy of L. Palaiokrassa.

Area XII: Koukaki[80]

A few meters to the southwest of the Makrygianni Street cemetery and close to the East Phaleron Gate (XII; Halade Gate), a Submycenaean grave was found in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 7 and Phalirou 8 (X. 8), on the border between the neighborhoods of Makrygianni and Koukaki. This is an area where, as noted already, there is evidence of mortuary activity in other places (Erechtheiou 9–11, Renti 8), from the earliest years of the settlement, which was to continue and intensify for centuries.[81]

One particularly important site is the plot at Drakou 19 (XII. 10), where Submycenaean graves containing, in addition to vases, rich grave goods (bronze and gold jewelry, glass-paste necklaces, and so on) have come to light. About 40 m to the southwest, at Markou Botsari 35 (XII. 15), another 12 Submycenaean graves were unearthed in the north of the plot — that is, the part closest to the plot at Drakou 19. Most of them were found looted or disturbed, but the few surviving objects (pottery and jewelry) are suggestive of wealth. There is no uniformity in the arrangement of the graves, notwithstanding their proximity to the Phaleron Road, toward which they could have been oriented. To the southeast and facing this road there is an indication of one more Submycenaean burial in the plot at Botsari 41 and Dimitrakopoulou 47 (XII. 16).

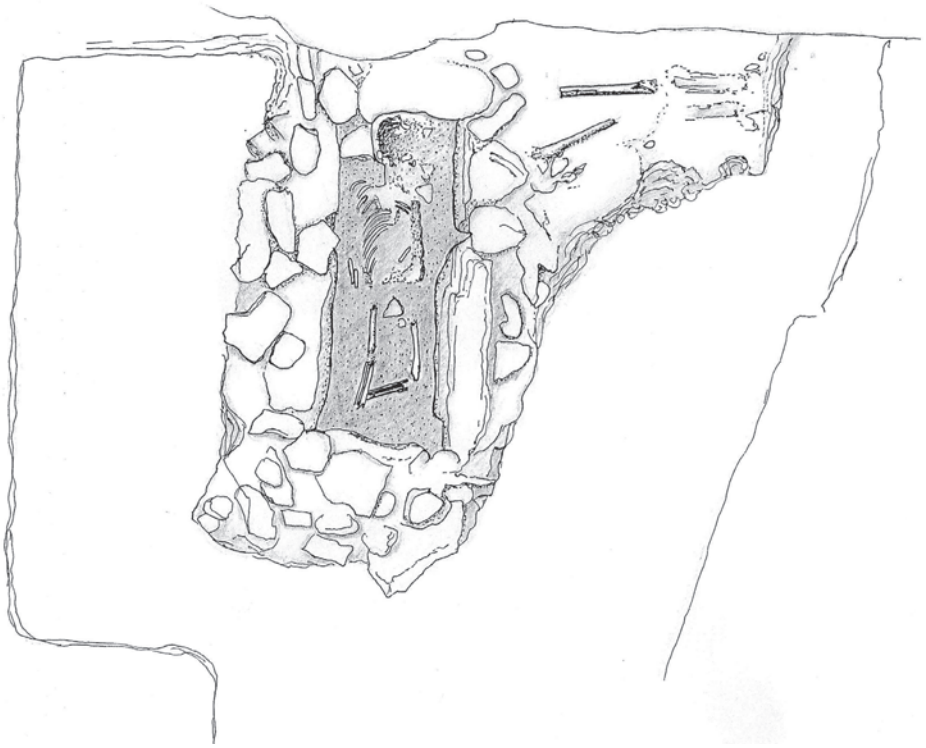

Figure 2.11. Athens, Makrygianni. Makrygiannis plot, Submycenaean Grave C4. Plan of grave; scale 1:10 (drawing by L. Vranopoulou). Palaiokrassa 2006, p. 619, drawing V. Courtesy of L. Palaiokrassa.

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Figure 2.12. Athens, Makrygianni. Makrygiannis plot, Akropolis Station. Submycenaean Grave 57: (a–b) two small lekythoi; (c) two iron finger rings, iron pin, pair of gold earrings, two bronze finger rings. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 44, fig. of entries 8–9, p. 45, fig. of entries 10–15. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

Traces of yet another Submycenaean grave, half-destroyed, were found to the southwest, near the north bank of the Ilissos River in the plot at Odyssea Androutsou 32 (XII. 1). Even farther west and in spaces used as cemeteries in the Mycenaean period, other Submycenaean graves have been revealed: in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 106 (XII. 7), one of the last two burials in the Late Helladic chamber tomb is dated to the Submycenaean period and the other to LH IIIC, on the basis of the vases, which find parallels in the Perati cemetery.[82] In neighboring Dimitrakopoulou 110 (XII. 8), the burial found close to the dromos of the LH IIIA1–A2 chamber tomb is also dated to the final years of the LH IIIC period.

The Submycenaean graves found in the plots at Drakou 19, Markou Botsari 35, and Botsari 41 and Dimitrakopoulou 47 are located on the extension of the same ancient road that also passes in front of the Erechtheiou Street cemetery. Thus it is deduced that this was a very ancient thoroughfare that started from the South Slope of the Acropolis, followed the course of modern Erechtheiou Street, passed in Classical times through the South Phaleron Gate (XIII), continued under today's Drakou Street, and joined the Phaleron Road (at the junction of Drakou, Phalirou, and Dimitrakopoulou Streets). These roads, which linked Athens with its natural harbor at Phaleron, can be dated long before the Submycenaean period, on account of the Late Helladic graves in the area.

Area IX: Olympieion[83]

In the eastern part of the city, in the archaeological site of the Olympieion, traces of mortuary activity in Submycenaean times exist in the southwest part (south of the later temple of Zeus) and specifically at the southwest end of the hill of the Olympieion, which remained free of human intervention until the Archaic period, when a temple and the "epi Delphinio" lawcourt were built[84] (fig. 2.13).

In this place nine graves were found, most of them oriented northeast–southwest. Eight of these contained inhumations and the ninth a cremation. The burials were of adults and of children. In addition to the graves there were several pits, rather shallow and filled with soil, gravel, stone chips, and sherds of vases of prehistoric and historical times, which obviously came from destroyed graves.[85] Noted here again, as in the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery, is the finding of a cremation in a group of graves that the excavator dates to the Submycenaean period.[86]

The Submycenaean cemetery spread even farther south, as pottery has been found directly on the bedrock south of the Archaic edifice in the northwest corner of the peristyle of the temple of Zeus Panhellenios. Since similar vases have been found sporadically at other points in the site, it is possible that the cemetery occupied an even larger area. The nine graves and the pits were on the sides of a basic road artery that ended at Gate X in the Classical wall ("Diomeiai Gate," according to Travlos) and attest to the antiquity of this thoroughfare.[87]

Discussion and Synthesis of the Material

The Site of the Settlement: Views Old and New

From the foregoing presentation of the archaeological material, it is clear that in the body of excavation evidence available for the Submycenaean period in Athens, settlement remains are far fewer than funerary ones, making it difficult to locate spaces of human habitation in these years. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that most of the pottery of this period, found in excavations on the

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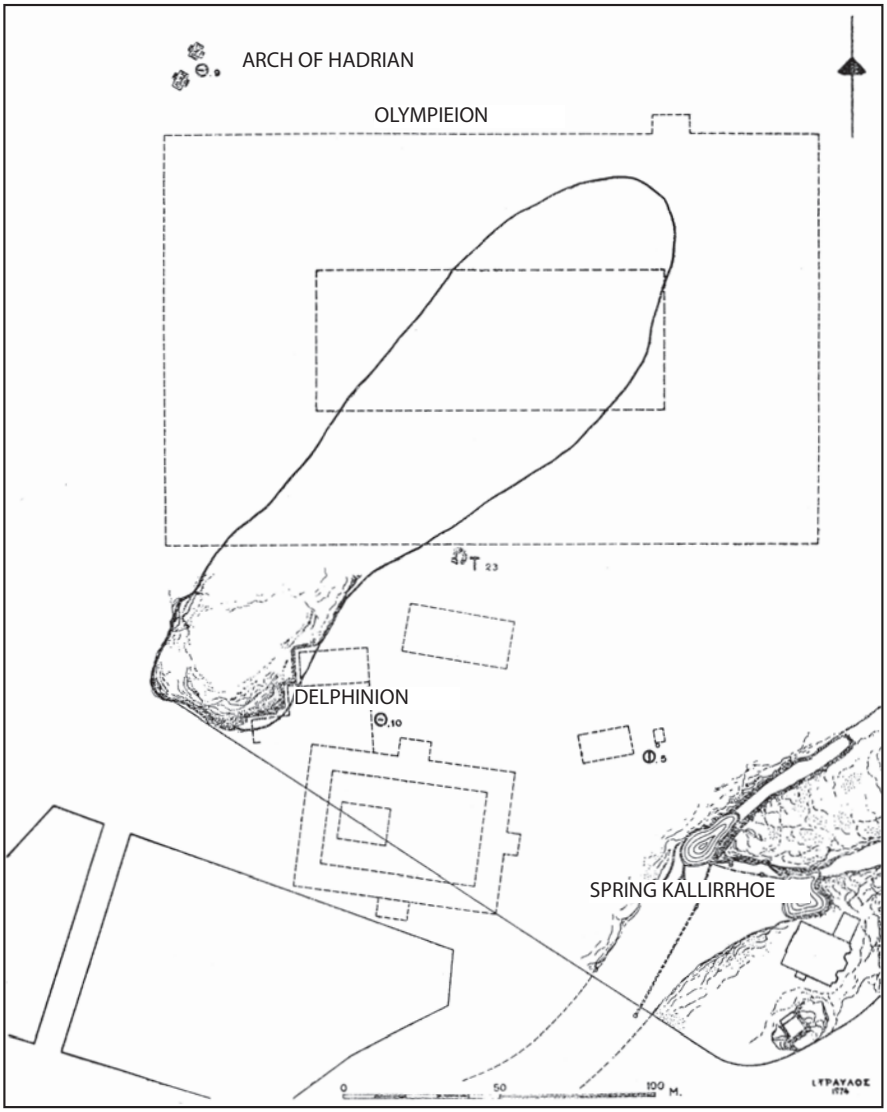

Figure 2.13. Athens. The geological configuration of the area of the Olympieion in prehistoric times in relation to the later buildings. Pantelidou 1975, p. 149, drawing 15. Courtesy of Archaeological Society at Athens.

Acropolis, in the Agora, and in the rest of the city's archaeological sites, remains unpublished.[88] What little we know about nonfunerary pottery is from the published part of the material from the Klepsydra and the four deposits in the Agora (VIII. 2). The rest of the pottery is exclusively from graves of the Agora and the Kerameikos.

Despite these setbacks, attempts to determine the locus of the settlement during the Submycenaean period have been and continue to be made. The early theories concerning the settlement were formulated immediately after the commencement of excavations in the Ancient Agora and were based on the wells that were beginning to come to light in the space. The earliest and most widely accepted theory is that of Desborough, according to which the Submycenaean settlement occupied the site of the later Agora.[89] Even today this view is accepted, with few exceptions, by many of the researchers excavating and/or studying the Ancient Agora. For many years this theory was espoused also by the German researchers involved with the Kerameikos, who, having located the Submycenaean necropolis, were seeking the settlement that used it somewhere nearby, to the north of the Acropolis.[90]

Modern theories, admitting the objective difficulty of the lack of settlement remains of the so-called Submycenaean period, attempt to detect early habitation indirectly, by combining evidence from the Mycenaean phase of the Acropolis and the lower "city" with evidence from the Submycenaean cemeteries.

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Concurrently, in the effort to resolve issues regarding the topography, organization, and society of early Athens, all manner of mortuary indications are utilized to the utmost. The result is a broader approach to the Early Iron Age settlement, from which emerges a pattern of many dispersed clusters of houses, possibly organized according to families that buried their dead close to or within the settlement space.[91]

Recently, after analytical studies of all the Submycenaean graves of the Kerameikos by Ruppenstein and of a part of the Early Iron Age material from the Agora by Papadopoulos, research has started to move away from the Agora area, which is proposed as the locus of the early Potters' Quarter (Kerameikos) of Athens rather than of the early nucleus of settlement, which should probably be sought on the Acropolis and in the area around it.[92]

In endeavoring the analysis and critical assessment of the above theories, we return to the obligatory starting point for every attempt to approach the image of early Athens, namely the archaeological data. We examine the material that comes from the areas proposed by research as possible loci of settlement and we evaluate the information we receive not only from the remains that have been considered as direct indications of habitation but also from those that are indirect sources for the form of the Submycenaean settlement.

Summit of the Acropolis Hill: "ἡ πόλις," "ἡ ἀκρόπολις"

The dominant picture in our conception of the Acropolis is that of the seat of the Mycenaean ruler in the prehistoric period and of the sanctuary of the patron goddess Athena in historical times.[93] What usually escapes us is the fact that every acropolis or citadel is by definition the best-fortified point and the nucleus of the early settlement in each case.[94] According to both Papadopoulos and Ruppenstein, the settlement of Submycenaean and Geometric times should be sought on the summit of the Acropolis — that is, on the flat top of the Rock and the areas around it — the South Slope, and the space enclosed by the Pelargikon[95] (fig. 2.14).

Although it is known that from early times the top of the Rock was leveled by creating terraces on which buildings were erected, it is difficult to understand these structures as dwellings.[96] In the case of the Athenian Acropolis, it should be added that the top of the Rock together with the area intra muros of the Pelargikon could accommodate a sizable population.

There is no written evidence for prehistoric Athens, as no Linear B tablets, such as those known from other Mycenaean centers (Mycenae, Pylos, Thebes, Knossos, Agios Vasileios in Laconia, Iklaina in Messenia, Kastro of Volos, Chania), have survived. What we know is drawn from the ancient literary sources and from archaeological investigations. Homer describes Athens as "εὐρυάγυιαν" and "ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον" — that is, a large and well-built city with wide streets — and refers to the temple of Erechtheus and of Athena on the Acropolis ("well-built house of Erechtheus"; "in her [Athena's] own rich sanctuary") (*Odyssey* vii, 81; *Iliad* II, 546–549).[97] The excavations by Kavvadias and Kawerau, and studies of the architectural remains and pottery made over the years since these, document the very ancient use of the flat summit for habitation. The earliest pottery found is from Neolithic times and the earliest graves are Middle Helladic, while habitation is indicated by architectural remains and pottery that dates, if not from the LH I period, at least from LH IIA1 down to LH IIIC middle/late.[98] Iakovidis, from his study of its architectural remains, states categorically that the space was inhabited normally during the late LH III C: "the site was settled and indeed densely."[99] Even so, the remains of the houses that he published were initially ignored by the international bibliography. Instead, views based on earlier researches continue to be reiterated even today.[100] On the contrary, the existence of graves on the flat summit of the Rock has been widely publicized since the time of their discovery. Outcome of the failure to take into account the settlement remains on the Rock was the misorientation of research and the attempt to detect the settlement indirectly, through the graves.

The Graves

Their existence, known already in antiquity, was recorded as tradition in the literary sources, in which it is recounted that the Acropolis hosted the tombs of the mythical kings of Athens, Kekrops and Erechtheus.[101] The general information was verified when, during the first excavations, 18 graves and one enchytrismos were brought to light. At first at least, these were linked with various figures in the city's mythology, in an effort to attribute historical truth to myth (VIII. 1).[102]

The recent research by Gauss and Ruppenstein has shown that of the 11 dated Submycenaean graves, five were certainly of children or infants, while of the other six, only one (10), which contained a small unpainted amphora, is confidently identified as belonging to an adult (male?).[103] The child graves were small, without grave goods, and in some cases, as the bones indicated, they belonged to infants or children less than three years old.[104] According to the general picture of early burial habits in the Bronze Age and possibly the Early Iron Age, the burial of children

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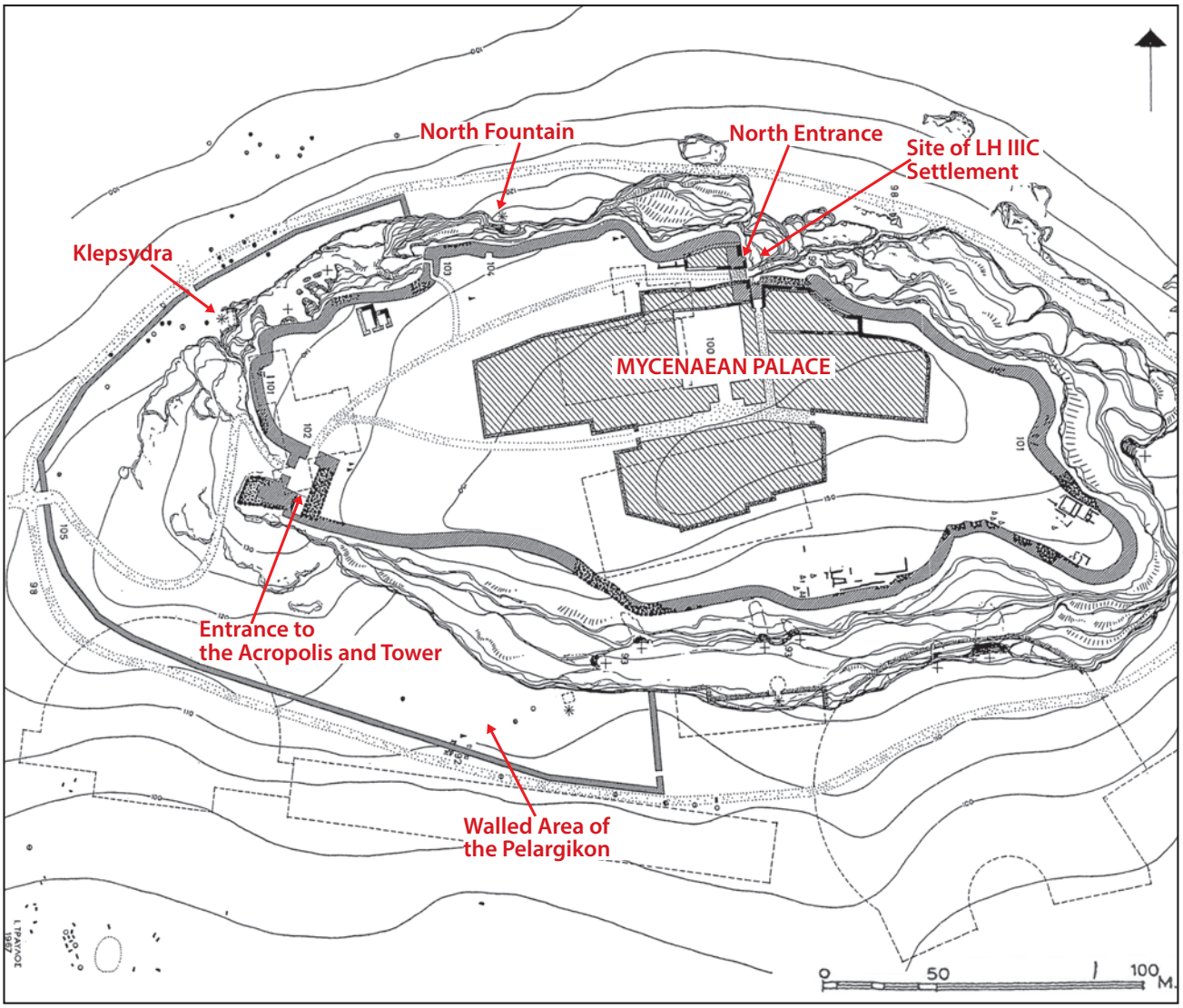

Figure 2.14. The Athenian Acropolis in prehistoric times. Papadopoulos 2003, fig. 5.16, based on Travlos 1971, p. 57, fig. 67. Courtesy of J. K. Papadopoulos.

inside settlements was permitted, under the courtyards and floors of houses.[105] On the basis of the above, Gauss and Ruppenstein maintain that the child graves indicate that the Acropolis of Athens was a regular settlement at the beginning of the Early Iron Age and earlier, and that together with the area enclosed by the Pelargikon wall was the site of the settlement of Submycenaean Athens.[106] From the argumentation used to extract indirectly this conclusion, which is also documented by direct evidence, the existence of the grave of an adult, found beside the two child graves, should not be discounted.[107] This phenomenon is not surprising, as it is observed in other places in Submycenaean Athens. However, it casts doubt on the theories of the exclusion of children from the burial spaces of adults.[108] Whatever the case, there is no reason for us to utilize only the child graves on the flat summit to demonstrate indirectly the use of the space for habitation. Regardless of the age of the deceased individuals, the existence of Submycenaean burials on the flat summit of the Acropolis cannot but confirm the presence of habitation on the Rock.[109]

According to Hurwit, these mortuary remains are not only a clear indication of settlement but also document the settlement's decline, evidenced by the partial change in use of the space from one of habitation to one of burial. In his opinion, this change took place in the second half of the eleventh century BC and marks the beginning of deviation from the Mycenaean norm of separating areas of settlement from areas of interment, since the inhabitants of

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the Rock began to bury their dead on the perimeter of the flat summit, inside the old ramparts.[110] This is an interesting proposition, as the introduction of new mortuary habits into a space that continues to be lived in may well denote some kind of differentiation of the population group using the space, at the level of social or internal organization.

There are no other indirect indications of settlement activity on the flat summit. This is hardly surprising at the specific site, where building activity was continuously erasing earlier remains, which were cleared from the bedrock before each new construction project. This is why those Submycenaean graves that have survived are located only at the edges of the level area, where there was less disturbance over the centuries in comparison to its central part.[111] Moreover, if we bear in mind that of the early material from the Acropolis, only about one-tenth has been published to date, we realize that there is a big gap in our knowledge in this particular sector. Until this gap is filled in, our picture of human activity on the Acropolis in early historical times will remain incomplete.[112]

The Houses: "The area was inhabited, indeed closely inhabited"[113]

As mentioned above, the 11 Submycenaean graves are not the only finds that can be utilized from the period under examination. Iakovidis, relying on the results of the first excavators, Kavvadias and Kawerau, but also on his own excavations, in 1962 ascertained habitation at the site by finding remains of houses on the Rock. The fact that these abut the fortification wall indicates that they were built after its construction in final palatial times (end of LH IIIB). This is verified by the excavator's observation that some of these buildings were founded in and others upon the fill that began to accumulate intra muros.[114] These settlement remains are very close to the graves, both on the north and the south side of the flat summit (VIII. 1). According to Iakovidis, these graves are contemporary with one another and are associated with the houses. However, the date he proposes for them is not immediately clear from the first reading of his study. The general and different terms he uses ("Mycenaean," "Late Mycenaean," "of the final period of the Mycenaean Age," and so on)[115] are confusing to say the least, and perhaps this, in conjunction with the fact that the original publication was only in Greek, is responsible for the fact that his findings did not enter the international bibliography for some time. In the end, Iakovidis dates the graves and the houses together "to the final years of advanced LH IIIC."[116] In other words, the dating he proposes is no different from that arrived at recently by Gauss and Ruppenstein for the graves on the flat summit of the Rock.

Even so, in later related studies and until the first decade of the twenty-first century, the Acropolis houses are not utilized. Mountjoy, in her study on Mycenaean Athens, although she makes constant reference to Iakovidis's archaeological fieldwork (both to his detailed study in Greek and to the English version of his book on the Mycenaean citadels), does not seem to take on board the results of Iakovidis's excavations, since she says expressly that no settlement remains survive from the Submycenaean phase of the city. For the Acropolis, she mentions only the graves and expresses doubts about Iakovidis's dating of the houses to the south of the flat summit.[117] Although Iakovidis relies on the pottery and the bronzes in the hoard found inside the mud-brick wall south of the Parthenon, Mountjoy claims that in the absence of pottery the houses can be dated from LH IIIB2, after the construction of the Cyclopean Mycenaean fortification wall, to any phase of LH IIIC.[118] However, the propinquity of the specific houses to the graves, the similarity in the manner of their construction, and the depth at which they were found minimize the possibility that there is no correlation between these two heterogeneous groups of finds. Likewise, Hurwit, in his prolix reference to the Submycenaean Acropolis, fails to make use of Iakovidis's primary study in Greek but instead relies exclusively on Mountjoy and her conclusions. Gauss and Ruppenstein merely refer to the houses in passim, while even Papadopoulos, although vigorously supporting the existence of habitation on the Acropolis in Submycenaean times, does not do this directly, through the architectural remains, but strives to document his views indirectly through the graves.[119] Since 2006, when Iakovidis's study appeared in English translation, 44 years after the original publication in Greek,[120] these building remains have started to appear regularly in the relevant bibliography, with their role being continually upgraded, both in relation to habitation on the Rock and to mortuary issues of the Early Iron Age.[121]

In the present study we contend that the remains of early buildings on the north and south sides of the flat summit belong to houses that can be dated quite confidently to the years of Athens's transition from prehistoric times to the Early Iron Age. On the basis of present evidence, the internal temporal link between the LH IIIC late houses and the Submycenaean graves remains vague. In other words, it is difficult to verify whether houses and graves are contemporaneous or whether some of these are later than others. As a result, it is not feasible to reconstruct the historical sequence of changes in the use of the space. Essential precondition for achieving this is detailed examination of the pottery from the Acropolis and especially from

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the foundation trenches of the houses, within the narrow framework of the LH IIIC and the Submycenaean period.

However, likewise vague in relation to the absolute dating is the simultaneous presence of settlement and mortuary remains on the top of the Rock during the interval between the end of LH IIIC and the end of the Submycenaean period, which shows that this site never ceased to be inhabited in these years. The fortified surface available for habitation is about 0.23 ha.[122] A large part of this would have been occupied by the Mycenaean administrative center that stood on Terrace III, on the site where the Archaios Neos was later built.[123] If we bear in mind that the house remains that survived the continuous building activity in the more central parts of the space are at the edges of the flat summit, then there are grounds for assuming that in the Submycenaean period, the Acropolis intra muros of the Mycenaean enceinte must have presented the same picture as that of other Mycenaean citadels, with houses densely arranged around the site possibly occupied by the old palatial complex. These filled all the area hitherto free of buildings, as far as the fortification wall, which they abutted. According to Papadopoulos, this is where the Early Iron Age settlement of Athens should be sought: on the Acropolis and in its immediate environs, since the flat summit, together with the area enclosed by the Pelargikon,[124] was large enough to accommodate a sizable population.[125] Even though the calculation of the capacity of the area intra muros is an eminently practical and useful exercise, Lemos's deliberation on whether or not there was only one nucleus of settlement in these years is equally perspicacious.[126] In corroboration of this comes the observation by Mazarakis-Ainian, who, judging by the examples of Oropos and Eretria, argues that habitation in these years is not necessarily confined inside walled citadels. On the contrary, it was common practice for people to settle on hillslopes and in plains around forts, and frequently close to riverbeds.[127] Truly, the existence of wide-open spaces in which there were organized cemeteries, and of smaller burial grounds at various points around the Rock of the Acropolis and between the Eridanos and Ilissos Rivers, points to the presence of other settlement nuclei too. For this reason, we shall examine below all manner of information and material evidence that can contribute to locating the other areas in which the Submycenaean habitation of Athens developed.

North Slope of the Acropolis

The presence of one of Athens's main aquifers high on the Northwest Slope of the Acropolis was decisive for habitation in the area from as early as Neolithic times. The water supply to the North Slope was always from the natural spring, the Empedo, known in Classical times as the Klepsydra.[128] This place has distinct advantages over the Agora as a settlement site, not least because it is naturally fortified. Furthermore, although it is exposed to the northerly winds, it would have been much drier than the Agora, which due to its terrain must have been quite waterlogged and muddy in those times.[129]

There are indications of human activity in the area around the subsequent Klepsydra during the Mycenaean period. The Late Mycenaean wells V 24:1 and S 27:7 contained domestic pottery in their fill, indicating that the North Slope was inhabited (VIII. 2). The first of these wells is dated to LH IIIB and the second to LH IIIC, and it is very likely that they are linked with the remains of a contemporary settlement that they supplied with drinking water.

This settlement was unearthed slightly farther down, in the area of the later sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, revealing that even the precipitous and rugged slopes of the Acropolis had been settled in early times, wherever this was possible.[130] The remains were found in about the middle of the North Slope, where a fairly even terrace suitable for habitation was created between the fortification wall of the Acropolis and the prehistoric stairway leading up to the top of the Rock (fig. 2.15).[131]

What survive of the settlement are walls, floors, hearths, storage spaces, and bases of posts to uphold the ceiling, all in highly fragmentary condition (fig. 2.16).[132] It is surmised from the pottery, including an assemblage of intact vases found in situ, that the settlement ceased to exist a few years later. The reason for its sudden abandonment is unknown. According to the excavator, O. Broneer, this must have been caused by some unexpected event around the end of the thirteenth century BC, since the vases found in the houses were either whole or broken on the floors and the hearths, where they had been left by the owners, who never returned to take them.[133] Broneer offers no explanation for this desertion of the settlement, although he does rule out its destruction by an invader.[134]

His reference to fallen rocks and to massive boulders from the Acropolis enceinte in the area of the Northeast Slope[135] led Bundgaard to suggest the possibility of a natural disaster: an earthquake that forced the inhabitants of the settlement to leave their houses in panic, followed soon after by a landslide that buried everything under tons of earth and rocks.[136] This theory was espoused by his contemporaries and fits the picture of the scattered rocks encountered at various points in the settlement and on the path to the Acropolis. Moreover, it is consistent with the fact that in various periods, and even today, rocks broke

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Figure 2.15. Athens, Acropolis. North Slope. The Mycenaean ascent leading from the Northeast Slope of the Acropolis to its summit. Broneer 1935, p. 110, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

off from the main massif and tumbled down from the Acropolis.[137] However, from Gauss's and Rutter's dating of the pottery from the Mycenaean settlement on the North Slope and from the Mycenaean Fountain, it would seem that this earthquake most probably occurred in LH IIIC early and caused serious damage also on the summit of the Rock.[138]

Even so, habitation on the North Slope continued in the following years, without interruption. As emerges from the Submycenaean well (U 26:4) and the two water-collecting basins contemporary with it, which have been found under the Classical paved court of the Klepsydra (VIII. 2), the aquifers of the Empedo spring were exploited during the years of transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. Utilization of the natural source during the LH IIIC period and the sinking of Well U 26:4 filled the gap in water supply probably caused by the abandonment of the Mycenaean Fountain.[139] From a technical viewpoint, these constructions are clearly inferior to the hidden rock-cut North Fountain of Mycenaean times, which in any case was only accessible to people living on the top of the Rock.[140] The underground arrangement of the Empedo spring secured an abundant water supply for the inhabitants of the North Slope until LH IIIC late, as the dating of the vases from its fill indicates.

Well U 26:4 was dug in the final years of the period, in order to supplement or to replace the subterranean system of water collection (fig. 2.17). This impression is confirmed also by the well's considerable depth, seven times greater than that of the deposits/water-collecting basins, bespeaking the intense effort made to find the water table, which had evidently begun to drop.[141]

It is deduced from the above data that the Northeast Slope, locus of settlement during the latter years of the Mycenaean period, continued to fulfil this role during the Submycenaean period too. Situated between the space of the later Agora and the summit of the Rock, it facilitates connections with both places. In Broneer's view, the inhabitants of the LH IIIC settlement on the Northeast Slope perhaps moved higher up the Rock and resettled inside of the Cyclopean fortification wall.[142] If the settlement on the summit of the Acropolis was indeed the place where the inhabitants of the devastated settlement on the Northeast Slope made their new homes, then the two loci of settlement acquire an internal chronological connection which underscores the continuity of habitation in the same space at the transition from the dusk of the Bronze Age to the dawn of the Iron Age. Indeed, if these are the same inhabitants of the Acropolis, of the flat summit and of the destroyed settlement on the Northeast Slope, who together with those of the area of the later Klepsydra used the space of the old necropolis of the Agora to bury their dead, then the continuity in use of the space and in people's memory is underlined even more intensely with regard to the sites of settlement and of burial.

Ancient Agora: Settlement Site or Cemetery Site?

The space in which the Agora of Athens developed in Classical times was much different in earlier times and possibly less attractive for permanent settlement. Prior to the silting of the Eridanos Valley in the Archaic period, the Agora was an open area at the northwest foot of the Acropolis, exposed to the north winds and with no stable access to water.[143] The Eridanos was a torrent that overflowed in winter and was almost dry for the rest of year. Its soggy and muddy banks would have been rich in clay soils, ideal for making pots and other domestic items but most unsuitable for laying the foundations of even light makeshift constructions as dwellings.[144] It is possibly due to these climatic and geological conditions that the space was never chosen for settlement in the prehistoric past,

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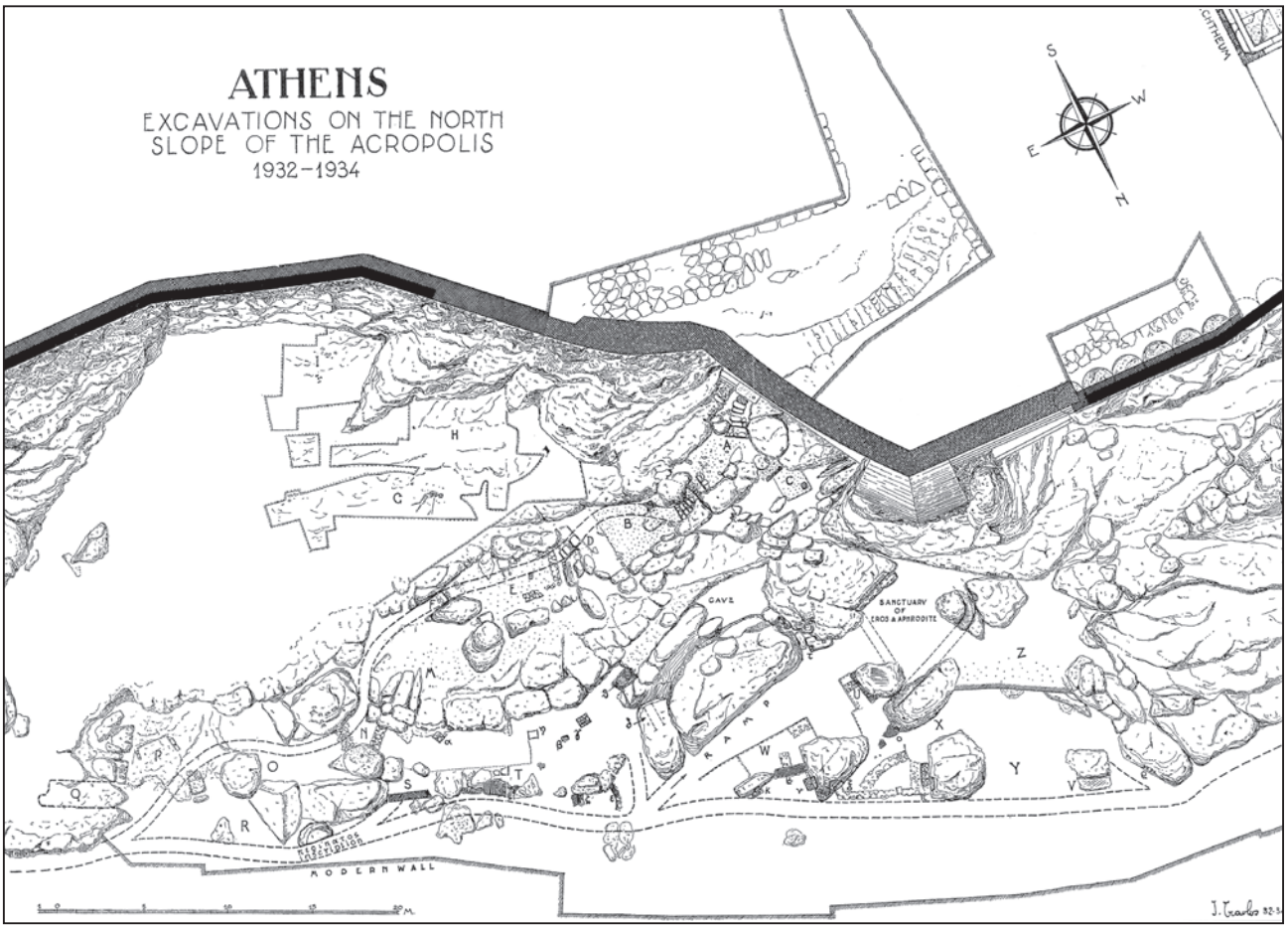

Figure 2.16. Athens. The LH IIIB–C settlement site on the North Slope of the Acropolis. Broneer 1933, pl. XI. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

only for interment. This is attested by the numerous graves dating from the years between the mid-fifteenth and at least the mid-thirteenth century BC (LH IIIB1).[145]

Despite the disadvantages outlined above, from early on scholarship has considered the Agora as the space where the initial nucleus of settlement developed in Early Iron Age Athens. The main reason for this belief was the large number of wells found, dating from the Submycenaean to the Geometric period. Desborough, taking these wells as a secure methodological criterion for locating dwellings, and conjecturing that their content was domestic refuse, was the first scholar to characterize the site of the Agora as an area of settlement during Submycenaean times and the ensuing Geometric period.[146] His opinion was embraced widely and, notwithstanding the continuous later discoveries, has been reproduced time and again by several researchers.[147]

Today, after investigation and study of the Agora over many years has enriched our knowledge of the space, we should treat this theory as an initial impression, prematurely formulated, rather than as a well-documented conclusion based on study of the early wells. The reasons for this are two: first, the theory linked a priori the wells with early houses, without first examining the contents of their shafts. Second, it paid no heed to the majority ratio of Submycenaean graves found at the site, in comparison to the very few contemporary wells. That is, the early wells have been overvalued and overplayed as archaeological indicators, whereas the many graves of the same period, which underline the continuity of mortuary use of the space, have been underplayed. And even though the discovery of the Kerameikos just a few meters farther to the northwest pointed to the existence of organized mortuary spaces at the end of the LH IIIC/beginning of the Submycenaean period, the Agora was interpreted as a space of mixed use, where a social group was living in the same space in which it buried its dead.[148] Thus the Submycenaean habitation of Athens was associated exclusively with the site of the later Agora and is presented as a hotchpotch of houses and graves placed

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Figure 2.17. Athens, Acropolis. Northwest Slope: (a–b) two hydriae; (c) a trefoil-mouth oenochoe from Well U 26:4, east of the paved court of the Klepsydra. Late Helladic IIIC period. Papadopoulos 2007, p. 94, fig. 96a–c. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

indiscriminately within the same space, which was at once settlement and cemetery. This view played a decisive role in the development of the general impression that held sway with regard to early Athens. Outcome is the tendency even today to treat every group of two or three surviving graves as an autonomous cemetery of a "settlement" of analogous size.

Perhaps the pivotal point in the structure of Desborough's theory is the attempt to detect Early Iron Age habitation within a space that for the greater part of the Late Helladic period was used for burials, albeit not everywhere continuously.[149] Because even following a period of recession, after LH IIIB1, mortuary use of the space continued in Submycenaean times in more or less the same places as its Mycenaean burial grounds. Indeed, interesting is the observation that in contrast to the Kerameikos, the use of which as a burial ground begins in the LH IIIC period, in the wider space of the Classical Agora, an extensive Mycenaean cemetery already existed in the previous centuries. This covered the area from the north of the Areopagus to the north bank of the Eridanos and even beyond, at least as far as Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki, where traces of LH IIIA1 and LH IIIB funerary activity are detected. The presence of these graves, if not of the earlier ones, must have been known to the people who continued to bury their dead in this cemetery in the early years of the Early Iron Age.[150]

In the entire space of the subsequent Agora, only two Mycenaean wells (of which one, H 11:2, is very late and is examined together with the Submycenaean wells) and a handful of deposits have been found (fig. 2.18).[151] By contrast, graves, which date from LH II to the end of the Late Helladic period, are spread everywhere in and around the central square: on the north slope of the Areopagus; on the east side of the Agoraios Kolonos; on the hillock on the south bank of the Eridanos; which in Hellenistic times was leveled to put up the Stoa of Attalos; to the south near the Middle Stoa (north of it); and in the central space near the temple of Ares.[152]

It is in this environment that the remains of the Submycenaean period are found too, with the graves once again far outnumbering the few wells. As for the areas used for burials, these too are the same: the north lower slopes of the Areopagus, the Agoraios Kolonos, the south bank of the Eridanos, and now also the north bank. Until recently our knowledge of mortuary activity in Mycenaean and Submycenaean times stopped at the riverbed.[153] The closest graves to this were the nine Submycenaean cists on the south bank, under the Stoa Basileios, and some other disturbed graves to the west, which are considered contemporary (II. 11). The four graves located, the Submycenaean ones in the area of the Stoa Poikile and the other two rock-cut chambers on the site of the Classical Commercial Building, which are dated to LH IIIA, widen not only the

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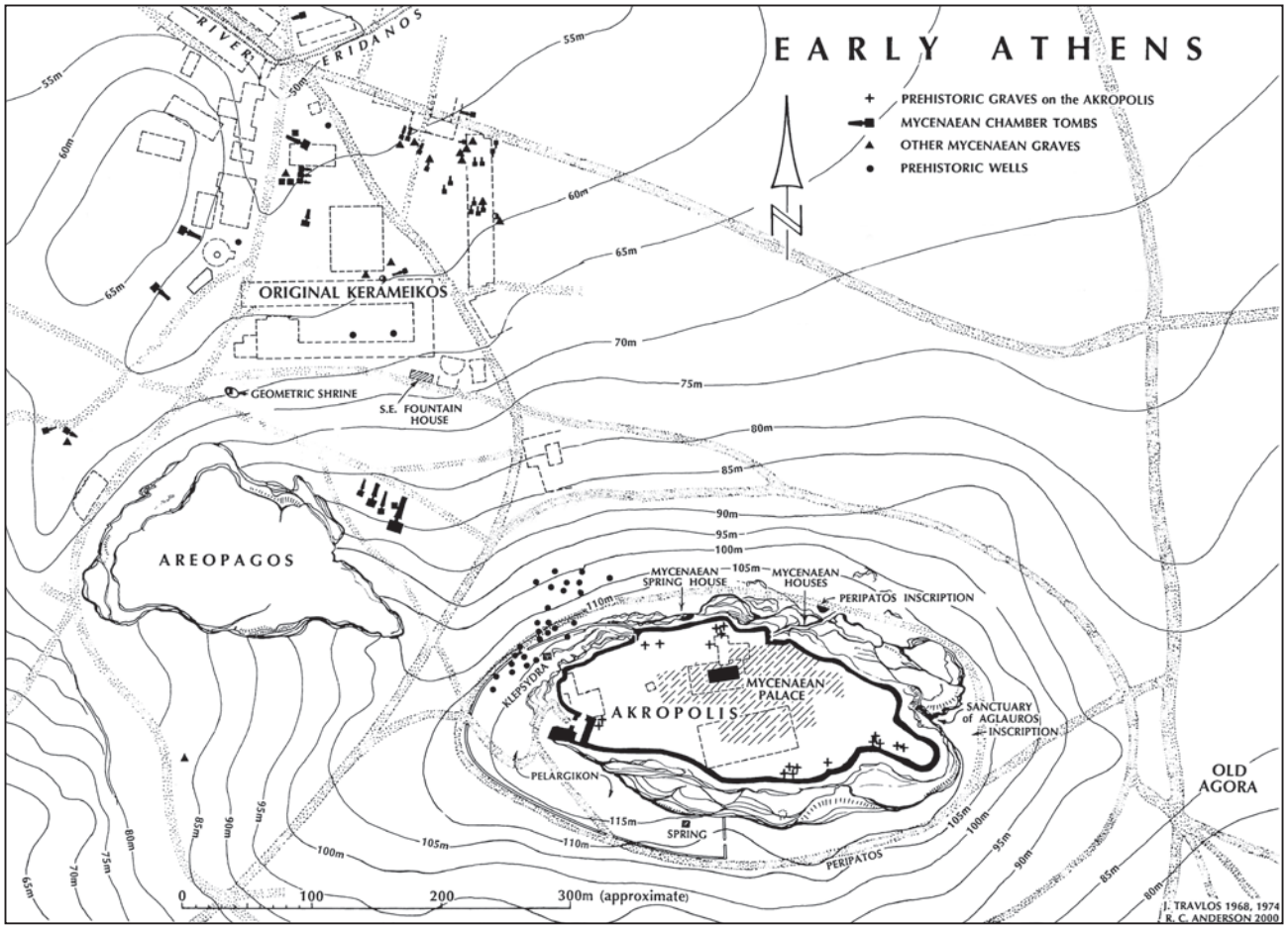

Figure 2.18. Athens during the Mycenaean period. Redrawn from Papadopoulos 2003, p. 2, plan 1.2.
Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

temporal horizons of our knowledge but also the spatial ones, toward the north of the Eridanos.[154]

On examining together the new material from the north of the Agora with that from earlier rescue excavations, we ascertain that at the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age, burial activity extended even farther northward, into the space beyond the river, as far as the plot at Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki (III. 4) in the neighborhood of Psyrri, where a Submycenaean grave, a grave dated to LH IIIB, and vases of the LH IIIA1 period have been found. This assemblage of finds is yet further confirmation of continual mortuary use of the space north of the Agora from LH IIIA into Submycenaean times.[155]

Enigmatic is the presence of some indeterminate cuttings in this area, about 100 m from the Submycenaean graves under the Stoa Poikile and 150 m from the graves in the plot at Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki, in the plots at Avliton 10 (III. 11), Arionos 12 (III. 9), and Arionos 4 and Ermou (III. 10). These cuttings bring to mind analogous ones elsewhere in Athens, and if examined in the framework of mortuary use of the space around the Eridanos River in the Submycenaean period, they could be interpreted as empty Early Iron Age graves. Unfortunately, however, the evidence available for these is very vague. Because of the large number of unidentified pits found in the above three plots north of the Agora, these are noted as places that merit more thorough study, to ascertain whether some of the pits at least belonged to early graves. Should this be the case, the limits of the mortuary space north of the Eridanos would be shifted even farther northward, widening overall the area to the north of the Acropolis in which burial activity seems to supersede any other.

Returning to the area to the south of the Eridanos, it is clear to anyone who tries to isolate the picture of Submycenaean wells and deposits in the space, and to focus only on the graves, that these last are far more numerous. The Agora is one of the areas of ancient Athens in which there is an inordinately high density of burials.[156] When the individual points where Submycenaean graves

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have been found within the subsequently densely built urban tissue of the Agora site are marked on the topographical maps of Athens, they give, at first glance, the impression of a few random burials in the space. However, a more careful observation and combinatory examination of neighboring graves reveals that the groups of two or more of these are none other than the sole surviving parts of much larger cemeteries that existed in the area and that today are highly fragmented due to the continuous use of the space over the millennia.[157] The Agora was from Mycenaean times the site of an extensive cemetery and kept this character during Submycenaean times too. This surely did not favor wide-scale and organized habitation. Moreover, the large number of Submycenaean graves in an old-established burial ground points to the continuity of its use instead of its proposed transformation into a space of settlement, which is in any case based on a much smaller number of wells.

Unfortunately, we know very little about the few Submycenaean wells in the Agora. Even so, J. K. Papadopoulos's study and publication of 35 wells and refuse pits in the site of the later Agora, spanning the period from Submycenaean to Late Geometric times, is a turning point in scholarship.[158] The detailed study of their content showed that many of the "shafts" heretofore considered to be wells were in fact refuse pits or dumps. As for their contents, which had initially been interpreted generally as coming from households, it was recognized that they consisted for the most part of wasters from the workshops of potters and to a much lesser extent of discards from those of metalworkers. On the basis of the above evidence, Papadopoulos argues that the Submycenaean wells and deposits belonged to workshops and that this site should be identified as the early "Kerameikos," or Potters' Quarter, of Athens, which, after the founding of the Agora, was confined to its northwest part.[159] As Papadopoulos sees it, the signs of workshop activity are so important that together with the large areas of the early surviving graves, it is these that define the general picture of use of this space.[160]

The above theory, as presented on the basis of the evidence to date, gives satisfactory answers to the coexistence of Late Helladic and Submycenaean graves with Early Iron Age wells and deposits. The view of the workshop use of the Agora site is based on the study of the Submycenaean material — still unpublished as a whole — from there, which includes architectural remains and movable finds. The contemporary burial activity finds parallels also in the subsequent Kerameikos of Athens, as well as in other parts of Greece (e.g., Argos, Sindos, Rhodes, Atalante, and Torone).[161]

The possibility of the coexistence in the same area of craft-industrial and settlement activity, as well as of the potter's house and workshop under one roof, should perhaps not be ruled out.[162] During the early years of the Early Iron Age, specialization in the use of space for habitation and for craft-industrial activity was perhaps not so clearly distinguished.[163] After all, examples of houses-cum-workshops are known also in later periods from other parts of the Agora, where the workshop spaces were on the outskirts of the purely residential sector.[164] The few Submycenaean wells and deposits located in the site would have been opened originally to serve the water supply needs of such installations, and when they dried up they were turned into dumps for refuse and wasters. The results of the anticipated holistic study of the Submycenaean Agora will perhaps bring to the fore more evidence in this direction. Whatever the case, the few examples of Late Submycenaean wells and deposits found in the Agora, among the burials that continued to be made at the site, cannot be considered as representing the early settlement of Athens.

South Slope of the Acropolis – Makrygianni – Koukaki: "τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον"

Our knowledge of the South Slope and the wider area south of the Acropolis is drawn from archaeological finds and ancient texts. Architectural and movable finds point to use of this space from the Final Neolithic period, as well as during the Middle and Late Helladic periods, and its use continued uninterrupted throughout the history of Athens.[165] Thucydides (II. 15. 3–6), referring to the early form of the city and the Acropolis, remarks: "Before this what is now the Acropolis was the city, together with the region at the foot of the Acropolis toward the south."

As far as the extent of the space about which the fifth-century BC historian speaks is concerned, the dispersion of the early graves and wells reveals that the part of the city "toward the south" covered a very large area, which started from the east foot of the Hill of the Muses; included the South Slope of the Acropolis; spread to the east, enclosing the site of the later Olympieion; and ended at the bed of the Ilissos. In terms of the city's present topography, this area corresponds to the whole of the neighborhoods of Makrygianni, Koukaki, and the borders of Kynosarges, and the archaeological sites of the South Slope and the Olympieion. The prehistoric pottery found on the South Slope indicates the existence of habitation at this point, although the LH II and LH III wells to the south of the Stoa of Eumenes and in the plots at Kavalloti 4 and Makri 2 are more secure evidence of settlement at the site.[166] Concentrated farther south, in the same area and

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in Koukaki, are the graves contemporary with the settlement, which appear locally throughout the southern part of the city, from the southwest of the Olympieion to as far as Dimitrakopoulou Street.[167] The presence of all these Late Helladic graves, in combination with the pottery found in deposits in the Olympieion (in the south part of the site and next to the Arch of Hadrian), has generated the hypothesis that there was a separate early settlement or at least a handful of houses and farmsteads on the banks of the Ilissos.[168]

This site was preferred by the first inhabitants and was the focus of all human activity for a nexus of practical reasons. It faces south and is therefore warm in winter (Xenophon, *Memorabilia* III, 8, 9); it is sheltered from the north winds, which are impeded by the Rock of the Acropolis; and it is downward sloping, with good drainage of rainwater and natural ventilation. Another essential advantage is its propinquity to the Ilissos River, which flowed between the hillocks of Ardettos and the Olympieion,[169] securing water from its sources and primarily from the Kallirrhoe Fountain, which supplied the settlement almost exclusively until at least the Archaic period.[170]

The antiquity of use of the space and the memory of this down the centuries are attested indirectly by the mythological traditions linking it with various mythical figures.[171] According to these, the tomb of Deukalion was located on the site of the Olympieion, only a few meters away from the first temple of Zeus Olympios, which he built after surviving the flood (Pausanias I. 18. 8).[172] The Athenians claimed that the palace of Aegeus, father of Theseus, stood on this site, at the point where the Periphrakton was built in later times (Plutarch, *Theseus* 12. 3).[173] Two more Athenian myths refer to the northernmost part of the area close to the Acropolis, those placing the tomb of Talos (or Kalos) (Pausanias I. 21. 4 and Apollodorus 3. 15. 8) and the monument of Hippolytos on its South Slope (Pausanias I. 22. 1). A common feature of the areas, which possibly interprets the traditions associated with them, is the existence of Middle Helladic graves and settlement remains, which, when discovered by the ancient Greeks as they laid foundations of buildings or created cemeteries, were recognized by them as evidence of their own past and stimulated mythopoeia.[174] Important too are the testimonies on the extent of the earliest habitation in relation to the area of the Ilissos and the last mythical king of Athens. According to Lycurgus (*Against Leocrates*, 86–87), Kodros was slain outside the city, close to the sanctuaries on the banks of the Ilissos. On this spot was later founded a sanctuary, which was known until Pausanias's day (I. 19. 5). This tradition, even if it is but another etiological myth constructed post hoc to consolidate the prehistory of Athenian autochthony, preserves the historical memory of the existence of very ancient habitation to the southeast of the Acropolis, near the hillock of the later Olympieion and near the Ilissos River, a place that is indicated as a boundary of settlement. On combining the indirect information with the scant archaeological data, there is no doubt that one of the earliest settlement nuclei of Athens and the farthest from the Acropolis should be sought in this direction.

The continuous habitation and rebuilding of the entire southern part of modern Athens (from the south foot of the Acropolis as far as Koukaki and from the Philopappos hill to the Olympieion) has eradicated the earliest traces of the city. A paucity of archaeological remains, mainly from the Mycenaean burial grounds, indicate that use of the space continued during the eleventh century BC. Even so, there is no evidence of the founding of new burial grounds at other points in the wider area in Submycenaean times, which would indicate increase of settlement at sites other than the preexisting ones. It appears that human activity continued without spectacular changes in the use of spaces both for settlement and for burial, from Mycenaean into Submycenaean times. The image created on the basis of the above fits in well with that of the city before Theseus, when "the Acropolis was the city, together with the region at the foot of the Acropolis toward the south." Nevertheless, it is difficult to imagine that the description given by the Athenian historian of the fifth century BC, who in writing his work uses personal experience mainly and myths only sparingly, refers to 600 years before his day. Such a view by no means casts doubt on the very ancient and archaeologically proven use of the area for settlement or on the value of the historical record of Thucydides. However, it does leave open the possibility that he is not describing the form of prehistoric or Submycenaean Athens but of the city in a later period, closer in archaeological and historical terms to the one in which he lived.

The Cemetery Sites: Views Old and New

The most recent evidence on the Submycenaean period of Athens comes from rescue excavations or major public works projects in the modern city and is exclusively mortuary. The graves undoubtedly augment our knowledge of early Athenian topography, but only indirectly, as indicators of the location and density of the cemeteries. Even though they are always linked with a settlement that should be sought close by, graves are not direct criteria for identifying habitation sites. Consequently, given the

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almost total lack of archaeological data on the form of the Early Iron Age settlement, the present study of necessity adopts an indirect approach to the issue, through the cemetery sites that are encountered over the entire area of the ancient city — from the flat summit of the Acropolis and the area around the Rock to spaces extra muros of the Classical fortifications.

From early on, the large number of burial grounds in Athens oriented research toward a fragmented pattern of settlement in small units (established in the bibliography as "settlement," "farm," or "hamlet"), belonging to the same community but with separate cemeteries.[175] Gradually, the coexistence of graves and wells, which at that time were interpreted as remains of houses, was accepted by scholarship as a characteristic trait of settlement organization in the Early Iron Age. The view is still accepted today, even though the number and the sites of the grave groups around the Acropolis have increased in relation to those known in the earlier bibliography. Lately, however, this established impression has begun to be doubted and tempered, as the recent studies reexamine the old and the new data as a whole.[176] The reduction to the entire settlement of generalized conclusions arising from the study of one specific cemetery or grave group is now avoided, and each grave group, large or small, is no longer treated axiomatically as indicating the existence of an associated area of habitation of analogous size.

The Submycenaean Mortuary Sites of Athens: General Observations

Places with Submycenaean mortuary activity in Athens are attested all over the area around the Acropolis, except for its west side, which is seemingly devoid of evidence of human activity in this period. On the basis of their extent and the number of graves that constitute them (data relating also to at least the early phase of the following period, the Protogeometric), these places can be characterized sometimes as "cemeteries" (Kerameikos; Erechtheiou Street) and sometimes as "burial grounds," when the burials are few or isolated.[177] In both cases the graves are located next to very ancient thoroughfares, natural passes or paths, many of which were subsequently turned into basic arteries in the city's street network and system of roads linking Athens with Attica or the rest of the Greek mainland.[178] Indeed, some of the roadside cemeteries of this period were created in spaces where gates in the Classical fortification wall were built many centuries later.

From reexamination of the Agora material, in combination with graves revealed recently at various places in the north and east of the city, it is ascertained that the banks of the Eridanos, along the entire length of its bed, were also suitable places for burials during the Early Iron Age. Apart from the areas known of old in the northwest of the city, where the Kerameikos cemetery and the graves of the Agora lie, Submycenaean graves have been found in other places in recent years: to the north of the Agora, northwest of the Stoa Poikile (II. 1), and farther east in Amalias Avenue, in the forecourt of the Parliament building (VII. 2). The Metro excavations uncovered parts of the bed of a tributary of the Eridanos, which from its headwaters on Lykabettos flowed under the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier; crossed Amalias Avenue; continued under Othonos, Mitropoleos, and Adrianou Streets; and ended in the Kerameikos, where it can be seen today.[179] Thus the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery, which is near the northeast extension of the riverbed, is most probably correlated with the Eridanos. We are not in a position to know the criteria underlying this choice. In all probability they are related to the use, in early times, of the riverbank as a pathway in the summer months, or even to the existence of riverside roads. To the east of the city, for example, at the height of the Diochares Gate (VIII), a part of the road linking Athens with the plains of the Mesogaia seems to have followed a riverside route.[180] Moreover, it is considered that at intervals, bridges of some kind, facilitating passage from one bank of the river to the other, must have existed.[181]

The only mortuary sites where organization is observed in the arrangement of the graves are the Kerameikos and the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery in the northeast corner of the National Garden (VII. 3). The impression given by all the others is that there was no planning, and in cases where some general orientation is followed, this seems to be due to the existence of a road or pathway that passed alongside them. The cemeteries and the burial grounds of Submycenaean Athens can be divided into two categories:

- Old ones (Category I), which were used from earlier times for interring the dead
- New ones (Category II), which were founded for the first time in Submycenaean times, at sites where there is no evidence of any kind of previous use

These two categories are differentiated from each other topographically with regard to their distance from the Acropolis. Taking the center of the flat summit of the hill as benchmark for measurements, it is observed that the old cemeteries are close to the Rock (table 2.1), while the new cemeteries lie at about double the distance from it (table 2.2).

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Table 2.1. Category I Submycenaean burial grounds in places with earlier mortuary activity

	Areas and Sites with Mortuary Activity	Distance from Acropolis	Number of Graves	Earlier Activity
North of the Acropolis	III. 4. Agias Theklas 11 & Pittaki	659 m	1	LH IIIA grave in situ
	II. 10. North side of Agora: north bank of Eridanos, Stoa Poikile	625 m	2	LH IIB–IIA, LH IIIC graves
	II. 11. North side of Agora: south bank of Eridanos, Stoa Basileios	584 m	8	LH IIB, LH IIA/B, LH IIIB/C, LH IIIC/ Submycenaean
	II.3. Northeast corner of Agora: Stoa of Attalos	480 m	2	LH IIB–IIB cemetery in situ
	II. 2. East side of Agora: 13 Polygnotou Street	302 m	1	Expansion of activity eastward of LH IIB to LH IIB cemetery in NE corner of Agora
	II. 6. Central Square of the Agora: Temple of Ares	525 m	1	LH IIB–IIIA1–2, LH IIIC cemetery in situ
	II. 12. North slope of Areopagus	355 m	3	Part of LH IIIA1–2 cemetery
	II. 8. West side of Agora: west slope of Agoraios Kolonos	613 m	Λ	Expansion of activity westward. Destroyed LH II–III, LH III/ Protogeometric graves
	II. 15. Southwest of Areopagus: area of Dörpfeld	419 m	1	2 LH graves found by Dörpfeld between Areopagus & Pnyx
South of the Acropolis	XII. 7, 8. Cemetery at Dimitrakopoulou 106 and 110	1,100 m	2 + 1 =3	LH IIA to LH IIIC late cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou – Veikou – Aglavrou
	XII. 1. Androutsou 32	1,000 m	1	LH IIA to LH IIIC cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou – Veikou – Aglavrou to the northwest
	XII. 10, 15, 16. Cemetery at Drakou 19, Markou Botsari 35, Markou Botsari 41 & Dimitrakopoulou 47	720 m	10 + 12 + 1 = 23	Expansion of activity to the N. LH IIIA2 graves at Dimitrakopoulou no. 47, nos. 48–50, and nos. 53–55
	X. 15–19, XII. 11, 12, 17. Cemetery in Erechtheiou St.	465 m	12 + 8 = 20	LH IIIA cemetery in situ (at nos. 24–26) and expansion of activity to the S
	X. 8. Dimitrakopoulou 7 & Phalirou 9	561 m	1	Expansion of activity to the SE. LH IIB–LH IIIA1 cemetery in Makrygianni Street to the NE
	X. 27, 33–35. Cemetery in Makrygianni Street	478 m	5	LH IIB–LH IIIA1 cemetery in situ at Makrygianni nos. 23–27 and in the Makrygiannis plot

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Submycenaean Mortuary Sites in Use from Mycenaean Times: The Old Cemeteries[182]

The Submycenaean graves in the first category (table 2.1) of mortuary sites are distinguished by the following two features:

- They lie within the boundaries of areas with mortuary use from the preceding Mycenaean period, not necessarily uninterrupted.
- They are all related to old thoroughfares of the city. Some of them lead to and from the initial settlement nucleus — the Rock of the Acropolis. Others lead far away from the settlement into the countryside. Others link Athens with the harbor at Phaleron.

The sites where they are found are arranged around the Acropolis as follows: (a) to the northwest, in the wider area of the later Agora, from the foot of the north slope of the Areopagus to the north bank of the Eridanos; (b) to the west, at the foot of the west slope of the Areopagus; (c) to the southwest in present Koukaki; (d) to the south, close to the South Phaleron Gate XIII; and (e) to the southeast, at the east edge of the modern neighborhood of Makrygianni. Within these old burial grounds, the Submycenaean graves are sometimes in exactly the same places as their predecessors (Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki: III. 4; northeast corner of the Agora – Stoa of Attalos: II. 3; central square of the Agora: II. 6; south of the Olympieion: IX. 5; cemetery in Makrygianni Street: X. 27, X. 33–X. 35; cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou Street: XII. 7, XII. 8), are sometimes within their wider bounds (north bank of the Eridanos – Stoa Poikile: II. 10; south bank of the Eridanos – Stoa Basileios: II. 11; north slope of the Areopagus: II. 12;), and in some cases modify the boundaries of the area and always with a tendency to expand them (east of the Stoa of Attalos – Polygnotou 13: II. 2, II. 3; west slope of the Agoraios Kolonos: II. 18; cemetery in Erechtheiou Street: X. 15–X. 19, XII. 11, XII. 12, XII. 17; Androutsou 32: XII. 1; cemetery in Drakou Street: XII. 10, XII. 15, XII. 16; Makrygianni Street cemetery: X. 27, X. 33, X. 35, X. 8).

Specifically (table 2.1), in the northwest part of Athens, the use of the wider space of the Agora and the banks of the Eridanos as a burial ground remains the same as in Mycenaean times (II. 3, II. 6, II. 10–II. 12). Evidence of Submycenaean mortuary activity is found next to and among the Mycenaean graves, from the north slope of the Areopagus to beyond the north bank of the Eridanos in the present neighborhood of Psyrri (III. 4). Furthermore, it seems there was an expansion of the boundaries of the burial ground eastward but mainly westward. The early cemetery of the Agoraios Kolonos covers the flat top to the east margins of the hill, where earlier Mycenaean graves have also been identified. The graves in the Library of Pantainos and at Polygnotou 13 (II. 2) raise the same question, as they are the easternmost ones found in the area and without other known traces of burial close by.

The cemeteries are close to streets that encircle the Areopagus (see graves on the north slope of the Areopagus), pass through the west side of the later Agora (see graves in the area of the temple of Ares and the hill of Agoraios Kolonos), and link the Rock of the Acropolis with the periphery of the settlement. The most basic artery of all, which traverses the area of the later Agora, is the Panathenaic Way, to the east of which, near the south bank of the Eridanos, is the Submycenaean burial ground of the Stoa of Attalos. Close to the northwest corner of the central square of the Agora and on either side of the Eridanos there were two clusters of graves (see graves of the Stoa Basileios and graves of the Stoa Poikile): one beside the Panathenaic Way, which continuing northwestward passes through the Dipylon (Gate IV) and reaches as far as the Academy; and the other beside another thoroughfare, toward the northeast, which, passing from the site of Classical Gate V (Eriai Gate), linked the settlement with Hippios Kolonos.

In the western part of the city, the sole sign of human activity to date, the "Heidelberg A" grave on the west slope of the Areopagus (II. 15), is also located in an area with earlier mortuary use, where Dörpfeld had discovered two small Mycenaean tombs.[183] This burial ground is on the side of the basic street artery linking the areas south of the Acropolis with the areas to the northwest. It is the same natural pathway as the one that skirts the Areopagus and ends in the Agora, defining its west limit and joining in its northwest corner with the Panathenaic Way.

In the south and the southwest part of the city, the shifting of the boundaries of the earlier burial grounds is seen more clearly (cemeteries in Erechtheiou Street, Drakou and Botsari Streets, and Dimitrakopoulou Street). In general, the burials are within cemeteries or close to Mycenaean tombs that were at one time in cemeteries, the overall area of which they expand. In the case of the cemetery in Erechtheiou Street, the earliest burials start from its northernmost known boundary, the plot at Erechtheiou 24–26 (X. 17), where the LH IIIA cemetery has been found, and spread some 120 m southward, as far as the plot at Renti 8 (XII. 17), which in all likelihood is part of the same Submycenaean cemetery. If this is the case, then the Erechtheiou Street cemetery covered about 0.7 ha, which means that it is one of the largest in area.[184]

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Characteristic too is its location on either side of one of the main thoroughfares linking the settlement with the harbor at Phaleron and close to the spot where Gate XIII was constructed in Classical times.

The rest of the graves in the southwest part of the city are located on either side of the same roadway to the sea. These are even farther away from the Acropolis, arranged on the sides of the later Phalerike Hodos, which after 479 BC passed through the Halade Gate (XII) and joined with the road from the South Phaleron Gate (XIII). Their arrangement for many meters along the roadsides suggests that they should be examined as a single necropolis made up of two groups of graves: the north group in the plots at Drakou 19 (XII. 10), Botsari 35 (XII. 15), Botsari 41 and Dimitrakopoulou 47 (XII. 4), Dimitrakopoulou 106 (XII. 7), and Dimitrakopoulou 110 (XII. 8), which are about 720 m distant from the Rock. Overall, these rich graves continue the Late Bronze Age mortuary activity in the space, which passes to the Early Iron Age and carries on without break throughout the city's historical period with the presence of the "Phaleron" cemeteries.

To the southeast of the city, where the continuous mortuary use of the southern fringes of the Olympieion is attested by burials, there is evidence of funerary activity on the site of the LH IIA–IIIB cemetery in Makrygianni Street, in the plots at Makrygianni 25–27 and Porinou (X. 34), the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35), Makrygianni 19–21 (X. 33), and Lembesi 9 and Porinou 15 (X. 27), with expansion of the boundaries to the southwest (X. 8. Dimitrakopoulou 7 and Phalirou 8). A very ancient thoroughfare dated to the Middle Helladic period passes through the mortuary space.[185]

The cemeteries are considered old because they were used during the Mycenaean period and continued to operate in the same way in Submycenaean times. Definitive for their characterization as "old" is the longevity of mortuary activity in the same space and their location close to and around the Mycenaean citadel (Acropolis). This is in contradistinction to the "new cemeteries" — that is, those founded almost at the same time in post-palatial Athens, from LH IIIC late and during the Submycenaean period in hitherto vacant areas farther from the Rock.

Among the cemeteries situated in the northern sector of the settlement, uninterrupted operation can be ascertained at present only in the site of the later Agora, in three of its four cemeteries. This is due mainly to the systematic excavations conducted in the Agora, which has been an archaeological site open to the public for almost a century now, and to the study and publication of the finds from these investigations. Other cemeteries brought to light within and beneath modern Athens, in rescue excavations, certainly do not offer us the maximum of related information that they preserve, and furthermore they remain unpublished. Intermittent spatial and temporal gaps in the operation of cemeteries, in some cases considerable (as in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery), are not unexpected in mortuary spaces in use for several centuries.

For example, in the cemetery on the north slope of the Areopagus, a hiatus in activity is observed during LH IIIB, the only one in its otherwise uninterrupted use from LH IIIA, when it was founded, until the Submycenaean period examined here. Whether this gap is due to an actual cessation of burials or to the circumstantial preservation of early remains in a space so intensively utilized is well-nigh impossible to elucidate. However, as the cemetery continued to be used continuously after LH IIIB, from LH IIIC until the Late Geometric/Subgeometric period, we do not consider this discontinuity an impediment to including the north slope cemetery among the oldest in Athens.[186] To the contrary, in the rest of the Agora cemeteries, uninterrupted use of their spaces is attested. According to the grouping introduced by Papadopoulos in his recent publication of Early Iron Age burials in the Agora, the cemetery on the south bank of the Eridanos extended as far as the north foot of the Areopagus and was in continuous use from LH IIB into the Submycenaean period and for many centuries after.[187] The situation is the same in the cemetery on the north bank of the river, the operation of which is dated from LH IIA–IIIB — on the basis of the earliest known burial — and was unbroken down to Submycenaean times and later.[188] As for the cemetery on Agoraios Kolonos, which covered the hill from the top as far as the east foot, in spite of the loss of evidence due to the cutting away of its east slope in Classical times, the traces of destroyed graves and surviving objects bear witness to the unbroken use of this mortuary space from LH II–III into the Submycenaean period and beyond.[189]

Our information on the cemeteries in the southern sector of the settlement is poor and patchy, mainly because the material from the Submycenaean graves of Athens, other than those in the Agora and the Kerameikos, is unpublished. Ruppenstein has recently dated the earliest burials in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery to LH IIIC/Submycenaean (Stufe I), in the light of publication of the Submycenaean necropolis of the Kerameikos. He, like Mountjoy, notes similarities between the earliest vases in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery and vases from both the Pompeion cemetery and the cemetery at Perati in Attica.[190]

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The earliest burials in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery were found at nos. 24–26, in the plot where an LH IIIA cemetery was excavated. The fact that the burials were made in the selfsame place is striking, despite the long interval between the two phases of use. Even if this is a case of refounding/reuse of the space in the late eleventh century BC, the existence of Mycenaean mortuary activity at the same site is why we treat it as an old cemetery.

Our picture of the Makrygianni Street cemetery is similar. Once again, burials of the Submycenaean period are encountered inside the space of a Mycenaean cemetery (LH IIB–IIIA1).[191] The data available are from six graves uncovered in excavations for the Athens Metro in the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35), which are dated mainly to LH IIB–IIIA1 and later.[192] The finds from the neighboring plot at Makrygianni 23–25–27 and Porinou (X.34), where the continuation of the cemetery was unearthed in 1967, still await publication.

More evidence has survived from the graves on either side of the Phaleron Road, in present-day Koukaki, the second area of the settlement — after the Agora in the north — where unbroken continuity in use of a Mycenaean mortuary space is ascertained. Revealed in the chamber of the tomb at Dimitrakopoulou 106 (XII. 7) were burials dating from LH IIIA1 to LH IIIC late,[193] while the burials in the other chamber tomb (Grave 13) in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 110 (XII. 8) are dated from LH IIA to LH IIIC. The Submycenaean grave in the same plot cut across the dromos of the second chamber tomb found there (Grave 14).[194] Pantelidou remarks with respect to all the graves of prehistoric and historical times (into the Classical period) found in this plot that "throughout the centuries the space was used continuously as a cemetery, regardless of historical, cultural and social changes."[195] We should keep this observation in mind for further examination of the use of Mycenaean mortuary spaces in Athens during the Submycenaean period, on whose historical, cultural, and social frame we can only speculate.

Submycenaean Mortuary Sites without Previous Use: The New Cemeteries[196]

The second category of burial grounds and cemeteries (table 2.2) has the following basic characteristics:

- They are located in places with no traces of previous settlement or mortuary activity, farther away from the Category I burial grounds.
- They too are always situated close to road arteries, many of which were extensions or branches of the same roads that passed close to the old cemeteries.

Consequently, these are mortuary sites that were founded in this period on virgin land. Specifically new cemeteries and burial grounds were founded (a) to the northwest of the Acropolis in the area between the later Sacred Gate (III) and Gate V (Eriai Gate) (see cemetery of the Kerameikos and cemetery of the Eriai Gate or Koumoundouros/Eleftheria Square); (b) to the north, in the area between the Acharnai Gate (VI) and the anonymous North Gate VII (see graves in Aiolou Street and Evripidou and Praxitelous streets); and (c) to the east, in the northeast corner of the National Garden (see cemetery of Irodou Attikou Street and graves in Amalias Avenue, at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and in the southeast of the forecourt of the Parliament building), which marks the beginning of human activity in the area.

The Submycenaean cemetery of the Kerameikos, to the northwest of the city, occupied an area of about 0.30 ha between the roads linking Athens with Eleusis and with the Academy and is the most populous known cemetery of Submycenaean Athens. Even though the discovery of the more than 110 graves is due in large part to the timely scheduling of the area as an archaeological site and its systematic excavation, the number and the density of the graves, as well as their organized arrangement in groups, are remarkable. The types of graves and other traits relating to the grave goods furnishing them give us an insight into the burial practices and funerary customs, at least of the population group that used the cemetery, in the Submycenaean period.

Particularly interesting is the site where the cemetery was founded, approximately 550 m away from the old burial ground of the later Agora, which continued in use in these years.

Already in 1972, Thompson and Wycherley suggested that the founding of the Kerameikos may well be linked with a large influx of people to Athens from other collapsed centers of mainland Greece.[197] Of late, this theory has been adopted increasingly by researchers dealing with the Kerameikos, who are now formulating more finely honed views on the geographical provenance of the population group that founded the cemetery. Ruppenstein, in his recent study of the Submycenaean cemetery, advocated the migration to Athens of population groups because of the appearance of jewelry, handmade vases, and burial customs that were all new to Attica. Indeed, he attempted to elicit through the grave goods the social status and geographical provenance of the individuals buried in the Kerameikos. His observations relating to the quantity and type of grave goods, according to their dating, are very interesting because he sees these objects as reflecting the standard of living of the period. Evidently this was very

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Table 2.2. Category II Submycenaean burial grounds in places without earlier mortuary activity

	Submycenaean Burial Grounds in Places without Earlier Mortuary Activity	Distance from Acropolis	Number of Graves	Comments
Northwest Part	I. Kerameikos	977 m	110	The most numerous and with organized arrangement of graves
	III. 17–19, 25. Cemetery of the Eriai Gate: Kriezi St. & Peiraeos	1,100 m	12 + 1 = 13	Only 300 m from the Kerameikos
North Part	V. 2. Commercial Center: Evripidou 5 & Praxitelous 42–44	875 m	1	Possibly remains of a wider burial ground between Gates VI and VII
	IV. 1. Varvakeion: Aiolou 72	954 m	2	
	IV. 2. Varvakeion: Aiolou 93	1,044 m	1	
East Part	VII. 2. National Garden/Syntagma Square: Amalias Ave.	892 m	2	Organized cemetery; indication of the beginning of mortuary activity alongside the road leading to the Mesogaia
	VII. 1. National Garden/Syntagma Square: Parliament – Unknown Soldier	956 m	2	
	VII. 1. National Garden/Syntagma Square: southeast corner of Parliament	1,034 m	2	
	VII. 3. National Garden/Syntagma Square: Cemetery at Irodou Attikou 2	1,245 m	10 +	

low at the beginning but steadily improved toward the Protogeometric period, as is conspicuously apparent in late Submycenaean/Protogeometric graves (Stufe IV).[198]

Ruppenstein considers the presence in early graves in the Kerameikos of vases of the LH IIIC period (Stufe I), for which there are stylistic parallels in vases from the final phase of operation of the Perati cemetery, as indicative of the migration of part (?) of the population of the Perati settlement to Athens.[199] He discusses also relations with central regions of mainland Greece (Phokis and Lokris), which are hinted at by a group of handmade vases and certain types of jewelry; with Cephalonia, on the basis of a specific type of amphora; and with Achaia, as emerges from a likewise specific type of stirrup jar.[200] He considers that these grave goods raise the possibility of the migration of population groups from regions outside Attica and their settlement in Submycenaean Athens.

The same scholar speaks too about groups that came from regions even farther away, in Greece and abroad, which influenced the form of the newly founded cemetery. Stressing the use of the stone cist grave in the Kerameikos, he claims, among other things, that the adoption of this grave type, the layout of the cemetery with graves in rows, and the presence of certain new types of jewelry and handmade vases as grave goods find parallels in the northwestern area of the Balkan Peninsula (West Macedonia, Epirus, South Albania, and FYROM). He postulates that a population group migrated from the Balkans, settled in Attica, and buried its dead in the Kerameikos cemetery. Even so, Ruppenstein admits that the weapons found follow the Mycenaean typological tradition, and he assumes that the few beads are heirlooms from the Mycenaean period.[201]

Lately, Bohen too supports the view that the Kerameikos was founded by population groups that migrated to Athens during the last quarter of the eleventh century BC. However, she contends that the groups that founded the cemetery came from mainland Greece. Because in early graves of the Submycenaean necropolis of the Pompeion there are kraters that were used in funerary rituals, as was customary in the same years in the cemeteries of Deiras in the Argolid (LH IIIB–C) and Elis (LH IIIC late), she considers that the founders of the Kerameikos, as well as other new cemeteries in which kraters have come to light, were Mycenaeans from the Peloponnese. According to her, they set off from Achaia, Messenia, and the Argolid to seek refuge elsewhere. Since kraters are associated only with the upper social

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echelons of the old Mycenaean hierarchy, Bohen considers that their use in funerary rites was introduced by the last Mycenaean nobles of the Peloponnese. Indeed, he correlates the three royal houses from that region, the Neleids, the Alkmaionids, and the Philaids, which, tradition has it, settled in Athens, with the founding of the new cemeteries.[202] She identifies in the Kerameikos, in addition to the Pompeion cemetery, two other cemeteries: of the Sacred Gate and Precinct XX. She maintains that the last — the most aristocratic, with the richest burials and where the habit of cremation held sway — was founded by the leader of the Neleids and subsequent king of Athens, Melanthos from Messenia, who shared it with the Alkmaionids.[203] Bohen associates the few rich burials in the socially differentiated Pompeion cemetery with Philaios, eponymous ancestor of the Philaid clan. She believes that the simpler graves, which held inhumations furnished with poorer-quality pottery or without grave goods at all, belonged to individuals from the lower social strata and various places of origin, even outside Greece. Perhaps these were the "auxiliaries" of the aristocrats, who were buried close to them, or "camp-followers".[204] However, whereas she aligns with Ruppenstein in recognizing foreign, non-Greek elements among the population of the Pompeion, she disagrees with him on the provenance of the cist grave, which she claims also came from the Peloponnese.[205]

The view that the cist grave was introduced into Athens at the end of the eleventh century BC from regions within or even outside Greece is put to the test in light of the recent publication of the Early Iron Age cemeteries of the Agora. Papadopoulos stresses that simple pit graves and cist graves exist in the Agora from LH IIIB, together with chamber tombs, the use of which had ceased by the end of the Bronze Age. By contrast, use of pit graves and cist graves continued normally, thus demonstrating the continuity of mortuary habits from one period to another, since it is encountered in an old preexisting Mycenaean necropolis that was still operating at the time the Kerameikos first appears.[206] So the cist grave is on the one hand disassociated from the Submycenaean period, and on the other hand it ceases to be a means of identifying the origin of migrant groups from within and outside Greece.

Returning to the places where new Submycenaean cemeteries were founded, it is ascertained that there was one more cemetery in the northwest part of the settlement, close to the later Gate V, on either side of the road linking Athens with Hippios Kolonos (III. 17–III. 19, III. 25, III. 26). The cemetery of the Eriai Gate, as it has been dubbed, is close not only to the preexisting cemetery of the Agora but also to the contemporary cemetery of the Kerameikos, barely 300 m away.[207] Both cemeteries, of the Eriai Gate and the Kerameikos, were founded in exactly the same period, as study of the stirrup jar found in Grave XI in a trench in Kriezi Street has shown (III. 17). The vase is dated to the final years of LH IIIC — that is, to the same phase as the early graves of the Kerameikos (Stufe I).[208]

The graves in the Kriezi Street cemetery are not organized in rows; nor are they comparable in number and density to those in the adjacent Kerameikos. However, among the 11 Submycenaean burials that can be dated securely, there are here, as in the Kerameikos, cremations (III. 19).[209] There are four cases of such burials, two of which (Graves LXX and XCIC) are dated by Ruppenstein to the transitional years from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period.[210] The transitional Grave LXX and one more grave, LXXIX, which has not been dated precisely but which from its content appears to be contemporary with the first, housed male burials and had unusually rich grave goods in comparison to the rest, in terms of both number and materials. They contained also iron weapons, which in the neighboring Kerameikos begin to appear hesitantly much later, in the contemporary graves of Stufe IV. The rest of the grave goods were bronze vases and items of jewelry. Comparison of the two cemeteries seems to bolster the impression of mortuary sites founded by population groups that differed from each other in social status and burial habits but with common cultural background. In the northern part of the city, the three burial grounds that have been unearthed in the building plots at Aiolou 93 and Sophokleous (IV. 2), Aiolou 72 (IV. 1), and Evripidou 5 and Praxitelous 42–44 (V. 2) are very small in relation to the aforementioned ones, from which they are separated by a considerable distance (680 m from the cemetery in Koumoundouros/Eleftheria Square and 880 m from the Kerameikos). These too are located in proximity to ancient thoroughfares, and specifically between the two streets that led in Classical times to the Acharnai Gate (VI) and the next gate, of Dragatsaniou Street (North Gate VII). It is quite possible that they are the sole surviving remnants of the same cemetery, as they are only about 60 m apart. Moreover, the fill of the plot at Aiolou 72 (IV. 1) yielded vases of the same period, obviously coming from other nearby destroyed graves. The population group that used the site was perhaps of high status and wealthy, as in the case of the neighboring cemetery of the Eriai Gate, as the two richly-furnished graves revealed on the plot at Aiolou 72 imply (IV. 1).

Last, the graves in the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery, in the northeast corner of the National Garden (VII. 3), as well as farther west near the Parliament building,

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the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (VII. 1), and Amalias Avenue (VII. 2), are the earliest testimonies of the use of the area and apparently the sole surviving indications of Submycenaean mortuary activity in the eastern part of Athens, where continuous use of the land has probably erased all such traces.

In the National Garden, the finds under the barracks of the Presidential Guard (VII. 3) bear witness to the founding of yet another cemetery, the burials in which are ranged along the sides of the road linking Athens with the Mesogaia or a branch of this on the banks of the Eridanos, which flowed through this point. This cemetery continued to develop in the Protogeometric period too. Unfortunately, it has not been published and no data are available on its organization and the content of its graves. However, scant information gleaned from the excavation report in the *Archaiologikon Deltion* and perusal of its plan point to similarities to the Kerameikos in the arrangement of the graves in rows and in their orientation, which is the same (northeast–southwest).[211] Its excavators in fact characterize it as "organized," a qualification hitherto reserved for the Kerameikos.

The rest of the mortuary sites (Parliament building and Tomb of the Unknown Soldier: VII. 1; Amalias Avenue: VII. 2) are quite far away from the cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street and from each other. All of them are situated on either side of the road that passes beside the cemetery, while the two graves in Amalias Avenue were very near the bed of the Eridanos. The existence of graves close to the river, known also from the areas of the Kerameikos and the Agora, seems to be associated with riverside roads along the banks. The simultaneous discovery of the Submycenaean graves in Amalias Avenue and part of the riverbed extends our knowledge of this phenomenon eastward, giving us grounds for generalizing our observations concerning the use of the banks of the river for burials, given that at many places on its course roads sometimes cross it and sometimes run parallel to it.

Whether the graves at the three sites constitute a single cemetery is a matter for speculation. This can be neither confirmed nor precluded, given their continuous arrangement on the sides of the same ancient road. However, even if this is simply a wider area with mortuary activity, like that encountered on either side of the Phaleron Road, there is no doubt as to the existence of a large Early Iron Age cemetery that had neither the development nor the duration of the Phaleron cemeteries but that too seems to claim the title of the organized cemetery of Athens. Last, the same cemetery points to the existence of a thoroughfare, precursor of the later road leading to the Mesogaia. All the above Submycenaean graves constitute a very important discovery, of an extensive burial ground on the east side of the city, where the only Submycenaean and Protogeometric burials uncovered so far were those in the Olympieion and in the northeast corner of the National Garden.

The founding of new cemeteries during the Submycenaean period, while earlier mortuary spaces — necropolises but also smaller burial grounds — continued to receive burials, is a characteristic feature of the geographical spread of Athens at the end of the eleventh century BC. Another topographical feature is the choice of sites for the new cemeteries: they were always founded in locations hitherto unexploited. Some of these were in places where there was no previous cemetery in the vicinity (e.g., the cemetery in Vasilissis Sophias Avenue and Herodou Attikou Street), others were a short distance from preexisting cemeteries (Kerameikos and the Ancient Agora), and yet others were so close to other newly founded cemeteries that the boundaries between them were barely discernible even then (Kerameikos and the cemetery of the Eriai Gate). The creation of a new cemetery such as the Kerameikos, different in form from the old ones and indeed so near to the Agora, the traditional Mycenaean necropolis of Athens, cannot but signify some kind of difference and/or disposition for differentiation on the part of the people who founded it. This difference was expressed through them opting to bury their dead not in the traditional mortuary spaces of the settlement but in another separate cemetery of their own. The same phenomenon may be assumed also for the population using the cemetery neighboring the Kerameikos, that of the Eriai Gate. The clear distinction of its site from the nearby Agora and, at the same time, from the almost adjacent Kerameikos denotes a double disposition for differentiation — both from what preexists and from what coexists.

What, we may ask, was happening in Athens at that time? Why did the various population groups that founded the new cemeteries strive for the strict demarcation of their mortuary spaces? Was there really an influx of population groups from the collapsed Mycenaean centers, seeking survival in a new place, as recounted in ancient tradition? And if yes, is this related to the organization of the cemeteries and, in the end, the formation of the city?

Thucydides (I. 2. 4–6) writes that Athens was the unique place where the population increased so much as a result of the migrations (τὰς μετοικήσεις) of wealthy people from other troubled parts ("when they were driven

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out of their own countries by war or sedition") of Greece. Indeed, by linking the overpopulation of Attica with the founding of colonies in Ionia, the Athenian historian gives us also the terminus ante quem of the period to which he refers:

> Attica, at any rate, was free from internal quarrels from the earliest times by reason of the thinness of its soil, and therefore was inhabited by the same people always. And here is an excellent illustration of the truth of my statement that it was owing to these migrations that the other parts of Hellas did not increase in the same way as Attica; for the most influential men of the other parts of Hellas, when they were driven out of their own countries by war or sedition, resorted to Athens as being a firmly settled community, and, becoming citizens, from the very earliest times made the city still greater in the number of its inhabitants; so that Attica proved too small to hold them, and therefore the Athenians eventually sent out colonies even to Ionia.

With this information, the Athenian historian of the second half of the fifth century BC at once sketches and explains the historical and political climate in Athens during the years discussed here. However, can we accept his testimony as de facto? After all, Thucydides was writing 500 years and more after the events. Was he really able to narrate such bygone events as realistically as those of his day or was he perhaps interpreting them etiologically in the framework of forging an identity for the city-state of Athens in the time of Pericles?

Once again, a possible answer should be sought in the archaeological record. Even though the founding of new mortuary spaces is not always indicative of population increase in a city, in the case of Athens, the simultaneous appearance of so many cemeteries on the periphery of the existing ones, which moreover continued to function normally, would seem to support such a hypothesis, since the overall area of the settlement increased too. The proliferation of mortuary spaces in Submycenaean Athens and the expansion of the settlement over a wider radius from its center, the Acropolis, are phenomena that may well be related to a population increase but are not necessarily due exclusively to it. It seems quite likely that the founding and functioning of the new cemeteries was dictated on the one hand by the increased needs of a larger population, and on the other by a clime of social transformations, of the organization and stratification of the groups that founded them. The orderly arrangement of the graves in these cemeteries, in rows and/or clusters, the adoption of the burial custom of cremation or inhumation by population groups, but mainly the coexistence of both burial practices in the same cemetery appear to manifest differentiation with respect to age, social status, or personal preference rather than to origin or religious beliefs.[212]

In this framework, the gradual growth of population in Athens, partly as result of the settlement of new inhabitants there, should not be ruled out. Population movements must have played a role in shaping the city's history and topography, but perhaps not the only role. An equally important factor was interaction at all levels, typical of transitional periods in history, which surely took place in weakened Athens and was strengthened by the advent of incomers.

The arrival of new population groups does not seem to have happened suddenly or abruptly and can no longer be linked with abandonment of the habit of multiple burials in favor of single ones, as Desborough had claimed.[213] Although formerly the change in burial habits and the adoption of the cist grave gave rise to theories of invaders, incursions, and rupture with the Mycenaean past, the finds in the Agora point in the opposite direction; the cist grave was used there from LH IIB.[214] These last data do not document abrupt change in either burial practices or typology of graves. Consequently, theories on sudden, abrupt, and radical change of population in Submycenaean Athens due to invasion by foreign, non-Mycenaean elements, are groundless. On the contrary, the movement and resettlement of Mycenaean populations must have started earlier and taken place gradually, with consequent transfer and dispersal of both customs and objects.[215]

The presence in the Kerameikos and the Erechtheiou Street cemetery of vases for which stylistic parallels are known from Perati, if these are not imports from the Attic settlement before its abandonment, could perhaps be the earliest known indications of movement of part of its population to Athens.[216] This hypothesis will gain credence only if more vases of the same kind come to light in other Submycenaean cemeteries of Athens. The same applies to vases and other grave goods associated with other Mycenaean regions, such as the Peloponnese, Phokis, and Lokris. However, this does not mean that we espouse Bohen's view that both the new Submycenaean cemeteries and the changes in the structure and organization of society and settlement are exclusive result of the inflow to Athens of migrant groups.[217]

Although there is a tendency to correlate the founding of new cemeteries with new inhabitants, the founding and use of new cemeteries by groups within the indigenous

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population should not be precluded. By the same token, it is equally possible that incomers may have used old cemeteries. Athens may have paled by comparison with other mighty Mycenaean centers, but it did not suffer their destruction. It is therefore difficult to imagine it as a place without a central authority and without autochthonous aristocratic houses, a void those who chose it as a safe haven came to fill. In a more generalized climate of adaptation to the conditions of the new post-palatial era, it is just as likely that the disposition for self-definition, creation of identity, and differentiation in conjunction with social stratification was expressed by native groups (families, phratries, clans), and not only by incomers, through the choice of burying their members in new cemeteries they founded.

Consequently, the founding of new Submycenaean mortuary spaces could also be indicative of social transformations within the existing settlement and among its indigenous inhabitants. It is perhaps too early to proceed to firm and generalizing conclusions on the influx of population groups from everywhere to Athens in the late eleventh century BC and on whether they played a leading role in the city's formation. It is perhaps premature too to link specific cemeteries with the "most powerful" persons of specific regions, when the data we have are few and come from only one representative of each group of cemeteries: of the Agora among the old Mycenaean cemeteries and of the Kerameikos among the new Submycenaean ones. Given the development of the urban center of modern Athens right on top of ancient Athens, the possibility of amplifying our knowledge through new excavations is slim. That is why the need for study and publication of the existing material retrieved from all the excavated sites is more imperative than ever. This is our only means for gaining further insight into Submycenaean Athens and possibly confirming or not some of the tabled hypotheses concerning indigene and incomer Athenians and their relation to the development of the city. As far as Thucydides's testimony is concerned, the truth probably lies in the middle; perhaps he harks back to elements of what was for him ancient tradition in order to utilize them in elaborating his own contemporary political ideology of Athens in the second half of the fifth century BC. Myths usually preserve within their kernel very ancient historical elements. Even if we concede that Thucydides could not have known events from so long before but drew on tradition, we can perhaps assume that this tradition remembered something about those men who "becoming citizens, from the very earliest times made the city still greater in the number of its inhabitants" (I. 2. 6).

Conclusions: The Bronze Age Settlement at the Dawn of the Iron Age

> Our picture of the last years of the (LH) IIIC period in Athens may not be entirely fair, and to some extent it may be of our own creation, since we have tended to emphasize its poor and drab aspects and to assign what is good and experimental to a later "Earliest Protogeometric phase."
>
> — E. Smithson[218]

The Submycenaean period, this conventional interval that we have defined as the transition from the end of the prehistoric Mycenaean world to the beginning of the Geometric period, is a stage of history about which we know very little. Some vague events shortly before 1200 BC triggered an era of changes throughout Greece, of local destructions that still await a satisfactory interpretation.[219] Archaeological evidence points to a decrease of population, along with migrations from the hinterland, which was gradually deserted, to the coasts and continuity of habitation in Mycenaean settlements of restricted local ambit that were created after the breakup of the major centers of power.[220]

For Athens this period is more obscure than the "Dark Age" that followed, because our knowledge of it is so scant. The archaeological evidence is meager, and as it remains unpublished almost in toto, it offers no immediately exploitable information. Ancient tradition has it that there was a large population influx to Athens from other Mycenaean centers.[221] Among the refugees who flocked to the city were the Neleids, the royal house of Pylos. Scion of this family was the later king of Athens, Kodros, who according to myth saved the city from the Dorians with his self-sacrifice.[222] Athens was not destroyed, but its functions and structures were swept away in the wake of the fall of the Mycenaean palatial system.[223]

The lack of signs of destruction in Athens at the end of the LH IIIB period, when the Mycenaean centers of the Argolid collapsed, make it difficult to elicit the causes of its decline.[224] The sole known archaeological indications of disaster and abandonment are dated to the following phase, LH IIIC, and are observed in the settlement on the North Slope of the Acropolis. These are attributed to an earthquake, which according to the most recent views took place in LH IIIC early and was responsible for the destruction of not only the Mycenaean Fountain, the northeast ascent to the Rock, and the settlement around this but also the Acropolis/citadel itself and its fortification walls.[225] If this is what actually happened, then within an already long and difficult period of upheavals and realignments

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throughout the Mycenaean world and the Mediterranean Basin, there is nothing strange about a natural disaster being responsible for the weakening of the traditional center of power of Mycenaean Athens and for all the social and economic changes that came in its wake. In this case, the same natural disaster must have also affected areas of Attica close to Athens. We have evidence from only two sites: the coastal settlement at Agios Kosmas, which was destroyed by fire in the same years and abandoned, and Kontopigado near Alimos, where too the settlement and workshop center were abandoned, although no traces of destruction by either earthquake or fire have been noted.[226] In the absence of evidence of common type between Athens and the settlements on the east coast of Attica, which would explain why there was a generalized desertion, this issue remains open. However, the very fact of the gradual weakening of Athens from the LH IIIC period is borne out by the abandonment of the west coast of Attica, from Phaleron to the Vouliagmeni promontory, the climax of which — on present evidence — seems to have been the cessation of use of the rich cemetery at Perati, on the east coast, almost a century later.[227] It is possible that the settlement that had founded this cemetery in early LH IIIC was related to the exploitation of the argentiferous ores of the Laureotike, in which case its abandonment reflects the severance of ties with the Athenian center that controlled the mines.[228]

The change in the social and economic structures of Athens in LH IIIC late is reflected in the graves of the period, which far outnumber the Mycenaean ones but are extremely poorly furnished. So it seems that the population of the settlement increased, but the standard of living declined dramatically in relation to the preceding years.

These people left no architectural remains. Our knowledge of the buildings in which they lived is wanting, in contrast to our knowledge of the cemeteries in which they buried their dead. This is not unexpected for a place with continuous habitation from prehistoric times to the present day, and for the particular period, in which dwellings were constructed of perishable materials. Furthermore, traces of early settlement should perhaps be sought in more than one place. A dense settlement in a specific space is a more advanced form of habitation, and we should not be drawn astray into anachronisms and generalizations with regard to these early years. The ancient texts are tacit, excepting the well-known passage in Thucydides (II. 15. 3–4), much quoted by all who explore the topography of Athens. The historian describes the early form of the polis and its Acropolis and confirms the above hypotheses: "Before this [the Synoecism] what is now the Acropolis was the city [polis], together with the region at the foot of the Acropolis toward the south."[229]

Thucydides refers to a period that was, even for him, a nebulous and remote past. The terminus ante quem he uses is the time of the mythical hero Theseus, before whom the city was situated in the area occupied by the Acropolis of Thucydides's day — the second half of the fifth century BC — and extended also into the area south of the Rock. The passage "photographs" the summit of the Rock, its South Slope, and the modern neighborhoods even farther south, Makrygianni and Koukaki. However, the linking of this picture of the city with the period before the reign of Theseus complicates matters chronologically.

The problems relating to the historicity or not of the myth of Theseus and the decisive act for the city of the Synoecism are beyond the scope of the present study.[230] Nonetheless, it is essential to stress that depending on the period in which each one of the theories places this event, the dating of the city about which Thucydides informs us is modified correspondingly by hundreds of years.[231]

In other words, practically this issue has a drastic influence on the study of the settlement development of Athens, since the specific passage of Thucydides can and has been used in as many different ways as the theories dating Theseus and the Synoecism. The picture of the old city "before this" has been attributed by scholars as much to its Mycenaean phase as to its Submycenaean or Geometric one.[232] The archaeological data from the South Slope and the neighborhoods of Makrygianni and Koukaki corroborate the second part of the description of the area of the city "toward the south" and vindicate the value of the ancient testimony, but they are of little help in determining the chronology of the described phase, since they attest systematic and unbroken human activity in the space during the Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Furthermore, it could be argued that Thucydides's reference (II. 15. 4) to specific sanctuaries already founded in the area moves away from the Mycenaean past.

In the present study, the direct linking of the particular passage with Mycenaean and Submycenaean Athens is avoided. However, the information on the early form and organization of the settlement upon and around the Acropolis is utilized. Given this, every attempt to sketch the form of the Submycenaean settlement should begin from the picture of the Mycenaean period and with constant reference points (a) its fortified highpoint, the citadel/Acropolis with the Mycenaean palace; b) the two loci of settlement on the Rock, high on the North Slope and low down on the South Slope as far as the banks of the Ilissos (where habitation had begun even earlier); and c)

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the cemetery of the later Classical Agora to the northwest as far as the banks of the Eridanos. That is, the changes in the topography of Athens from the later twelfth century BC onward and down at least to the end of the eleventh century BC are a development of this form of the settlement, during which some features of the prehistoric phase were preserved and some were transformed.

Seeking the Settlement: Views Old and New

The theories on Submycenaean Athens that have prevailed to date in the bibliography do not take into consideration the last prehistoric phase of the settlement and the use of its various areas but are confined mainly to two places to the northwest of the Acropolis, the only ones that have been excavated exhaustively: the Kerameikos, where the first organized Submycenaean cemetery of the settlement was considered to lie, and the Agora, where its early nucleus of habitation was purportedly located.

Today, more than half a century on from the theory postulating the settlement use of the site of the later Agora, it is necessary to reexamine all the data. The initial theory was not based on study of the architectural remains but on the Early Iron Age wells, which, even though they had not been studied, were considered ipso facto to be remnants of houses. The already confused issue was exacerbated further by ignoring the continuity in the mortuary use of the site, which operated as a cemetery already from Mycenaean times. Thus research was led from very early on to a view that the Submycenaean habitation constitutes a settlement within the space of the hitherto Mycenaean necropolis.

Papadopoulos's recent study of some of Early Iron Age wells in the Agora challenges the view that this site was the locus of the early settlement. On the contrary, the excavation data attest the continuity of its use as a cemetery and of the simultaneous existence of workshop activity in the same space.

Submycenaean Settlement Sites in Use from Mycenaean Times: The Old Areas of Settlement

Irrespective of the correctness or incorrectness of Desborough's theory, one of its ramifications concerns the spatial continuity or discontinuity between the settlements of Mycenaean and Submycenaean times. According to Desborough, in the years following the collapse of the Mycenaean world in Greece, the old sites were used frequently, but not exactly the same places in which the Mycenaeans dwelt.[233] For this reason, the locating and dating of the original position of a settlement is very important, as it demonstrates the continuity or discontinuity between the two successive settlements, with the second applying in most cases. Desborough argues that this is the case for Athens too.

By placing the Submycenaean settlement on the site of the Agora, where there was until that period very widespread and exclusively mortuary use, and not on the Acropolis, Desborough emphasizes the discontinuity between the Submycenaean settlement of Athens and its Mycenaean predecessor. Such a view is not supported archaeologically, since Athens was not destroyed and therefore its population was not expelled. The sources attest that the Athenians were proud of their autochthony. Herodotus (7. 161) recounts their claim that "we who can show of all the longest lineage, and who alone among Greeks have never changed our dwelling." Thucydides (I. 2. 5 and II. 36. 1–2) maintains that "Attica, at any rate, was free from internal quarrels from the earliest times by reason of the thinness of the soil, and therefore was inhabited by the same people always" and that "For this land of ours, in which the same people have never ceased to dwell in an unbroken line of successive generations, they by their valour transmitted to our times a free state." Isocrates in his *Panegyricus* (24) proclaims: "For we did not become dwellers in this land by driving others out of it, nor by finding it uninhabited, nor by coming together here a motley horde composed of many races; but we are of a lineage so noble and so pure that throughout our history we have continued in possession of the very land which gave us birth, since we are sprung from its very soil and are able to address our city by the very names which we apply to our nearest kin." And Plato dedicates almost an entire Dialogue, *Menexenus*, to the same subject, which was evidently of vital importance for the self-definition of the Athenians of the Classical period.

On the basis of the available evidence, what is confirmed archaeologically is that the settlement was neither captured nor destroyed by its first inhabitants: "For we did not become dwellers in this land by driving others out of it, nor by finding it uninhabited." Confirmed too is the uninterrupted habitation by the autochthonous Mycenaeans of Athens, who truly, it can be said, "alone among Greeks have never changed [their] dwelling." The temporal depth of Thucydides's historical memory ("in which the same people have never ceased to dwell" and "was inhabited by the same people always"), when it comes to this issue, rather does not reach as far back as the troubled and transitional years discussed here. Even so, the settlement of new inhabitants is possible in those years and the mixing of the incomers from other erstwhile Mycenaean centers with the indigenous population would mean that among

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the fifth-century BC Athenians proud of their autochthony were many whose ancestors had come to Athens from elsewhere in the late eleventh century BC. After all, Kodros, the mythical king and savior of the city, was not a native but an incomer of the royal lineage of the Neleids of Pylos (Herodotus 5. 65).[234] And several of the aristocratic families of Athens proudly kept alive the belief that they were descended from deposed Mycenaean royal houses that relocated to Attica, such as the Peisistratids from the Neleids or Miltiades I from Aiakos of Aegina and Philaios of Salamis, which proves the incorporation of the incomers into the social structure of the city by the Archaic period.[235] If we accept that Thucydides records very old historical memories, which by his day were embodied in lore and tradition, then these genealogical links may well be reminders of the arrival and settlement of populations that relocated gradually to post-palatial Athens and were totally incorporated in the city's social tissue by the Archaic period. On the other hand, if we doubt Thucydides's validity by arguing that in his endeavor to construct Athenian democratic identity, what he writes is merely an attempt to create ties between the leading families of Athens and its heroic past, then the fact of the increase in the geographical extent of Athens in that past, as attested archaeologically by the founding of new cemeteries on the periphery of its hitherto existing old cemeteries, has to be explained differently.

The years of turmoil that followed the collapse of the Mycenaean world and the changes that took place in Athens were not caused by warfare but by the settling of new inhabitants on its land, in combination with the general climate of changes at multiple levels, mainly major changes caused by the breakdown of the Mycenaean model of society, economy, and settlement. The settlement we know as Athens, which as a Mycenaean center was surely affected, at least indirectly, by the political and economic changes brought by the downfall of the Mycenaean palatial system, was called upon to adapt to the reality of the post-palatial period and at the same time to manage the arrival and permanent settlement of heterochthonous population groups. This new status quo was instrumental in the reorganization of the structure and function of Athens, and with regard to identity favored the formation (or creation from scratch) of a new cultural identity at the level of social groups: families, phratries, and clans. This may be reflected in the archaeological record by the continuity in the use of old cemeteries, the founding of new cemeteries, and the parallel use of new and old cemeteries. Coexistence would not have been difficult, since new and old inhabitants shared the same cultural background, the same language, and the same religious beliefs. Moreover, as is ascertained from the archaeological record, the arrival and incorporation of newcomers must have been gradual and had been achieved by the Archaic period.

Contrary to Desborough, the present study argues for continuity between the Late Mycenaean and the Submycenaean settlement, at least on the side of the autochthonous population. The sites of the Submycenaean settlement in Athens as far as the native inhabitants are concerned are easy to suppose, since it is most likely that they continued in existence in the same places.[236] The argument is confirmed by the combinatory study of the material from areas with evidenced habitation in Late Mycenaean times, which present traces of comparable activity also in the following years.

Consequently, on the basis of the above, the settlement sites in Submycenaean Athens are identified with those of the Mycenaean period, since the indigenous population seems to have continued to live in the areas that it already inhabited. These areas are the Acropolis (the summit) and its slopes (on the Northwest Slope the space enclosed by the hypothetically restored Pelargikon fortification wall, and the South Slope) and to the south between the Acropolis and the Ilissos (in the east parts of Plaka and the Makrygianni neighborhood and to the southwest in the Koukaki neighborhood).

Relation between the New Submycenaean Cemeteries and the New Settlement Sites: Development of the Submycenaean Settlement

During this period, after the collapse of the Mycenaean world and while the LH IIIC settlements of Attica were decreasing in number, the population of Submycenaean Athens appears to have increased, due to the advent of groups originating from other places in the Mycenaean world. Until recently, scholars saw confirmation of this picture in the founding of the Kerameikos and in the controversial founding of a settlement on the site of the Agora.

In reality, the founding of new cemeteries in parallel with the continuation of use of the old Mycenaean burial grounds is sufficient to attest, inter alia, the growing need for mortuary spaces of a population that was now much larger. The choice of various new burial sites without trace of previous activity seems to also express, through their geographical differentiation, the differentiation of the groups that founded them, both among themselves and from the groups still using the traditional mortuary spaces.

Although we do not know the size of the population that sought refuge in Athens and finally settled there, the founding of the new cemeteries points to numbers capable

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of bringing about changes in the existing form and area of the settlement. In other words, the increase in the mortuary sites of Athens is indicative of an analogous increase in the areas of habitation on the margins of the existing settlement. Initially, the new cemeteries were made up of smaller separate groups of graves, which very quickly spread to create larger burial grounds. The form of the settlement areas established in the same years must have been analogous.[237]

The mortuary sites of the Submycenaean period are arranged around the Acropolis — the new ones to the northwest and the old ones to the south and southeast — and are located a short and almost equal distance apart (approximately 300 m).[238] A greater distance between the cemeteries is observed only in the north and east of the city. The three northern mortuary sites on the plots at Aiolou 93 and Sophokleous, Aiolou 72, and Evripidou 5 and Praxitelous 42–44 are each about 700 m from the Kriezi cemetery to the northwest, and the others to the east (of Amalias Avenue, of the Parliament building, and in Irodou Attikou Street) are on average 780 m from the cemetery of the Olympieion.[239] The density of mortuary sites in the north, northwest, south, and southeast of the later city very possibly denotes the onset of analogous habitation in this sector, since the south was inhabited from earliest times. In selecting new areas for habitation, the same basic criterion for founding new cemeteries was used: free spaces in which settlement could develop unimpeded and that were associated with cemeteries.[240] Concurrently, however, habitation may have become denser in other areas of the settlement inhabited from of old and continuing in existence. Consequently, human activity — settlement and mortuary — spread around the core of the settlement in places farther away from the existing ones.

The settlements that developed on the new sites were founded as satellites around the Acropolis. And although the name of the city is attributed to Theseus (Plutarch, *Theseus* 24) and brings to the forestage for the first time the issue of the Synoecism, it should perhaps not be ruled out that the word Ἀθῆναι (Athenai — earlier than historical times as its suffix denotes, and always in the plural) possibly echoes the number of these new settlement areas.[241]

Which areas could cover these new needs (fig. 2.19)?

It seems that in the Submycenaean period, the hills on the west side of the city functioned as a disincentive, and the use of space in areas where there was intensive activity in the next period (Theseion, Petralona) may well have been excluded in the present phase.

On the opposite, east side of the city, the founding of new mortuary sites close to the road linking Athens with the fertile tracts of the Mesogaia suggests that in the years under discussion, this part of Athens, until then free of any kind of human presence, was inhabited. Its geomorphology made it a privileged place, with water aplenty from the two rivers flowing close by, the Eridanos to the north and the Ilissos to the south. If we consider the Submycenaean burials as representing the easternmost known limit of human activity in the area, then the space that hypothetically could be designated as possible locus of habitation should be sought at the point of convergence of the banks of the two rivers, which means the wider eastern part of the Plaka area. This hypothesis is boosted by the importance this area later acquired for the city, with the founding here of the first Agora, the Archaic Agora or "Agora of Theseus."[242] Although the area has been investigated extensively, there are no results concerning the early periods of the archaeology of the city. The listed heritage status of the overlying neighborhood of Plaka, functions as a constraining factor on excavation research to the great depths that would reveal traces of early human activity.

In the north of the city, where the area beyond the river and the northernmost burials of the wider cemetery of the Agora was not utilized, the large open space between the later Sacred Gate (III) and the Dipylon (IV) in the northwest, to the Kerameikos and to beyond North Gate VII (Dragatsaniou Street) in the northeast, was possibly exploited for the sporadic settlement of the greater part of the incomers during these years. This is an area enclosed by the old burial grounds and the new cemeteries of the Kerameikos to the west; the cemetery of the Eriai Gate (Kriezi Street) to the northwest; the burials at Aiolou 93, Aiolou 72, and Evripidou 5 and Praxitelous 42–44 to the northeast; and the Agora with the graves on the north bank of the Eridanos (Stoa Poikile: II. 10; Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki: III. 4) to the south. Logically, habitation hereabouts should be sought to the south of the mortuary sites and close to the north bank of the Eridanos, to ensure a direct water supply or easier access to the water table in the case of sinking wells. And indeed, if it is presumed that the almost straight course of the Eridanos riverbed for almost 800 m played in this case too the role of natural southward boundary of the space, then the above area coincides with the southernmost parts of the modern neighborhoods of Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square, Varvakeios, and the Commercial Center.

Consequently, for the years of transition from the Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, indications of the geographical development of Athens around the Acropolis

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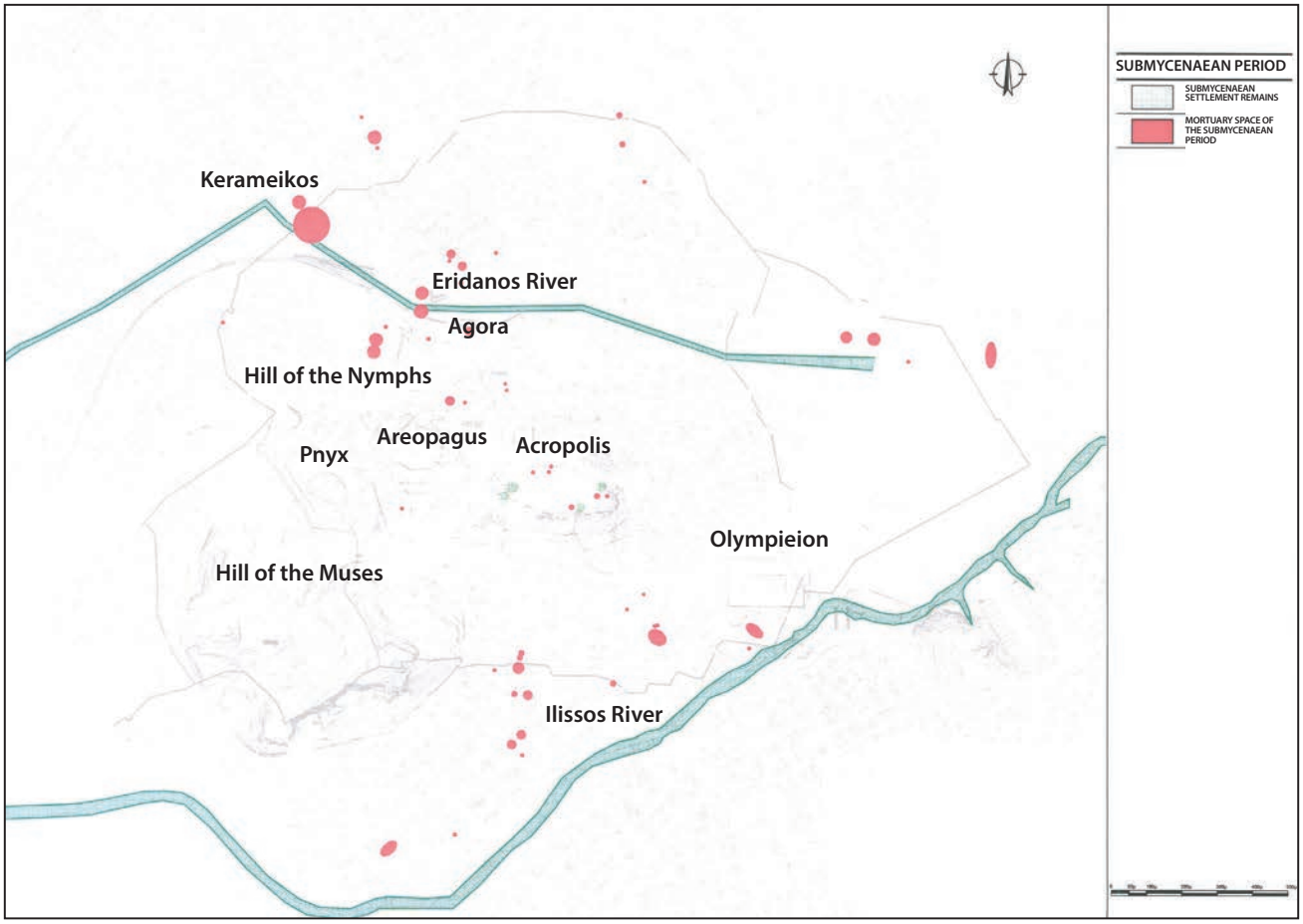

Figure 2.19. Athens. Sites of Submycenaean cemeteries and areas of habitation. This map can be viewed in detail online at www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/2.19.

can be detected. Its settlement development was due to the arrival and installation of waves of immigrants from other regions of the Mycenaean mainland. The fusion of the newcomers with the native population and the evolution of the two as one new population of single character may well have happened in a relatively short period of time, due to their common cultural, religious, and linguistic background.[243]

The topographical development attested archaeologically through the founding of new cemeteries is related directly to the settlement spread of Athens through the founding of new habitation sites, which moved from the center of the city, the Acropolis, to the periphery and specifically to the northwest, north, and east. The old settlement areas continued to be inhabited, and the old cemeteries continued to be used. On the banks of the Eridanos, burials are encountered along its entire known course, from the Square of the Unknown Soldier as far as the Kerameikos. The new cemeteries of the period were founded near streets linking these peripheral areas of settlement with the center, as well the later roads between Athens and Eleusis, the Academy, Hippios Kolonos, Acharnai, the Mesogaia, and the Phaleron coast. And noteworthy is the fact that if we exclude the west part of Athens, where there is no sign of human activity at this time, the area of settlement within which men lived and died during the Submycenaean period is not much different from the area of the Classical city intra muros of the fortified enceinte constructed immediately after the Persian Wars.

The location of Submycenaean cemeteries and graves at sites where the gates in the Classical wall were constructed turns our interest to the roads that passed through them in later times. It is the roads that determined the position of the cemeteries of both the early settlement, which were arranged on either side of them, and the subsequent Classical period, when they were located outside the walls and the gates. The presence of Submycenaean graves near any road dates the use of this route from at least that time and reveals that it was a natural thoroughfare, a route passable for humans and animals, enhanced by the lie of the land, which over the centuries was formed as a road.

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The construction of gates upon certain of these thoroughfares — that is, the choice of the points at which to interrupt the enceinte so that the specific streets continued as the basic road arteries to and from the city — should alert us to the importance they had both for movement within the settlement and for communication with the areas extra muros. And since the mortuary evidence shows that the use of specific roads and their connection with the areas to which they lead goes back to the early years of Athens, we are able to understand that the importance of these roads is just as old.[244]

Notes

1 Tomlinson 2005, p. 62.

2 For habitation in Athens during the LH period see Pantelidou-Gofa 1995, pp. 17–26.

3 Karo 1943, p. 6.

4 This is not a unique or local phenomenon. In most cases where Submycenaean pottery has been found, it comes mainly from graves. In the few cases where it has come to light in settlement areas (Mycenae, Asine, Tiryns, Corinth, Isthmia, Mitrou, Kynos, Kalapodi), it has not been found in levels securely differentiated from the preceding ones of the LH IIIC period and from the succeeding ones of the Protogeometric. For a collective critique of the Submycenaean material from settlements, see Papadopoulos et al. 2011, pp. 191–194. For a comprehensive and critical analysis of Submycenaean pottery from the settlements at Mitrou and Kynos, and from the sanctuary at Kalapodi, see Lis 2009.

5 The existence of the Submycenaean period as a historically discrete period between LH IIIC late and the Protogeometric has been doubted vociferously. According to J. Rutter, who first raised this issue, late LH IIIC pottery (Furumark's LH IIIC1c) and Submycenaean pottery (Furumark's LHIII C2) are contemporary. As to the pottery style referred to as Submycenaean, this represents nothing other than the funerary pottery of the settlements of the LH IIIC late period. For Rutter's proposed abolition of the term *Submycenaean* and the classification of LH IIIC late and Submycenaean in Phase 5 of his chronological system, see Rutter 1977, 1978. A further dimension of this problem concerns the time frame of the Submycenaean period. Those who argue that it does not exist as a historical period simply give 1075/1050 BC as the end of LH IIIC and the beginning of the Protogeometric period. Of those who maintain that it does exist, some consider it of long duration — as much as 100 years (see Ruppenstein, *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 269) — while others say that it is very brief. Of the rest, each researcher proposes different chronological limits. According to Kraiker: 1125–1085/1075 BC (*Kerameikos* I, p. 163). According to Furumark, who identifies temporally LH IIIC2 with SM: 1075–1025 BC (Furumark 1941, 1944, p. 262). According to Iakovidis, who too identifies the two periods: 1075–1050 BC (Iakovides 1979, p. 462). According to Desborough: 1075–1050 BC (Desborough 1972, p. 79). According to Snodgrass 1125/1100–1050/40 BC (Snodgrass 1971, pp. 122–124). According to Mountjoy 1060/1040–1040/1000 BC (Mountjoy 1986, p. 8) and 1020/1000 BC (Mountjoy and Hankey 1988) to 1004/984 BC (Mountjoy 1986, p. 8). According to Warren and Hankey: 1056–1015 BC (Warren and Hankey 1989, pp. 167–169). According to Lemos 1070–1020 BC (Lemos 2002). For a full synopsis of the various views on the absolute dating of the Submycenaean period and all the relevant bibliography, see Papadopoulos et al. 2011, p. 195. *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 19–23. For use of the term *Submycenaean*, see Smithson 1982; Whitley 1991, pp. 81–84; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 96, entry 25. For the nonexistence of clear distinctions between the late LH IIIC, the Submycenaean, and the Protogeometric period in Athens, see Ruppenstein 2003, pp. 183–184; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 266 ff.

6 Digital maps: Submycenaean period, Area VIII: Acropolis; henceforth Digital Map VIII SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VIII-SM.

7 These remains were revealed by Kavvadias and Kawerau during the first excavations on the Acropolis, in the years 1885–1890 (Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906) and were reexamined by Iakovidis, with localized excavations, cleanings, and measurements, in the framework of his study on the Mycenaean Acropolis of Athens, published first in Greek and subsequently in English (Iakovidis 1962 [Greek], 2006 [revised and translated into English]). For the timeline of excavations and research on the Acropolis until 1962, see Iakovidis 1962, pp. 30–32, and Mountjoy 1995, pp. 10–11.

8 This is a hoard of agricultural (axes, plowshares, knives), woodworking (chisels/adzes), and bronze-smithing (mallets/hammers, anvils) tools, as well as of weapons (dagger, lance, knife, model sword) and toiletry items (mirror, bowl), part of which is exhibited in the new Acropolis Museum (Montelius 1924, pp. 152–156, "d'une époque mycénienne très avancée"; Iakovidis 1962, pp. 159–160, with references to the earlier bibliography, drawing 32, and p. 208). See also Spyropoulos 1972, pp. 63–78, 92–99, 202–203, and particularly 93–95, where objections are raised to Iakovidis's dating and where a dating of the fortification wall, where the hoard was found, to the third quarter of the thirteenth century BC (1250–1225 BC) is proposed. Mountjoy dates it to the end of LH IIIB/beginning of LH

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IIIC — that is, to the troubled years around 1200 BC, when bronze was rare (Mountjoy 1995, pp. 50–51). Her view is accepted also by Hurwit 1999, p. 83. The hoard of bronzes resembles a similar find of Mylonas's from Mycenae, again from a wall on the citadel; see Orlandos 1959, p. 99, fig. 104. The stirrup jar, which is probably a co-find of the hoard of bronzes, is not mentioned in the publication by Kavvadias and Kawerau (1906) but only by Lechat (1888, pp. 244–245) in Iakovidis 1962, p. 160, notes 285 and 286. For the phenomenon of hiding hoards in the Late Bronze Age, see Knapp et. al. 1988.

9 On the use of the Acropolis during the Late Helladic period not simply as a place of habitation but also as an organized, fortified settlement, seat of the ruler, and refuge of the inhabitants of the area in the event of danger, see Iakovidis 1962, p. 55.

10 Iakovidis 1962, pp.153–156, drawing 31, p. 208; Iakovidis 1973, p. 135.

11 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 123, 208, 219–220; Iakovidis 1973, pp. 132–135, drawing 13; 243–244, drawing 21; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 12, note 25; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 132–135, 231.

12 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 50–51, 55.

13 Digital Map VIII SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VIII-SM.

14 Parsons 1943, p. 223. Iakovidis 1962, p. 195, dates these too to LH IIIB–C. Smithson 1977, p. 78; *Agora* XIII, p. 261; see there also for the two Mycenaean wells in the area. Smithson 1982, pp. 146–148.

15 Smithson notes the difference in the use and management of the wells between the Mycenaean and the Geometric and Classical periods. People in Mycenaean times, in contrast to those of subsequent centuries, kept the wells clean, either by cleaning them frequently or by preferring to draw water with wooden or lead vessels instead of easily breakable clay ones. Furthermore, their wells had mouths of small diameter (approximately 1 m), which not only kept the water cool but also prevented people and animals from falling into the shaft. Smithson 1982, p. 147, note 25.

16 Smithson 1982, p. 144.

17 Papadopoulos 2007, p. 94, entry 28. Well U 26:4 together with two deposits (apothetai) in the Agora (H 11:2 and O 8:5) constitute the earliest Early Iron Age remains in the wider area northwest of the Acropolis. Smithson 1977, p. 78.

18 Digital Map II SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-SM.

19 The volume by Papadopoulos and Lis on the Early Iron Age wells and deposits in the Agora is in press in the *Agora* series. The presentation of the Submycenaean remains is based on fig. 1.2, p. 2, in Papadopoulos 2003 and on additional data he kindly made available to me.

20 *Agora* XIII, p. 111, note 100. Immerwahr speaks of houses on the Acropolis slopes in general. However, with the exception of the North Slope and specifically its west part (the area of the Klepsydra), which was inhabited and is situated close to the Agora, there are practical difficulties in transporting there discards from the other slopes, from which moreover there are no known traces of settlement.

21 The installation of pottery workshops near cemeteries was very common in the Geometric period (see chapter 3), as well as later. Many pottery workshops of the sixth and fifth centuries BC have been found in the area northwest of the city, in the wider area of Kerameikos, as well as toward the Academy and Hippios Kolonos, areas that were densely settled and also had a dense network of roads and cemeteries. Baziotopoulou-Valavani 1994.

22 Digital Map VIII SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VIII-SM.

23 Initially there were thought to be 15 graves, but the number was corrected by J. A. Bundgaard after studying the excavation daybooks and the original plans and drawings. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 4–5, note 9; Glowacki 1998, p. 80.

24 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 2–4, notes 5–7, where all the views are cited, as well as the methodological shortcomings this confused picture has created.

25 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 41. Graves 10, 11, 12, and 14–17 are securely characterized as Submycenaean, and Graves 1, 6, 7, and 9 as probably Submycenaean. Three graves (2, 3, and 8) cannot be dated, while four others, one of them an enchytrismos of an infant in a pithos (5), are dated to the Middle Helladic period.

26 A small pithoid amphora was found in the sole grave that belonged to an adult, most probably a male (10), while a one-handled deep bowl and two beads were recovered from Grave 17, which belonged to an infant. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 5, 8–9, 11–18, 40–41. This particular grave perhaps had some kind of enclosure constructed of small stones; see Iakovidis 1962, p. 160.

27 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 27.

28 Digital Map II SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-SM.

29 For their content and dating, see the publication of them in the *Agora* series (*Agora* XXXV), on the Early Iron Age cemeteries.

30 Shear 1938, p. 325. In the view of this scholar, the whole north slope of the Areopagus was used as a cemetery during the following period, the Geometric. *Agora* XIV, p. 9, with reference to the difficulty of identifying the Submycenaean graves because of their simple form and the lack of grave goods.

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31 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 273–274, with fig. 5.1 of the 1935 excavation, in which, apart from the empty pits, their shallow depth of 0.30–0.40 m below ground level can be seen.

32 Papadopoulos 2007, p. 96–97; Papadopoulos et al. 2011, p. 188–190. For the excavation of the site, see Shear 1936, pp. 14, 16, 23; 1937, pp. 364, 366.

33 Digital Map I SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/I-SM.

34 Karo 1943, p. 6; Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 7. The existence of underground water, attributed to the springs of the Eridanos, was until recent times evident in Kolonaki, in the lower part of Dimokritou Street, close to the Doxiadis building, where water flowed through a small cave. For the subterranean course of the Eridanos under the modern urban tissue of Athens, see Chiotis 2011, p. 173, fig. 5.

35 Attica was from antiquity arid and dry, without thick vegetation cover and fertile soil. This is remarked on by Plutarch (*Solon* 23), Thucydides (I.2.5) and Strabo (8, 1, 2). According to studies on the climate in antiquity, the annual mean precipitation was low, while evaporation due to the dryness and clarity of the atmosphere was high. (The precipitation rate in winter was five times that in summer.) Travlos 1993 [1960], pp. 5–18.

36 The overflowing of the Eridanos created a marsh in the Kerameikos, which still existed in the sixth and fifth centuries BC, constituting a natural obstacle to the westward extension of the cemetery. Kimon's diversion of the riverbed, first attempted in the second quarter of the fifth century BC to the north of the Agora, continued during the period of construction of the Themistoclean enceinte, in the Kerameikos. However, since the area around the cemetery does not appear to have been dried out satisfactorily in the next century either, the drainage works were continued there during the fourth century BC, with the construction, inside the cemetery site, of a monumental drain for collecting the waters. See Camp 1986, p. 66; Knigge 1991, pp. 57–60; Shear Jr. 1997, pp. 515, 519; Baziotopoulou-Valavani 2000, pp. 269, 273–274; Arrington 2010, pp. 506, 524.

37 The sole finds of the Mycenaean period from the area are two vases and a few sherds. These are a Late Mycenaean stirrup jar, found right beside the southwest tower of the subsequent Dipylon, an LH IIIA2 vase, presumably from a disturbed burial, which was found inside a Protogeometric grave in the Kerameikos, to the south of the Eridanos, and a few LH IIIB sherds from the fill of a later tumulus, the so-called tumulus of the Alkmaionids, to the west of the Tritopatrion; see Knigge 2006, pp. 159–163, Robertson 2010, pp. 155–184. Hitherto, no one had evaluated these isolated vases as indicative of the existence of a settlement in the area of the Kerameikos, which Karo had dismissed as a "region barren of evidence except for a stray vase or two" (Karo 1943, p. 6). This proposal was made fairly recently by Mountjoy, who from the LH IIIA2 vase and the LH IIIB potsherds has argued the existence of a contemporary cemetery and a corresponding settlement in the area in these years; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 36, 47. The existence of graves in the area cannot be ruled out. The German excavators had posited early on the hypothesis that since the findspot of the Late Mycenaean stirrup jar was only 100 m away from the chamber tombs at the northwest edge of the Agora, it is possible that there were also other graves in the direction of the Kerameikos, which had been destroyed, and that the said vase was a grave good from one of these; Knigge 1991, p. 14. Ruppenstein recently forwarded another explanation: the vase that is dated to Stufe I of his classification may have come from one of the earliest graves in the Kerameikos, those graves destroyed in the course of building the fortification wall, the outwork, or the Pompeion; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 247.

38 For the results of the excavations, see *Kerameikos* I. For Ruppenstein's recent extensive study of the Submycenaean cemetery and its conclusions, see *Kerameikos* XVIII.

39 For the correct definition of the ancient streets of Athens (and roads of Attica), see Korres 2009, p. 20, note 1; Matthaiou 2009; Iliopoulos 2009, pp. 8–9.

40 Morris 1987, p. 76.

41 From the LH IIIC period, the chamber tombs with multiple inhumations are abolished and replaced by cemeteries of pit or cist graves, each one containing a single burial. The use of individual cist graves instead of family chamber tombs was perhaps dictated by the precarious circumstances of the time, which for economic reasons inhibited the construction of a tomb of the old type that may not have been used again. Mountjoy 1995, pp. 72–73; 1999, p. 32; Morgan 2009, p. 44.

42 Karo 1943, pp. 6–7; Desborough 1972, p. 67; *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 257–261.

43 For a concise history of research and its results from 1939 (Kraiker and Kübler) to 1975 (Krause), see Mountjoy and Hankey 1988, pp. 24–25.

44 Knigge 1991, pp. 14–16; Valavanis 2017, p. 45. Papadopoulos stresses that the first organized cemeteries, in the sense of a space chosen and used exclusively for burials, are the Mycenaean ones, the type of which is continued by the Submycenaean ones. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 273.

45 Mountjoy and Hankey 1988, pp. 25–26; Welwei 1992, pp. 60–61; Mountjoy 1995, p. 58; Hurwit 1999, p. 83.

46 Ruppenstein 2003, pp. 184–191; *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 240, 243, 266. This improvement in our knowledge of LH IIIC pottery not only makes the Pompeion cemetery the largest known set of graves of the LH IIIC period in Athens but also modifies, more precisely makes earlier, the

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dating of other graves found in the city (II. 3, III. 8, XII. 7). Consequently, it dates the beginning of use of the new cemeteries earlier, while in the cemeteries in use before these, it points to continuity between the very end of the Mycenaean and the Submycenaean period. *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 240–243. For the finds from the Perati cemetery, see Iakovidis 1969, 2003.

47 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 283. Specifically, Ruppenstein says "not much less than 100 years," as he considers that each one of the four Stufen (I–IV) that make up the Submycenaean period of the cemetery is equivalent to slightly less than one generation.

48 Ruppenstein 2003, p. 188. *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 240–241.

49 In fact, the graves of the Pompeion were considered the last ones of a cemetery on the south bank of the Eridanos, which reached to the Agora. *Kerameikos* I, p. 3. Mountjoy cleverly counters the argument of the distance of 800 m between them. Mountjoy 1988, p. 29.

50 *Kerameikos* X.

51 *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 245–246.

52 The 18 cremations at Perati are dated to all phases of the cemetery's operation — from the LH IIIB2/IIIB3 to the LH IIIC late period. They were found inside 10 chamber tombs, among other burials (inhumations). The anthropological study of the remains showed that they were of individuals of both sexes and included one infant. Iakovidis 1970, II, pp. 31–57.

53 For Grave 79, one of the earliest (if not the earliest) cremation burials (urn cremation) — and indeed of a child — in the Agora and for Grave 80 on the north bank of the Eridanos, see *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 482, 485–490, 646.

54 See Gazetteer entries II. 10, II. 12, IX. 5, III. 19.

55 Three burials (67, 127, 138) are dated to Stufe I, two (75, 126) are included in Stufe III, and one (56) can be assigned generally to Stufen I–III. *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 252–253. For criticism of Ruppenstein's classification of the chronological phases, see Papadopoulos et al. 2011, pp. 187–202.

56 According to Ruppenstein, this fact is possibly related to the particular mortuary practices and customs of the period for infants and children. The finding of Submycenaean child burials on the flat summit of the Acropolis led him to propose that the top of the Rock was a children's cemetery. *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 247.

57 Digital Map III SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/III-SM.

58 Knigge 1991, p. 17.

59 On the uncovering of the gate, see Alexandri 1970, pp. 41–45. Matthaiou does not agree with Travlos's ascription of the name Eriai Gate to Gate V, located at the junction of Leokoriou and Dipylou Streets. After thorough study of the ancient sources, the inscriptions, and the topography, he opines convincingly that Eria was the unofficial name of all the gates of Athens because the graves that formed a cemetery outside almost every gate were called Eria. See Matthaiou 1983, with extensive bibliography on the cemeteries and the gates.

60 For the problem of the conventional names by which it appears in the bibliography and especially for the Geometric phase of its operation, see chapter 3, "The Dipylon Cemetery, the Kerameikos, and the Custom of Cremation."

61 Alexandri 1968, p. 92.

62 These are Graves LXX and XCIX. Alexandri 1968, p. 93; *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 244–245, pl. 40b.

63 The other two are Graves LXXIX and C. Alexandri 1968, p. 93.

64 The first excavators originally thought that the graves in Peiraios and Kriezi Streets constituted a continuation of the Kerameikos cemetery. See Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23; III Archaeological District 1966, p. 64; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63; Alexandri 1968, pp. 85–90; Alexandri 1969, pp. 79–84; Alexandri 1983, pp. 20–22.

65 This is deduced from the finding of Submycenaean and Geometric graves and of pottery obviously coming from destroyed graves, both in this plot and in others on the sides of the modern streets Agiou Dimitriou and Karaiskaki, which are identified with the course of the ancient street. See III. 3, III. 1, III. 27.

66 Digital Map V and VI SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/V-SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VI-SM.

67 Digital Map VII SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VII-SM.

68 In the view of the excavators, Chatzioti and Spathari, the finds from this building plot, which in addition to the early organized cemetery with phases until the first century AD included others dated as late as the fifth century AD, "are of especial interest for the settlement development of the ancient city of Athens." For this reason they pledge that "the detailed study of the entire systematic excavation as well as of its finds will be published in a special volume." Alas, since 1983 this truly important excavation for the history of Athens and its cemeteries remains unpublished.

69 This is how its excavators describe it from the outset; Spathari and Chatzioti 1989, p. 25.

70 Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 53; Travlos 1971, pp. 159–160, 168, drawing 219. For the course of the road, which forked to the east into two branches that skirted either side of Agios Thomas Hill, see Giatroudaki, Panagiotopoulos, and Servetopoulou 2008, p. 167.

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71 Travlos 1993 [1960], pp. 240–241. Today, the natural slope of the space is only apparent from the course of Vasilissis Sophias Avenue, which rises smoothly northeastward from Syntagma Square.

72 Zachariadou 2000, p. 154.

73 Digital Map X SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/X-SM.

74 The distance was measured from the north party wall of the building plot at Erechtheiou 24–26 to the south building line of the plot at Renti 8 (area of Koukaki) and from the west party wall of the plot at Erechtheiou 9–11 to the east of the plot at Renti 8.

75 For practical reasons, on the maps in the present study, the plots on Erechtheiou Street, at nos. 9–11 and 13–15, as well as the plot at Renti 8, are not included within the bounds of the map of the Makrygianni neighborhood (X) but in that of Koukaki (Area XII).

76 The observation is verified today by the fact that part of the ancient street coincides with modern Erechtheiou Street, as is the case with other side streets in the area, under the sides of which their precursors have been located (Parthenonos, Mitsaion, Makrygianni, Iosiph ton Rogon).

77 Grave VIII at Erechtheiou 20 was considered the earliest Submycenaean grave. However, the dating of the vases from the graves at Erechtheiou 24–26 to the LH IIIC–Submycenaean period makes earlier the dating of the archaeological site. Mountjoy 1995, p. 61; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 247.

78 See Gazetteer entries II. 8, IX. 3, IX. 4, X. 15–X. 18. Empty pits close to early graves of both the Submycenaean and Geometric periods, which have been interpreted in the same way, have been found elsewhere in the city (Agoraios Kolonos, the Makrygianni neighborhood in Erechtheiou and Makrygianni Streets, the South Slope of the Acropolis, and so on).

79 The Makrygianni cemetery covers an area of some 2,032 m^2, measuring from the north party wall of the plot at Makrygianni 19–21 to the north building line of Lembesi Street, and from the east building line of Makrygianni Street to the west building line of Porinou Street, at the height of the plot at Makrygianni 23–27 and Porinou. On the street and the remains of walls of the Middle Helladic period, brought to light in the northeast of the plot, see Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 607–608, 616.

80 Digital Map XII SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XII-SM.

81 The mortuary use of the area continued in the ensuing periods. The area lies extra muros and along the length of the road to Phaleron (the course of which in some places coincides and in others is almost parallel with that of the modern road), where the "Phaleron cemeteries" developed from Archaic times onward.

82 Mountjoy 1988, p. 26.

83 Digital Map IX SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IX-SM.

84 Digital Map IX SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/ IX-SM.

85 Of the nine graves mentioned, eight were found by Mitsos and are described by Styrenius (1967, p. 22). The ninth was revealed by Travlos in 1967, under the paved court of the fourth- or third-century BC Archaic lawcourt epi Delphinio, and is referred to by Pantelidou as a "small pit grave" (Pantelidou 1975, p. 148), in which case it may well have been a child's grave.

86 Cremations of the transitional period between Submycenaean and Protogeometric times have been found also in the Kerameikos and the Agora.

87 Travlos 1993 [1960], pp. 53–54; Travlos 1971, pp. 160, 168, drawing 219.

88 When the pottery from Submycenaean graves of the Agora was published in the *Athenian Agora* series (volume XXXVI) by Papadopoulos and Smithson, the present study was already in preparation for publication. Forthcoming in the same series is the volume by Papadopoulos and Lis on the Early Iron Age wells and deposits of the Agora.

89 Desborough 1952, p. 1; Desborough 1972, pp. 261–265.

90 Knigge 1991, p. 15.

91 Snodgrass (1980, pp. 28–81); Morris (1987, pp. 62–65); and Whitley (1986, p. 108; 1991, p. 61), who interprets the Submycenaean remains to the northwest of the Acropolis not as belonging to the early settlement but as indications of dispersed habitation. Mountjoy 1995, pp. 70–73; Lemos 2002, p. 188; D' Onofrio 2011, p. 657, with relevant bibliography.

92 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 21, 297; *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 270, 284–285.

93 Hurwit 1999, pp. 72–76.

94 The word *acropolis* means the highest (*akra*), and therefore the best protected, point of the city (polis). In Athens this is not exactly the case. The hill of the Acropolis, 156.20 m above sea level, is not actually the highest point in the basin. It was chosen instead of the higher hills of Anchesmos (present-day Tourkovounia) (338.60 m), Lykabettos (277.30 m), and Strephi (163 m) because of its position and formation: it is unscalable from all sides except the west and its top was naturally flat, favoring building with simple technical interventions (construction of terraces). Furthermore, it is closer to the sea than the other hills and has springs of freshwater. Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 6; Iakovidis 1962, p. 49; Iakovidis 1973, pp. 113–114; Papachatzis 1991, pp. 3–4; Hurwit 1999, p. 4; Étienne 2004, p. 7.

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95 Papadopoulos 1996; Little and Papadopoulos 1998, p. 376, note. 3; Papadopoulos 2001, p. 297; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 284; *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 981–982.

96 On account of the reference of the Atthidographer Kleidemos, in the mid-fourth century BC (lemma apedon), the impression that the summit of the Rock had been leveled in very ancient times (by the Pelasgians), to erect the first buildings there, prevailed in research. Iakovidis's investigations demonstrated that Kleidemos's "ἠπέδιζον" refers to the construction of the five terraces of the Acropolis, which formed the flat surface on the hilltop suitable for building, and not to quarrying works for leveling the rock. Iakovidis 1962, p. 25, note 5, pp. 104, 233; Iakovidis 1973, p. 122, note 1; Iakovides 2006, p. 19, note 5, pp. 49, 263. For a very recent proposal that lowers the dating of the terraces from the fourteenth/thirteenth century BC to 1120/1185 BC, see Privitera 2013, pp. 60–62.

97 For the interpretation of the excerpts from Homer and the information these provide on prehistoric Athens, see Glowacki 1998, p. 81; Étienne 2004, p. 17. Created about the same period as the Homeric epics was the list of the kings of Athens, in which are gathered together the Athenians' scant memories about their homeland's past in early historical times. This list relates exclusively to the Mycenaean period, and placed at its peak is the dual-natured Kekrops, who reigned in the sixteenth/fifteenth centuries BC. His chthonic nature, evident in his serpentine body, secured the autochthony of his Athenian descendants. Papachatzis 1991, pp. 2–3.

98 Pantelidou 1975, p. 24. The earliest architectural remains found on the top of the Rock, one room to the north of the Erechtheion, which is considered to be the remnant of a house, are dated to LH I. Iakovidis 1962, pp. 69–70. Mountjoy disagrees with this dating and lowers it to LH III. Mountjoy 1995, p. 17. For habitation on the Acropolis and in the surrounding area in Neolithic times and the Bronze Age, on the basis of the ancient sources, see Papachatzis 1991, pp. 2–3.

99 Iakovidis 1962, p. 159; Iakovidis 2006, p. 175.

100 See Broneer 1956, p. 13, where it is said that there are no remains of walls or foundations of buildings that can be assigned to the period following the destruction of the Mycenaean fountain and that only a few Submycenaean and Protogeometric sherds from its fill and from the Rock itself reveal the existence of activity in these years. See also Hurwit 1999, p. 88.

101 Pantelidou-Gofa 1995, pp. 23–25.

102 Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 30, note 4; Iakovidis 1962, p. 29, note 33; Pantelidou 1975, pp. 232–233, note 2, with all the ancient sources. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 1–2, 4, with all the bibliography regarding the various views on the dating.

103 Kavvadias and Kawerau had assumed the gender of the deceased, but this has been doubted recently on the basis of the type of vase deposited as a grave good. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 12–14, 22.

104 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 247, note 1115.

105 For child burials in the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, see Sgouritsa 1987; Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 433–439; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 21–22, with relevant bibliography for Aegina (site of Kolona), Asine, Mycenae, and Tiryns. A more thorough approach to the issue by Morris (1987, pp. 63–65) led to the positing of a generalized theory, according to which there were two burial practices in Submycenaean times: one for children, which permitted their burial near settlements, perhaps between clusters of houses or even under the floors of houses, and the other for adults, who were buried in spaces of large area intended for this purpose, located between settlements in places unsuitable for building houses or along the sides of roads leading far away from inhabited areas. On the extent to which the first part of the theory seems to be confirmed at Athens, see chapter 3, "Child Graves of Geometric Times."

106 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 41; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 299, 307. This view was espoused also by Mountjoy (1995, p. 72) and indeed before the publication of the study by Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998.

107 An analogous case is encountered in the site of the Agora, where two child graves together with three graves of adult females have been found under the Stoa Basileios. (II. 11). Morris (1987, pp. 63–65) interpreted the phenomenon as burials of women who died in childbirth (although the anthropological study showed that one of the three was about 50 years old when she died) and as a consequence were treated differently in terms of burial.

108 For this issue, see chapter 3, "Child Graves of Geometric Times."

109 Welwei 1992, p. 61; Lemos 2006, pp. 511–512.

110 Hurwit 1999, p. 84.

111 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 41.

112 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 41; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 298, where, on the basis of the large number of mended vases from the Acropolis and the North Slope, it is suggested that part of the Early Iron Age pottery found in the area around the hill may originate from the Acropolis itself.

113 Iakovidis 1962, p. 159; Iakovidis 2006, p. 175.

114 Iakovidis 1962, p. 156; Iakovidis 1973, p. 136.

115 Iakovidis 1962, p. 156; Iakovidis 2006, p. 171.

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116 Iakovidis 1962, p. 160. This emerges from the final dating of the houses (pp. 119–120), which he describes as "Μυκηναϊκά κατάλοιπα της υστάτης περιόδου" *(*Mycenaean remains of the final period), and from the dating of Grave 10. For the dating of the grave, he uses the term "Late Mycenaean period" (p. 156). When describing the amphoriskos, he characterizes it as "των τελευταίων μυκηναϊκών χρόνων" (of the last Mycenaean years*)*," while in note 279 the grave is dated to "YE IIIΓ (*LH IIIC)*" on the basis of the chronological classification, after Furumark, of the sole vase it contained. Iakovidis 1962, p. 156, note 279; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 14, note 28. For the child grave (17) and the previous one —the only two furnished with grave goods — Iakovidis relies on the dating of the vase by Graef and Langlotz. Iakovidis 1962, p. 160, note 288.

117 Indeed, because she wrote this before publication of the study by Gauss and Ruppenstein, she keeps the dating given by Kavvadias and Kawerau.

118 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 55, 63–64.

119 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 22, note 74; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 297–300.

120 Iakovidis emphasizes in his preface to the revised and translated version of his study the primal role of the excavation data in dating architectural remains, which in his view have not been taken into account by those who propose new theories and different datings. Iakovidis 2006, p. 9.

121 Lemos 2006, pp. 511–512; Mazarakis-Ainian 2007–2008, p. 385.

122 Iakovidis 1973, p. 113. For the possible fate of the Mycenaean palace during the Submycenaean period, see Mountjoy 1995, p. 72.

123 Iakovidis 1973, p. 173; Lemos 2006, pp. 506–508, where reservations are voiced regarding its existence.

124 The issue of the Pelargikon is one more of the unresolved problems of early Athenian topography. In the present study we follow the view of all those who consider it possible that it fortified the west half or so of the Rock, enclosing the two Mycenaean entrances to the Acropolis and part of the South Slope as far as and west of the Asklepieion. For the theories on the existence of the Pelargikon and its course, for its relation to the actual or mythical Archaic enceinte, and so on, see Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 302–303, with references to the relevant bibliography.

125 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 297, 304, drawing 5.16, p. 307.

126 Lemos 2006, p. 514.

127 Lemos 2006, pp. 515–516; Mazarakis-Ainian 2007–2008, p. 388.

128 The Klepsydra was named initially Empedo; see Hesychius, s.v. *Κλεψύδρα, κλεψίρρυτον ὕδωρ,* and *Πεδώ*. For the excavation of the Klepsydra, see Parsons 1943, where he very perceptively observes (pp. 201–202, 231) that this double name is reminiscent of the case of another very well-known spring, the Kallirrhoe, which, as soon as its flow was controlled technically and its water could be drawn from a fountain, was renamed Enneakrounos. Given this fact, Parsons maintains that the name Klepsydra dates to the second half of the fifth century BC, when Kimon, as part of his public works program, arranged the original spring, Empedo, and constructed at its sources the renowned fountain building and the paved court surrounding it. Camp 1977, p. 33.

129 For the conditions on the site of the Agora prior to the construction of the Great Drain in the early fourth century BC, see Young 1951, p. 140; Ammerman 1996, pp. 708–709; Tsakirgis 2009, p. 47; Chiotis 2011, pp. 166–167, 169. For the terrain of the North Slope and the advantages and disadvantages of it as a space for settlement, see *Agora* XXXI, pp. 12–14.

130 It is possible that an earlier settlement of the LH IIIA1 period existed on the same site, as is apparent from pottery found under the floors of the LH IIIB–IIIC house (Space C), without this being associated with surviving architectural remains, however. Bundgaard 1976, p. 30; Mountjoy 1995, p. 28.

131 From his reexamination of the old daybooks, Rutter ascertained that there are no clear indications of habitation on the actual site of the staircase but that remains of Mycenaean buildings were found only between the staircase and the prehistoric fortification wall of the Acropolis. See Gauss 2003, p. 98. Certainly, in addition to the remains of houses near the staircase, other remnants of walls and floors, found in poor condition, reveal that the settlement spread over a larger space in the wider area of the Northeast Slope. Broneer 1935, p. 113. For the northeast ascent, see Broneer 1933, pp. 350–352; Iakovidis 1962, pp. 97–99; Iakovidis 1973, pp. 115, 118; Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 21.

132 Broneer 1933, pp. 345, 351–372; Broneer 1935, pp. 109–113. For remains of a Late Mycenaean house with floor and hearth, south of the sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite, see Hansen 1937, pp. 539–540; Broneer 1939, pp. 424–425; Broneer 1956, p. 13; Iakovidis 1962, pp. 195, 201, 205, 207; Spyropoulos 1972, p. 95; Bundgaard 1976, pp. 26–28; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 43–45; Hurwit 1999, pp. 82–83.

133 Broneer dated the abandonment of the settlement on the basis of the vases and pottery from the floors of the houses. Noting general similarities to pottery from the Mycenaean Fountain, he dated the end of the settlement and the abandonment of

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the fountain to about the same period, the end of the thirteenth century BC. However, according to the excavator, the absence from the settlement of pottery of the advanced LH IIIC period suggests that the settlement on the Northeast Slope had probably been abandoned shortly before the fountain ceased to function. Broneer 1939, p. 424. Gauss's reexamination of the pottery from the North Slope pointed out similarities between the material from the settlement and from the final phase of use of the fountain. Agreeing with Rutter, who dates the pottery from the settlement to LH IIIC early, together with the pottery from Iria and the Argolid and Trench P in the area of Korakou in the Corinthia, Gauss raises to the same period the cessation of use of the Mycenaean Fountain. In this way he makes the abandonment of the fountain and of the settlement contemporaneous events, obviously due to the same cause. Gauss 2003; Rutter 1974a, pp. 303–305; Rutter 1974b, p. 437; 1977, p. 2.

134 Broneer 1939, p. 425–426.

135 Broneer 1933, p. 351; Broneer 1938, p. 164.

136 Bundgaard 1976, p. 28. Broneer had assumed the same as one of the possible causes of abandonment of the fountain, with second the collapse of the wooden part of its staircase, due to decay. Broneer 1939, p. 428.

137 Broneer 1938, pp. 164–165. The destruction of part of the fountain building of the Classical Klepsydra was also caused by a landslide like this one, as deduced from the pieces of rocks still lying on the spot in the first century BC. Parsons 1943, p. 239.

138 Rutter 1974a, pp. 303–305; Rutter 1974b, p. 437; Gauss 2003, p. 102; Benvenuti 2014, p. 198, note 2, p. 202, note. 8, pp. 211–213.

139 The Mycenaean Fountain, or North Fountain, was in reality a well sunk into the Rock of the Acropolis, at a depth of 34.50 m, reached by a staircase that began from the summit of the hill. As is deduced from the pottery found in its use level, it was constructed in LH IIIB2, but after only 25 to 30 years of use it became defunct in the early years of LH IIIC, perhaps due to an earthquake or to the decay of the wooden parts of the staircase. For the excavation and publication of the North Fountain, see Broneer (1939, pp. 318–433), who includes it in a more general project to reinforce the defense of the Acropolis (as at Mycenae and Tiryns), which included the closing of the earlier gate in the northeast corner of the Rock, the construction of the Cyclopean walls, and the planning of the Pelargikon. See also Parsons 1943; Iakovidis 1962, pp. 128–131, 215–219; *Agora* XIII, p. 112; Iakovidis 1973, pp. 129–131, 138–140; Camp 1977, pp. 36–40; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 43–44; Hurwit 1999, pp. 78–81; Holtzmann 2003, p. 35.

140 Parsons 1943, p. 206.

141 Smithson 1977, p. 78–79.

142 Broneer 1939, p. 424–425; Benvenuti 2014, p. 211, note 31.

143 *Agora* XIV, p. 1. For the original form of the Eridanos Valley before works to arrange the northwest corner of the Agora in the sixth century BC, as is evident from geophysical studies of the space between the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa Poikile, see Ammerman 1996. Ammerman 2011, pp. 263–266.

144 Pantelidou 1975, p. 21.

145 *Agora* XIII, p. 98; Pantelidou-Gofa 1995.

146 Desborough 1952, p. 1; Desborough 1972, pp. 261–265, 362. See chapter 3, "Ancient Agora: Site of Settlement or Workshops?"

147 Some of the scholars who accept Desborough's theory: Snodgrass 1971, p. 363; *Agora* XIV, pp. 9–18; Camp 1977, p. 36; Coldstream 1977, p. 315; Snodgrass, 1980, pp. 29–34, 154–157; Camp 1986, pp. 24, 33; Morris 1987, pp. 63–69; Whitley 1991, pp. 61–64; Welwei 1992, pp. 61–62; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 72–73; *Agora* XXVII, pp. 11–12; D' Onofrio 2007–2008, pp. 451–452; Mazarakis and Ainian 2007–2008, pp. 386–388; D' Onofrio 2011, p. 657. Those who oppose it: Lemos 2002, pp. 135, 151, 198; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 272–273 and p. 21, note 95 (where most of the supporters of the theory are noted); Osborne 2007, p. 196; Houby-Nielsen 2009, p. 200; Tsakirgis 2009, p. 48; *Agora* XXXVI, p. 10, note 30.

148 Desborough 1972, p. 64, 76; Shear Jr. 1975, p. 371; Morris 1987, p. 63.

149 No LH IIIB burials have been found in the cemetery on the north slope of the Areopagus. *Agora* XXXVI, p. 14, pl. 2.1, p. 37.

150 For the Submycenaean graves on the north bank of the Eridanos, see Camp 1999a, pp. 263–265; Camp 2003, p. 254, where he separates these particular graves from others on the south bank. See also Camp 2004, pp. 51–52; Ammerman 1996, p. 712.

151 Broneer 1956, p. 14. These are the wells H 11:2 (in the area of the later Tholos II. 5), K 16:1 (north of the temple of Ares II. 8), V 24:1, and S 27:7 (in the area of the Klepsydra VIII. 2). Three deposits, O 7:14, P 8:9, and O 7:4, have been found in the northeast of the Agora, on the site of the Stoa of Attalos (II. 2). These have been considered indicative of settlement activity in the area around it, but at the same time researchers are puzzled because the Mycenaeans normally buried their dead far away from areas of habitation. *Agora* XXVII, p. 11. In an attempt to resolve the issue, it was suggested that the deposits are slightly later than the graves and that they are indicative of the beginning of a change of use of the space from mortuary to settlement. *Agora* XIII, pp. 111–112,

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247–263; *Agora* XXVII, pp. 9–11. Mountjoy, who hints at the possible decline of the Agora as a burial ground of the noble families of Athens from LH IIIA2 until the end of LH IIIC, does not link this observation with the possibility that the area was inhabited. Mountjoy 1995, pp. 47–48, 52–53.

152 *Agora* XIII, pp. 97–110; Hurwit 1999, p. 72; Lemos 2002, p. 156.

153 Immerwahr suspected that in Mycenaean times there was mortuary activity also beyond the river, but this has not been confirmed by excavation. *Agora* XIII, p. 98.

154 Camp 1999a, pp. 263–265, note 13; Camp 2003, pp. 254–273; Camp 2004, pp. 51–52. For the seven graves uncovered so far on the north bank of the Eridanos, which are dated from LH IIB–IIIA into the Submycenaean period at least, see *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 482–502.

155 The LH IIIA1 alabastron from the plot at Agias Theklas and Pittaki is the earliest vase found in the area, and because it is intact, it must come from a grave. Mountjoy tries to correlate the grave with some nearby settlement and returns to the issue of the possible existence of a separate Mycenaean settlement to the north of the Eridanos (first mention of this in Mountjoy 1995, p. 17). At the same time, however, she mentions the possibility that this grave was part of the northward extension of the Agora cemetery; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 31–32. The last LH IIIA graves near the Stoa Poikile and the LH IIIB grave on the same building plot where the alabastron was found advocate the second version.

156 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 272; *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 10–18, p. 38, pl. 2.1, pp. 276–277, pl. 2.2, p. 406, pl. 2.3, p. 482, pl. 2.4.

157 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 21–22; Lemos 2002, p. 188, where she argues the same also for the Protogeometric cemeteries.

158 Papadopoulos 2003.

159 For the name of the area of the Agora as Kerameikos, see *Agora* III, pp. 221–224; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 1, note 2.

160 Papadopoulos 1996, 2003, pp. 21, 272–279.

161 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 276, with relevant bibliography.

162 Thompson 1984, p. 8; Lemos 2006, p. 514.

163 Mazarakis-Ainian 2007–2008, p. 387.

164 Archaic/Classical house to the north of the Agora near the Stoa Poikile (II. 1), Classical houses/workshops in the Industrial District to the southwest of the central square, and others.

165 Pantelidou 1975, pp. 47–148, 238–240; Kalligas 2000, pp. 29–32; Mavroeidopoulos 2000, p. 40; Lemos 2002, p. 154; Eleftheratou 2006, p. 154; Privitera 2013; Benvenuti 2014.

166 Mountjoy 1981, 1995, pp. 16, 20, 25–26, 28, 30, 36, 46, 56.

167 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 14, 17, 20, 30, 33–35, 46.

168 The earliest traces of habitation on the hill of the Olympieion is an Early Helladic grave to the south of the temple of Zeus; a well to the east of the Arch of Hadrian, which contained Final Neolithic, Middle Helladic, and mainly Late Helladic pottery; and one other Late Helladic well to the south of the temple of Kronos and Rhea, in which the greater part of the fill is dated to LH III. This well, which is only a few meters from the present bed of the Ilissos, is a particularly significant find for the ancient environment of the area. It demonstrates that the position of the riverbed was the same from at least the Early Helladic period and overturns the theory posited by Skias (1893, pp. 111–112, 126–128) that the Ilissos originally flowed farther to the west and that its subsequent course was the result of technical works in historical times, aimed at diverting its bed and creating space for building the Olympieion and its peribolos. Pantelidou 1975, pp. 113–115, 130–135, 141–148; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 14, 17–18, 20, 32–34; Privitera 2013, pp. 72–84.

169 Pantelidou 1975, p. 148; Pantelidou-Gofa 1995, p. 13.

170 Hurwit 1999, p. 72.

171 Pantelidou 1975, pp. 233–235, with bibliography relating to the interpretation of the myths.

172 Travlos 1971, p. 402.

173 Relying on this ancient testimony, Travlos names Gate X in the Classical fortification wall the "Aegeus Gate." See Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 53; Pantelidou-Gofa 1995, p. 25.

174 The discovery of two tumuli, one Middle Helladic and one prehistoric, between the Asklepieion and the Odeion in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, generated the view that one of them corresponded to what the ancient Greeks considered to be the tomb of Hippolytos. Skias 1902–1903, pp. 123–130; Koumanoudis 1877, p. 33; Iakovidis 1962, pp. 53–54. The theory appears to be untenable simply from the fact that Pausanias speaks of a monument of the mythical hero, whose tomb he describes in Troezen. See Papachatzis 1974, pp. 311–312; Beschi 1969a, pp. 393–396; Beschi 1969b, pp. 511–517. Traces of the Middle Helladic period (bothroi and houses) have been found on the South Slope on the site of the sanctuary of Dionysos Eleuthereus, the Asklepieion (see Kalligas 1965, p. 14; Platon 1966, p. 24–28), as well as lower down in rescue excavations in the Makrygianni neighborhood (Angelopoulos and Zacharatos plots; see X. 14 and X. 39) and recently in the area around the Acropolis Station of the Athens Metro (building plot Makrygianni X. 36); see Parlama 1990–1991, p. 240. A settlement and cemetery of the same period seem to have existed also on the site of the Olympieion, which was used from the Early Helladic

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into the Submycenaean period, sometimes for settlement and sometimes for burial. Pantelidou 1975, pp. 233–234; Pantelidou-Gofa 1995.

175 Desborough 1972, pp. 64–65; Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 68.

176 Among others, see Lemos 2002, pp. 135, 151, 198; Papadopoulos 2003; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 40; *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 284–285; *Agora* XXXVI, p. 981.

177 Morris 1987, pp. 72–74.

178 Travlos 1971, p. 158.

179 Zachariadou 2000, p. 154.

180 Digital Map VI SM. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VI-SM.

181 On the existence of a bridge over the Eridanos in the section flowing through the Agora in Mycenaean times and/or later periods, see Shear Jr. 1997, p. 515; Camp 2003, p. 254; Camp 2004, pp. 51–52; Ammerman 1996, p. 712. For the density of circular pits in the bedrock, which are interpreted as indications of bridging of the river in the section of it found transverse to Amalias Avenue, see Zachariadou 2000, p. 154.

182 Digital Plan 2 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan2

183 *Agora* XIII, p. 97, note 8.

184 X. 15, X. 16, X. 17, X. 19, XII. 11, XII. 17.

185 Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 607–608.

186 *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 14, 37–38, pl. 2.1.

187 Its use did not stop in those years. It continued to receive burials without break until the Late Geometric/Early Archaic period. *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 398–481, pl. 2.3.

188 The latest grave known today is dated to the Protogeometric period. *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 481–502, pl. 2.4.

189 Burials were made without pause from LHI–III, when it was founded, into the Late Geometric/Subgeometric period. *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 273–397, pl. 2.2.

190 Mountjoy 1995, p. 62; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 247.

191 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 21, 32–33; Privitera 2013, p. 75.

192 These are three child graves, a cist grave of LH IIB–IIIA1 (Grave 76), and two pit graves, one of which is dated to LH I (Grave 81) and the other to LH IIB–IIIA1 (Grave 88). There is mention in passing of a fourth grave of the same period, which also was found during the Athens Metro excavations in Makrygianni Street, outside the plot, as well as mention of "a couple of burials from the same site and belonging to clearly later Mycenaean times." Mavroeidopoulos 2000, pp. 40–43.

193 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 34–36, 46, 61–62. See also Privitera 2013, p. 83, pl. V, where there is reference to use of the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 106 only during LH IIIA1 and LH IIIC late.

194 Pantelidou 1975, pp. 80–95; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 17, 20, 33, 36, 61.

195 Pantelidou 1975, p. 95.

196 Digital Plan 2 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan2

197 *Agora* XIV, p. 9.

198 Most of the earliest graves contain only one vase, very rarely two (Stufe I). Over the years, however, the proportion of graves furnished with one vase decreases while of that of graves with two vases increases (Stufen II and III). In the same period, graves of Stufe II also contain at least three metal objects and very often a large number of finger rings or fibulae, surely expressing the increasing prosperity of the society. Toward the end of the period and the beginning of the next (Stufe IV), practices change and weapons are frequently deposited as grave goods, whereas plain finger rings are rare. *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 258–259. For the early view that during the Submycenaean period the distinction of the dead by age, gender, and social status through grave goods is not pronounced and that an "egalitarian" pattern prevails in funerary practices, see Whitley 1986, pp. 139–142.

199 *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 240–242, 270. For the Perati cemetery, see Iakovidis 1969.

200 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 266. For the funerary customs of Achaia in early historical times, where attachment to the old Mycenaean tradition is observed (absence of cremations; pithos burials and inhumations in cist graves), see Gadolou 2008, pp. 243–253. However, in LH IIIC middle/late Achaia and western Greece in general, cremations are encountered inside chamber tombs, always with richly furnished burials; see also Ruppenstein 2013, pp. 187–189, fig.1. Of interest is the observation that the case of Achaia, which differs from the other regions of the Peloponnese, reinforces the view that sometimes burial habits reflect to a greater or lesser degree the personal wishes and choices of members of a society (Gadolou 2008, p. 249).

201 *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 246, 265–268. For objections to this view, see book review by Kourou (2007–2009).

202 Bohen 2017, pp. 3–7, 24–25, 31, 104.

203 Bohen 2017, pp. 7, 33–39. See particularly page 37, where on the basis of vase fragments she studied she makes earlier the dating of Precinct XX, to LH IIIC late, and page 61, where she associates graves SM 1–6, 11, and 12 with the Alkmaionids.

204 Bohen 2017, pp. 7, 36, 42–43.

205 Bohen draws a parallel between the organized arrangement in rows of the cist graves in the Kerameikos and the Late Bronze Age cemeteries in the Argolid ("as were the latest Bronze Age burial sites of the Argolid"), as well as with graves to the north of the Athenian Agora, which contained mainly domestic pottery relating to Argos. Bohen 2017, pp. 7, 32–33. ("This was the case now in the north end of the Athenian Agora where groups of graves were equipped with mostly mundane pottery of Argive association.")

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206 *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 593–596, 685–688, with relevant bibliography.

207 In the early days of its discovery, this cemetery was thought to be a continuation of the Kerameikos, which is why the first references in the bibliography are to the Dipylon cemetery. See chapter 2, "The Dipylon Cemetery, the Kerameikos, and the Custom of Cremation," and III. 5–7.

208 *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 243–244, pl. 40b.

209 The way the excavator describes it in the *ArchDelt*, "burials inside vases," is rather confusing, as they could be considered enchytrismoi. However, the photographs of the vases and the mapping of the graves on the topographical plan of the plot leave no doubt as to the type of burial. Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90.

210 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 244, pl. 40b.

211 *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 254–256.

212 It is possible that the organization of the early graves in the Kerameikos in groups and the internal arrangement of the burials of each group in rows is correlated both with the preceding Mycenaean period, during which members of the same family or clan were buried in chamber tombs that were used for multiple burials, and with the succeeding Geometric period, when the tradition of burying the members of a family or a clan in a specific place and close to each other held sway. *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 245. This habit was to continue during the seventh century BC, when the powerful clans of Athens (Alkmaionids and others) buried their dead under large earth mounds (tumuli) that were raised in the Kerameikos. Knigge 1991, pp. 27–28, 104–106. It is possible that this kind of organization existed in the other two unpublished Submycenaean cemeteries of Athens: of the Eriai Gate and of Irodou Attikou Street. In the first, burials in clusters are observed, while the arrangement of graves in rows (an outcome of the coalescence of initially discrete groups of graves?) is ascertained in the second. Even though nothing can be said for certain until these sites and the finds from them are studied thoroughly, the similarities and the analogies in the manner of organization of these new cemeteries are too pronounced to go unnoticed.

213 Desborough 1964, pp. 37–38, Desborough 1972, pp. 109–111, 268–270.

214 *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 594–595, pl. 5.3, pp. 678–679. For the change in funerary customs in Athens and Attica, see Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], pp. 32–33; Antonaccio 1995, p. 251; Lemos 2002, pp. 152–157, 185, with relevant bibliography.

215 *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 685–688.

216 See Mountjoy (1995, p. 62), who considers the vases imports. See *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 270, where the relocation of individuals from Perati to Athens is proposed. Of the 24 Mycenaean sites known to have existed in Attica in the thirteenth century BC, only 12 are preserved. Bournia-Simantoni 1997, p. 16. For the rich coastal cemeteries of Perati and the area of ancient Steiria, which denote the existence of corresponding settlements and come to an abrupt end in this period, see Kakavogianni 2017, p. 17. This shrinking does not entail the desertion of Attica, however.

217 Bohen 2017, pp. 3–7, 24–25, 31, 104.

218 Smithson 1982, p. 153.

219 Desborough 1972, pp. 21–28; Morris 1987, pp. 2, 23, 172–173. For all the theories proposed at various times regarding reasons for the collapse of the Mycenaean world, see Hurwit 1999, pp. 81–82. Specifically, for a concise analysis of all the theories on the Descent of the Dorians that have been proposed by archaeologists, historians, and linguists, see Lemos 2002, p. 191–193, with relevant bibliography.

220 Lemos 2002, pp. 193, 199.

221 Thucydides, I. 2.6; Jeffery 1976, p. 83; Sgouritsa 2007, p. 267.

222 Pausanias I. 19.5; Herodotus 5.76; Lycurgus, *Against Leocrates*, 84–87. Pantelidou notes that the excavation data confirm this Athenian myth, which echoes events of the Submycenaean period. Pantelidou 1975, pp. 43-44; Camp 1986, p. 27. For the myth of Kodros, the problem of the "Dorian invasion," and the doubting of it as a historical event, see Travlos 1993 [1960], pp. 26–27, note 4, with bibliography; Whitehead 1986, p. 5; Morris 1987, p. 23; Mountjoy and Hankey 1988, p. 31, note 92; Hurwit 1999, pp. 82–83; Lemos 2006, p. 524.

223 Broneer 1933, p. 355.

224 Kilian, 1988, p. 54; *Agora* XIII, p. 153; Pantelidou 1975, p. 230.

225 Rutter 1974a, p. 303–305; Rutter 1974b, p. 437; Gauss 2003, 102; Privitera 2013, p. 50; Benvenuti 2014, p. 189, note 2, p. 202, note 8, p. 211, note 31, pp. 212–213.

226 Benvenuti 2014, p. 230; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2011, pp. 231–232; Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2012, p. 194; Kaza-Papageorgiou and Kardamaki 2014.

227 Privitera 2013, pp. 49–50.

228 Privitera 2013, pp. 50–52; Benvenuti 2014, p. 230; Papadimitriou 2017, 7§8.

229 In the translation of this passage, "before Theseus" is usually implied; Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 21; Pantelidou 1975, p. 239. In Papadopoulos 2003, p. 300, the passage is quoted as follows: "τὸ δὲ πρὸ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον." That is, the genitive of the article (τοῦ) is omitted and the translation is given as "before the synoecism of Attica by Theseus."

230 Thucydides (II. 15. 1–3); Plutarch (*Theseus*, 24).

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231 Theseus's reign is still dated to the period after 1400 BC and before 1250 BC and the construction of the Mycenaean wall of the Acropolis (LH IIIB2). Pantelidou-Gofa 1995, p. 26; Camp 2001, pp. 15–16. Some scholars doubt whether Theseus was a historical person and therefore doubt the synoecism, considering both an Athenian invention of the historical period, an etiological myth of the time of Kleisthenes, when with the reforms, the need arose to link the radical reorganization of Attica with a mythical event and a mythical ancestor (Anderson 2003, pp. 39–40). Others, who accept historically both the hero and his association with the synoecism of the dispersed towns of Attica, propose even more concrete dates within the same period (LH III). Modern historical research, based on archaeological data that show that the synoecism must have occurred during the Geometric period, casts doubts on any relation of Theseus to this event. Matthaiou 2017, pp. 19–20; Valavanis 2017, p. 48. For the above theories on the date of the hero and the synoecism, see Pantelidou 1975, p. 235–238, with earlier bibliography; Jeffery 1976, p. 84; Welwei 1992, p. 66; Langdon 1997, p. 113, note 2, p. 118, p. 123; Lemos 2002, p. 199; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 314–315, notes 229–233, with characteristic bibliography up until 2003; Scholl 2006, pp. 80–81; *Kerameikos* XXVIII, p. 284; Sgouritsa 2007, p. 267; Kaza-Papageorgiou 2011, p. 231; Bohen 2017, p. 9; Papadimitriou 2017.

232 The following researchers link this particular passage with the Mycenaean phase of the city: Travlos 1993 [1960], pp. 21–24; Pantelidou 1975, p. 239; Camp 1977, p. 35; Camp 1986, p. 25; Kalligas 2000, p. 29; Camp 2001, pp. 16–19; with the Submycenaean period: Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 82; and with the Geometric: Brouskari 2004, p. 31.

233 Desborough 1972, p. 263.

234 Hurwit 1999, p. 82.

235 Jeffery 1976, pp. 83, 99; Stroud 1998, p. 87; Anderson 2003, p. 23.

236 Lemos 2006, p. 515.

237 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 270.

238 Digital Plans 1 and 2 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan1

239 See IV. 2, IV. 1, V. 2, III. 17–19, III. 25–26, VII. 1–3, IX. 5. However, this picture is likely to be fictive and due to the fact that our calculations depend on the individual burials that survived at these sites, the area of which is not known.

240 This phenomenon is not unknown in the long history of the city. It occurred also at comparable moments in the recent past, such as in 1922 with the Greek Catastrophe in Asia Minor, when a huge refugee population came to Greece and settled in Athens and elsewhere, founding new neighborhoods on the outskirts of the existing settlement.

241 For the name of the city in its Mycenaean phase, see Pantelidou-Gofa 1995, p. 19.

242 For the identification of the area east of the Acropolis with the locus of the early Agora of Athens, see Dontas 1983 and Robertson 1998.

243 *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 266, 284.

244 Parlama 1996, p. 53.

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Chapter 3

Geometric Period 1050/1000–700 BC

Excavation Data

Our information on Athens in Geometric times is little different from that for the preceding Submycenaean period. Although the period conventionally named Geometric spans several centuries, the surviving archaeological data from it are few and come mainly from wells/deposits and graves.[1] Architectural remains are negligible and difficult to interpret, which is why the term *Dark Age* was coined for these years.[2]

Of necessity, we turn yet again to the graves and the mortuary sites to sketch the extent of Geometric Athens, the use of space in relation to the previous period, and the possible areas of habitation in relation to the cemeteries, both long-established and later ones, and to the early roads.

In order to follow the settlement's development over the 300 or so years of the Geometric period, the excavation evidence from Athens is examined by subperiods:[3]

1. Protogeometric period (1050/1000–900 BC)[4]
2. Early and Middle Geometric period (900–760 BC)
3. Late Geometric period (760–700 BC)

The presentation and subsequent synthesis of the archaeological evidence by subperiods gradually reveal the picture of the Geometric settlement so that each phase of its development is articulated with the one before and the one after. Consequently, the changes within the historical and social context of each subperiod can be followed more easily and clearly than if this were attempted for the whole corpus of material within the broad framework of the Geometric period in general.

Settlement Remains

The settlement remains of the Geometric period are limited to five areas of the city (Ancient Agora, Psyrri, Commercial Center, Makrygianni, and Koukaki).[5] These are wells and remains of walls, which point to human activity in the places where they were found. No remains of this period have been identified on the Acropolis prior to the building boom in the sixth century BC.[6] The edifices constructed then were founded on the bedrock, destroying all earlier architectural remains, after the clearing of movable finds and pottery from the site.[7]

Specifically, the following building remains have been found:

Area II: Ancient Agora – Areopagus[8]

Protogeometric Period[9]

Wells and the deposits in the wider area of the Agora have been located in the following places (fig. 3.1):[10]

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- Inside the central square in its south part
- On the north slope of the Areopagus
- In the southwest of the Agora, in the so-called Industrial District

In the central square of the Agora, the wells dated to the Protogeometric period are more numerous than those of the antecedent Submycenaean one and are in a different location; there are no wells in the northeast corner and the west part, whereas there is a concentration of wells mainly at the center of the square and in its southwest corner. Very important is the shaft L 11:1, uncovered under the Roman Odeion of Agrippa (II. 7). According to Papadopoulos, who has studied it together with other Early Iron Age wells in the Agora, it was not intended to function as a well, but as a refuse pit.[11] A large quantity

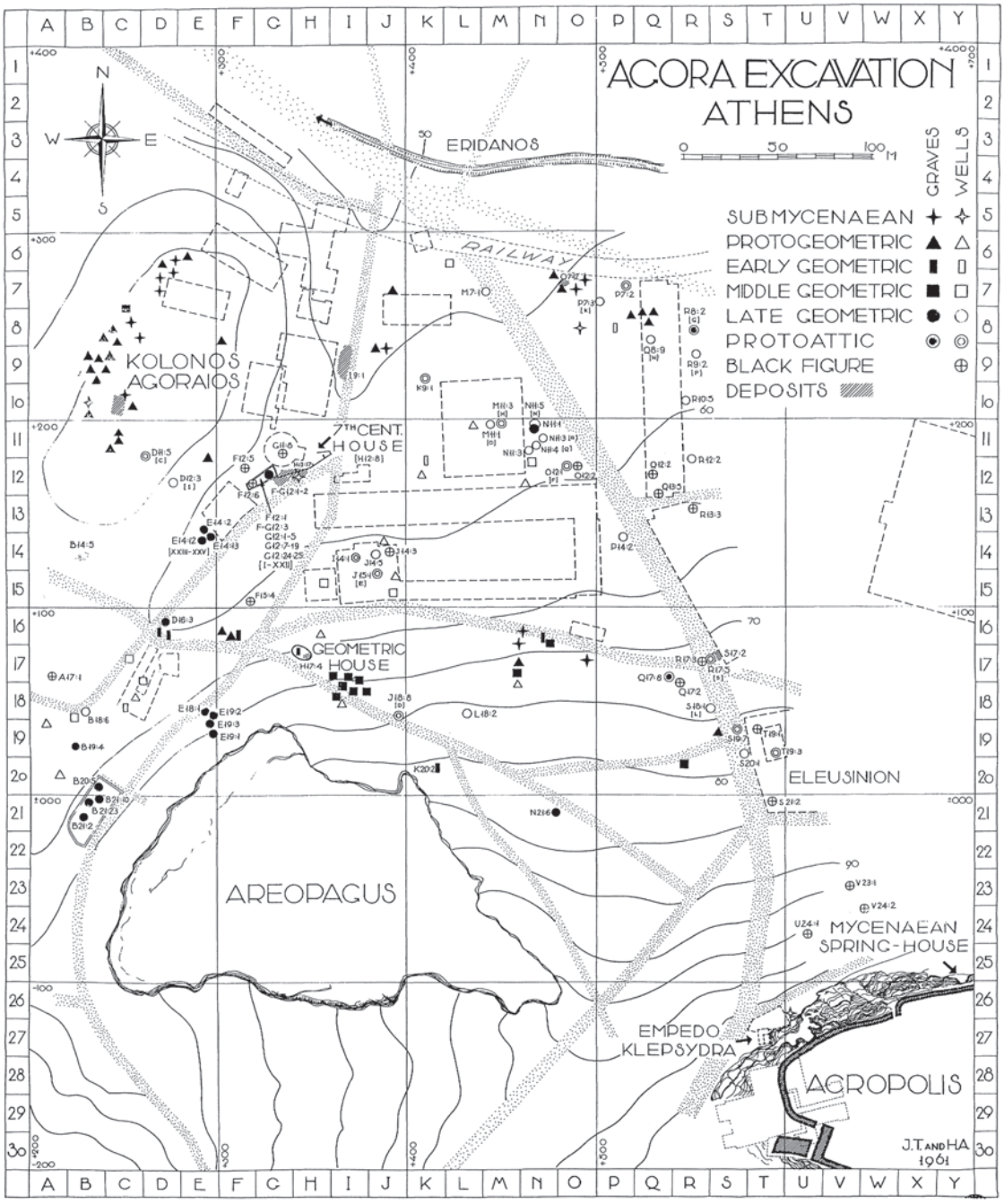

Figure 3.1. Map of the wider area of the Ancient Agora with the wells and deposits of the eleventh–seventh centuries BC revealed until 1962. *Agora* VIII, pl. 45. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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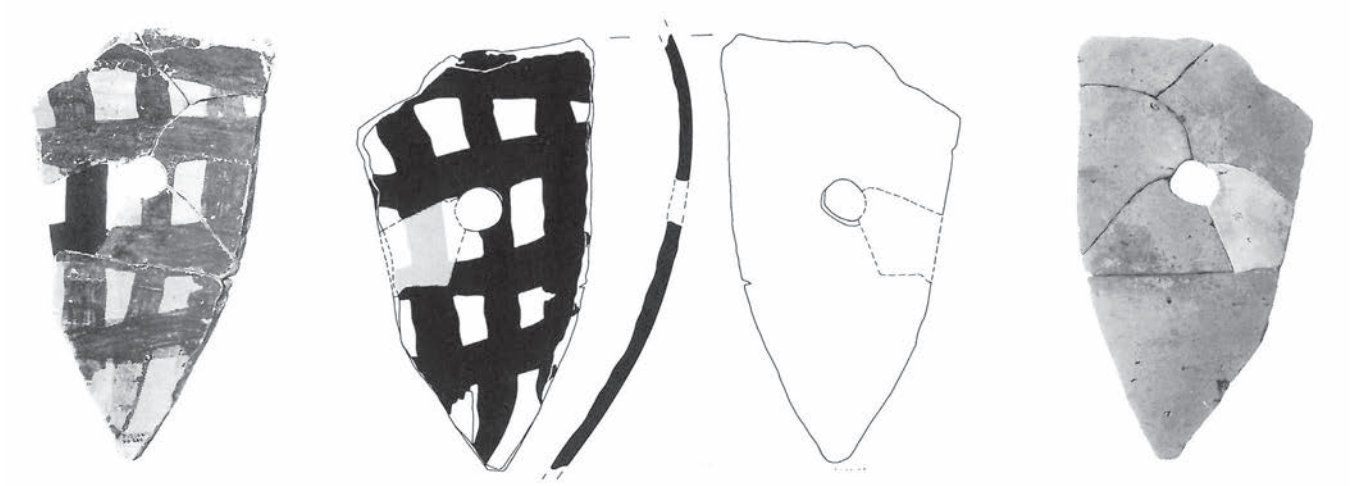

Figure 3.2. Athens, Agora. Central Square, Odeion of Agrippa. Test piece from the Protogeometric pit or well L 11:1. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 29, fig. 2.3. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

of discards from pottery workshops was recovered from its fill (fig. 3.2).

Farther west, under the prostasis of the Roman Civic Offices and north of the Middle Stoa, is the well K 12:1 (II. 9), which is dated to the mid-Protogeometric period (PG II) by the assemblage of intact vases — mainly jugs — found inside it. These may represent either the period of its use (POU) or a single dump of wasters from a nearby pottery workshop.[12] In any case, the presence of several kiln-damaged vases and at least nine test pieces attest to pottery-making activity in the surrounding space.

Three wells have been found on the north slope of the Areopagus (II. 12): one in the area of the so-called Geometric "house" (H 16-17:1), one on the site of the later Middle Geometric cemetery southwest of the South Stoa (I 18:4), and one in the contemporary burial ground south of the South Stoa (M 17:5).[13] Until recently, none of these wells had been studied in detail. Nevertheless, Smithson had noted already in the first reports that they point to settlement or workshop activity in the space, in a period when burials were made within a short radius.[14] On present evidence, this seems to be confirmed at least for Well H 16-17:1 by the four test pieces found inside it, which are possibly discards from a pottery workshop hereabouts.[15]

Last, in the so-called Industrial District, the shaft A 20:5 was located to the north of Classical House A (II. 4). It contained finds that were considered due to the clearing after the Persian destruction and a few Protogeometric sherds. Although Young referred to it as a pit, it may well have served as a well in Protogeometric times. Papadopoulos identified six test pieces and about 11 more fragments from its fill, some of which can be identified securely, and others very possibly, as test pieces. In his opinion, if this pit was indeed a well, then its location was perhaps chosen because proximity to a stream was considered to guarantee a higher water table, and it would have served a nearby pottery workshop.[16] Another Protogeometric well was found in the same area, under the north part of the court of the Poros Building (II. 4).

Early and Middle Geometric Period[17]

The number of wells and deposits in the Agora was not just maintained but increased in relation to the preceding period. On the contrary, it seems that no wells were sunk on the north slope of the Areopagus. The wells in this period were located:

- On the north bank of the Eridanos, near the Stoa Poikile
- All over the central square, where wells were sunk both in the south and in two new locations, north of the temple of Ares and east of the Stoa of Attalos
- In the southwest of the Agora in the Industrial District
- In the southeast of the Agora in the area of the Eleusinion

On the north bank of the Eridanos, 45 m from its bed, is Well K 1:5, which is the earliest securely dated indication of habitation in the area north of the river (II. 10).[18] It is dated by its POU to the EG II/MG I period. According to the excavator, the area seems to have had a use other than mortuary during the Iron Age.[19] Indeed, a cooking pot with traces of fire, recovered from its POU layer, suggests

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settlement activity, while the unfinished water-drawing jars could be discards from a nearby workshop (possibly also the spindle-whorls, although these could equally be considered remnants of domestic activity).

One of the new spaces in which wells were sunk in the central square of the Agora is to the north of the temple of Ares (II. 6). Well L 6:2, some 50 m south of the Eridanos, was used as the refuse pit of a pottery workshop throughout the Middle Geometric period, as the recent study of the material of its fill indicates. It contained many vases that had been vitrified and compacted due to excessive firing temperatures, kiln supports, and a hydria that had been damaged prior to firing and was turned into a krater by the potter (fig. 3.3).

The other new space in which a well was sunk is the northeast corner of the Agora (II. 3). The sole Middle Geometric well (P 8:3) east of the Panathenaic Way was found to the northeast of the Stoa of Attalos and seems to have been used regularly, as surmised from the pots for drawing water and for everyday use retrieved from near its bottom. A water-drawing jar fired to vitrification point, present among these finds, may have been a waster. However, because badly fired or slightly damaged vases have been found both in graves and in the use level of wells, indicating that some of these pots were in fact used, the specific one is considered domestic.

At the center of the square, seven new wells have been found close to the earlier Protogeometric ones. One of these (K 12:2), which is dated to EG I, was found 2 m north of a slightly earlier PG II well (K 12:1), under the prostasis of the Civic Offices (II. 9). The recent study of the material from its fill showed that it contained several badly fired vases, only one of which, a one-handled cup, could be considered confidently a workshop discard.

In the south half of the central square (II. 9), at about the midpoint of the Middle Stoa and very close to its south foundation, an MG II well (M 13:1) was found, inside the shaft of which were wasters and test pieces (II. 9).

In the southwest of the Agora, other wells were sunk in the Industrial District; they remain unpublished (II. 4). In the court of the Poros Building, a well was found near the earlier Protogeometric one, which it most probably replaced. Another well was located north of the court, in the southwest room of the building.[20] Two more wells have been excavated in the area — one in the northwest room of House C and the other in the west room of House D.

Last, in the southeast of the Agora, Well U-V 19:1 was excavated on the site of the Eleusinion and east of the temple. It is dated to PG II on the basis of the latest pottery from the upper layers of its fill (II. 18). The presence of much earlier sherds in the underlying levels could indicate its use as a well during the Protogeometric, Late Helladic, or even Middle Helladic period. However, this hypothesis has not been proven, as the shaft was not excavated down to the bottom.[21]

Late Geometric Period[22]

At the end of the Geometric period there was a further increase in the number of wells in the main space of the Agora, except in the north part of the central square. These wells are concentrated in places where there was earlier activity:

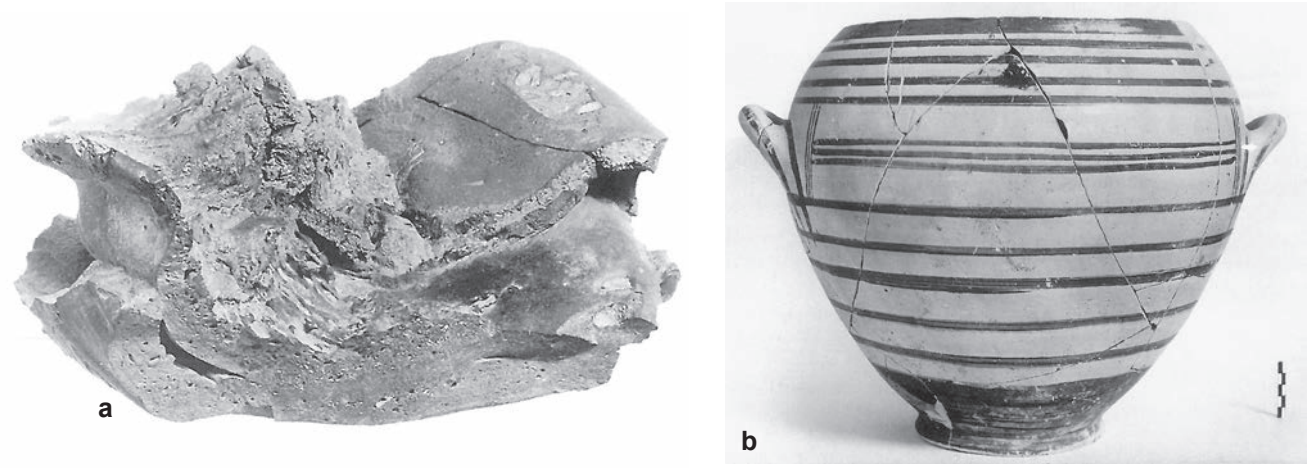

Figure 3.3. Athens, Agora. Central Square, area of the temple of Ares. Industrial discards from Middle Geometric Well L 6:2: (a) waster fired to an extremely high temperature; (b) hydria remodeled into a krater. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 104, fig. 2.43, p. 108, fig. 2.49. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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- In the northeast corner of the Agora, around and below the Stoa of Attalos
- At the center, in and mainly east of the Odeion of Agrippa
- In the southwest corner of the square
- In the southwest of the Agora in the Industrial District

New wells sunk in places where there is no such activity from the beginning of the Geometric period are located:

- On the west side of the Agora, in the area of the Tholos
- At the southeast foot of Agoraios Kolonos

At the same time, wells reappear in areas where there was activity of this kind in the Protogeometric period but that was interrupted in the Middle Geometric:

- In the southeast of the Agora, on the site of the Eleusinion
- On the north slope of the Areopagus

In the northeast of the Agora, in the space around and below the Stoa of Attalos (II. 3), five shafts have been found (P 7:3, Q 8:9, R 9:2, R 10:5, and 12:2). Of these, some were wells and some were used from the outset as refuse pits (e.g., R 12:2, which remained unfinished, possibly because the aquifer was not found).[23] The depth of two of these wells (Q 8:9, R 12:2) is twice that usual for wells of the period, which did not exceed 5.35 m.[24]

Five Late Geometric wells were uncovered in the middle of the square (II. 7): one inside the Odeion of Agrippa, almost under the center of the orchestra (M 11:1), and four to the east of this building (N 11:3, N 11:4, N 11:5, and N 11:6). These wells are not all contemporary with each other. The well under the orchestra (M 11:1) and one of the wells outside the odeion (N 11:6) are dated to the end of the Late Geometric/beginning of the Early Archaic period, whereas all the rest are dated in the Late Geometric period. Of these, only Well N 11:5 has been studied thoroughly and published. Its fill yielded pots identified as workshop discards.

To the southwest of the central square, under the west edge of the Middle Stoa (II. 9), three wells dating from the Late Geometric period have been excavated (I 13:1, I 13:4, and J 13:1). Wells I 13:4 and I 13:1 were very close to each other and are considered to have served the same installation. Well I 13:4 was never used, probably because no water was found. Well I 13:1 was sunk to replace it, and its depth of 9.25 m is considerably greater than the norm for the period (approximately 5.50 m).[25] The third well in the space (J 13:1) was nearby. It was also unfinished and is likewise dated to the mid-eighth century BC. Farther south, inside the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion, there was one further well (J 14:5), without an easily distinguishable use layer as it was filled with a uniform deposit of water-drawing jars (II. 1). Last, one more well was revealed in the west part of the Industrial District (B 18:6), in proximity to an earlier Middle Geometric well (II. 4).

The two new Late Geometric wells are located to the west, in the Tholos and southwest of this, at the southeast foot of the Agoraios Kolonos. In the well to the southwest of the Tholos (D 12:3) there was uniform Late Geometric fill, which is of little help in dating its POU and thus determining whether it ever served as a well and was not a refuse pit from the outset (II. 8).

The deposit to the southeast of the Tholos (H 12:17) is one of the most important in the Agora site, which is why it was included in the Early Iron Age wells studied recently (II. 5). This is not a well packed with fill but the dump of the kiln of the so-called Archaic "house" of the Tholos (Building A), which was abandoned in the same period as this deposit, in the second to third quarter of the seventh century BC.[26] The finds come from two levels: from the clay floor of the kiln and from the fill of the firing chamber, which is considered the destruction level contemporary with that of the "house." The assemblage of finds indicates that the kiln was in use from the Late Geometric to the Early Archaic period. Although the latest pieces are of the seventh century BC, there is abundant scattered Late Geometric material. From the total of vases found, only four were inventoried initially by Thompson and without any reference to the workshop discards, even though the remains of a clay-settling basin had been found to the northeast of the deposit. When Brann published three of these vases it became clear that one of them, a kotyle, was a waster. This piece of evidence was reinforced in 1996 when the co-finds were reexamined and other kiln-damaged vases and wasters were identified.[27]

Last, in the southeast of the Agora, in and around the Eleusinion, is one of two points where wells were reopened after a hiatus of two centuries (II. 18). Deposit T 19:3 was probably a sacred one and not a well. However, the other three deposits (S 18:1, S 19:7, S 20:1), found to the west of and on the Panathenaic Way, northwest of the northwest corner of the Eleusinion, are linked by their excavator with settlement activity at the site, although

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their detailed study is still pending.[28] The second place where wells were sunk is the north slope of the Areopagus, where a Late Geometric well (L 18:2) was revealed underneath a Roman house (II. 13). Its fill contained mainly Late Geometric pottery and a few Roman sherds.

Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square[29]

The sole remains of settlement in this area are one well and one boulder, which were found in the plot at Karaiskaki 1 and Arionos 2 (III. 14). The boulder, possibly a remnant of some construction, stood on a Protogeometric level. The well yielded Geometric pottery, which alone is not sufficient evidence to date its POU, but in combination with the boulder and the Protogeometric layer it possibly points to contemporary use of the space. Furthermore, in the adjacent plot to the west, at Arionos 4 and Ermou (III. 10), abundant Geometric pottery was present in the fill, while many cuttings of indeterminate date and traces of workshop activity on the surface of the soft limestone bedrock were revealed. Moreover, a large quantity of Late Geometric pottery, possibly indicating the existence of other workshops, was found farther east in the plot at Ermou 93, inside six wells that had been used as refuse pits after their abandonment (II. 17).

Area V: Commercial Center[30]

In the east of the area, on the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 4 (V.3), which was the site of a cemetery in the early years of the Geometric period, a well was found together with four channels parallel to one another, cut in the soft limestone bedrock to the south of it. According to the excavator, S. I. Charitonidis, the finds are remains of an irrigation system of the Geometric period. The southernmost ditches are better preserved than the northernmost. The latter are cut through by the pit graves in the Classical cemetery uncovered to the northeast, between Panepistimiou, Amerikis, Stadiou, and Voukourestiou Streets, on the plot of the former Army Share Fund building (prior to this the Royal Stables), and extended as far as this site.[31] Both the ditches/furrows and the well were found filled with pottery dating from the Protogeometric period (950 BC) to the end of the Middle Geometric/beginning of the Late Geometric period (750 BC), which is encountered as far as and even inside the Classical graves and at the bottom of the likewise Classical pyres to north and south of the channels.[32] The ceramic material has been interpreted as resulting from disturbance of the soil in the course of digging the grave pits in Classical times. The exact phase of use of this system during the Geometric period is not elucidated.

Area X: Makrygianni[33]

Indications of human activity linked with settlement have been found all over the Makrygianni area.

In the northwest part, remains have been excavated at two sites. On the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion (X. 12) a well was found in the same space as a cemetery, which is attested by the pit graves cut in the soft limestone bedrock and the pottery finds. The information available on this excavation is extremely vague and incomplete. The excavator speculates that the well dates to the Geometric period but offers no supporting evidence.[34] We do not know its precise position, whether it was explored to any depth, and if so to which century its fill dates, just as we know nothing about the dating of the rest of the Geometric pottery from the site.[35]

The evidence from the southwest part of the area is somewhat clearer. In the plot at Karyatidon 9–11 (X. 26), in the west part of the area, there was a second well, which was turned into a refuse pit after it was abandoned. Even though it was investigated down to the bottom and like the two other prehistoric wells found at the site "yielded notable pottery mainly from the point of dating the period of use of these for water supply and of their subsequently becoming useless and turning into deposits,"[36] its excavator says nothing about the exact date of the fill and assigns it generally to the Geometric period.

In the plot at Kavalloti 18 (X. 22), 160 m west of the previous site, a wall of flattish stones was found under the surface of the ancient road that ran from the South Slope of the Acropolis to Phaleron, via the South Phaleron Gate (XIII). The northwest–southeast orientation of the wall, which is about the same as that of the west retaining wall of the road, suggests that it too previously functioned as a retaining wall. The same road has been located a few meters to the southeast, in the excavation on the surface of Kavalloti Street (X. 24), which defines the east edge of the Middle Geometric/Late Geometric cemetery found there. In addition to the Geometric wall, other walls of later periods (Archaic, Early Classical, Hellenistic) have been exposed in the same space, parallel to the embankment of the road, and it is very likely that these too were retaining walls. The correlation of this road with the Geometric burials indicates that it was a very ancient thoroughfare, while it seems that its course remained more or less the same over time, obviously dictated by the lie of the land.

In the southeast part of the area, close to the north bank of the Ilissos, walls of the period have come to light at two sites. Because of their proximity to the riverbed, these walls too seem to have played the role of retaining the

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downward slope of the ground. The first site is the plot at Syngrou Avenue 13 and Lembesi (X. 30), which is about 80 m north of the riverbank. There, three mutually parallel walls have been uncovered, at right angle to the Classical retaining wall of the road that passed by here in a northeast–southwest direction. The second site, 80 m farther to the southwest, is on the road surface of Syngrou Avenue and outside the properties at nos. 40–42, where a Geometric wall was found, preserved for a length of 9 m (X. 29). Constructed of fieldstones of assorted sizes and clay mortar, it was founded in a Geometric fill, upon which another wall, Archaic, stood at right angle to the south end of the previous one. Its construction and dimensions, as well as the depth at which it was uncovered, point to the existence of retaining walls and the creation of terraces in the riverine area.

Last, in the northeast part of the area, on the Makrygiannis plot, the rest of the known wells have been found, as well as walls, floors, and traces of pottery workshop installations (X. 35).[37] At least six wells have been located throughout the site, during the repeated excavations around the Weiler building and farther east, on the sides of an ancient road named conventionally "road METRO 1" by the excavators (M 20 and M 23). All were sunk in the soft limestone bedrock and after their abandonment were reused in Late Geometric times as refuse pits.[38] We have more data for the last two, from which we draw information about the site. Abundant pottery was recovered from their shafts, including some vases decorated with representations of warriors, horses, and birds. The fill of Well 20 is a single dump, as emerges from the Late Geometric vases that were mended from sherds found in its different layers. A very few sherds of prehistoric and Protogeometric pottery were found, but no whole vase can be restored. These are remains from earlier uses of the space. They slipped down into the well as it was being dug and are not related to its POU. Sherds from other periods, dating from prehistoric into Roman times, were found also inside Well M 23. Objects in the fill associated with burial activity, enchytrismoi and grave markers, confirm the existence of Late Geometric graves at this site or in the immediate vicinity.[39]

To the west of road NMA I and close to one of the wells brought to light to the southwest of the Weiler building, walls and floors dated to the Geometric period were revealed.[40] Unfortunately, we have no information on these, other than that they have been considered remains of habitation. Furthermore, traces of workshops have been identified in this space: two large pits and grooves cut in the rock, as well as a small pottery kiln. At the southernmost point of the plot (Area I), the fill consisted of gravel and clay, with some Geometric pottery.[41]

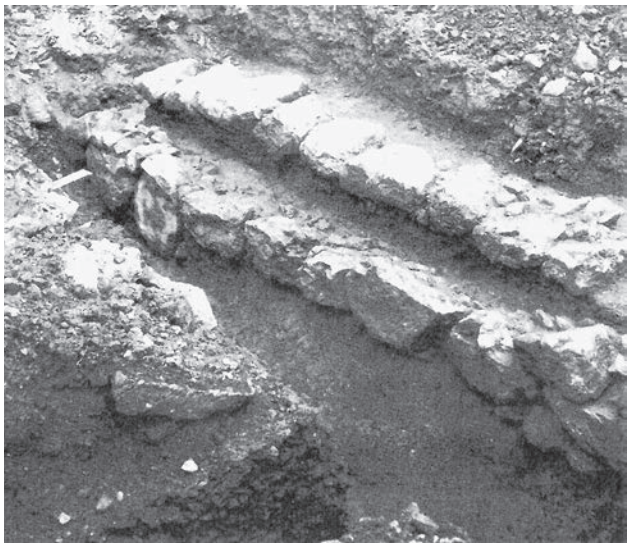

Figure 3.4. Athens, Koukaki. Veikou 38 and Stratigou Kontouli. Geometric retaining wall. Alexandri 1970, pl. 38α. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Area XII: Koukaki[42]

Walls and wells of the Geometric period, not dated more precisely by their excavators, have been unearthed in three places in this area, all in its northwest part. Specifically, in the plot at Veikou 39 and Stratigou Kontouli, a stepped wall identified as a retaining wall was revealed (XII. 2; fig. 3.4). One hundred meters to the southwest, another wall has come to light in the plot at Drakou 19 (XII. 10). Probably this is a retaining wall that underpinned a terrace, a hypothesis boosted by the finding of an Archaic stone wall to the north of it, running in the same direction and founded at the same depth as the Geometric one.

Last, 25 m farther south, in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 44–46 and Drakou (XII. 4), two wells have been found sunk in the soft limestone bedrock. They had been sealed in antiquity and are dated to the Geometric period from the pottery of their fill.

Evidence of Cemeteries and Roads

Evidence of mortuary activity in the Geometric period has been found all over the city (Acropolis, Kerameikos, Ancient Agora – Areopagus, Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square, Varvakeios – Omonoia Square, Commercial Center, Plaka, National Garden – Syntagma Square, Olympieion, Makrygianni, Kynosarges, Koukaki, Theseion). It consists of parts of cemeteries and remains of graves, which attest

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the limits of expansion of human activity in Athens during this period and help us detect the areas of habitation near to them. Any attempted theoretical or graphic approach to these data for the Geometric period as a whole contributes little to our understanding of the gradual growth of the burial sites within the area of the settlement and creates the erroneous impression of the contemporaneous coexistence of countless cemeteries. For this reason, the funerary remains presented below are examined by subperiods of the Geometric period and are marked accordingly on the different maps by area and subperiod. The period of use of the spaces with mortuary activity is not marked on the maps but on the timelines for each area.[43]

Analytically, the mortuary remains found are the following:

Area VIII: Acropolis

Although no settlement remains of any phase of the Geometric period have been found on the flat summit of the Acropolis and its slopes, a small quantity of Protogeometric and Middle Geometric pottery, and a host of Late Geometric, has been identified. This material was brought to light in the years 1885–1890 during the first excavations on the Acropolis by Kavvadias and Kawerau. Unfortunately, it is for the most part still unpublished; the Late Geometric sherds published by Graef and Langlotz in 1909 represent only 10 percent of the total.[44] The only certain indications of Geometric mortuary activity on the Acropolis are located low down on the South Slope, a space that was used continuously as a cemetery.

Protogeometric Period[45]

The pottery found on the Acropolis comes from its flat summit, the Mycenaean Fountain, the area of the Klepsydra, and the south foot in front of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, where Protogeometric graves are also located.

As we have said, the known early vases and sherds of the material found on the top of the Rock in the nineteenth-century excavations are very few. They are two lekythoi dated to the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period, a small number of fragments of Protogeometric deep bowls (skyphoi), a late Protogeometric krater fragment (fig. 3.5), and a bead with incised decoration.[46]

A few deep-bowl fragments decorated with concentric circles (fig. 3.6, letters h, j, k, l, and n) were found in the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain.[47]

No other Protogeometric pottery has come to light on the slopes of the Acropolis. The 620 or so Protogeometric

Figure 3.5. Fragment of a Protogeometric krater from the excavations by Kavvadias and Kawerau on the Acropolis. Graef and Langlotz 1909, pl. 9, no. 273. D-DAI-ATH-*Akropolis Vasen* 5. Courtesy Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen. Copyright © DAI.

vase sherds from excavation Sector OA, on the borders of which is the Klepsydra, are not associated with the spring, as is evident from their types. Indeed, as some of the sherds belong to typical funerary vases, it is most likely that they come from the clearing of graves at the east foot of the Areopagus — that is, the burial ground closest to Sector OA.[48]

Last, a Protogeometric cemetery has been excavated low on the South Slope between the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and Dionysiou Areopagitou Street (VIII. 4). This comprises nine graves, four of which (XLII, XL, VI, and XXXIX) contained inhumations and the other five (XXV, XXVI, XXVIII, XXII and VII) cremations in cinerary urns (fig. 3.7).

The cremations are slightly later than the inhumations and are dated to the transition from Protogeometric to Early Geometric times (PG II–EG I). Even though all the graves were found dispersed in the space, others are thought to have existed, as surmised from the empty pits and the contemporary pottery found there.

Early and Middle Geometric Period[49]

The very little pottery of this period from the Acropolis was found in the same places as that of the Protogeometric period. Only one large fragment of an Early Geometric krater and one fragment of a kalathos are known from the

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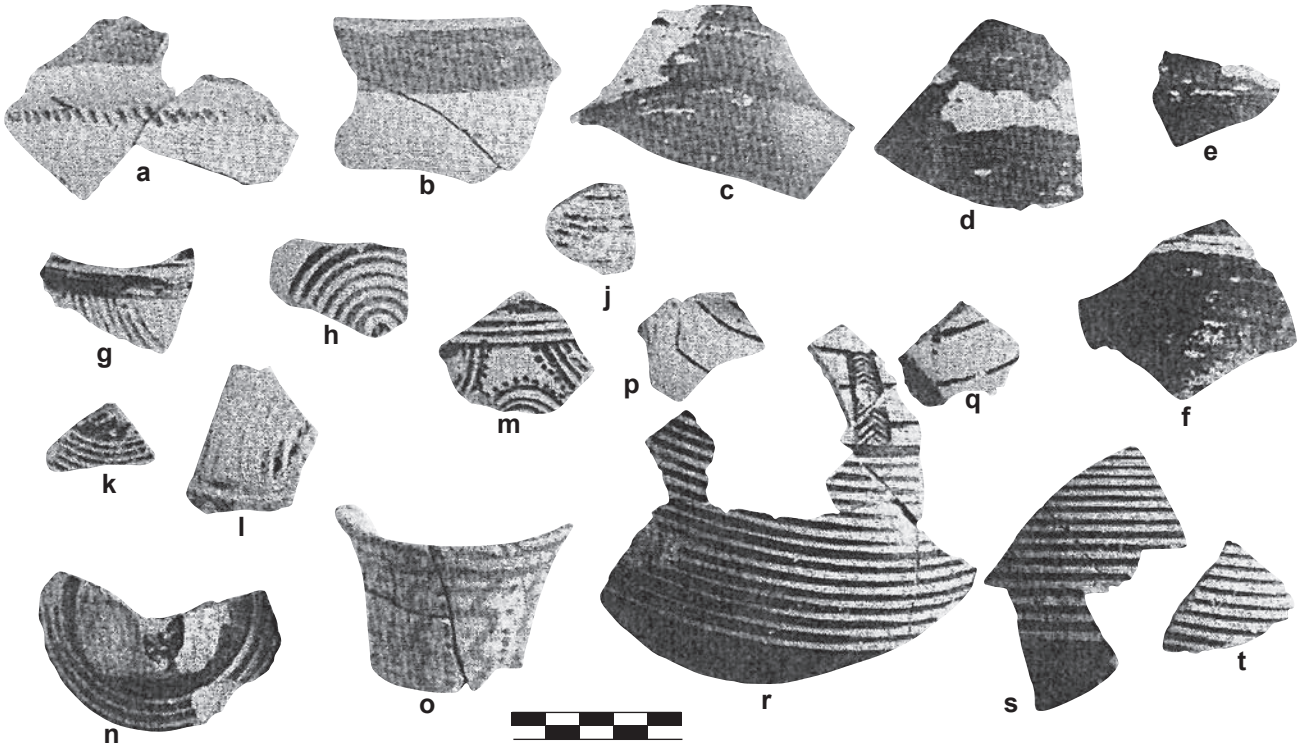

Figure 3.6. Fragments of Mycenaean, Protogeometric, and Geometric vases from the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain. Broneer 1939, p. 404, fig. 85. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

top of the Rock, as well as a few sherds from the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain (fig. 3.8).[50] Among the sherds found in Sector OA are some from Middle Geometric pyxides with traces of fire.[51]

Although the principal activity on the South Slope (VIII. 4) was mortuary, there are only four surviving graves (XV, XIX, XVIII, and XLVIII). These are pits concentrated to the southwest of the West Roman Cistern, under the foundations of the Classical house in the west part of the space. In addition, empty pits were found, as well as groups of vases that Charitonidis attributed to empty graves, and scattered grave goods. These indicate the existence of other early graves from the end of the Protogeometric, the Early Geometric, and the Middle Geometric periods, which were destroyed due to the continuous use of the site and the works of leveling, as well as the erecting of later buildings, such as the West Roman Cistern and the sanctuary of Nymphe.[52]

Late Geometric Period[53]

The finds from this period are vase sherds, which indeed are very difficult to identify and interpret. They come only from the Mycenaean Fountain and the flat summit of the Acropolis. The sherds from the latter area are numerous and display similarities to the few from the Mycenaean Fountain and to others of previous subperiods from all over the Rock.

Some of the sherds recovered from the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain are depicted in fig. 3.9. The most important are Sherd e, which comes from a large krater, and Sherds f and g, which are from a pyxis lid. In other words, they are from vases of purely funerary use (fig. 3.9).

However, even more impressive are the 1,000 or so fragments of vases of Dipylon type, the majority of which were found in 1888 on the flat summit of the Rock in the fill of the Persian destruction level.[54] Of this assemblage too, less than one-tenth has been published, so the data available to us are incomplete and hinder the drawing of safe conclusions. It emerges from the 100 or so fragments studied that they date to the closing decades of the eighth century BC and are decorated with funerary iconography (fig. 3.10).[55]

On the South Slope, the Late Geometric burials in the cemetery to the south of the Herodeion far outnumber those of the preceding 250 years (VIII. 4). Twenty-six graves have been found dispersed in the site. Four of them were pit graves of early Late Geometric times (LG I) and the rest enchytrismoi of children or infants (fig. 3.11) and dated to the ripe Late Geometric period (LG III).[56]

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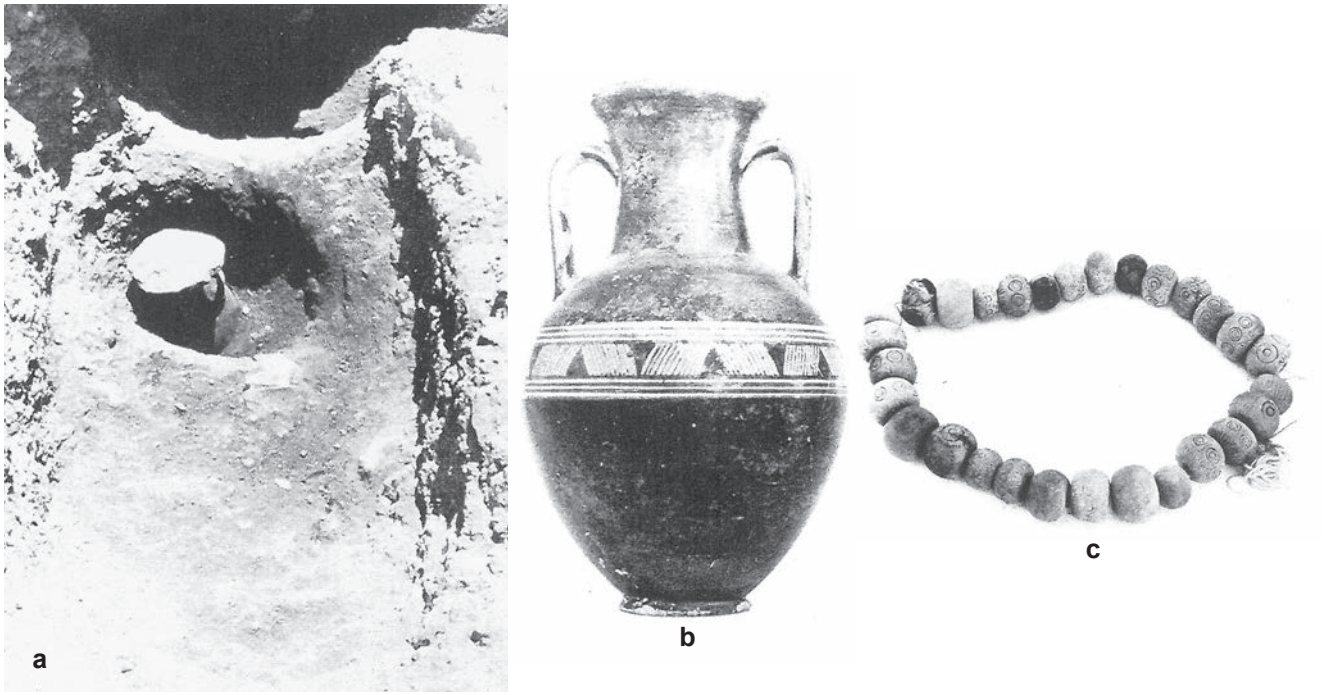

Figure 3.7. Athens, Acropolis. South Slope, south of the Herodeion. Cremation Burial XXVIII: (a) the cinerary amphora as found; (b) the cinerary amphora after conservation; (c) necklace of incised terracotta beads from inside the vase (PG II–EG I). Charitonides 1975, pls. 17α, 17γ–δ. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

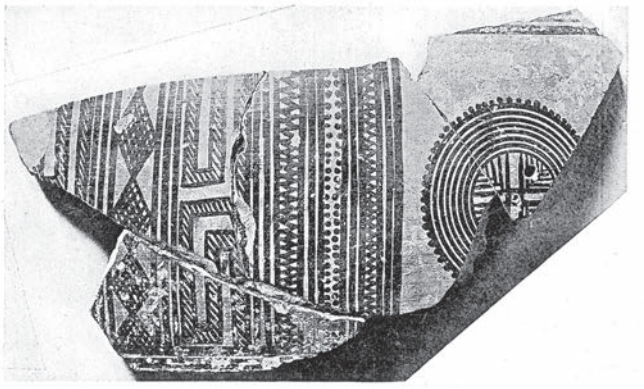

Figure 3.8. Fragment of an Early Geometric krater from the excavations by Kavvadias and Kawerau on the Acropolis. Graef and Langlotz 1909, pl. 10, no. 272. D-DAI-ATH-*Akropolis Vasen* 7. Courtesy Deutsches Archaeologisches Institut, Abteilung Athen. Copyright © DAI.

There was a big concentration of Geometric pottery to the northwest of the space in front of the Herodeion, in the so-called square, and underneath the Archaic House Γ. However, this does not denote the existence of destroyed graves here but is linked with the great disturbance of the cemetery during the sixth century BC, when work on modifying the natural gradient of the southwest of the slope began, with the building of retaining walls. The large quantities of earth needed to cover the walls and to create the terraces were brought from farther south, from the area of the Geometric cemetery. This is confirmed both by the stratigraphy at the site and by the presence of vase fragments of the sixth century BC in the disturbed levels, in the graves, and in fill that was transported farther north from the south.[57]

Area I: Kerameikos

Protogeometric Period[58]

Fifty-seven graves of the period have been found in the Kerameikos, 55 with cremation burials inside cinerary urns and two with inhumations, under the later Pompeion and on both banks of the Eridanos (fig. 3.12).[59]

Although the Submycenaean burial ground on the north bank of the Eridanos, under the Pompeion, continued in use to some degree, the main mortuary site was shifted some 100 m farther west, to the south bank of the river, which is flatter. It is observed that the Protogeometric graves there are located in the east part of the site, at the point closest to the antecedent Submycenaean graves on the opposite bank. The Protogeometric burials in the Submycenaean burial ground on the north bank are fewer than those on the south bank and earlier. They are dated to the transitional years from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period, and

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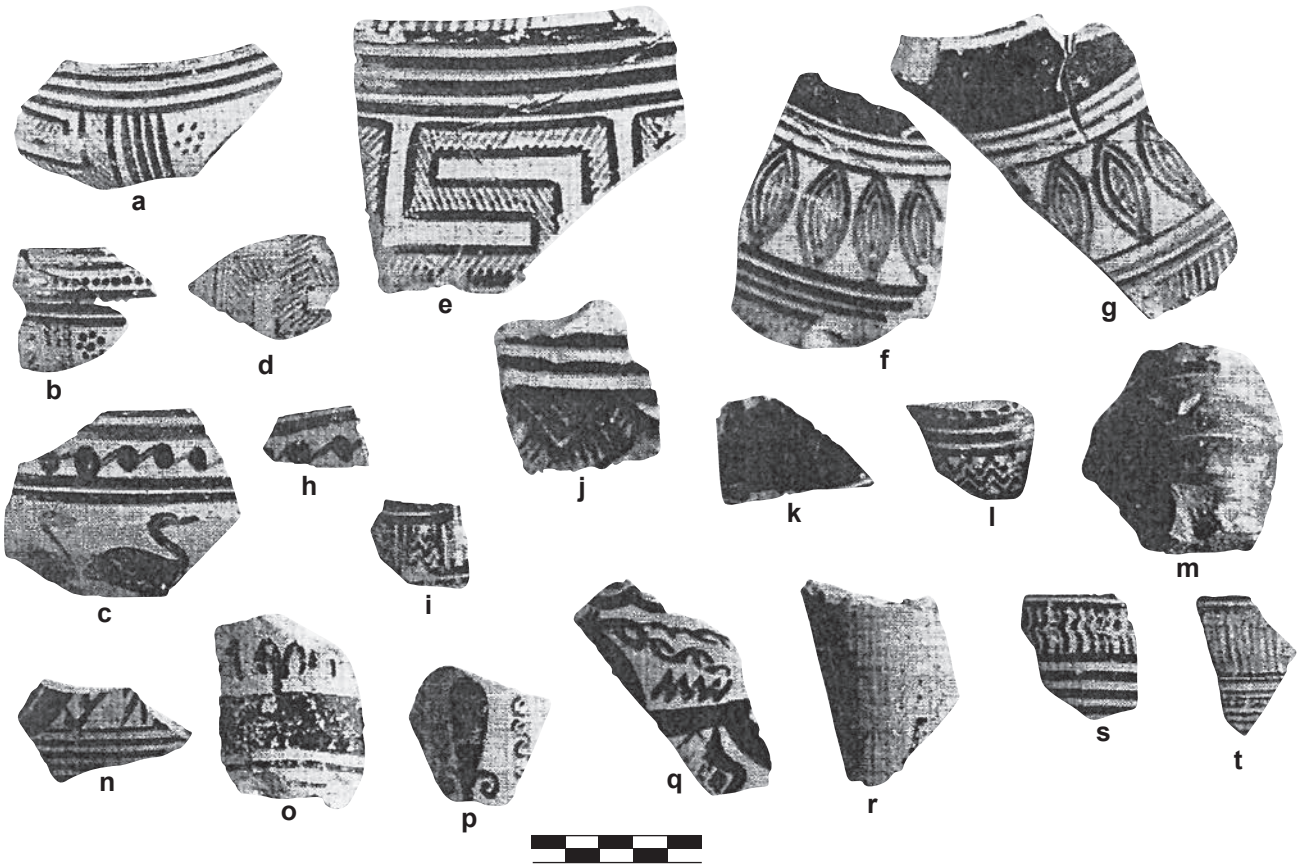

Figure 3.9. Fragments of Geometric and Protoattic vases from the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain. Broneer 1939, p. 404, fig. 86. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

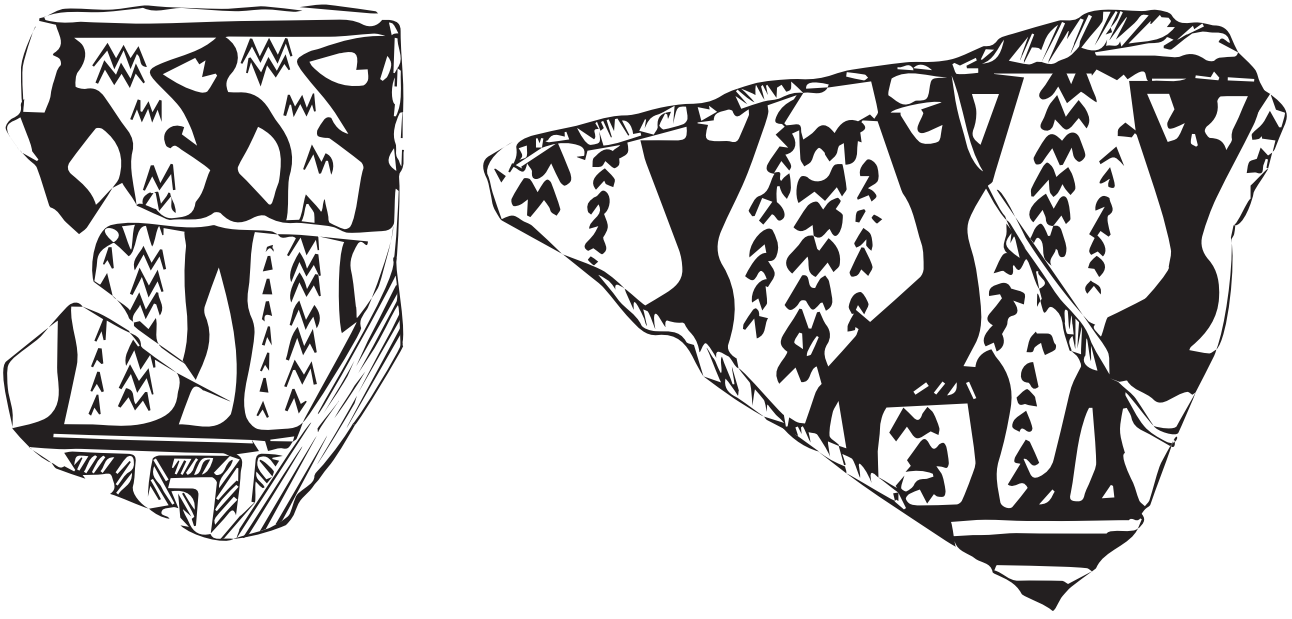

Figure 3.10. Fragments of Late Geometric vases with funerary iconography from the Acropolis. Hurwit 1999, p. 86, fig. 59. Courtesy of J. M. Hurwit.

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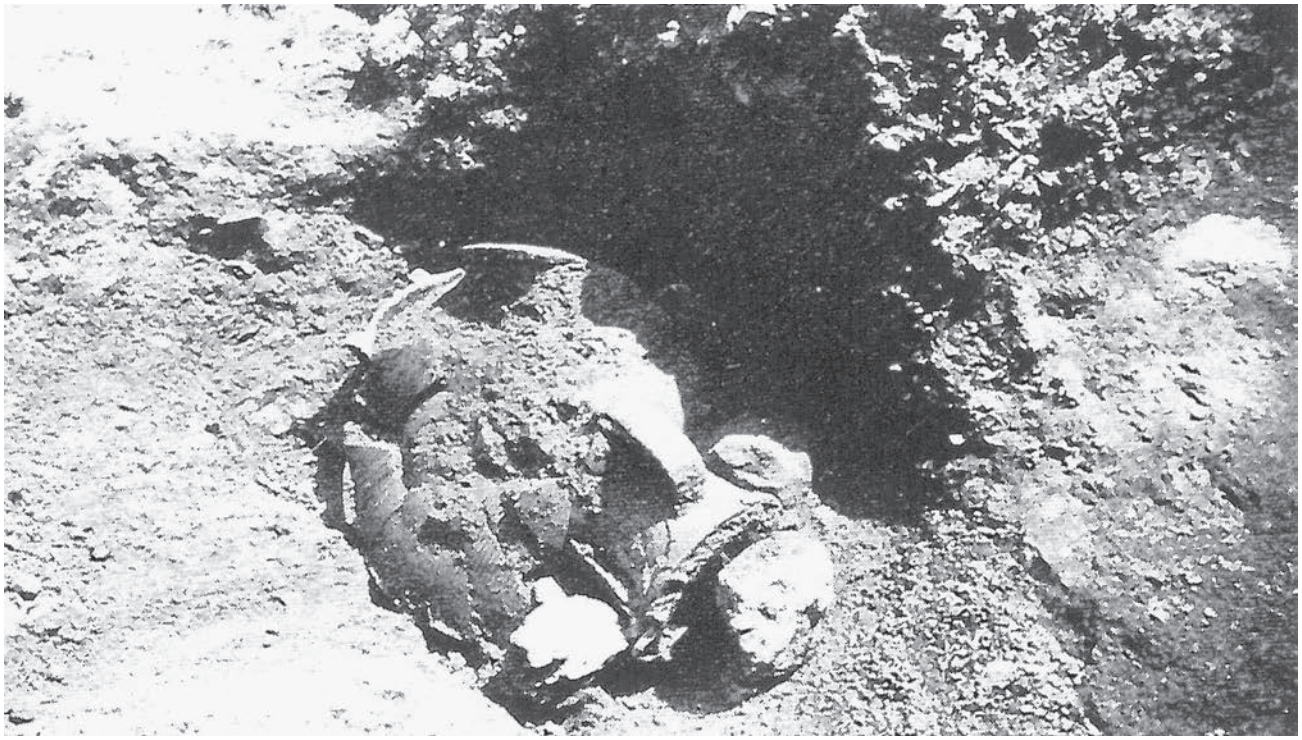

Figure 3.11. Athens, Acropolis. South Slope, south of the Herodeion. Grave 19: enchytrismos of a child in an amphora. The mouth of the burial vase was sealed with a plate held in place by a stone. Stones on either side of the neck keep the burial vase in its original position. Charitonides 1975, pl. 1α. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

even the Early Protogeometric period, and are located on the periphery to the north and west.

The orderly arrangement of the graves in regular rows, one next to the other, which had been observed already from the founding of the cemetery in the preceding period, continued.[60] Large but not yet monumental kraters and stelai of unworked stone in some cases marked the position of tombs (Graves 1, 2, 43). The grave goods accompanying the dead are richer than in the Submycenaean graves and include vases, weapons, and plain jewelry.

Early, Middle, and Late Geometric Periods[61]

The graves of the ninth and eighth centuries BC are in direct proximity to the Protogeometric cemetery and are more numerous. About 100 graves of the Middle and the Late Geometric period have been found, with cremation and inhumation burials. They are ranged on both banks of the Eridanos (north and south cemetery), although the number of graves on the south bank is again considerably larger than on the north.

The north cemetery lies a short distance to the east, close to the Classical enceinte. Its early graves are near the preceding Submycenaean and Protogeometric burials, while the later ones spread northward. The south cemetery lies a little way to the west in relation to the north one. The earliest graves there are in its west part, where there were Submycenaean and Protogeometric burials, while the Late Geometric burials have been found to the east.[62]

Over the years, the grave goods become more varied and numerous. Indeed, during the Middle Geometric period, the graves of the Kerameikos are furnished with more objects than in any other period, especially those of women and children, even though the children's graves are here fewer than in other areas (e.g., the Agora).[63] Gilded jewelry (finger rings, funerary bands-diadems/bracelets) now features among the offerings, while characteristic of cremation burials in the later years of the Middle Geometric period is the replacement of the clay cinerary vase by a bronze lebes with lead lid.[64]

In general, the Late Geometric burials have fewer grave goods than the Middle Geometric ones.[65] Those on the so-called Plattenbau are the exception.[66] This is a smaller burial ground to the northeast of the main cluster of graves in the south cemetery and inside the boundaries of the Agia Triada cemetery, which is considered a family one (fig. 8). It was used without interruption from 760 BC for three generations and includes enchytrismoi of six infants and graves of six children and 11 adults, all containing inhumations,

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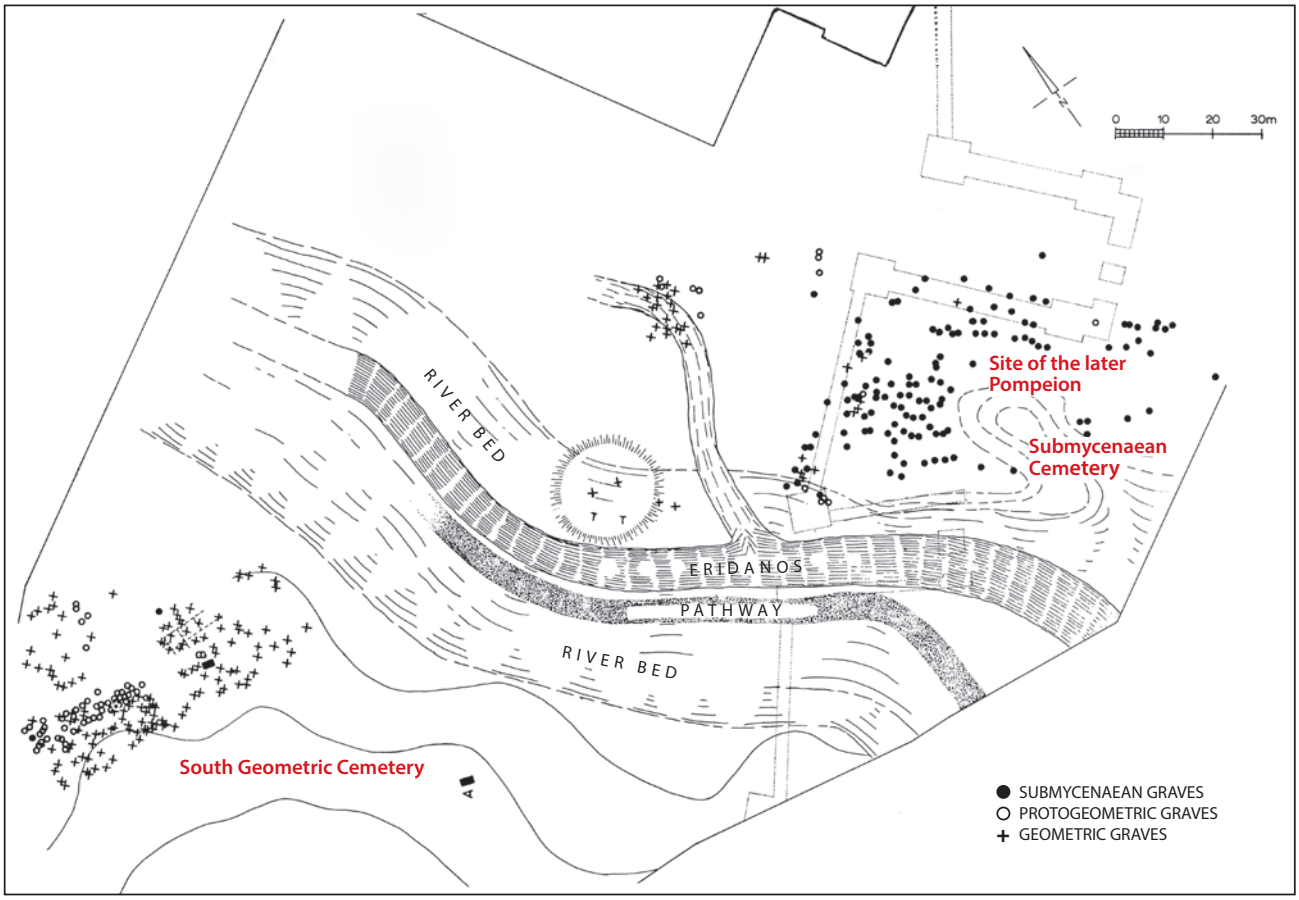

Figure 3.12. Athens, area of the Kerameikos. Cemeteries of the Submycenaean and Geometric periods. Redrawn from Knigge 1991, p. 15, fig. 4.

excepting two with adult cremations. Apart from the wealth of grave goods, the site is distinguished by exceptionally careful planning: there was an enclosure of schist orthostats, the graves were covered by a low earth tumulus, and low separating walls surrounded some of the richest tombs.[67]

Various graves of the wider cemetery have yielded fragments of monumental tomb vases of Dipylon type, decorated with funerary subjects or with representations referring directly or indirectly to the Homeric epics (e.g., myth of the Siamese twin brothers the Moliones or Aktoriones).[68]

Furthermore, a large quantity of sherds was found in the fill of the big tumulus of the sixth century BC, southwest of the Eridanos, which was the burial ground of an ancient Attic clan, possibly linked with the Alkmeonids.[69] These sherds have been mended to restore whole vases,[70] obviously coming from the Early Geometric/Middle Geometric cemetery at Agia Triada on the south bank of the river, which was destroyed to a large degree in the sixth and fifth centuries BC in the course of removing earth to construct the tumulus.[71] Since no jewelry or other precious objects were brought to light, it is reasonable to assume that they were removed from the earth as this was accumulating.[72] Certainly, under the same tumulus there were also graves dating from the eighth century BC until the years before its construction, but it is not known whether they too belonged to members of the same clan.[73] In the sixth century BC another tumulus (Tumulus G) destroyed the greater part of the area with the Late Geometric graves a few meters farther south of the Agia Triada cemetery.[74]

Area II: Ancient Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki[75]

Protogeometric Period[76]

In the wider area of the later Agora and on the lower slopes of the surrounding hills, Protogeometric graves have been revealed in six places where mortuary activity is attested from the preceding Submycenaean period:

- Inside the square of the Agora
- To the north of the space, along the south bank of the Eridanos

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- On the east side of the site of the Library of Pantainos
- On the northeast and northwest slopes of the Areopagus
- On the southwest slope of the Areopagus
- On the hill of Agoraios Kolonos

Specifically, at the center of the square of the Agora, two Protogeometric graves have been found in the vicinity of the temple of Ares, one north of the temple's northwest corner and the other south of the southwest corner.[77]

On the north side of the Agora, mortuary activity is confined to south of the river.[78] On the south bank, a Submycenaean burial ground under the later Stoa Basileios evidently continued in use (II. 11). The Protogeometric pottery found in the fill of the foundations of the said stoa seems to come from the disturbance of graves there during preparation of the space to erect the building. At the northeast corner of the site, six graves came to light to the south of the Eridanos, about 50 m from the bank (II. 3).

Two were to the west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, northwest of the Submycenaean graves, and the other four were under the stoa. From the published data we know that the first two graves were of children, as was one of the other four (fig. 3.13). Indeed, this grave was opened on top of a destroyed Mycenaean chamber tomb of LH IIIA–B (II. 13).[79]

To the southeast of the Agora, on the site of the Library of Pantainos, the inhumation of an adult female was uncovered (II. 2). The dating of the grave to early Protogeometric times justifies the choice of the burial practice of the previous period rather than cremation.

On the north slope of the Areopagus, burials and pottery from destroyed graves have been found over its entire area (II. 12). To the south and southeast of the South Stoa, where Submycenaean graves also existed, a Protogeometric cremation burial (N 16:4) of a male inside a cinerary urn and accompanied by weapons and tools was revealed (II. 12). Farther west, to the southwest of the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion, were two other burials of the same type. Last, on the site where a Middle Geometric cemetery was founded in the succeeding phase, the presence of many sherds of Protogeometric vases, both around graves and in their fill, is attributed to grave goods from destroyed tombs.

A Protogeometric grave, and indeed of the early years of the period, containing a child inhumation was brought to light on the southwest slope of the Areopagus (Heidelberg Grab B) (II. 15; fig. 3.14). It was located in an area where two other child graves of the Submycenaean period exist, next to the road that passed between the hills of the Pnyx and the Areopagus.

Figure 3.13. Athens, Agora. Northeast corner. Child burial under the north end of the Stoa of Attalos. Protogeometric period, tenth century BC. *Agora* XIV, pl. 23. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

To the west of the Agora, the graves and the cuttings brought to light on the Agoraios Kolonos indicate that this cemetery too continued in use without interruption from Submycenaean times (II. 8). Although it is still unpublished, preliminary excavation reports disclose that graves of all types (enchytrismoi of infants, cist graves, and cremation burials inside cinerary urns), of adults and children, some of them with rich grave goods, have been found both to the southeast of the temple of Hephaistos and on the flat top of the Agoraios Kolonos hill.[80]

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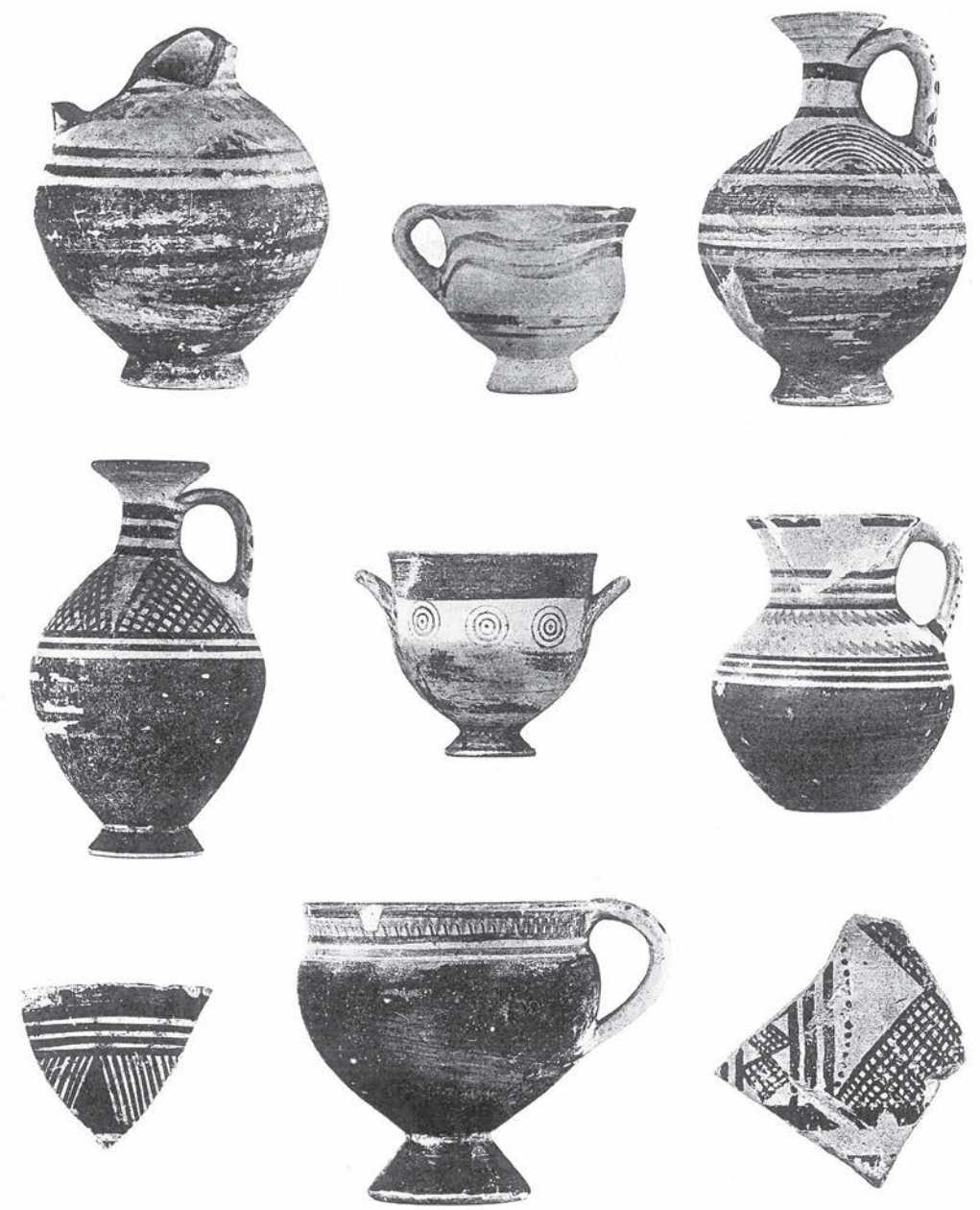

Figure 3.14. Athens, Agora. West slope of the Areopagus. The vases of Heidelberg Grab B. *CVA*, Heidelberg 3 [Deutschland 27], pl. 102 [1296]:1–9. Courtesy of Universität Heidelberg.

Early and Middle Geometric Period[81]

During this period changes in the arrangement of the graves begin to appear. The Protogeometric burial grounds continued in use, but there is a tendency toward decentralization. Mortuary activity ceased on the site of the later Agora and in the area east of it. Early and Middle Geometric graves are located:

- To the north along both banks of the Eridanos
- On the hill of Agoraios Kolonos
- On the Areopagus, on its north slope from northwest to northeast, as well as on the southwest slope
- To the east of the Areopagus (new spaces)

On the north bank of the Eridanos, two richly furnished graves dated to the Early to Middle Geometric period (EG II–MG I) have been found in the plot at Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos property: II. 16). Their presence denotes that the area close to the north bank continued to be used for burials in this period, although possibly after a brief

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hiatus during Protogeometric times, from which no grave has been identified to date. On the opposite bank, about 110 m southeast, the Middle Geometric pottery found in the fill under the Stoa Basileios has been attributed by its excavators to the existence of graves at this point, which were disturbed in the course of digging the building's foundations (II. 11).

The cemetery on the Agoraios Kolonos also continued to operate, as revealed by the pottery found scattered on the site and by at least two graves, one to the southwest of the temple of Hephaistos and one on the south slope of the hill (II. 8). In the excavators' view, the position of this particular cemetery around the temple of Hephaistos, in conjunction with the graves on the Phinopoulos plot at Adrianou 3 farther north, indicates the existence of a very ancient thoroughfare that passed between the two sites. Perhaps this is related to the course of the road that in later years linked the Dipylon with the northwest entrance of the Agora.[82]

Many Early Geometric and Middle Geometric graves are concentrated on the Areopagus, where mortuary activity appears to have intensified in existing spaces and to have extended also to new ones. All the graves are on the sides of the early thoroughfares crossing the north part of the hill. A cremation burial, most probably of a female, was found on the northeast slope and south of the east end of the South Stoa I (II. 12).[83] Other contemporary graves unearthed farther to the southeast indicate that in these years, the east slope of the Areopagus was also used for burials, especially near where the streets linking it with the southwest corner of the Agora pass or end. Specifically, near the junction of the street passing from the east slope and ending at the Panathenaic Way, at the height of the Eleusinion (II. 13), an Early Geometric grave with a cinerary urn was uncovered (R 20:1). A little higher on the hillside, other graves have been revealed — one Middle Geometric (N 21:6) on the site of the Mycenaean cemetery, in the fill of the dromos of one of the four chamber tombs, and a group of four destroyed graves as well as a surviving Early Geometric grave (K 20:2) toward the top of the hill.[84] These graves too are next to the street linking the southwest corner of the Agora and the northwest slope of the Areopagus with its east side (II. 13). Farther east, on the site of the Eleusinion, an EG II male burial (U-V 19:1a) accompanied by just one cup was unearthed in the upper levels of the fill of a well shaft (II. 8). In this particular case, the position of the grave, the funerary habit followed (inhumation rather than cremation), and the contracted pose of the skeleton are difficult to interpret, suggesting that this was an atypical burial.

A greater density of graves is observed on the north slope of the Areopagus. Prominent among these are the three housing Early Geometric cremations, to the southwest of the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion (D 16:2, D 16:4, and H 16:6), which were found near a particularly nodal point in the street network to the southwest of the Agora (II. 12).[85] These are the so-called Warrior Graves (D 16:4), which contained weapons, tools, jewelry, and vases, and another burial (D 16:2) that is well-known on account of the two pairs of miniature boots it contained (fig. 3.15), in addition to the very great quantity of pottery and jewelry.[86]

Figure 3.15. Athens, Agora. North slope of the Areopagus. The two pairs of miniature boots from Grave D 16:2 (EG I period). Courtesy of J. K. Papadopoulos.

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These two graves are dated to PG I. The third grave (H 16:6), of the EG II period, found east of the triangular sanctuary of the fourth century BC, was of a female aged about 30 years and her unborn baby (fig. 3.16).[87] This is the richest known Early Iron Age burial in Athens. The deceased was accompanied by copious jewelry and luxury objects imported from the east (II. 12),[88] as well as abundant pottery, including a pyxis with five granary models on the lid. Because of the last object, the grave's occupant is considered to have belonged to the class of Pentakosiomedimnoi and was perhaps the daughter or wife of a member of it, possibly a Basileus, Polemarch, or Archon.[89]

Fragments of earlier and slightly later vases found in the fill of the pyre and in the surrounding area, as well as various empty pits with traces of fire and residues of burnt bones (Sector ΣT), indicate that the specific grave was not alone but was the only one to survive from a larger grave group that existed at this site. Next to it passed the very ancient road that linked the Piraeus with the Areopagus and was the southernmost limit of the Agora.[90] Another Early Geometric grave (H 17:2), of a child aged four to six years, was found very close by, under the floor of the Geometric "house" (II. 12). The change in the interpretation of the latter, from a house to a heroon, is based on this grave and the objects/offerings found in the space of the overlying Geometric building.[91]

A little higher and farther east on the north slope of the hill, one more grave group of the Middle Geometric period has been found. It consists of nine burials (AR I–AR V, I 18: 1–I 18: 3), lavishly furnished with weapons and vases, and seems furthermore to have been marked by large vases set up on the tombs (II. 12).[92] The burials are five primary cremations of adults in a pit, one burial in a cinerary vase, two disturbed cremations, and one inhumation of a young girl, which is one of the richest known burials of the period. The persistence of the burial habit of inhumation for two or perhaps three generations suggests that this was a family burial ground, even though no enclosure has been found.[93] The presence of a large quantity of Protogeometric pottery in the fill of the graves and around them indicates that burials were made in the space earlier too, although not without break, as documented by the presence of the Protogeometric well (I 18:4).[94] The well was in use before the site became a cemetery. In fact, it had already been abandoned when the change in use took place, as emerges from the position of Grave I 18:1, which partly breaches the upper layers of fill in the well shaft.

The presence of empty pits to the south of the burial ground and southwest of the South Stoa, which is dated on

Figure 3.16. Athens, Agora. North slope of the Areopagus. Grave of the Rich Athenian Lady (H 16:6; EG II period). *Agora* XIV, pl. 20. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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the basis of the sole surviving vase to the Early Geometric period, indicates that the mortuary activity extended even higher up the north slope, approaching the site of the Mycenaean cemetery (II. 12).

Last, burials continued on the west slope, on both sides of the road passing between the hills of the Pnyx and the Areopagus (II. 15). The two graves found there are dated to the mid-ninth century BC (EG II/MG I) and are important because they are so far the only known child burials of the period.

Late Geometric Period[95]

The picture of mortuary activity changes significantly in the closing years of the Geometric period. Burial grounds in use without interruption from the Submycenaean period ceased to operate, while interment began again in others that had stopped being used in the Middle Geometric period. In others that were flourishing in Middle Geometric times, there was a falloff in use. Mainly, however, cemeteries were founded at new sites close to each other, all of them located to the southwest of the Agora.

Specifically, mortuary activity on the Agoraios Kolonos, in the area of the Stoa Basileios on the south bank of the Eridanos, and on the west slope of the Areopagus ceased. Graves are found:

- On the east side of the Agora, in the area of the Library of Pantainos
- Inside the central square of the Agora
- On the Areopagus, on the north, northeast, and northwest slopes in relation to the roads
- In the Industrial District (on the west slope of the Areopagus)

On the east side of the Agora, on the site of the Library of Pantainos, where there are no indications of mortuary activity in the preceding two centuries, the discovery of a deposit with sherds of the late eighth century BC (perhaps from the clearance of a grave) points to the use of the space for burials at the end of the Geometric period (II. 2).

The discovery of two Late Geometric graves in the central space of the Agora, where no burials were made during the Middle Geometric period, can be interpreted as possible reuse of the space (II. 7). One grave (N 11:1) was found in its south part, east of the Odeion of Agrippa, and is the last burial known in the central square of the Agora before its conversion into a public space (fig. 3.17).[96]

Figure 3.17. Athens, Agora. Central Square, area of temple of Ares. Late Geometric grave of a child (N 11:1) partly superimposed over Late Geometric Well N 11:5. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 113, fig. 2.53. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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The grave came to light in the upper fill of Late Geometric Well N 11:5, where it had been opened shortly after the well was abandoned. It contained the burial of a child aged about 10 years, which from the accompanying pottery is dated to the end of the Late Geometric/beginning of the Early Archaic period.[97] Two more skulls were found on the site of the grave, along with the neck of an amphora of the Dipylon group, among the last ones produced, and a number of funerary amphorae that had been used as tomb markers. Since empty pits were found in the surrounding area, the existence of other graves can be considered likely, even though it cannot be said for certain whether these were contemporary with the one discussed.

The second grave (I 13:5) was uncovered in the southwest part of the central square, in a crevice in the bedrock between the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion and the Middle Stoa (II. 9). It too held a child who had been buried inside a large amphora (enchytrismos), accompanied by vases as grave goods. Taking its location into consideration, along with a vase imitating a woven basket (kalathos), two skyphoi, and one pyxis found in Well J 13:1 (fig. 3.18), which were considered grave goods from a destroyed grave hereabouts, the existence of other graves in the area at the end of the eighth century BC seems likely.

On the north slope of the Areopagus, a child's grave (D 16:3) was uncovered near the junction of the Street of the Marble-Workers (II. 12). On the northeast slope, mortuary activity continued west of the Panathenaic Way, in exactly the same space used continuously for burials from Submycenaean times. To the south of the road (II. 13) that skirts the north foot of the hill and ends at the Panathenaic Way, an enchytrismos of an infant in a pithos (Q 17:6) was unearthed; it is dated to the transition from the Late Geometric to the Early Archaic period. Mortuary activity in the area continued also on the northwest slope, although it shifted to the south of the street linking the northwest with the east slope of the Areopagus, and to the east side of another street that passed through the Industrial District and connected the southwest corner of the Agora with the southwest slope of the Areopagus (II. 14). Located on this site were the graves of three adults and one child, all of them inhumation burials.

Last, characteristic of the picture of Late Geometric mortuary activity in the wider area of the Agora is the founding of many new burial grounds to the southwest, around the two streets serving the area between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. The northernmost of the new cemeteries lies to the southwest of the Tholos and is one of the most important of the Agora: it includes a grave enclosure contemporary with the burials, it was used continuously by two generations — that is, for about 60 years — and its graves yielded numerous grave goods of high-quality art (II. 5, fig. 3.19).

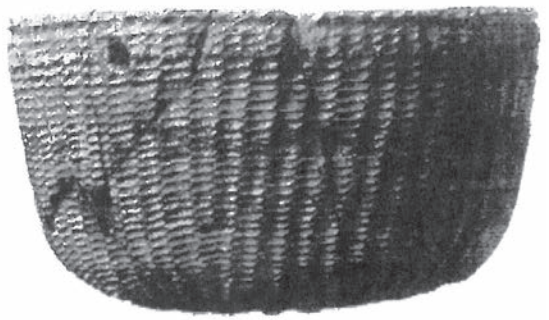

Figure 3.18. Athens, south side of the Agora. West end of the Middle Stoa. Vase imitating a woven basket (kalathos) from Well J 13:1. Camp 1999, p. 262, fig. 9. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Inside the grave enclosure were seven enchytrismoi of infants, as well as 12 pit graves containing adult inhumations. From the perspective of optimum utilization of the space, the arrangement of the pit graves appears relatively organized, while the enchytrismoi are distributed at random among them. All the burials are dated to the third and fourth quarters of the eighth century BC, excepting two that are dated to the transition from the Late Geometric to the Early Archaic period (late eighth/early seventh century BC).[98]

A few meters farther to the southwest of the enclosure in the Tholos cemetery, three more graves (E 14:4, E 14:12, E 14:13) have come to light, on the east margins of the Areopagus (II. 5). All held inhumations and were found disturbed. Due to their dense arrangement, it has been proposed that they belonged to members of the same family.[99] This burial ground is located east of the later Street of the Marble-Workers, as is the next burial site, which is situated at the junction of the street linking the northwest with the east slope of the Areopagus and very close to Graves XXVI and XXVII (II. 12).[100] The grave (D 16:3) found there housed the enchytrismos of a child inside an unpainted pithos.

In the Industrial District, in the southeast room of House C, one more enchytrismos of a child inside an amphora was found disturbed. It is dated to the mid-eighth century BC (II. 4). An empty cutting in the bedrock found nearby could be a grave. These indications are perhaps linked with the six burials of the eighth century BC that were found a few meters to the east, inside the Archaic cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus, the southwesternmost in the wider area of the Agora (II. 4). These are an enchytrismos of an infant inside a Late Geometric vase (B 21:10), an

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Figure 3.19. Athens, Agora. Tholos cemetery. Late Geometric burials: (a) enchytrismos of a child (Grave VI); (b) inhumation of an adult (Grave XIX); (c) Grave XVIII. View from the northwest. *Agora* XIV, pl. 19a. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

inhumation of an adult (B 21:2), and four other disturbed and destroyed burials located at the northwest edge of the cemetery (B 20:5, B 21:23, Grave 31.1, and Grave 35.1). The graves of House C must be the only surviving ones of a group and mark the beginning of the function of the space as a cemetery.[101] This is confirmed also by the Late Geometric pottery found scattered in the space between the graves of the Archaic period.[102]

Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square

Protogeometric Period[103]

Mortuary activity in the area of Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square in these years was concentrated in the same places as during the Submycenaean period, with localized tendencies to extend beyond their boundaries. The two places, known from the preceding years, where graves have been found are:

- In the northwest of the area, west of Koumoundouros Square (present-day Eleftheria Square), the site of the so-called Dipylon cemetery
- In the southeast of the area, north of the Eridanos

To the west of Koumoundouros Square, the continuation of mortuary activity is attested by a grave at 25 Kriezi Street (present-day Eleftheria Square) (III. 17). This is a cremation burial of a male, as deduced from the javelin point found inside the cinerary urn.

To the north of the Eridanos, continuity in the preceding mortuary use of the site (see plot at Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki: III. 4) is indicated — rather than demonstrated — by the finding of intact vases either upon the soft limestone bedrock or in the fill of the plots excavated.[104] A Protogeometric amphora found in the plot at Pittaki 11–13 seems to come from a destroyed grave here. A few meters to the west, in the almost adjacent plot at Karaiskaki 16–18 (III. 15), a small Protogeometric krater and Geometric pottery recovered from the fill point to yet another mortuary site related to the previous one. These two graves lie on the west side of a very ancient thoroughfare leading to the north of the city, the course of which coincides with modern Agiou Dimitriou and Karaiskaki Streets. About 25 m northwest, in the plot at Aisopou and Mikonos 18 (III. 7), a slightly later trefoil-mouth oenochoe dated to the Late Protogeometric period

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was found. The temporal and spatial distance (87 m) between this site and the two aforementioned ones would seem to militate against attributing it to the same burial ground, but this does not preclude the later expansion of the initial boundaries northward (close to Pittaki and Karaiskaki Streets).

On the west boundary of the area, material that comes from the clearing of a Geometric grave, perhaps containing a cremation burial, was found inside an undated well in Agioi Asomatoi Square (III. 29). Pieces of charcoal, a Geometric figurine, and fragments of pyxides, also recovered from the well shaft, point to mortuary activity in the surrounding space. This is confirmed by the pits of empty graves uncovered in the plot at Ermou 128–132, near the Kerameikos, where part of a Protogeometric painted terracotta disc was also found (I. 1). Moreover, pits or cuttings of the same type, containing Protogeometric and Middle Geometric pottery, have been revealed also in plots excavated recently on Lepeniotou and Leokoriou Streets.[105] Earlier excavations in Ivis and Lepeniotou Streets (III. 12) had brought to light a rectangular built tomb that may well be related to the sherds of vases found in the adjacent plot to the west at Lepeniotou 27 and Leokoriou 14 (III. 20), while Geometric pottery was found also in the plots at Leokoriou 25–27 (III. 21), Sarri 4 (III. 30), and Aristophanous 14–16 (III. 8), the exact dating of which, however, is not given by the excavators.

Last, between the sites and Eleftheria Square lies one more site, the corner plot at Kranaou and Sarri (III. 16). Mending of fragments collected from the fill here yielded two Protogeometric black-glaze lekythia, obviously from a grave. This mortuary site too is proximate to part of the street network of the early city and indeed the junction of two streets, one of which served a large part of the northern sector of the city; the other linked this area with the north bank of the Eridanos.[106]

Early and Middle Geometric Period[107]
The graves dated to this period were located:

- In the northwest of the area, west of Koumoundouros (present-day Eleftheria) Square, the site of the so-called Dipylon cemetery
- In the northeast part of the area

The space to the west of Koumoundouros Square continued in use as a cemetery, with an increase in the number of burials. A total of 11 graves, which are dated to various phases of the Middle Geometric period, has been found — five in the plot at Kriezi 23–24 (present-day Eleftheria Square 23–24) and six in a trench in the road surface of Kriezi Street (present-day Eleftheria Square), in front of Plots 23–24 to 27 (III. 19, III. 17). All contained cremation burials, with a drinking vase (skyphos, or cup) stopping the mouth of the cinerary urn and with characteristically opulent grave goods (fig. 3.20).[108] The dead were accompanied by high-quality vases in terms of manufacture and decoration, iron weapons (males), gold and bronze jewelry (females and males), and gold funerary bands-diadems (males and possibly females).

Figure 3.20. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Kriezi Street (Trench ΥΔΡΕΞ). Skyphos from Grave VII. Alexandri 1968b, p. 23, fig. 3. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Toward the end of the period, in place of the clay amphora, a new type of cinerary urn appeared: the bronze lebes with lead lid, which is known from both the Kerameikos and the cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou Street.

The finds from the above sites confirm the information drawn from the earlier bibliography that east of the Sapountzakis property (Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil – Dipylou Streets; see below) and as far as Eleftheria Square (a distance of 30 m), rich mortuary material dating from the Geometric period down to the fourth century BC existed before the houses were built in 1871.[109] This area is identified with the northwest half of the present plot delimited by Peiraios, Kalogirou Samouil, Dipylou, and Kriezi Streets (present-day Eleftheria Square), and with the other plots.

About 30 m to the west is part of the space that when first excavated at the end of the nineteenth century was named conventionally the Dipylon cemetery, on account of the finds it yielded. In the "Sapountzakis plot," as it was formerly known, which is identified today as the west half of the present plot bordered by Peiraios, Kalogirou Samouil, and Psaromilingou Streets, 19 graves were brought to light in the first excavations in Athens (III. 23). The excavators characterized these graves as "of the Dipylon period" (*aus der Dipylonzeit*), due to the destroyed monumental vases that once marked their position (fig. 3.21).[110]

The vases were found in fragments in the fill of the graves and the plot. We do not know exactly how many

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Figure 3.21. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil and Psaromilingou (Sapountzakis property). Monumental Attic vases-tomb markers from the Dipylon cemetery, after which they are named conventionally (Dipylon vases): (a) Amphora 804 (National Archaeological Museum, Athens), decorated with scene of the prothesis of a woman, as indicated by the ankle-length garment, which implies that this was the grave of an aristocrat. The vase is attributed to the Dipylon Painter; (b) Krater 990 (National Archaeological Museum, Athens), from the grave of a male, decorated with a scene of the ekphora of a young man and attributed to the Hirschfeld Painter. National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

graves date from the Middle Geometric period and how many from the Late Geometric. With the exception of two enchytrismoi (there were an unknown number of others that were not evaluated),[111] all the graves contained inhumations, and only one a cremation burial inside a bronze lebes (Grave III). The grave goods are distinguished by their high quality and large quantity, and some of them were of Oriental provenance or influence. Apart from the vases of superb art (fig. 3.22), they included also gold funerary bands-diadems, weapons, figurines, and objects of ivory and faience.

At the same time, two new mortuary sites were founded to the northeast of Area III, in the plots at Agiou Dimitriou 20 and Aischylou 31 (III. 3, III. 6). Unearthed at the first site was an Early Geometric half-destroyed female burial with many and rich grave goods (fig. 3.23), among them imports from the Near East and two pairs of terracotta model boots, an offering known from two other graves in Athens and one grave in Eleusis.[112]

In the second plot, three graves were uncovered. Dating to EG II/MG I, two contained inhumations and one the remnants of a cremation. All were disturbed and almost destroyed. These two mortuary sites are located on the sides of two earlier thoroughfares, one serving the north part of the city (marked also because of the Protogeometric site at Kranaou and Sarri: III. 16), linking the Eriai Gate (V) with the area close to the Acharnai Gate (VI), and the other following a course identified with present-day Agiou Dimitriou and Karaiskaki Streets (marked due to the Protogeometric sites at Karaiskaki 1 and Arionos 2: III. 14, Karaiskaki 16–18: III. 15, and Pittaki 11–13: III. 27). The distance between the two sites is about 65 m, but it cannot be said for certain whether they both fall within the boundaries of a single burial ground. The presence of pottery at two more sites close to these plots, at Sarri 4 and Aristophanous 14–16, is perhaps a sign of contemporary mortuary activity there (III. 30, III. 8).[113]

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Figure 3.22. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil and Psaromilingou (Sapountzakis property): (a) some of the vases retrieved from Grave VIII; (b) some of the vases retrieved from Grave IX. Brückner and Pernice 1893, pl. VIII. 1–2.

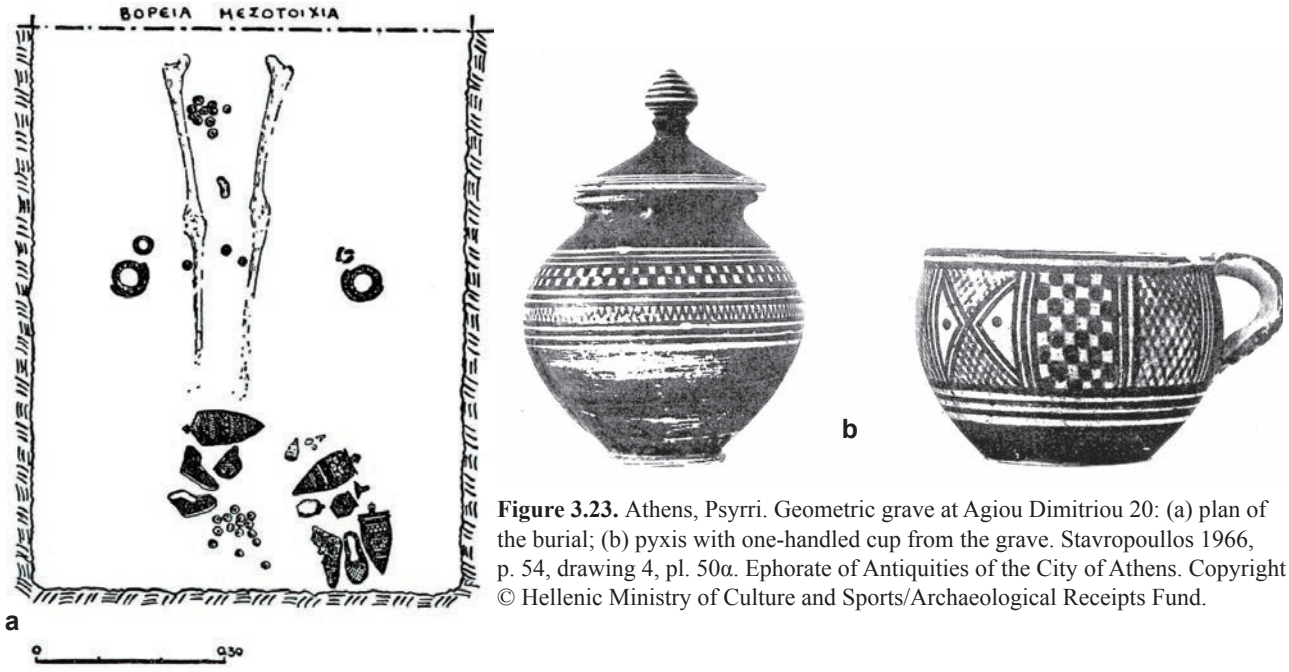

Figure 3.23. Athens, Psyrri. Geometric grave at Agiou Dimitriou 20: (a) plan of the burial; (b) pyxis with one-handled cup from the grave. Stavropoullos 1966, p. 54, drawing 4, pl. 50α. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Late Geometric Period[114]

Mortuary evidence from this period has been found:

- In the northwest of the area, west of Koumoundouros (present-day Eleftheria) Square, the site of the so-called Dipylon cemetery
- In the southeast, north of the Eridanos

The space with the greatest mortuary activity during this period too, which continued in use without break and steadily increased, is that to the west of Eleftheria Square, in the area of the Classical Eriai Gate (V). Graves unearthed until the decade 1980–1990, along the length of Peiraios and Kriezi Streets, bespeak the considerable size of the burial site. The three locations known also from the Middle Geometric period — Peiraios, Kalogirou Samouil, and Psaromilingou Streets (Sapountzakis plot); Kriezi 23–24 (present-day Eleftheria Square 23–24); and the surface of Kriezi Street (present-day Eleftheria Square) — continued to be used for burials in Late Geometric times. In the last plot, two graves from the transition of the Middle to the Late Geometric period were uncovered.

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Despite the advanced period, they contained cremation burials in cinerary urns, one of them exceptionally rich in metal objects (III. 17).

Two of the six graves at Kriezi 23–24 are dated to the same transitional period (III. 19). The other four are Late Geometric cremations, furnished with a wealth of vases, pyxides, iron weapons, jewelry, silver, and gold funerary bands. It is interesting that all the graves "of the Dipylon period" found in the neighboring space to the northwest, bounded by Peiraios, Kalogirou Samouil, and Psaromilingou Streets (Sapountzakis plot: III. 23), contained inhumations, except for one case of a cremation (Grave III).

Graves found north, west, and south of the above sites attest to the expansion of the cemetery in these years. To date, four more sites have been found to the north, placing the limits of the burial ground to the north of Peiraios Street. Specifically, 10 Late Geometric pit graves were unearthed in the plot at Eleftheria Square 25 (III. 28). All had been destroyed and looted in the late fifth century BC, when the space was used once again as a cemetery (of the Eriai Gate). From the scant skeletal remains inside them and the abundance of sherds from large amphorae and kraters, we ascertain that these graves held inhumations and had monumental vases as tomb markers. Noteworthy too for this site is that although it borders to the north the plot at Kriezi 23–24, the burial customs differ from those observed there, whereas they are the same as those in the neighboring plot to the east, at Peiraios, Kalogirou Samouil, and Psaromilingou Streets (Sapountzakis plot). Farther north and within the bounds of the old Sapountzakis plot, in which the plot at Peiraios 57 (III. 24) is included, two pits that had apparently held inhumations were found. Other such graves have been revealed almost in contact and at a relatively shallow depth below the modern surface of Peiraios Street. However, neither the number nor the position of these graves is specified, and they are not described, in contrast to their large vases that served as tomb markers (III. 26).[115] All we know is that "they were not numerous and were confined to the part of the street in front of the Hadjicostas Orphanage" (Peiraios 68).[116] Last, graves were found also inside the plot; they are merely mentioned by the excavator, with no further details (III. 25). In the plot at Kalogirou Samouil and Peiraios 59 (III. 13), west of the Sapountzakis property, remains of a Late Geometric burial, otherwise unclarified, were uncovered. East of it and south of the plot at Kriezi 23–24, an enchytrismos of a child inside a jug with incised decoration was revealed in the plot at Kriezi 22 and Psaromilingou (present-day Eleftheria Square and Psaromilingou Street), which is the southeasternmost known trace of the burial ground (III. 18). All these sites together comprise an extensive cemetery that grew up on the sides of an important road linking the city with Hippios Kolonos. The importance of this very ancient thoroughfare is underlined by the fact that its course was kept even after the Classical fortification wall was built, and at the point where it intersects with this wall (the junction of present-day Leokoriou and Dipylou Streets), the Eriai Gate (V) was constructed.

In the rest of Area III (Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square), only one grave has come to light, in the southeast part (the plot at Agion Anargyron 5: III. 1), on the side of the ancient road that had the same course as present-day Karaiskaki and Agiou Dimitriou Streets. As this Late Geometric site is more or less halfway between the southernmost Early Geometric and the northernmost Middle Geometric mortuary sites excavated on the sides of the same thoroughfare, its use throughout the Geometric period is verified.

Last, the late-eighth-century BC pottery from the plot at Agias Theklas and Pittaki (III. 4) indicates some kind of activity, probably mortuary, around this old Submycenaean site in Late Geometric times.

Area IV: Varvakeios – Omonoia Square

Protogeometric Period[117]

Very few graves from this period have been found, and only in the north part of the area, farther north of the Submycenaean burial grounds.

A Protogeometric cremation burial inside a cinerary hydria was recovered from Lykourgou Street (Lambropoulos plot: IV. 4), and an enchytrismos of a child in an amphora from the southeast part of Kotzias Square (IV. 5). Both burials had been made on the sides of the road that in Classical times passed through the Acharnai Gate (VI). Use of this road is detected from as early as Submycenaean times, through the contemporary graves brought to light in the vicinity of it to the south (Aiolou 93 and Sophokleous: IV. 2, Aiolou 72: IV. 1).

Early and Middle Geometric Period[118]

No evidence of mortuary activity in this period has been found in the area.

Late Geometric Period[119]

Graves dated to the second half of the eighth century BC are known from two places:

- In the east of the area, in Kotzias Square
- In the west of the area, in Sapphous Street

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Figure 3.24. Athens, Kotzias Square. Vases from Grave 72. Zachariadou and Kyriakou 1993, pl. 31α. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Mortuary use of the space in Kotzias Square (IV. 5; fig. 3.24) continued, notwithstanding the absence of analogous indications from the antecedent two centuries of the Middle Geometric period. Three pit graves have been found under the surface of one of the two ancient roads that passed through the site; others in the trench opened in Kratinou Street.

A new burial ground was founded in the west part of the area. Thirteen Late Geometric graves have been excavated in the adjacent plots at Sapphous 10 (IV. 6) and Sapphous 12 (IV. 7). Ten of these were of children (enchytrismoi), but pit graves with adult inhumations existed along with them. Particularly interesting are the remains of the Late Geometric cremation, unusual for this advanced period, found in the plot at Sapphous 10. The cemetery was located on the east side of an ancient road that followed a similar course to modern Epikourou Street (a few meters farther east), the use of which is dated by the presence of the Late Geometric graves to at least this period.

Undated

Geometric pottery has been found to the southeast of the area, in the plot at Aristeidou and Pesmazoglou (IV. 3), but we have no information that would give a more precise dating.

Area V: Commercial Center

Protogeometric Period[120]

Indications of mortuary activity from these years are only indirect and are confined to the east part of the area.

A quantity of pottery dated to the second half of the tenth century BC (950 BC) was collected from the fill of a Late Geometric irrigation or cultivation system and the fill of the Classical graves in the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 4 (V. 3). It has been interpreted as indicating the existence of Protogeometric graves at the site, which were destroyed.

Early and Middle Geometric Period[121]

Mortuary activity from this period has been noted at two places in the area:

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- In the east part, where it continues from the previous period
- In the central part, where it appears for the first time

In the east of the area, pottery and finds related to graves (e.g., a fragment of a horse figurine), which are dated down to 750 BC, have come to light in the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 4 (V. 3). Their presence in the fill reveals that the cemetery founded here in the Protogeometric period continued to be used for burials until the end of the Middle Geometric/beginning of the Late Geometric period, when it seems to have been abolished and the space turned over to agriculture.[122]

In the center of the area, a grave containing two cremation burials in cinerary urns in a single pit came to light in the plot at Agiou Markou 6–8–10–12 (V. 1; fig. 3.25). One was the burial of a male, with his sword bent around the shoulder of the vase, and is dated to the Early Geometric period. The other was of a female and is earlier (end of Protogeometric/beginning of Early Geometric period). The excavator dates both burials in the late ninth century BC, on the basis of the later vase, and considers that the earlier amphora, holding the female cremation, was an heirloom/antique.[123] Investigations in the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery have brought to light at least 10 cases of graves in which there were two separate pits containing an equal number of cremation burials in cinerary urns, which had not necessarily been deposited contemporaneously (VII. 3). These new data may well give a different explanation of the chronological discrepancy between the two amphorae in the event of the Agiou Markou Street grave being an example of a double grave, similar to those in Irodou Attikou Street.[124] These burials are ranged on the sides of a very ancient road, the course of which coincides with that of present-day Agiou Markou, Evangelistrias, Adrianou, Shelley, Vyronos, and Makrygianni Streets. According to Travlos, it ran vertically through the city between the Acharnai Gate (VI), where other graves have been revealed (Lykourgou Street; Kotzias Square), and the Itoniai Gate (XI).[125] However, it may well have reached the Halade Gate (XII).

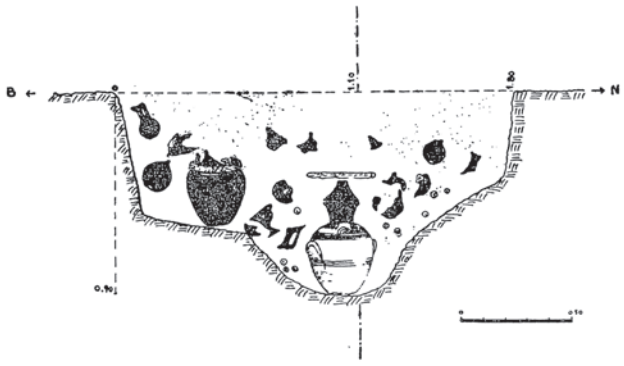

Figure 3.25. Athens, Commercial Center. Agiou Markou 6–8–10–12. Section of the Geometric burial found there. Stavropoullos 1966, p. 55, drawing 5. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Late Geometric Period[126]

No graves of this period have been located in the area. However, Geometric and Orientalizing pottery recovered from the fill in the plot of the old Royal Stables, at Panepistimiou 9, Amerikis, Stadiou, and Voukourestiou Streets (V. 4), has been attributed to free burials that existed in the space before it was turned into an organized cemetery in the fifth century BC.[127] Pottery of the same period has been found 300 m northwest, in the plot at Panepistimiou 31 (V. 7), within layers of fill at specific points. However, this is probably associated with works to level the space and/or a street running east–west (related to North Gate VII in Dragatsaniou Street).[128]

Undated

Last, in the north of the area, the fill of two undated wells and of the entire plot at Evripidou and Praxitelous, where there was Submycenaean mortuary activity, yielded a quantity of Geometric pottery (V. 2). In all likelihood it too derives from destroyed graves in this space, but in the absence of other evidence for dating it, no conclusions can be drawn.

Area VI: Plaka

Protogeometric Period[129]

The sole indications of mortuary activity that can be dated to the Protogeometric period in this area come from the plot of the Metropolis of Athens (Greek Orthodox cathedral; VI. 3). These are two cinerary amphorae, one neck and one belly amphora, which were found under the crypt of the church. Along with these, accompanying vases were recovered from the pyre, as well as weapons, which indicate that one of the dead was male and have been associated with the neck amphora. The belly amphora was attributed to a female.[130] Due to the destruction of the grave, it is not known whether the vases had been placed together, as in the plot at Agiou Markou 6–8–10–12 (V. 1) and in the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery (VII. 3). Their discovery is very important, because they are so far the earliest evidence of human activity from this side of the settlement. Their presence above the south bank of the Eridanos and beside an ancient road, which was obviously

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linked to the other bank by a bridge, leaves open the possibility that there were other burials in the space that were destroyed by later building activity and even by the construction of the Metropolis itself in 1842.[131]

Early and Middle Geometric Period[132]
No indications of mortuary activity in this period have been noted in the area.

Late Geometric Period[133]
The pottery found in the east of the area, on the plot at Kodrou 15 (VI. 4), is dated to this period. The sherds come from the deepest layer (Layer γ΄) of the trench excavated there. Although disturbance of levels was noted, a chronological sequence was nonetheless observed. However, due the total absence of other archaeological data from the surrounding area, it is not known whether the pottery is related to mortuary or to some other activity.

Undated
At the site delimited by Voulis, Mitropoleos, Pentelis, and Apollonos Streets (VI. 2), 185 m east of the Protogeometric grave on the Metropolis plot and very near the north bank of the Eridanos, a Geometric grave was brought to light in the filling of the Themistoclean fortification wall, part of which was also uncovered. This is the second grave known from the east part of the city. Again, however, the lack of further evidence means that it cannot be dated to a specific subperiod of the Geometric period. From the measurements of this "pit in the bedrock, of depth 0.26 m. and width 0.44 m. containing a burial of Geometric times"[134] it is unlikely that it contained an inhumation.

Area VII: National Garden – Syntagma Square
Protogeometric Period[135]
All the known mortuary sites of the period are in the north part of the area. The graves found on the southeast side of the precinct wall of the Parliament building and behind the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (VII. 1), such as Grave 55 in Amalias Avenue (VII. 2), are dated to the years of the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period.[136]

The Submycenaean/Protogeometric cemetery in the northeast corner of the National Garden (Vasilissis Sophias Avenue and Irodou Attikou 2), on the site of the barracks of the Presidential Guard, is a very important find (VII. 3). Here a large organized cemetery, founded in the Submycenaean period, near the Eridanos and next to the road linking Athens with the Mesogaia, via Gate VIII (Diochares Gate), continued in use.[137] Information on this particular Protogeometric cemetery is scant. It was excavated in the years 1982–1983 but alas remains unpublished. The excavation report speaks of 60 cremations, but we have no idea whether they all date from the Protogeometric period or whether there are Submycenaean ones among them (like those found in the Kerameikos, the Agora, the Olympieion, and the Dipylon cemetery/graves in Kriezi Street). The graves are rectangular cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock, most of them oriented northeast–southwest, inside which cinerary urns were found, placed inside a pit in the grave floor. Of interest for the funerary practices of the period are 10 graves in which two cavities were found in the same pit, each holding a cinerary amphora.[138] The majority of grave goods are vases, only one grave yielded a sword and there is no mention of jewelry.

Early and Middle Geometric Period[139]
No evidence of Early Geometric/Middle Geometric mortuary activity in the area has been found so far.

Late Geometric Period[140]
No evidence of Late Geometric mortuary activity in the area has been found so far.

Area IX: Olympieion
Protogeometric Period[141]
Graves of this period have been found at two points on the hillock of the Olympieion, to the south and north of the temple of Zeus.

The space to the south of the later temple continued in use as a cemetery (IX. 5). Among nine graves dating from Submycenaean times there is reference to one cremation burial. The fragments of Protogeometric vases recovered from the space to the east of the temple of Apollo Delphinios indicate that burial activity continued farther east as well.[142]

However, mortuary activity is also ascertained to the north of the temple of Zeus, at the north foot of the hillock (IX. 4). Apart from the dispersed Protogeometric pottery noted at many points on the rock, there are pits for cinerary urns, of which only sherds have survived. The cemetery has not been published, and the reports by the various excavators who investigated the site at different times are scattered in the periodicals of the foreign archaeological schools. Over the centuries of the city's history, successive building interventions were made in the Olympieion, with destructions of earlier phases before each new activity. Therefore we should admit the possibility that the entire area served as a cemetery, the greater part of which was destroyed in efforts to arrange the space as a sanctuary,

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which lasted for hundreds of years. Only the peripheral graves escaped these interventions, and they are now the only valuable documentation of the early mortuary use of the space.

Early and Middle Geometric Period[143]
Mortuary activity during the two centuries of this period is found in two places:

- On the hillock of the Olympieion, north and south of the temple of Zeus
- On the south bank of the Ilissos

The hillock continued in use as a cemetery in this period too, in exactly the same spaces as in previous years. At the north foot of the hill, graves have come to light to the south of the Classical houses and in one case near the Arch of Hadrian, north of the street passing under it (IX. 4). Many empty pits have been uncovered too, with Geometric sherds in and around them, as well as abundant pottery of the period all over the site.

The same picture and use of the space holds for the south part of the hill, south of the temple of Zeus. At least three Early Geometric graves were found near the Submycenaean/Protogeometric cemetery and one more to the east, outside the later fortification wall on the site of the Late Roman cemetery of the third century AD (IX. 5).[144] The graves contained not only pottery but also bronze jewelry.

Late Geometric Period[145]
The graves in the area in the late eighth century BC were in exactly the same positions as those of the preceding period:

- On the hillock of the Olympieion
- On the south bank of the Ilissos

In the Olympieion there is no evidence of mortuary activity from the north side of the hill (IX. 5). However, to the south, Late Geometric pottery has been collected from all over the surface, suggesting that the cemetery was still in use at the end of the eighth century BC.

Two graves have been excavated there. One of them contained a cremation burial inside a cinerary amphora and two vases.[146] The other contained an inhumation with a sheet-gold armband[147] and an unusually large number of vases (fig. 3.26).[148] The inhumation is dated by the pottery to the Late Geometric period, and the cremation to the end of the Late Geometric/beginning of the Subgeometric

Figure 3.26. Athens, Kynosarges. Diakou and Anapafseos. Pyxis from Grave 2. III Archaeological District 1965, pl. 38δ. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

period.[149] One other Late Geometric inhumation was found in the plot at Aristonikou 4 (IX. 1), where remains of a burial and two Late Geometric krater stands were uncovered inside a pit in the soft limestone bedrock.

Area X: Makrygianni
Protogeometric Period[150]
Graves of this period have come to light all over the area. The two old cemeteries in the southwest and northeast parts — Erechtheiou Street and Makrygianni Street, respectively — continued to operate. However, at the same time burials were made in new spaces. Specifically:

In the northwest part of the area, which does not seem to have been used for burials in the Submycenaean period, there is no notable mortuary activity in these years either. The only known grave is the enchytrismos of a child, richly furnished with vases and jewelry, from the plot at Rovertou Galli 10 and Karyatidon 14 (X. 5).

In the southwest part of the area, a very old burial ground in continuous use from the Late Helladic period prevailed. The "Erechtheiou Street cemetery" is located in the environs of the Classical South Phaleron Gate (XIII), on the sides of the road that passed through it and linked Athens with Phaleron.[151] Its northernmost known limit is at Erechtheiou 24–26 (X. 17), where a cemetery existed during the Late Helladic and Submycenaean periods. The persistence of this use is revealed by a Protogeometric child grave found on that plot.

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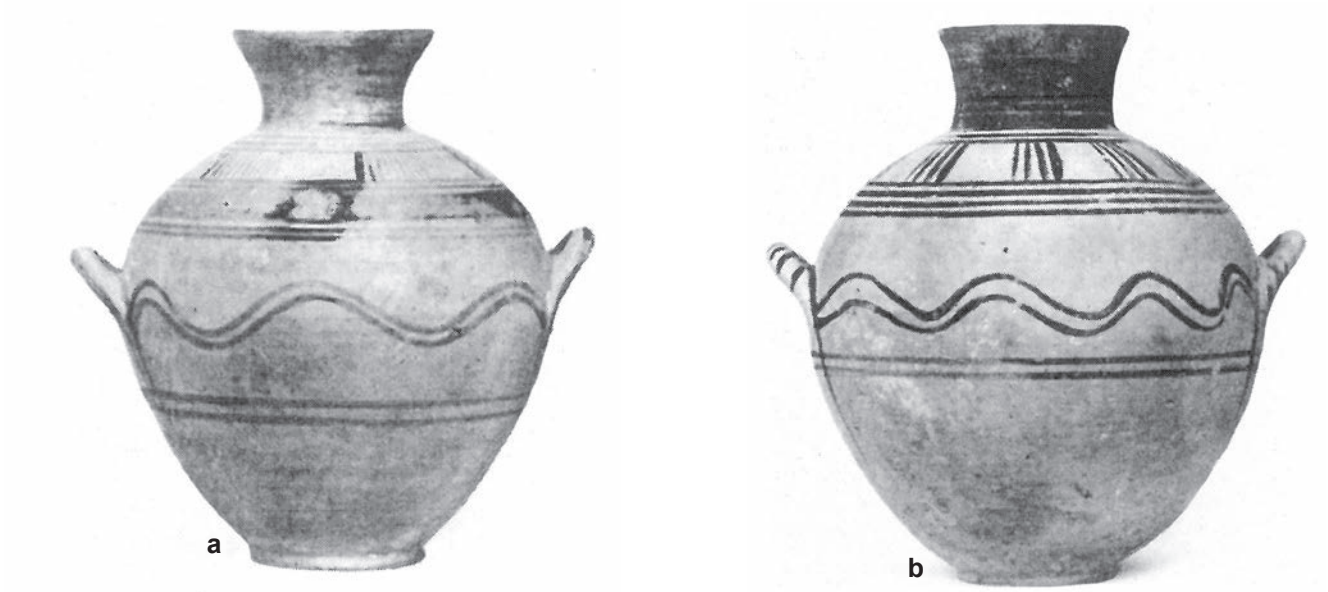

Figure 3.27. Athens, Makrygianni. Erechtheiou 25. The two cinerary amphorae of Grave K: (a) belly amphora: EPK 553; (b) belly amphora: EPK 552. Brouskari 1980, pls. 4c, 4f. Courtesy of M. Brouskari.

One other Protogeometric grave (Grave K), with two cinerary urns, has been excavated in a trench opened in the street surface outside the plot at Erechtheiou 25 (X. 18, fig. 3.27).

The majority of Protogeometric burials in the cemetery were uncovered 40 m farther south, in another trench in Erechtheiou Street, outside the plot at nos. 21–23 and inside the same plot 10 years later (1955 and 1965) (X. 16; fig. 3.28).

At these two sites, 11 graves have come to light, arranged around the preexisting Submycenaean grave (Grave Z) without disturbing it.[152] The graves are pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock to receive cinerary urns and are distributed all over the site. Along the north party wall of the plot were empty pits and other cuttings, which the excavator characterizes as "of unknown purpose," although in all probability these too were graves.[153] Among them were two child cremation burials (Graves B and I; fig. 3.29) and one cremation of a young individual (Grave Γ).[154]

In addition to the funerary amphorae, smaller vases and grave goods were recovered from the cemetery. Protogeometric pottery collected from all over the site dates the graves and leads to the conclusion that the cemetery must have ceased to function at the end of the period.[155] It is possible that the dead buried here were members of the same family or clan. There is a high percentage of children, something not encountered in the other large cemetery of the period, the Kerameikos.[156]

To the west, at the foot of the Hill of the Muses in the plot at Garivaldi 31, Sophroniskou, and Phainaretis Streets, a grave that had been used twice, once in the Protogeometric period and again in the Late Geometric, was uncovered in two excavation phases: half in 1962, in the course of works to surface Garivaldi Street at today's no. 31, and the other half five years later, at the westernmost edge of the plot (X. 2, X. 13). Cut in the soft limestone bedrock, it had penetrated a looted Early Helladic grave in the same position. The five skulls found inside it possibly do not represent the same number of Protogeometric burials but date also to the two other periods of its use (Early Helladic and Late Geometric). This is the westernmost site in the area at which human activity has been identified.

In the southeast of the area, graves were opened in the same period 85–95 m away from the north bank of the Ilissos. In the plot at Syngrou Avenue 25 (X. 31), directly under the Classical fortification wall, a cremation burial was unearthed inside a half-destroyed pit grave, along with six vases.

A short distance to the southwest, in Syngrou Avenue, Geometric pottery and fragments of a Geometric amphora inside a cutting were found at the intersection with Donta Street (X. 29). The excavator interprets them as "very possibly the only surviving remains of a disturbed Geometric burial," without defining the period further.[157] As there is no activity in the area in the following period, perhaps this burial dates from the Protogeometric period.

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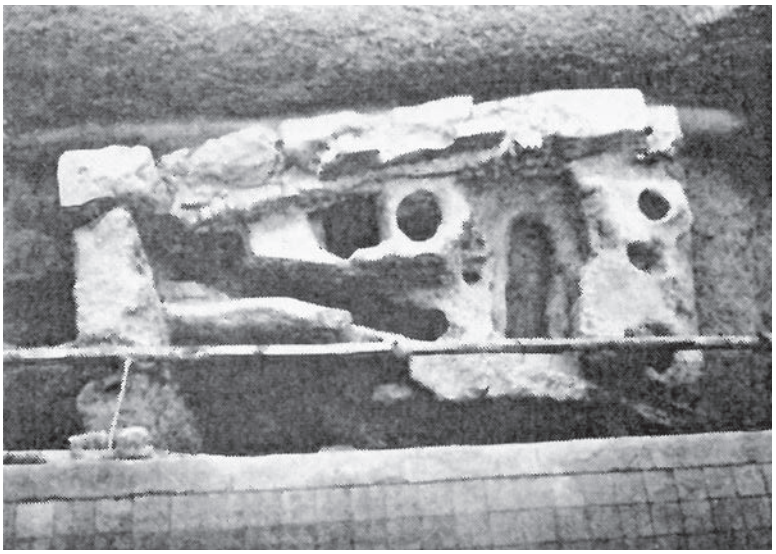

a

b

Figure 3.28. Athens, Makrygianni. Erechtheiou 21–23 cemetery: (a) tombs in the enclosure; (b) Tombs B (bottom left), A (center), and Δ (top right). Brouskari 1980, pls. 2a, 2e. Courtesy of M. Brouskari.

Last, another three unidentified pit graves and Geometric pottery from the fill were revealed in the plot at Veikou 5–7 (X. 1).

In the northeast part of the area lies the other large cemetery in existence from Submycenaean times — that of Makrygianni, on either side of the ancient road that ran vertically through the city, connecting it with the harbor of Phaleron and passing through two gates in the Classical enceinte: the Acharnai Gate (VI) and the Halade Gate (XII). The course of present-day Makrygianni Street is identified with the ancient road, and thus the graves of the cemetery are located to the west of it, in the wider area of the Makrygiannis plot and at nos. 19–21 and 23–27 in Makrygianni Street.[158]

Protogeometric graves have been found mainly in the north of the east part of the Makrygiannis plot (Athens Metro excavation) (X. 35; fig. 3.30). They were arranged in clusters, and the majority were of infants and children. Of the few adult graves, most contained female burials. Male cremation burials have not been found.[159] There is meager information about six Protogeometric graves (90, 91, grave in Area 4, Burial 84/Pyre 8, Burial 85/Pyre 9, and Grave NMA-60). The excavators consider the first four as a single group. They may have been covered by a common earth tumulus, but this was not ascertained in the excavation because of the repeated disturbances of the site.[160] Of these four, Grave 84/Pyre 8 contained a female cremation with rich grave goods and is dated to the final years of the Protogeometric period. One other cremation, in this case of

Figure 3.29. Athens, Makrygianni. Erechtheiou 21–23 cemetery. Tomb I, cinerary belly amphora: EPK 550. Brouskari 1980, pl. 4d. Courtesy of M. Brouskari.

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Figure 3.30. Athens, Makrygianni. Makrygiannis plot, Akropolis Station. Protogeometric Grave 84: (a) cinerary amphora during excavation in situ; (b) cinerary amphora and skyphos used as a lid after restoration; (c) trefoil-mouth oenochoe, pyxis with lid, and handmade coarse-ware vessel; (d) bell-shaped articulated figurine (doll) and terracotta spindle-whorl, both with incised decoration; (e) bronze finger ring and pair of iron pins with bronze spherical head. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 46, fig. 8, p. 47, fig. of entries 16–17, p. 48, fig. of entries 18–20, p. 50, fig. of entries 24–25, p. 49, fig. of entries 21–23. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

a child and with many vases for the period, was found near the Roman grain-processing workshop.

In the neighboring plot at Makrygianni 23–25–27 and Porinou (X. 34), empty pits and one partly destroyed grave, from which only one vase was recovered, were uncovered beneath a Late Roman building.

In the adjacent plot to the north, at Makrygianni 19–21 (X. 33), empty cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock were noted. The excavator interpreted them as graves, "by analogy with the similar ones found in the adjacent plot and some of which contained burials."[161]

Last, activity in Protogeometric times is attested by pottery in the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Makri 1 (X. 11).

Early and Middle Geometric Period[162]

Graves of this period are found more or less over the entire area and differ somewhat in relation to the previous period. Specifically:

In the northwest part of the Makrygianni area, a new cemetery was found to the north of Kallisperi Street; it is detected in excavations in the plots in the present-day building block circumscribed by Dionysiou Areopagitou, Karyatidon, Kallisperi, and Parthenonos Streets. Three graves have been revealed in the corner plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou 41, Parthenonos 32–34, and Kallisperi 20 (Angelopoulos property: X. 14) — two with cremations (Graves 3 and 5) and one possibly with an inhumation (Grave 6). All were in the south part of the plot, where the natural gradient of the ground favored their preservation, due to the accumulation of fill. An important find was the cinerary vase in Grave 3, a deep pyxis with a lid (fig. 3.31), a parallel for which, dated to MG II, was found nearby in the plot at Karyatidon and Kallisperi (Kougeas property: X. 25).[163]

There is little information on the adjacent through plot to the east at Dionysiou Areopagitou 35 and Kallisperi 16 (X. 13), except that it was used in Geometric times and yielded "interesting pottery"[164] from the corresponding levels, which are the earliest at this site. A plausible explanation for the presence of this pottery is that it is the remains of grave goods from lost tombs, which implies mortuary use even farther east of the Angelopoulos plot. This hypothesis would seem to be confirmed by the discovery of the cinerary pyxis from a destroyed grave at Karyatidon and Kallisperi (Kougeas property: X. 25), similar to that from the neighboring Angelopoulos plot.

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Figure 3.31. Athens, Makrygianni. Dionysiou Areopagitou 41, Parthenonos 32–34, and Kallisperi 20 (Angelopoulos property). Large cinerary deep pyxis from Grave 3. III Archaeological District 1963, pl. 5β. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

In the southwest part of the area, a wealthy cremation burial (Grave VI) brought to light in the plot at Erechtheiou 20 (X. 15) indicates that the Erechtheiou Street cemetery continued in use during the Early and Middle Geometric period too. This conclusion is corroborated by a further three burials (Θ1–Θ2 and Grave B) unearthed at the same time in the plot almost opposite, at Erechtheiou 25 (X. 18). Grave Θ2, which held an inhumation, had partly destroyed the earlier grave, Θ1, which is why the host of vases that were mended (86 vases and 13 lids) was thought to come from both graves (fig. 3.32).

Seventy-five m west, in the plot at Parthenonos 12, nine more graves have been excavated (X. 37). Most of them were found empty (pits in the soft limestone bedrock), but present too were one cremation burial in an amphora (Grave ε) and one undisturbed inhumation (Grave ζ), dated to the transition from the Middle to the Late Geometric period.

In the southeast part of the area, mortuary activity, which during the preceding period reached as far as the river, seems to have stopped. The only burial ground known is much farther north, about 300 m away from the north bank of the Ilissos in the plot at Mitsaion and Zitrou (X. 36). Three pit graves in the soft limestone bedrock were found under the surface of an ancient street. One was destroyed, and of the other two, one held a male cremation burial (Grave A) like those found on the north slope of the Areopagus. Weapons and jewelry had been placed with the ashes inside the cinerary amphora, while bent around the shoulder of the vase was the sword of the deceased. The other grave contained an inhumation of a child or a young individual, as there were toys among the grave goods. The most characteristic find of all is the pair of miniature terracotta boots, the fourth to have been found in Athens.[165]

Information on the northeast part of the area is scant. Unfortunately, due to the lack of clear data from publication of the repeated excavations in the Makrygiannis plot, it is not possible to ascertain whether the cemetery of the Protogeometric period continued to operate (X. 35).[166] In general, no graves of the Early and Middle Geometric periods have been found in the wider northeast area. Middle Geometric pottery has been noted only in the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Makri 1 (X. 11), and this at specific points in the space.

Late Geometric Period[167]

During the second half of the eighth century BC there was an increase in the number of graves in the Makrygianni area, due either to the founding of new burial grounds or to the continued (uninterrupted and interrupted) use of earlier ones. However, burials appear to have ceased in the southeast part, which reaches as far as the Ilissos.

In the northwest part, mortuary use of the space between Dionysiou Areopagitou, Karyatidon, Kallisperi, and Parthenonos Streets continued, as indicated by the pottery found there. In the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou 41, Parthenonos 32–34, and Kallisperi 20 (Angelopoulos property: X. 14), Late Geometric funerary activity is attested by fragments of a Late Geometric amphora with representation of chariots, found in the fill. Pottery and other remains of this period, but not specified further, have come to light also in the adjacent plot to the east, at Dionysiou Areopagitou 35 and Kallisperi 16 (X. 13). The plot at Karyatidon and Kallisperi (Kougeas property: X. 25) yielded Late Geometric vases that were grave goods from a destroyed tomb there (fig. 3.33).

In the southwest part, one of the new burial grounds was located on two facing plots in Promachou Street. At Promachou 5–7 (X. 40), two disturbed Geometric graves of notably large dimensions were unearthed. In the opposite plot, at Promachou 4–6 (X. 39), a pit grave with fragments of Geometric vases was excavated. In the

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Figure 3.32. Athens, Makrygianni. Erechtheiou 25. Grave Θ2. Four of the 83 vases it contained: (a) trefoil-mouth oenochoe; (b) skyphos/pyxis; (c) kantharos; (d) jug. Brouskari 1979, pl. 4, no. 570, pl. 16, no. 645, pl. 22, no. 630, pl. 25, no. 640. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Figure 3.33. Athens, Makrygianni. Karyatidon and Kallisperi Streets (Kougeas property). Bird flasks from a destroyed grave. Theophanidis 1930, fig. 2γ. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

same plot there was also a well with a built wellhead, from which late-eighth-century BC pottery was recovered. This very possibly originated from a clearing of the grave.

A second site that began to be used as a cemetery at the end of the Middle/beginning of the Late Geometric period has been found under the surface of Kavalloti Street, in the stretch between the side streets Propylaion and Erechtheiou (X. 24). It is very interesting because in its 25 graves, all more or less contemporary, the funerary custom of the preceding period prevails in a ratio 2:1 (17 cremations and eight inhumations). The grave pits display uniformity in measurements, arrangement in rows, and orientation (south–north). The grave goods attest wealth and mercantile relations with Egypt: 19 large vases (tomb markers?),[168] among them also cinerary urns, and 90 vases that were grave goods, as well as many items of gold and bronze jewelry, weapons (Grave 2), a rare inscribed

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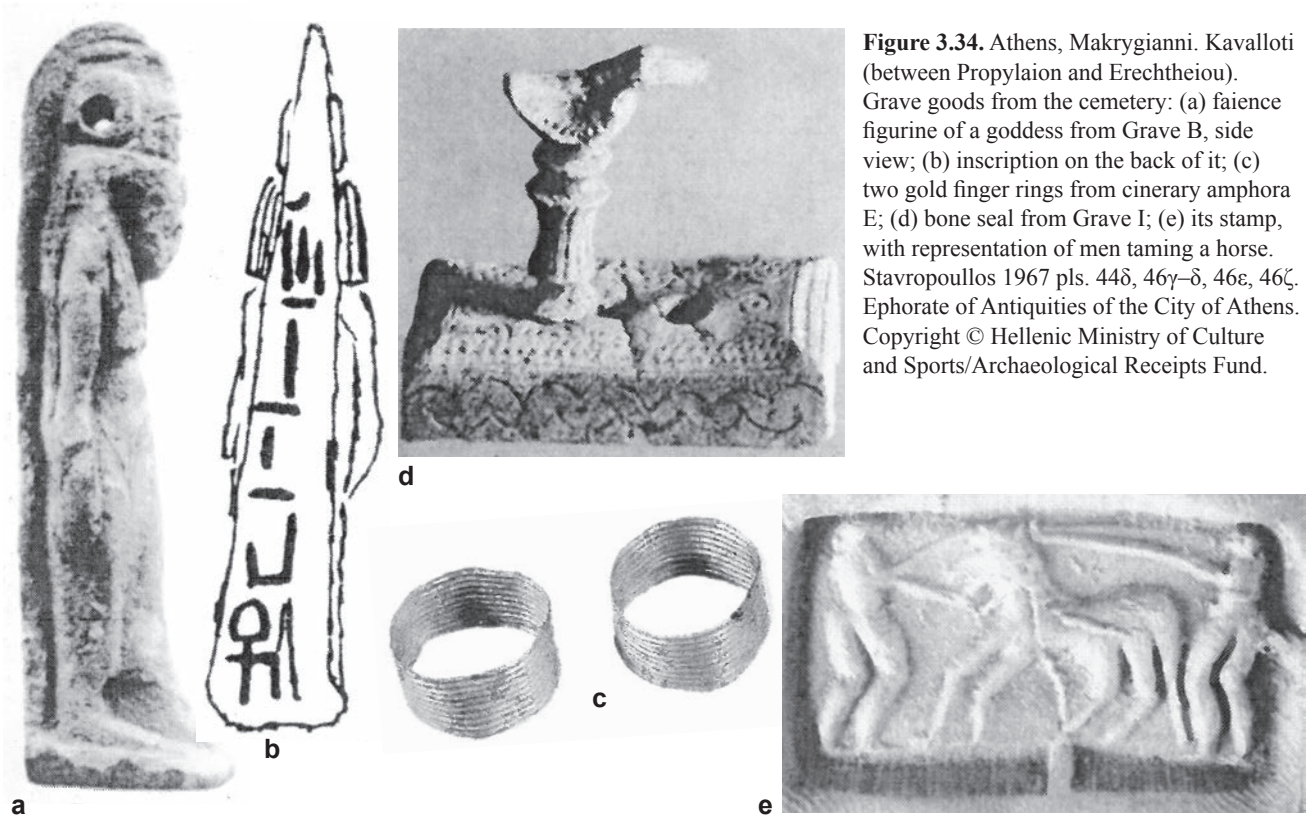

Figure 3.34. Athens, Makrygianni. Kavalloti (between Propylaion and Erechtheiou). Grave goods from the cemetery: (a) faience figurine of a goddess from Grave B, side view; (b) inscription on the back of it; (c) two gold finger rings from cinerary amphora E; (d) bone seal from Grave I; (e) its stamp, with representation of men taming a horse. Stavropoullos 1967 pls. 44δ, 46γ–δ, 46ε, 46ζ. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Egyptian figurine of the goddess Mehit (or Hat-Mehit) (Grave B), a bone seal, necklace beads, and figurines (fig. 3.34).

In all probability, the cemetery extends beyond the bounds of the specific site to the north and south, under the properties at Kavallotti 20 and 29, and westward under the surface of Propylaion Street, but not eastward. Part of the ancient road that was the boundary of the mortuary space was located in supplementary investigations on the east side. This road ran toward the South Phaleron Gate (XIII) and is identified with present-day Erechtheiou Street. The presence of earlier graves (Late Helladic and Submycenaean) on its sides indicates that the road existed much earlier than the cemetery, the site of which is of course related to it (X. 15–X. 18).

A large quantity of pottery was bought to light in the north part of the plot at Erechtheiou 30 and Kavalloti (X. 19). Although its precise dating within the Geometric period remains unclear, it could be Late Geometric given the total absence of funerary activity in the previous periods in the vicinity of Kavalloti Street. Even so, the possibility that the pottery does not originate from a grave but is associated with the remains of a Geometric wall in the neighboring plot at Kavalloti 18 cannot be ruled out (X. 22).

The Erechtheiou Street cemetery continued in existence farther south and burials were made there. A cremation burial was uncovered in the plot at Erechtheiou 20, in the space occupied by the earlier Submycenaean graves, and opposite, at Erechtheiou 25, there was another grave (Grave A; fig. 3.35), disturbed and looted, from which fragments of vases and two gold earrings survived (X. 18).

An old mortuary site to the west of the cemetery was reused. It is possible that the Protogeometric grave in the plot at Garivaldi 31, Sophroniskou, and Phainaretis was reconstructed and used again in the Late Geometric period (X. 2; X. 13). During the first phase of its excavation it had been considered Protogeometric, on the basis of the vases it contained. However, the vases revealed when research resumed are dated to the Late Geometric period. Consequently, it seems that the grave was used once in the Protogeometric period and then again in the Late Geometric period, which would explain also why there were five skulls inside it.

The Makrygianni Street cemetery seems to have operated in the northeast part of the area in these years. An unfurnished jar burial in a handmade domestic amphora, which may date from Late Geometric times, was uncovered in the northeast part of the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35).

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Figure 3.35. Athens, Makrygianni. Erechtheiou 21–23 cemetery. Grave A: (a) cinerary amphora: EPK 533; (b) skyphos: EPK 534. Brouskari 1980, pl. 3a–b. Courtesy of M. Brouskari.

The pottery recovered from the wells in the same space can be attributed to clearings of graves of this period. Objects indicating the existence of mortuary activity were brought up from Well 23: a painted conical pyxis lid, a fragment from the mouth of a handmade pithos with incised decoration, and part of a large open vase, perhaps a krater. The first item is a very common grave good, the second is a vase type used for infant inhumation (enchytrismos), and the third played the role of marker on wealthy tombs in these years. The objects seem to come from somewhere nearby.[169]

Two destroyed graves cut in the bedrock were found in the opposite plot at Makrygianni 15–17, Porinou, and Diakou (X. 32). Some of the cuttings investigated in the adjacent plot to the south at Makrygianni 19–21, which their excavator interpreted as graves, possibly date to this period (X. 33). This hypothesis is bolstered by the discovery of two Late Geometric graves (VII and XIII) containing cremations in the adjacent plot to the south, at Makrygianni 23–25–27 (X. 34).

Undated

A burial ground existed in the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion Streets (X. 12), as surmised from the empty cuttings and the Geometric pottery, the exact date of which is not known. And although the correlation of the site with the burial ground on the South Slope of the Acropolis[170] (about 50 m farther north) seems likely, because of the uninterrupted use of the latter throughout the Geometric period, the more precise determination of the use of the cuttings in the former is difficult.

To the southwest of the Makrygianni area and between two other known mortuary sites, the plot at Garivaldi 31, Sophroniskou, and Phainaretis and the Erechtheiou Street cemetery, pottery has been located in the plot at Propylaion 34, but we know nothing further about its exact date (X. 41).

There are two other comparable cases from the area to the east, in the plots at Athanasiou Diakou 9 (X. 9) and Athanasiou Diakou 34 (X. 10), where sherds of the Geometric period have been identified, in the second case in the fill of a well.

Area XI: Kynosarges

Protogeometric Period[171]

The beginning of mortuary activity in the area is detected in the plot at Theophilopoulou 11 (XI. 3). The fill yielded Protogeometric sherds, from which a funerary amphora was mended, indicating the existence of lost graves there.[172]

Early and Middle Geometric Period[173]

The evidence of mortuary use of the south bank of the Ilissos in these years is greater than for the preceding period. The pottery found in the stratigraphic section cut in the plot at Theophilopoulou 11 (XI. 3) reveals continuity of use during the Early and Middle Geometric period too.

About 70 m farther west in the same street, between the side streets Menaichmou and Kokkini (XI. 2), a richly furnished male cremation burial and a circular pit with remains of a pyre and a few sherds were found.

Last, an enchytrismos in an amphora was uncovered farther north, in the plot at Diamantopoulou 10 (XI. 1). In addition, contemporary pottery was found dispersed in the space, obviously coming from destroyed graves.

All the above sites should be correlated with excavations conducted by the British School at Athens in the late nineteenth century, near the junction of Vourvachi Street and Vouliagmenis Avenue, which brought to light a large number of Geometric graves and 44 vases of Dipylon type of the Middle to Late Geometric period (some of which are today in the BSA collection and the rest lost), as well as a gold funerary band, an iron dagger, and a bronze shield-boss (XI. 8; fig. 3.36).

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Figure 3.36. Athens, Kynosarges: (a) BSA excavation 1896–1897, directed by C. H. Smith. Although the exact site of the excavation is unknown, from this photograph in the BSA archive, in which the Acropolis is visible in the background, left, and the Olympieion on the right, it is deduced that investigations were made at the junction of present Vourvachi and Vouliagmenis Streets. Some of the finds, such as the oenochoe A 305 (b) and Plate K 11 (c), came into the possession of the BSA. The rest, which according to legislation at that time remained in the possession of the owner of the excavated plot of land, are now lost. Coldstream 2003, pls. 39a, 41, 51. Reproduced with permission of the British School at Athens. Copyright © BSA.

This site is examined together with the neighboring plot at Vouliagmenis, Trivonianou, and Efpompou, as they constitute a group (IX. 2).

Four graves (II, II, XVIII, XIX) dating from the first half of the eighth century BC have been found there, as well as two others (I, XII) dating from mid-century — that is, the transition from the Middle to the Late Geometric period. Both burial habits of the period are represented in this cemetery, while particularly impressive is the wealth and diversity of the grave goods (vases, pyxides with modeled horses, iron weapons, and jewelry), as well as the quantity of gold objects, primarily diadems (fig. 3.37).[174]

Late Geometric Period[175]

Use of the spaces constituting the nucleus of the Kynosarges cemetery continued. In the plot at Theophilopoulou 16 (XI. 5), a Subgeometric grave and a large quantity of contemporary pottery were unearthed. It seems that this was what remained from the use of the space as a cemetery until the final years of the Geometric period.

Similar evidence was gathered from the neighboring plot at Kokkini 4–6 (XI. 7), where intact and fragmented Late Geometric vases recovered from the edge of the plot point to the existence of other graves in the area.

Last, the very rich Middle Geometric cemetery in the plot at Vouliagmenis, Trivonianou, and Efpompou continued to operate (IX. 2). Two of the graves revealed, VI and IX, are dated in the second half of the eighth century BC. The first held a cremation (even though by this advanced period inhumation prevailed) and the second an inhumation. The main characteristics of this cemetery, with rich gold jewelry and funerary bands, remain the same (fig. 3.38).

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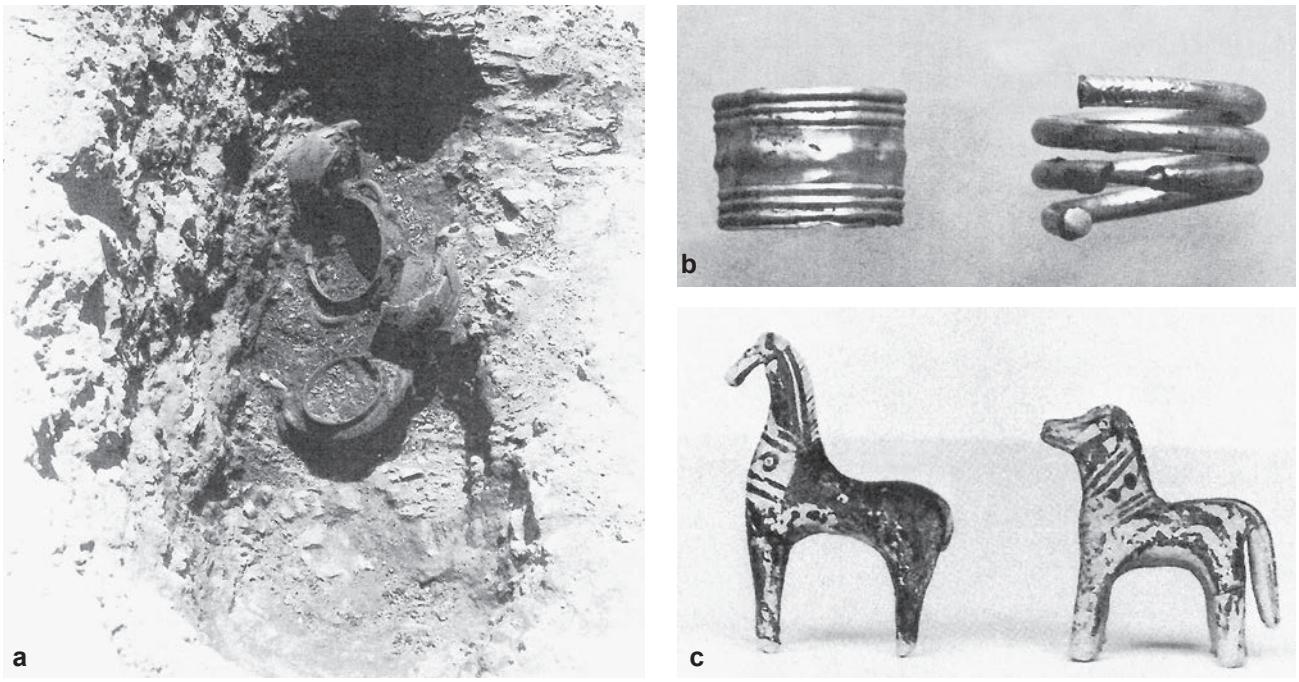

Figure 3.37. Athens, Kynosarges. Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou plot: (a) cremation burial III, view from the west; (b) gold finger ring and gilded bronze hair ring (sphekoteras) from Grave III; (c) horse figurines. Alexandri 1976, pl. 62b; Alexandri 1972, p. 170, fig. 7; Alexandri 1976, pl. 63b. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

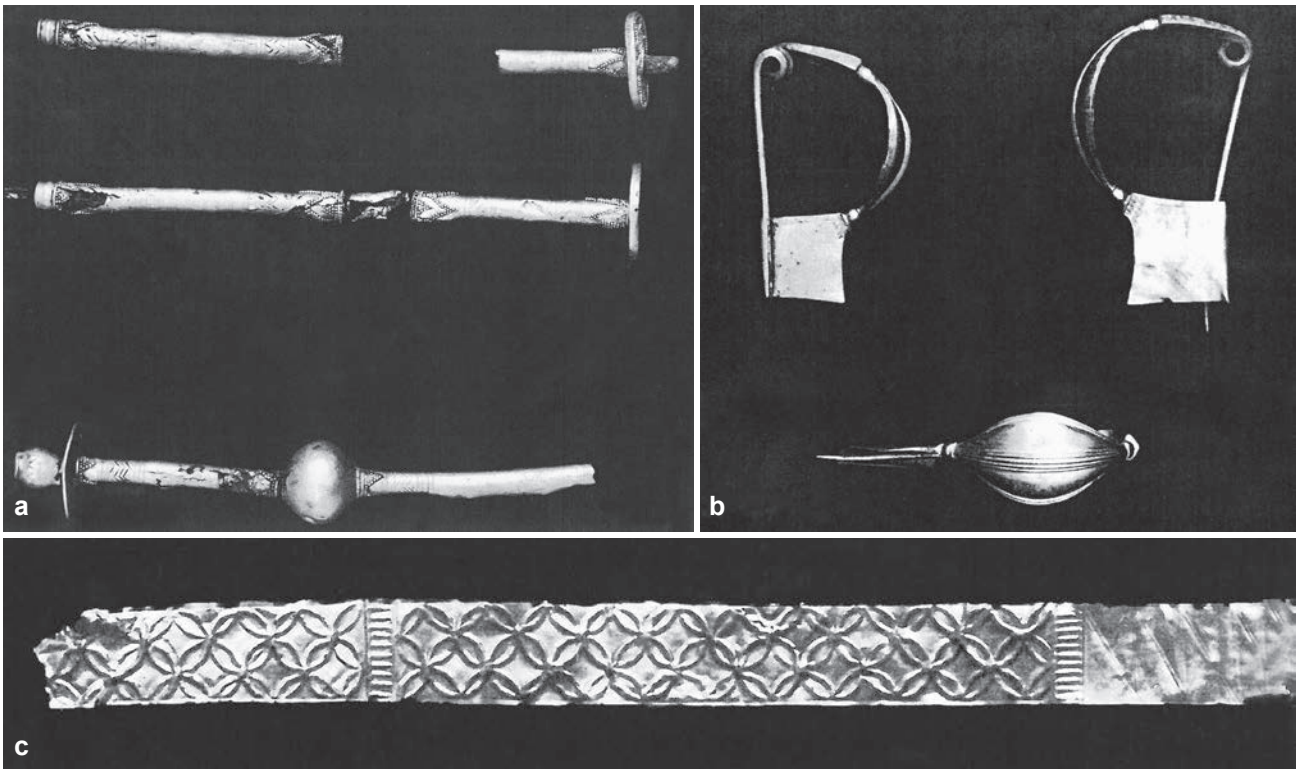

Figure 3.38. Athens, Kynosarges. Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou plot: (a) iron pins covered with gold leaf, from Graves XVIII and XIX; (b) gold fibulae from Grave XIX; (c) gold band-diadem with impressed decoration from Grave III. Alexandri 1972, p. 172, fig. 10, p. 174, fig. 13, p. 170, fig. 6. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Area XII: Koukaki

Protogeometric Period[176]

The indications that mortuary activity continued in the area come once again from its north and southwest parts.

The northernmost site is the plot at Zacharitsa and Alopekis Streets (Kontopoulos property: XII. 13), where Protogeometric vases were recovered from a grave destroyed in the course of digging a basement.[177]

In the west part of the area, in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 110 (XII. 8), in a burial ground from the Late Helladic and the Submycenaean period, one richly furnished grave (IX) and one pyre dated to the transition to the Middle Geometric period were uncovered.[178]

Early and Middle Geometric Period[179]

There is no evidence of mortuary activity in the north of the area. The graves found are few, as in the Protogeometric period, and are located in the central and southwest parts of the area.

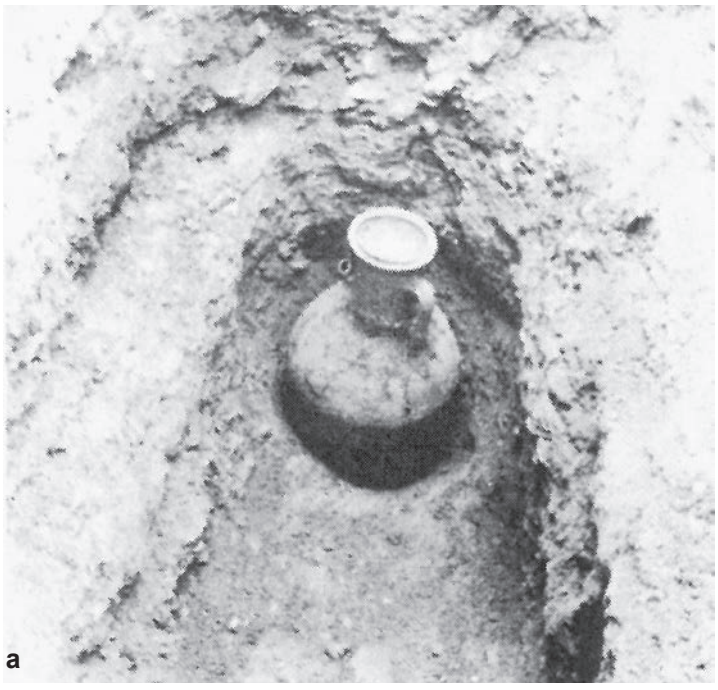
The northernmost site is the plot at Drakou 19, where a cremation burial, of a child according to the excavator, was found inside a circular pit (XII. 10).[180] In the southwest, the cemetery in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 110 (XII. 8) continued to receive burials during the Middle Geometric period, without interruption. Indeed, two of the four graves (VI, VII, XIIII, and XVII) uncovered there are dated to the Early Geometric period (VI and XVII), and one of them held a cremation in a cinerary amphora.

Late Geometric Period[181]

The known graves were found exclusively in the southwest part of the area.

A Late Geometric grave revealed in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 95 (XII. 6) held a cremation burial inside a bronze lebes with lid. The persistence of the custom of cremation in this period, during which inhumation predominates, and the use of this particular type of cinerary vase find parallels in graves of the Dipylon cemetery in the northwest of Athens (III. 19; III. 23).

In the plot directly opposite to the northeast, at Dimitrakopoulou 106 (XII. 7), several empty pits have been uncovered. They are interpreted as old graves that were cleared out in a later period. Because no Geometric pottery was found in the plot, the excavator was reluctant to date it to the Geometric period. However, the indubitable mortuary use of the space, which emerges from earlier excavations in neighboring plots and particularly at Dimitrakopoulou 95 and 110, advocates the interpretation of these pits as empty Geometric graves. The four Late Geometric graves (VIII, X, XI, XVIII) found in the second plot (just 50 m to the southwest)



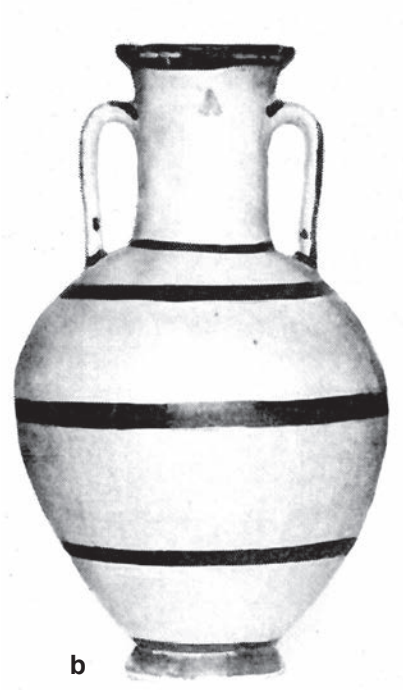


Figure 3.39. Athens, Koukaki. Dimitrakopoulou 110, Grave XVIII: (a) Late Geometric cinerary amphora in situ; (b) Late Geometric cinerary amphora after conservation. Nikopoulou 1970, p. 178, figs. 12–13. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens.
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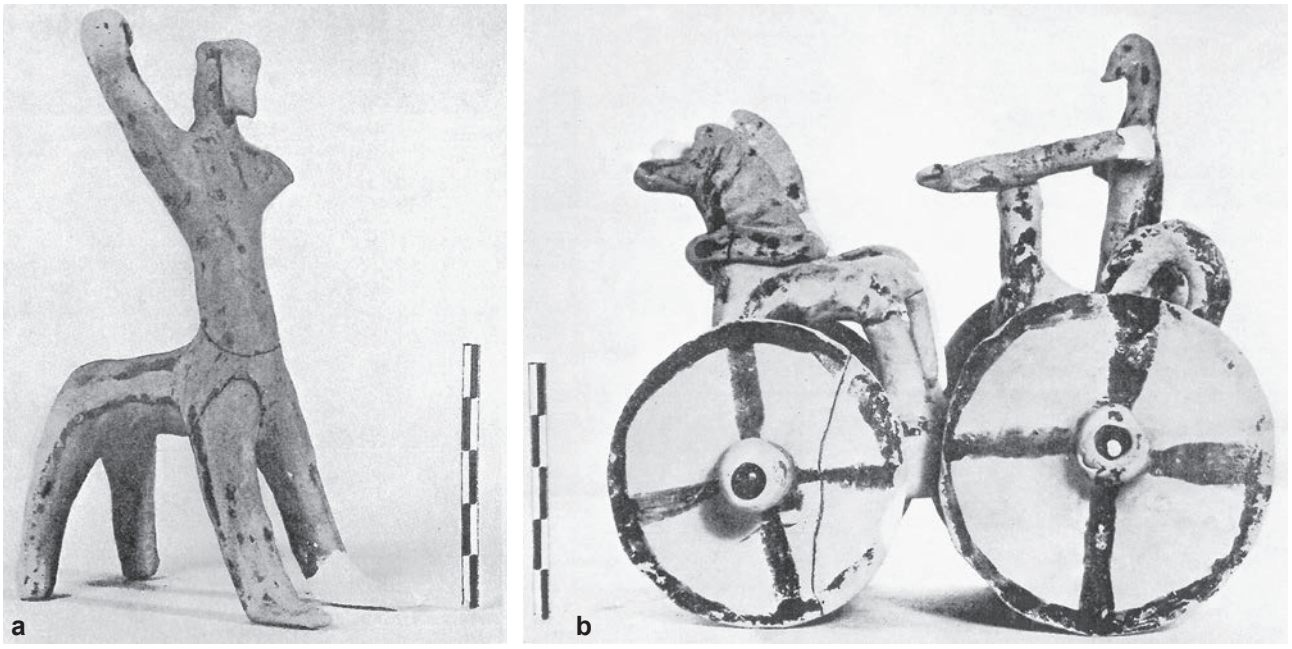

Figure 3.40. Athens, Koukaki. Meidani 12–14. Grave goods inside the cinerary amphora of the cremation burial: (a) centaur figurine; (b) chariot model. Stavropoullos 1966, pl. 55αβ. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

underline the uninterrupted use of the cemetery (XII. 8). The only grave that had not been disturbed (XVIII) contained a male cremation in a cinerary amphora, accompanied by weapons, as was usual in the preceding Middle Geometric period (fig. 3.39). This is the second known case of cremation in the area in these years. (The other in the nearby plot at Dimitrakopoulou 95, above.)

Farther south, in the plot at Meidani 12–14, three oblong pits were found. Two of them contained inhumations and the third a cremation in a cinerary vase, the third case in the area (XII. 14; fig. 3.40).

The phenomenon of cremation burials at this site is encountered yet again in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 116 and Aglavrou (XII. 9). The pit grave was found destroyed, and some of the numerous sherds recovered from it were mended to give a large amphora of the fourth quarter of the eighth century BC, with representation of a chariot race.

Mortuary activity in this space perhaps extended slightly farther to the south. No other grave has been found, but the Geometric pottery from the fill of the plot at Veikou 123–125 and Aglavrou hints in this direction (XII. 3).

Area XIII: Theseion

Protogeometric Period [182]

Few Protogeometric burials have been found in the area, and they are concentrated in two parts of it: the northwest and the west, where the fortification wall of the city passed in Classical times. In the northwest part, two graves came to light in the plot at Amphiktyonos 8 (XIII. 4). These contained two inhumations, one probably of a child as it was accompanied by a wheeled horse figurine.

Some 30 m south, in the plot at Poulopoulou 10, the existence of one more destroyed grave is attested by the vases found there (XIII. 13).

In the west part of the area, two graves were excavated in the plot at Erysichthonos 27 (XIII. 8). In the adjacent plot to the south, at Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos 38 (XIII. 9), a Protogeometric jug was unearthed, possibly coming from a destroyed grave. The Geometric pottery found in the plot at Erysichthonos 27, the precise date of which is not given, is perhaps associated with mortuary activity in the two plots (XIII. 7).

Early and Middle Geometric Period [183]

There are indications of mortuary activity in the north part, with tendencies to expansion westward.

Two cremation burials accompanied by gold jewelry, including a band-diadem, were brought to light in the plot at Aktaiou, Eptachalkou, and Ephestion Streets (XIII. 1). Two Early Geometric graves were found under the floors of rooms of a Hellenistic house in the plot at Poulopoulou 20 (XIII. 14). One grave had not been disturbed and contained rich grave goods.[184]

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Late Geometric Period[185]

An increase in the number of graves, all of them concentrated in the west part of the area, is observed in the closing years of the Geometric period.

A destroyed grave that held a cremation was located in the plot at Dimophontos 5, near the ancient road linking Athens with the Piraeus (XIII. 6). This is the most far-flung of all the burials in the northwest part of the area and the only one extra muros of the Classical fortification.

Intra muros of the Classical enceinte, in the plot at Aktaiou 24, three graves that had been looted in Classical times were unearthed (XIII. 3). In one of these, pottery dated to the end of the eighth century BC survived.

At the junction of Aktaiou and Nileos Streets, an enchytrismos of an infant was found, while a Subgeometric juglet recovered from the corner plot at Aktaiou and Nileos is obviously from a destroyed grave in this same Late Geometric burial ground (XIII. 2).[186] In the plot at Nileos 32, a grave half destroyed by an overlying Roman wall was revealed (XIII. 12).[187]

Last, at the intersection of Nileos and Erysichthonos streets, a Late Geometric pyre with six vases was uncovered (XIII. 11). This belongs to the Late Geometric cemetery excavated in the corner plot at Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos 38, where 11 pit graves were located — seven destroyed or looted and four undisturbed (XIII. 9; fig. 3.41). These yielded numerous vases but also gold funerary band-diadems. Part of this rich cemetery lies under the Themistoclean fortification wall that passed through here and part under a stretch of the ring road on the inside of the wall.

All the above sites lie on the south side of the road to the Piraeus. The pottery found at the point where the Piraeus Gate (II) was built in Classical times should be associated with the use of the site throughout the Geometric period.

Undated

Use of the space in the Geometric period is detected from the pottery found at three further sites. The lack of other surviving archaeological remains in the plots at Vasilis 18–20 (XIII. 5) and Poulopoulou 29 (XIII. 15) impedes any attempted correlation. However, the pottery from the fill of the plot at Igiou 3 (XIII. 10), which is dated generally to Geometric times, may be related to the mortuary space at the junction of Aktaiou and Nileos Streets (XIII. 2; late eighth century BC).

Discussion and Synthesis of the Material

The Site of the Settlement: Views Old and New

The site and the form of the settlement of Athens in the Geometric period are issues covered by Desborough's theory.[188] According to this, the nucleus of the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age settlement was located to the northwest of the Acropolis, on the site of the later Agora of Classical times.[189] Since its proposal, many scholars have espoused Desborough's theory, indeed corroborating it with various observations or arguments that have been expressed axiomatically to a greater or lesser degree.[190]

The two basic axes/axioms on which the theory was based and was generally accepted (and still is accepted by some) are:

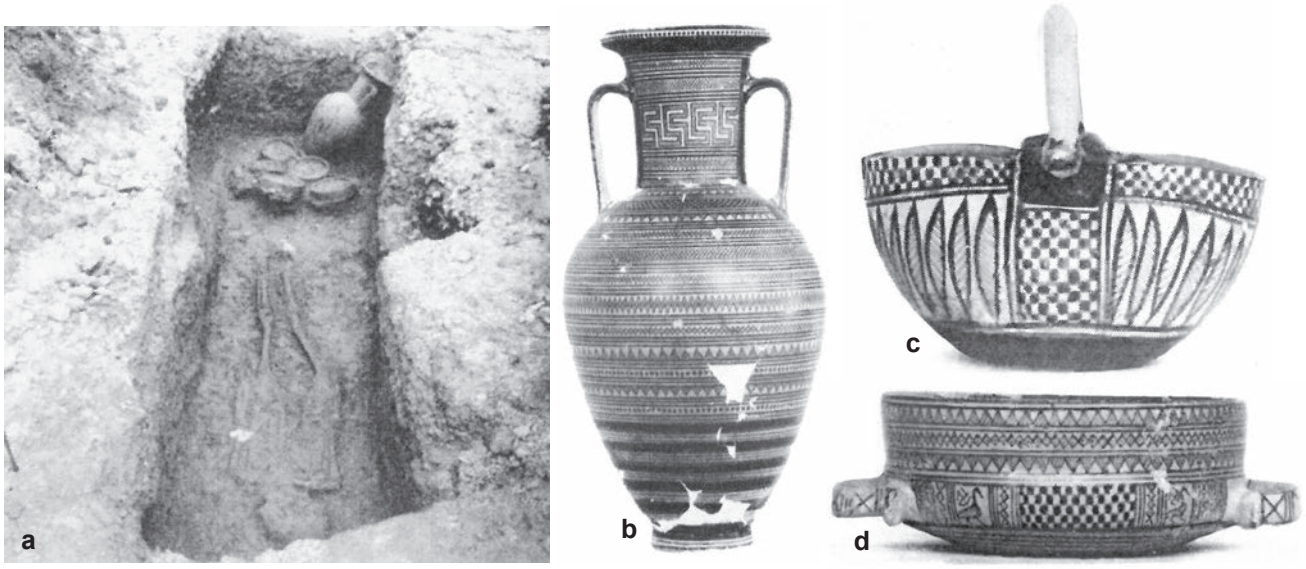

Figure 3.41. Athens, Theseion. Erysichthonos and Nileos Streets: (a) Grave IX; (b) Geometric amphora from Grave IX; (c) small basket-shaped vase (kalathiskos) from Grave VI; (d) skyphos from Grave I. Alexandri 1968, pls. 78β, 80ε–ς', 81γ. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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1. The utilization of the wells as a means of locating the site of destroyed houses contemporary with them
2. The coexistence of houses and graves (of children and of adults), in most cases in contact with one another inside the settlement[191]

This theory, notwithstanding the fact that it was posited prematurely, was established and continues to be reproduced in the bibliography even today, despite more recent research findings that fill in our previously incomplete knowledge of the topography of the space.

A recent study of the content of 17 wells in the Agora, dating from the Submycenaean/Protogeometric to the Early Archaic period, demonstrates that these contained not discards from houses but from pottery workshops that had been already set up by Protogeometric times in proximity to earlier graves.[192] The new evidence reveals that in Geometric times, the wider area of the later Agora continued to be a space of cemeteries as well as workshops (of the early Potters' Quarter/Kerameikos in the view of J. Papadopoulos), but it was in no way the site of the kernel of the early settlement.[193] According to Papadopoulos, the settlement nucleus continued in existence on the same site as in the Late Bronze/Early Iron Age, on the flat summit and the slopes of the Acropolis.[194]

Unfortunately, in contrast to the Agora, there has been little progress in recent research on the Acropolis. The Iron Age pottery from the top of the Rock and around it remains for the most part unpublished, and therefore our knowledge of the nature of the early remains, as well as their precise dating, is incomplete.[195] However, in Gauss and Ruppenstein's reexamination of the published material from the Acropolis, the existence of graves on its summit during the Late Geometric period is noted.[196] The issue is further complicated by the presence also of indications of cultic activity from the mid-eighth century BC. Both researchers argue that there was sufficient space on the Rock to accommodate different functions concurrently.[197] In this case the possibility of the existence of habitation there during the second half of the eighth century BC, which Papadopoulos supports, cannot be ruled out.

Last, in their endeavor to form a general image of the articulation — topographical, social, and political — of Athens in this period, other researchers utilize the sites at which Protogeometric and Geometric graves are found and objects from them. They speak of sparse and dispersed habitation, of small settlements organized according to families, and the coexistence of burial grounds and houses inside areas of habitation.[198]

We shall assess the above theories, after first examining the entire corpus of archaeological evidence available to us for the Geometric period — that is, not only the mortuary remains but also the few architectural remains that have been found. On the basis of these data, we try to combine the patchy information harvested with the aim of distinguishing the places where habitation developed in the wider space that was later occupied by the Classical asty.

Acropolis: City, Citadel, Cemetery, or Sanctuary?

The use of the Acropolis remains enigmatic for most of the Geometric period, at least, and is related to the dual character of the Rock as fortress and sanctuary. While the movable finds from the mid-eighth century BC (bronze tripods, figurines) signal the dynamic onset of the dedicating of ex-votos by the aristocrats of Athens and denote the existence of cult activity, our knowledge of the preceding interval, from the Submycenaean to the Late Geometric period, is almost nonexistent.[199] We do not know what happened to the Mycenaean palace or exactly when the flat summit was turned into a locus sanctus. Last, we do not know whether a temple housing a wooden cult effigy (xoanon) of the goddess existed.[200] In general, the later continuous rebuilding on the summit obliterated any architectural remains from the Early Iron Age. For this reason, the prevailing view is that in this period the Rock was probably used more as a citadel than a sanctuary, as an observation post and fort in the event of danger.[201]

The nebulous nature of our knowledge is compounded by the fact that the movable finds from the Acropolis excavations, mainly pottery, are still for the most part unpublished, more than a century since their discovery.[202] However, recent reexamination of pottery from the old Acropolis excavations showed that the cemetery that existed on the flat summit in the Submycenaean period continued to be used later. Lekythoi from the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period confirm the operation of the cemetery in those years.[203]

For the subsequent periods there is less evidence and the conclusions are therefore less secure. The fragments of Protogeometric pottery that have been studied (mainly from deep bowls-skyphoi and one fragment of a krater) come from vase types that occur both in mortuary and domestic assemblages.[204] One incised bead is the only find that can be confidently attributed a funerary provenance.[205]

The same is true for the published ceramic evidence from the Middle Geometric period, which consists of just two fragments: one from a krater and one from a kalathos.

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The first cannot be considered securely a funerary find, but the second is a characteristic grave good accompanying female burials in Attica from the Protogeometric into the Early Geometric period.[206]

Although there are more indications of the use of the space in Late Geometric times than in the two preceding periods, these are highly controversial. The discovery of fragments of Dipylon-type funerary amphorae on the summit of the Acropolis is somewhat disconcerting, as their presence, known in Athens (and two cases outside Athens)[207] only from cemeteries, coincides with the appearance of the first ex-votos to the goddess. Perhaps this is also why there are so few references to this significant find in the bibliography. The interpretations proposed by M. Langdon, who was the first to broach the subject, triggered all the relevant debates that continue to this day.[208] He posits three possibilities:

1. The vases were dedications in an early place of worship, related to the graves of heroes of the Athenian past, who were believed to be buried on the summit of the Rock.
2. The vases were not placed initially on the Acropolis. They had been transferred to it from the Slopes, where graves had been disturbed during works for configuring the flat summit and constructing the first Parthenon.[209]
3. The vases and the bronze tripods brought to light were initially prizes in funerary games organized in memory of aristocrats, which were later dedicated by the victors to the goddess in her sanctuary on the Acropolis.

Langdon considers his last proposal the most plausible and also interprets the assemblage of the rest of the sherds from all three subperiods as dedications to the goddess, arguing that worship of her continued without interruption from the beginning of the Iron Age. Glowacki disagrees and favors the first proposal — namely that the vases are dedications on heroes' tombs.[210] In Hurwit's opinion, all Langdon's proposed interpretations are possible, but those interpreting the vases as prizes/votive offerings or dedications on ancestral tombs, linking them with Kekrops's tomb and with hero cult in the late eighth century BC, are given precedence.[211]

After their reexamination of the published early material from the Acropolis and on the basis of the conclusions that emerged, Gauss and Ruppenstein commented on each one of the above theories. In their view:[212]

1. The vases could not have been dedications on tombs of ancestors because the existence of vases of monumental size or decorated with scenes of prothesis is not known from any other site of hero cult in the whole of Greece.
2. Bringing from elsewhere earth fill in which there were sherds seems pointless given the earth removal works that had been carried out on the flat summit in preparation for the subfoundation of the Vor-Parthenon, which would have produced a considerable quantity of debris. Furthermore, the large size of some fragments makes their transfer to the Acropolis in this way impossible.[213] Last, although the exact findspot of the sherds is not known, it is nonetheless certain that not all come from the fill for construction of the Vor-Parthenon. For example, two of them are known to have been found in the fill of the Persian destruction level. Consequently, at least for those not related to the Vor-Parthenon, building of which began immediately after the battle of Marathon (490–489 BC), it is certain that they preexisted on the Rock.
3. The vases cannot have been dedications in the sanctuary of Athena because, as Langdon himself contends, there is no parallel for the dedicating of monumental funerary vases in the Attic sanctuaries, and prothesis scenes are an exclusively funerary decorative subject.

If these theories are accepted, the monumental funerary vases with the scenes of prothesis could have been either tomb markers or dedications to some hero or deity. And since the second case is rejected due to the lack of a known parallel, the only remaining possibility is that during the Late Geometric period, a particularly distinguished circle of people were buried on the summit of the Acropolis.[214] This hypothesis is strengthened by the existence of fragments of pyxides, as well as of a Theran amphora and a Cretan pithos, vases exclusively for funerary use in their place of origin.[215] Gauss and Ruppenstein argue that the dating of the first secure indications of worship at the site, circa 750 BC and not earlier than the mid-eighth century BC, demonstrates that although in this period the space had not yet been turned exclusively into a sanctuary, it was then that it began to play a central role as the city's sanctuary.[216] The concurrent cultic and mortuary use of the Acropolis in these years cannot be ruled out, as the space was sufficient for both functions separately, exactly as on Aegina and Delos, where Geometric burials have been found close to the altar of Zeus

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and in the area of the sanctuary of Apollo, respectively.[217] According to Papadopoulos, this coexistence of mortuary and cult evidence on the flat summit circa 750 BC proves the uninterrupted use of the Acropolis as a fortified settlement with a sanctuary intra muros from prehistoric times down to the Late Geometric period.[218] Indeed, the mixed use of the space as fort and sanctuary from the eighth century BC onward, as maintained by Hurwit and Holtzmann,[219] seems very possible in the framework of the smooth change of its use and appears even more reasonable in the light of Papadopoulos's observation that if the whole Acropolis were already a sanctuary in the Geometric period, its area would have surpassed that of any contemporary settlement area.[220]

Bohen too, in her recent theory, sees the flat summit of the Acropolis as a place of mixed functions — as citadel, settlement, and cemetery. By combining the archaeological data and the historical development of the Athenian system of governance, as this emerges from her own proposed dating of the list of kings of Athens, she maintains that the Late Geometric vases belong to the grave monuments of Neleid aristocrats who, with the return of the Medontids to the Athenian political stage in the mid-eighth century BC, withdrew to the Acropolis, using it as a fortress and a burial ground for their dead kin.[221]

On the basis of all the above, we could say that Hurwit's proposed picture of the summit of the Acropolis in the Protogeometric period — "it is easy to imagine the Protogeometric Acropolis a virtual 'ghost-citadel' — a nearly empty fortress to flee to in case of trouble" — probably does not correspond to the reality.[222] Perhaps the Early Geometric evidence was lost during the Late Geometric period, when the flat summit began to acquire also the character of an organized sanctuary, to be reconfigured and built on.[223] Indeed, perhaps the Acropolis was for an interval, like Delphi, a settlement within which the sanctuary existed (as a continuation of the Mycenaean megaron?), which gradually developed and expanded until it dominated the space and ousted the settlement from the top of the Rock. The archaeological picture we have is sketchy, to say the least, and study of the entire corpus of unpublished material is necessary for its restitution. In the meantime, the finds from the fill of the Mycenaean Fountain and the area of the Klepsydra, although few, can perhaps be utilized to advantage.

According to the latest views,[224] after the collapse of its staircase in LH IIIC early, the Mycenaean Fountain was not repaired. Its shaft was turned into a dump and its two upper staircases were used to access the North Slope of the Acropolis after the opening of the ceiling of the east cave.[225] The few fragments of Geometric vases found in the LH IIIC fill of the fountain are dated to all stages of the Geometric period and can have come only from the summit of the Rock. Either they rolled down into the shaft or they were discarded there intentionally.[226] Also found in and among them were a few human skeletal remains (a child's skull and a probably female femur), which, although they cannot be dated, can be reasonably related to the prehistoric and protohistoric graves on the Rock.[227]

Moreover, the fragments of Middle Geometric pyxides found in Sector OA of the excavation (which includes the Klepsydra) have been considered as coming from the north slope of the Areopagus, an area with intensive mortuary activity 160 m northwest of the North Slope of the Acropolis.[228] However, the purpose of such a transfer from hill to Rock is not easily understandable. It seems more reasonable that the material originated from Middle Geometric graves on the flat summit of the Sacred Rock, which had rolled down or had been cast down from high up on the North Slope.

On the contrary, the known and published Late Geometric sherds from the flat summit of the Acropolis leave no doubt as to their intentional deposition there from the outset. It seems that in the mid-eighth century BC there existed a space that was used as a cemetery, irrespective of any other activity in the wider area of the flat summit. According to Étienne, such a case demonstrates that in Athens in this period there was not yet clear differentiation of areas by use. This theory seems correct, judging by the propinquity of cemeteries and possible places of habitation.[229] No one expects Geometric Athens to have had the spatial-planning organization of the Classical city, with the clearly distinguished areas with houses intra muros, and with cemeteries, workshops, and agricultural land extra muros. In an early stage of settlement, during which there was not yet an organized urban tissue, the possibility that during the second half of the eighth century BC there was habitation on the flat summit or near to it (the slopes?), by a community that for some reason continued to dwell on the Rock and to keep a burial ground there, does not seem incompatible. As for their possible proximity (in the sense of the absence of clear differentiation), which Étienne stresses, this is something that particularly in the limited space of the flat summit is not merely justified but is to be expected. Indeed, judging by the monumental funerary vases from the Acropolis, this community was possibly associated with some old Athenian clans or important families, which for reasons of heredity were entitled to use the top of the Rock. Even

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so, this habitation site cannot be considered the nucleus of the settlement in the sense of the one-and-only locus of habitation during the period under consideration.[230] Already by the previous period, the Submycenaean, this was not the case.[231]

Ancient Agora: Site of Settlement or Workshops?

The archaeological data available for the area to the northwest of the Acropolis comprise a mixture of architectural and funerary remains. Any attempt to designate the use of the area during the Geometric period leads inevitably to a picture of graves and wells, in use contemporaneously and coexisting harmoniously for some 250 years (fig. 3.42).

The plethora of Geometric wells in the space and the concession that each well defines the site of a now lost house led Desborough to posit his theory that the Early Iron Age settlement of Athens occupied the site of the later Agora. The dispersal of wells in groups was considered to indicate that the settlement consisted of corresponding small groups of houses (encampments) in which families lived, while the concentrations of graves between them were interpreted as showing that the inhabitants buried their dead in small family burial grounds next to the houses or even inside their courts. As we have said, Desborough's theory, although prematurely formulated, as it preceded any study of the content of the wells, immediately found its place in the bibliography and is reiterated to this day.[232] It was occasioned and underpinned by the discovery of the so-called Geometric "house" of the Areopagus (II. 12),[233] which due to its initial interpretation turned the attention of research toward seeking settlement remains in the Agora (fig. 3.43). Even though no similar building of the period has been found in this or the wider space[234] and later studies have refuted its characterization as a house,[235] the new interpretation of the building of elliptical plan as a heroon has not been established in the bibliography and Desborough's theory based on the original interpretation has not been affected.[236]

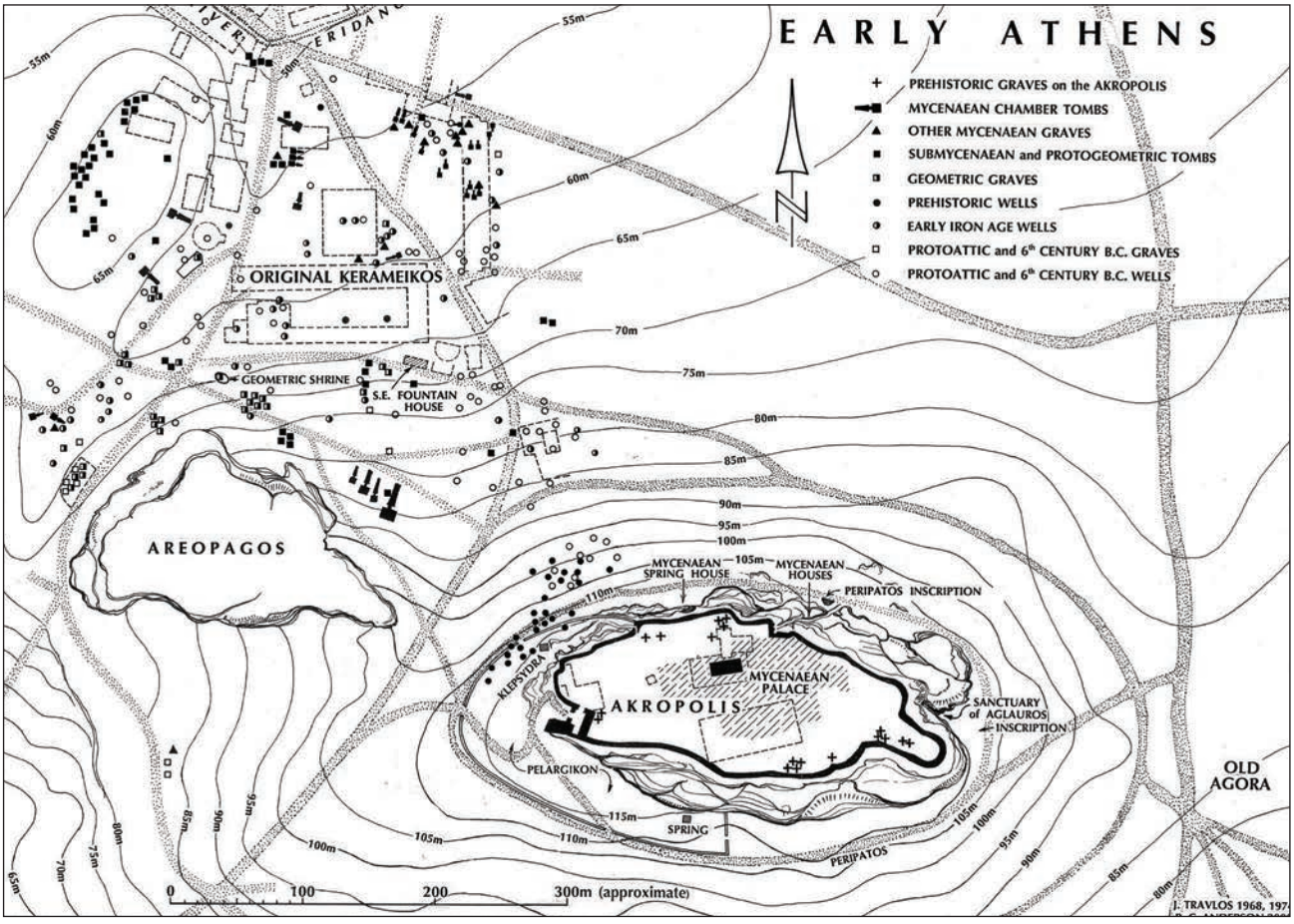

Figure 3.42. Map of early Athens with the sites of graves and wells from the Mycenaean period and the Early Iron Age to the seventh century BC. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 2, fig. 1.2. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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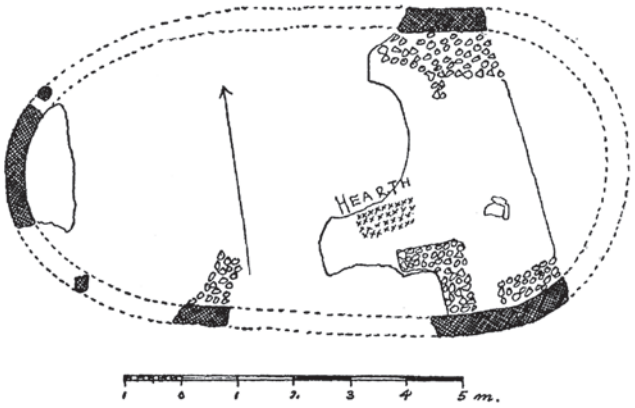

Figure 3.43. Athens, Agora. Geometric "house" on the north slope of the Areopagus. Burr 1933, p. 545, fig. 3. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Wycherley and Thompson's description of the Agora during the Geometric period helped crystallize its image as the site of the settlement.[237] However, the lack of clear criteria for locating the early settlement is glaring: the wells of still-unknown content are considered secure evidence of settlement activity, and even though researchers admit the absence of Geometric architectural remains as documentation of habitation,[238] they are in no way perturbed by the abundance of graves in the same space.

This approach can now be characterized as vague and confused, with regard to both the use of space in general and the evaluation of its individual components. However, it is justified to a degree by the then limited knowledge of the material, as well as by the patchy picture of the space that was still being excavated. Typical of the initial inability to interpret the original character of the space, due to the hotchpotch of evidence of use it presents, is Wycherley and Thompson's awkward stance vis-à-vis the earliest and ubiquitous traces of pottery workshops in the space between the wells and the graves.[239] Even though they reach the point of recognizing the craft-industrial nature of the area, going so far as to admit the possibility of the coexistence of workshop activity and habitation,[240] they cannot extricate themselves from the view that the space of the settlement and the cemeteries was one and the same.[241]

Clearly, Desborough's theory gave researchers an a priori methodologically fallacious starting point. Through creating a paradoxical interpretation, it obliged them to accept and to abet the construction of houses inside the still-functioning old-established burial grounds and next to the new ones created at that time, which continued to exist throughout the Geometric period on the periphery of the central space of the subsequent Agora. From this perspective, the same theory prevented scholarship from assessing properly both the remains of the cemeteries and the indications of workshop activity.

Even so, the possibility that the excavators did not consider it pertinent to separate the settlement from the workshop activity in these years remains to be examined. In fact, during the first phase of habitation, when the urban planning organization of the Classical period did not yet exist, the possibility that areas of purely craft-industrial character did not exist should not be ruled out. In this case, it is possible that the potters of the Agora lived in their workplaces.[242] However, if this is so, then the Agora cannot be considered the nucleus of the Geometric settlement of Athens but an early craft-industrial district. Certainly it was not where the majority of the inhabitants of Athens lived.[243]

The latest studies have turned in the direction of craft-industrial activity, amplifying our knowledge of the function of the space. This progress was sparked by Papadopoulos's study and publication of part of the pottery from certain early wells in the Agora,[244] through which the validity of Desborough's theoretical assessment concerning their alleged domestic content is challenged for the first time and the role of the workshops is enhanced. The results of the study of 17 wells and deposits of the 35 or so that have been found (fig. 3.44), dated from the Submycenaean to the Late Geometric/Early Archaic periods, demonstrated on the one hand that many of what were considered wells were in fact refuse pits, and on the other that some of these contained not domestic but workshop discards (test pieces; unfinished and unpainted vases; totally destroyed, kiln-damaged pots that collapsed and lost their shape; pots that incurred cracks, dents, and other faults during the process of modeling, drying, or firing). Even wells containing household refuse are located near others with workshop material. Consequently, the Geometric wells and deposits seem to have served for centuries the needs first and foremost of workshops and not of houses. The domestic discards found are perhaps related to the permanent installation of potters in the space, and in the end, the dominant activity that determined the character of its use is not settlement but craft-industrial.[245] The new evidence distances us from the old hitherto accepted theory of Desborough that the early settlement nucleus of Athens was located on the site of the later Agora. Papadopoulos notes that all the places in the area of the Agora that were not destroyed by later building activity were covered entirely by graves, and he argues that the site of the Classical Athenian Agora was never the settlement

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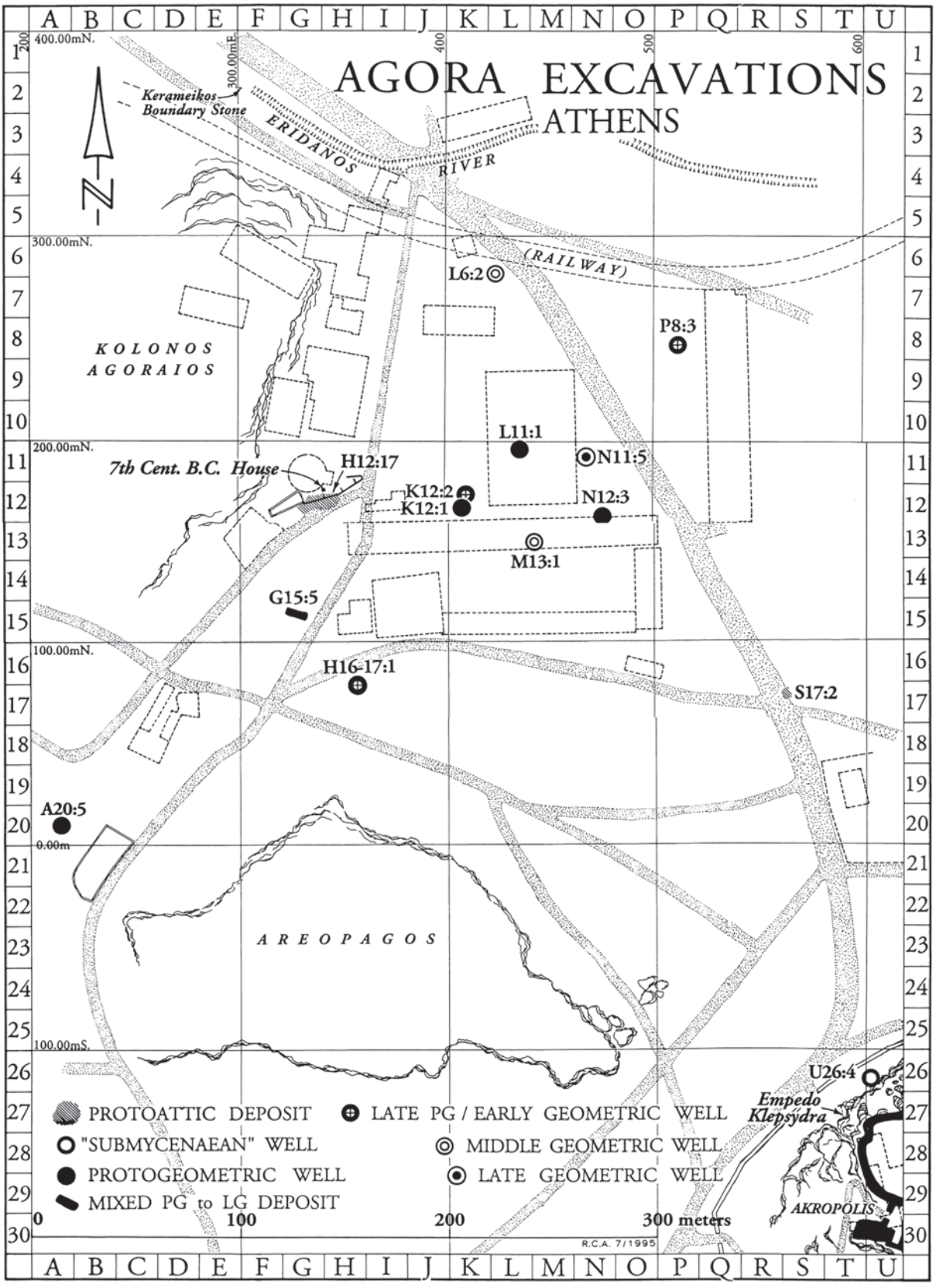

Figure 3.44. Athens, Agora. Early Iron Age wells and deposits with discards of pottery workshops in the Agora. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 4, plan 1.4. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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nucleus of early Athens but its Potters' Quarter, the famous Kerameikos.[246] In his opinion, the early settlement should be sought where it always was, upon and around the Acropolis,[247] a view based also on the latest findings of Gauss and Ruppenstein's research. Papadopoulos's theory interprets in a logical and scientifically documented manner the picture of the space and provides satisfactory answers to questions about the nature of its use and the concurrent presence of graves and wells.

However, the question that remains open is that of the temporal relation between all these coexisting wells and graves. Were these workshops that were possibly housed together with the potters' dwellings installed next to or among contemporary graves? Could the area of the Agora have been used during the Geometric period at once as a space of burial and of craft-industrial activity? And if yes, how is this reconciled with the purely mortuary use of other areas that from Submycenaean times were designated as cemeteries? In order to answer the above questions we go back once again to the Geometric material from the Agora, the graves and the wells, this time examining it by subperiod of the Geometric period.

Development of the Wells on the Site of the Later Agora during the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods in Relation to the Contemporary Graves

To date, the graves and the wells of the Agora have been approached in blanket manner for the two and a half centuries spanned by the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. Their gradual plotting as they were revealed, with different symbols for each subperiod but on a single topographical map of the space, created an exceptionally composite image that, due to the glut of visual information, makes it virtually impossible to understand the function of the space.[248]

By classifying the remains of the Geometric period by subperiods (Protogeometric, Early/Middle Geometric, and Late Geometric), to the degree that the still largely unpublished Geometric material allows,[249] the picture of the Agora can be deciphered. Three maps were drawn (one for each of the subperiods). They are marked with the positions of only the graves and wells of each subperiod, so that correlations between them can be comprehended. The development of the uses of the space of the later Agora can be followed overall, clearly and accurately, with the simultaneous presentation of the three subperiods on a common template but with each subperiod in a different color so that the positions of the remains of each subperiod can be examined comparatively to the one before and the one after.[250]

Protogeometric Period

During the Protogeometric period, the use of the Agora remained generally the same with regard to the Mycenaean and Submycenaean burial grounds, which continued in use without break.[251] However, a minor differentiation is observed with regard to the wells, which increase in number and spread from north of the Eridanos as far as the north and west slopes of the Areopagus (Industrial District), and from the northeast corner of the Agora as far as the Eleusinion. The wells that have been studied have yielded evidence of a strong presence of potters' workshops in the space. A basic characteristic of the spatial distribution of the wells is that they are not opened near places that were used for burials in the same period.[252] In those cases where wells and graves in proximity are ascertained archaeologically, it is invariably demonstrated that the wells and the graves are not contemporaneous.[253]

The Protogeometric cemeteries are located around the central space of the Agora and not inside it. In this period the core of the workshops began to be created here. Wells and refuse pits were opened, mainly in the area between the Odeion of Agrippa and the South Stoa, but without altering the balance between mortuary and nonmortuary spaces.

Specifically, the space on the north bank of the Eridanos near the Stoa Poikile (II. 10), which from Mycenaean times was reserved for burials, changed use for the first time, with the opening of Well K 1:5. Remains of workshop activity as well as domestic vessels, consistent with the hypothesis that the potters' workshops were at the same time their houses, were recovered from its shaft. This mortuary space, which was never again used for burials, is the only one that was abandoned in Protogeometric times.

All the other old burial grounds kept the same use. In the northeast of the Agora (II. 3), in the space where the dead were interred during Late Helladic and Submycenaean times, burials were made also in the tenth century BC, just as in the equally old mortuary site around the later temple of Ares (II. 6). The same seems to be the case for the space of the later Stoa Basileios, as emerges from the pottery from its foundations. Uninterrupted too was the use of the other extensive mortuary area to the east of the Agora, the flat top of the Agoraios Kolonos. To the south, the north slope of the Areopagus likewise continued to receive burials in the same mortuary sites as in Submycenaean times,[254] but also in one more, toward its west edge (II. 11). Founded here in Protogeometric times was the kernel of perhaps the most important cemetery of the north slope, which was to reach its peak in the middle years of the

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Geometric period and was functional down to the end of the period. Burials continued also to the southwest of the Areopagus, in the area of Dörpfeld's excavations (II. 15), as well as to the east of the Agora, south of the Library of Pantainos (II. 2), in the same spaces where Submycenaean burials have been found.

No Protogeometric wells have been uncovered at the above sites. Those wells opened were located mainly in the south part of the area, from the Odeion of Agrippa to as far as the South Stoa (II 9), where there are no graves of any period.

At first glance, the three new wells opened on the north slope of the Areopagus (II. 12) seem to be an exception and to point to settlement or workshop activity in a period when burials were still being made within a small radius.[255] However, it seems that some areas of land changed use frequently during these years, with the result that the remains each time are very close temporally but are not actually contemporary with each other. For example, in the space with Well M 17:5, a burial was made in the same period but after the abolition of the well,[256] while Well H 16-17:1 is later than two nearby cremations.[257]

The wells opened in the Industrial District (II. 4) are not close to graves, and at least one (A 20:5) seems to be associated with a nearby workshop. There are reservations about the use of space in the area of the Eleusinion (II. 18) in the Protogeometric period, as Well U-V 19:1 may be even earlier.[258]

Early and Middle Geometric Period

There is an increase in the number of both wells/deposits and graves in the area of the Agora during the Early and Middle Geometric period. The wells, which until that time seem to have been confined to the south half of the central square, now extended also northward, while the cemeteries became denser in the opposite direction and mainly toward the Areopagus, on the north slope of which no wells were opened.[259] That is, a kind of exchange of areas is observed. Changes in the area covered by some burial grounds began to be made in these years.

Specifically, whereas the use of the cemeteries of the Stoa Basileios, the Agoraios Kolonos, and the north and the southwest slope of the Areopagus (area of Dörpfeld's excavations) continued, burials in the northeast of the Agora and possibly farther east, in the area of the Library of Pantainos, ceased (II. 2).

For the Agora the available evidence is less clear, and given the existence of a probably funerary Late Geometric deposit in the area, we should perhaps be cautious as to whether mortuary activity in the space stopped.

In the northeast corner of the Agora, the burials seem to have been abolished due to the spread of the activity of the living in the space, as is assumed from the sole well (P 8:3), which was opened to the west of the Stoa of Attalos and east of the Panathenaic Way (II. 3). No clear evidence linking it with a workshop was recovered from its fill.[260] According to Townsend, who noted the absence of wells in this area until the Late Geometric period, this is perhaps due to the difficulty of finding water in relation to other points.[261] However, a more likely reason than the height of the aquifer is the mortuary use of the area. The space to the south of the Eridanos and east of the Panathenaic Way is one of those with the highest density of Mycenaean graves to the north of the Acropolis and must have been rather important as a cemetery to continue in use without interruption during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods.[262] If to the above is added the observation that in Protogeometric times no well was opened either in or near this place, it is possible that the area ceased to function as a cemetery at this time. The sinking here of the only well known to date perhaps signals the change of use of the space into one of workshops/settlement, if not also the moment in time that this commenced.

The same observations apply also to the other new well (L 6:2) to the south of the Eridanos and west of the previous one (II. 6). After it was sunk in a par excellence mortuary space that endured from Mycenaean into Protogeometric times, burials were never made again in this space. The relation of the well to a nearby potter's workshop that operated during MG I and MG II is confirmed by the presence of wasters in its entire fill.[263]

The two wells point to the gradual taking over of the space of the later Agora by the living and the equally gradual spread of workshop (and settlement?) activity there. The places where this had first been consolidated in the preceding period continued to be used in the same way and possibly with greater intensity. New wells were opened near the Protogeometric ones in the south half of the square and to the west of the Areopagus, in the Industrial District (II. 4, II. 7, II. 9).

In the same period, burials were made for the first and last time at three sites without earlier related activity. The plot at Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos property: II. 16), on the north bank of the Eridanos, could perhaps be the imagined continuation of the Middle Geometric cemetery of the Agoraios Kolonos, as both ceased to function in the ensuing years. Moreover, it is clear that its site is associated with the road linking Athens with the Academy. The fact that use of it stopped in the following years is consistent with the abolition of the Agoraios Kolonos cemetery.

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One other new burial ground is located on the east slope of the Areopagus (II. 13) and possibly resulted from the eastward spread of mortuary activity on the north slope, which in these years was nearing its zenith.

Here the change in land use that took place to the south of the Eridanos is observed in reverse: no wells were opened, while there was a proliferation of burials (II. 12). It seems that after continuous changes in the function of the space during Protogeometric times, its identity as a cemetery was crystalized in these years. Indeed, this was a cemetery of exceptional importance, as deduced from the burials made there. The wealth of the EG I and EG II graves led to its interpretation by Coldstream as the cemetery of the royal lineage of the Medontids and identification of the deceased female in Grave H 16:6 as the wife of King Arrhiphron, of the same clan as reigned in Athens in the mid-ninth century BC.[264] In a similar way, Bohen too has attributed the mortuary use of the space to another aristocratic lineage of autochthons, the Onetorids, of which she considers the rich female in Grave H 16:6 a member. Her association relates to the reign of Diognetos, whom she dates to these years on the basis of her proposed chronology.[265] Both the above proposals are in accord with the zeitgeist of a time in which all the impressive and important finds were combined with the meager historical knowledge relating to their period. In reality, the archaeological evidence we have is too scant to permit deductions of this kind.

All the burial nuclei that have been excavated on the hill lined the roads that passed through it, which are the east branches of a basic route that started from the west end of the north slope.[266] The third burial ground without continuity of use is in the southeast part of the Agora, inside the Eleusinion and in the upper levels of an abandoned earlier well (II. 18). To date, no other burials have been found at this point on the North Slope of the Acropolis and even higher. As for the specific interment, it is almost of forensic interest, as from many features it is construed to be of a social outcast.[267] For theses reasons, this space should perhaps not be considered a mortuary site in the end.

Late Geometric Period

The occupation of the wider space of the Agora by wells was completed in the Late Geometric period. All the old burial grounds were abolished and wells were opened in their place, covering the last areas of what was at one time a necropolis. Under the pressure of the growing number of structures, the graves were moved away and concentrated in organized clusters and cemeteries, of much smaller area, in the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs.[268] The wells are dispersed from the area of the Stoa of Attalos to as far as the Eleusinion on the North Slope of the Acropolis and from the central square to as far as the Industrial District.

The northeast corner of the Agora, to the east of the Panathenaic Way (II. 3), was inundated by new wells, but what kind of installations they served eludes us, as their content has yet to be published. This applies also to the wells found in the area of the Eleusinion (S 18:1 and S 19:7). Formerly they had been linked with houses because of the large quantity of vases they contained.[269] However, the recent study of Subgeometric/Early Archaic Well S 17:2 and of its contemporary deposit R 17:5 showed that they had been packed with discards from a nearby potter's workshop.[270]

In the central square (II. 7), on the site of the Odeion of Agrippa, where there was the biggest concentration of wells, a new upsurge of workshop activity is observed. Of the five wells opened one next to the other, Well N 11:5, the fill of which has been studied, yielded wasters that confirm the long-standing and continuous use of the space by potters.

The same phenomenon of searching for water, sometimes futile, is encountered also at the west end of the Middle Stoa (II. 9).[271] The three Late Geometric wells in the space seem to be related to each other and all together to the same structure. However, we do not know whether this was a house and workshop or only a workshop, although the second alternative seems more likely in view of the general picture we have of this place.

This impression is confirmed by finds from the foot of the Agoraios Kolonos — namely a Late Geometric well (D 12:3) that was abandoned in one go (II. 8), a kiln that began operation in these years to the southeast of the Tholos (H 12:7/kiln deposit), and a neighboring refuse pit (G 15:5) full of test pieces and wasters from the Protogeometric to the Late Geometric period and the sixth century BC (II. 5), which attest the uninterrupted presence of workshops. The workshops in the southwest corner of the subsequent Agora, as well as the installations related to the new Late Geometric Well B 18:6 to the west of the Areopagus, inside the Industrial District (II. 4) and near a preexisting well of the Middle Geometric period, neighbor the cemeteries that in these years began to be confined to the periphery of the main workshop space of the Agora.

Not far from this space, three new cemeteries were founded: of the Tholos (II. 5), of the northwest slope of the Areopagus (II. 14), and of the west slope of the Areopagus (II. 4). The Tholos cemetery, the only one circumscribed

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by a contemporary Late Geometric enclosure, was used continuously for some 60 years by two generations of the same family. It is possible that one more burial ground to the southwest of it is also related to it. This cannot be claimed for the cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus, which is more likely related to a contemporary child grave and an empty pit, which were uncovered a little way to the west.[272]

Last, it seems that the north slope of the Areopagus changed use (again). With the exception of part to the east (II. 13), where a burial ground continued to operate without interruption from Submycenaean to Late Geometric times, no new burials were made on the rest of the north slope. By contrast, after an interruption of about a century and a half, a new well was sunk (L 18:2).

To recapitulate the above evidence from the site of the Ancient Agora, first it is confirmed that during the Protogeometric and the greater part of at least the Early and Middle Geometric period, the space continued to be, as in Mycenaean times, an extensive necropolis, within the wider compass of which are individual cemeteries. Of these cemeteries, many times only parts survive, and/or a few graves that by chance have escaped the continuous disturbance down to bedrock and the reconfiguration of the space.[273] The change of use of the central space during the Late Geometric period, from mortuary to craft-industrial, is also confirmed.

The second observation is that during all three subperiods examined (PG, EG and MG, LG) the wells and the graves were never mixed together in a narrow context inside the same space.[274] The workshops are located near the graves wherever the contemporary cemeteries were functioning, but not in between these cemeteries or their constituent graves. Indeed, it is noteworthy that in spaces that continued to receive burials, no well or refuse pit was opened. This only happened after mortuary use of the space had ceased (abandonment of a burial ground).

The phenomenon of the operation of pottery workshops, mainly kilns, in areas that were previously cemeteries, or the conversion of a former workshop area into a burial area, is known from many parts of Greece, such as Argos, Sindos, Rhodes, Atalante, Torone, and the subsequent Kerameikos of Athens.[275] At Athens, pottery workshops began to be established already from the tenth century BC, northwest of the Acropolis, in a space that was later turned into the public space of the Agora, and the choice of the site does not seem to be fortuitous. On the one hand, the kilns were set up in an area that met the necessary preconditions for pottery production: near the Eridanos, in a place with argillaceous sediments, where it was feasible also to sink wells for additional water supply. On the other hand, the workshops-cum-shops were installed in the heart of the old Athenian necropolis, in the shadow of the Acropolis, near roads and old cemeteries that continued in operation.[276]

Settlement Activity in the Rest of Athens

The settlement remains brought to light in the rest of Geometric Athens are scant and very often defy interpretation. These are architectural remains and wells revealed in rescue excavations within the modern city; they have not yet been studied and therefore cannot be dated with greater accuracy.[277] Although we cannot even hazard a guess as to the structures they served, as a whole they are remains of infrastructure works and works to improve the natural environment (retaining walls) and living conditions (wells). The examined remains are located in the north and mainly in the south part of the city.

The North Part of the City[278]

North of the Acropolis, the sole traces of habitation known to date lie on the north bank of the Eridanos in the plots at Karaiskaki 1 and Arionos 2, and at Karagiorgi Servias 4, which are on average 130 m distant from the riverbed and 900 m apart from each other. The well and the boulder (remains of a wall?) resting upon a Protogeometric layer, which were found in the plot at Karaiskaki 1 and Arionos 2 (III. 14) in the neighborhood of Psyrri, may date from the Protogeometric period. At this time too, a little farther south and closer to the river, one more well was sunk on the site of the Classical Stoa Poikile; it seems to be related to some nearby workshops and/or a house.[279] The well in the first plot has not been excavated meticulously and therefore nothing can be said confidently about it. The only indication suggesting its correlation with a workshop is the picture of the adjacent plot at Arionos 4 and Ermou (III. 10). There, apart from the abundant Geometric pottery in the fill, many pits of indeterminate date and traces of workshop activity on the surface of the bedrock have been found. If some of these are related temporally and functionally to the specific well in the plot at Karaiskaki 1 and Arionos 2, then this is the northernmost known limit of workshop activity north of the Acropolis. Otherwise, this well perhaps served the needs of an installation in the surrounding fields, far from the city center. In other words, it was used for watering livestock or a small tract of cultivable land near the river. This hypothesis is posited with every reservation and in combination with the evidence we have from the second such site in the north of the city, the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 4 near Syntagma Square (V. 3).

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The well and the four channels running parallel to each other found there have been interpreted as remnants of a Late Geometric irrigation system, although it is more likely that this is some method of cultivation associated with planting.[280] As the pottery found in the fill of the well and the channels indicates, this use of the space is dated to the years after the abandonment of a preexisting Protogeometric cemetery until the end of the Middle Geometric period. This similarity to the other site in the area of the Stoa Poikile may be indicative of the change of use in Geometric times of the north bank of the Eridanos, which until Submycenaean times was a space of the dead. We do not know exactly when this change occurred, and certainly it did not happen simultaneously along the river's entire length. In the case of the space north of the Agora, the sinking of the Protogeometric well gives a terminus post quem for the end of burial activity, whereas in the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 4, this happened later.

The spread of the activities of the inhabitants of Athens during the Geometric period, and the northward expansion of the areas in which they lived and worked, records at the same time the widening of the boundaries of the settlement within which they moved. Although we do not know precisely what kind (or kinds) of activities were practiced there, the mere fact that the north bank was no longer reserved for the dead means that the living claimed it for their use. Consequently, habitation in the city had begun to spread northward.[281]

The South Part of the City[282]

The indications of settlement from the part of the city lying to the south of the Acropolis are clearly more numerous than for the part to the north and display greater variety in the kind of surviving remains. Apart from wells, remains of retaining walls and workshop structures have come to light. All are located in the modern neighborhoods of Makrygianni and Koukaki. Characteristic of the sites at which the remains were unearthed is the absence of any signs of preceding human activity. It seems that these areas were virgin land until their first use in the Geometric period.

Of the settlement remains, those that predominate numerically over all others are the retaining walls. These have been found dispersed both in the Makrygianni area (Kavalloti 18: X. 22, Syngrou Avenue 13 and Lembesi: X. 30, and Syngrou Avenue outside nos. 40–42: X. 29) and in the northernmost part of Koukaki (Veikou 39 and Stratigou Kontouli: XIII. 2, Drakou 19: XII. 10) and are the first signs of intervention by the inhabitants of Athens in its natural landscape.[283] Their purpose was to hold in check naturally accumulated fill by creating terraces that interrupted the downward slope of the ground and demarcated areas to be utilized for habitation, cultivation, and all kinds of other activity. In the south part of the city, such walls were constructed later (in Archaic and Classical times), from the fringes of the South Slope right to the bottom, due to the lie of the land.[284] As documents of artificial leveling of the ground, they are associated with works to configure and arrange a space prior to the construction of buildings. However, in the case of the south part of the Geometric settlement, no other evidence of the existence of a building has been found at the sites where retaining walls have been revealed. Even so, constructions of this kind must have been made for some purpose or because of a specific necessity. This is confirmed in cases such as the three walls parallel to each other in the plot at Syngrou Avenue 13 and Lembesi (X. 30), the construction of which is repeated thrice in the same place in the same period, or the plot at Kavalloti 18 (X. 22), where retaining walls of various periods were constructed repeatedly (in Archaic, Early Classical, and Hellenistic times). Consequently, the view that the area was not inhabited in Geometric times emerges as an argumentum ex silentio from the absence of other architectural remains. However, the existence of retaining walls points to the use of the space for at least cultivation. The quest for water supply, by digging wells, may be linked with this latter use.[285]

Two wells have been found in the Makrygianni area and another two in Koukaki. Because the northernmost well, in the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion (X. 12), is not dated by its excavator, it is difficult to interpret the use of the space, since here there were also empty pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock (looted graves).[286] The southernmost Geometric well in the area, which is not dated more exactly either, came to light in the plot at Karyatidon 11 (X. 26), at about the height where the retaining wall was revealed in the plot at Kavalloti 18 (X. 22). The southernmost wells in the south part of the city as a whole were found in Koukaki, in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 44–46 and Drakou (XII. 4). Within a short radius around them stand the aforementioned retaining walls uncovered in the area. Consequently, the picture of the west part of the Makrygianni neighborhood and its southward continuation into the north part of the area of Koukaki in Geometric times reflects people's efforts to exploit the area southwest of the Acropolis as far as the Ilissos, thus securing locally flat and well-watered tracts of land.

The remains in the east part of the Makrygianni area reveal clearly the existence also of workshop activity in

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the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35) during the Late Geometric period. The most important finds there, apart from six wells dispersed in the space, are a pottery kiln, large pits and ditches cut in the bedrock, and layers consisting of gravel and clay, along with Geometric pottery, in the southernmost part of the plot (Area I). It seems most likely that these structures were in use during the Late Geometric period, as indicated by wells that were abandoned then and turned into refuse pits.[287]

One of these, Well M 20, is considered to have been filled with pottery coming from a nearby settlement complex. Until this is confirmed by detailed study of the whole of its content, the description of a trefoil-mouth oenochoe and a plate with "worn paint, thin in places . . . due to careless application and uneven firing"[288] is perhaps an indication of a different interpretation (fig. 3.45). That is, if these are not traits of some type of decoration of the period, which like the Phaleron style is not distinguished by its quality, then the particular vases could be examined as discards from the pottery workshop that existed in the space. The fill of one other well (M 23) yielded vases of the kinds used for grave goods, enchytrismoi, and tomb markers (fig. 3.46).[289]

As no Late Geometric burials have been found in the Makrygiannis plot (with the exception of an enchytrismos that is not dated securely to these years),[290] the specific finds can be correlated both with the same workshop, which possibly produced them, and with the Late Geometric graves unearthed a short distance away in the plots at Makrygianni 19–21 (X. 33), Makrygianni 23–27 and Porinou (X. 34), and Lembesi 9 and Porinou 15 (X. 27).

The cessation of burials, the installation of a pottery workshop, and the walls and floors brought to light to the southwest of the Weiler building indicate that the site, which was reserved for mortuary use during the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods, changed character at the end of the Late Geometric period and was settled over a large area.[291] The way in which this transition from one use to the other was effected, with an intermediate stage in which workshops appeared, resembles that observed also to the northwest in the area of the Agora. Comparison of the two sites reveals common features, which seem to be criteria for establishing pottery workshops in a space. Thus a basic criterion seems to have been the slope of the ground, which favored the accumulation of water and mud at the lowest points,[292] but also the nodality of the location where the workshops were installed, near main streets and busy road arteries. Indeed, in the case of the workshop in the Makrygiannis plot, the course of the neighboring Phaleron Road would have secured not only easy access for purchasers but also direct transport of export products to the harbor.

Sites of the Cemeteries: Views Old and New

Most of what we know about Athens in Geometric times is based, as for the Submycenaean period, on the graves that have survived and the material recovered from them. Of the Geometric cemeteries and the other smaller burial grounds, those referred to most frequently and extensively

Figure 3.45. Athens, Makrygianni. Makrygiannis plot, Acropolis Station. Trefoil-mouth oenochoe, kotyle, handmade trefoil-mouth oenochoe, and part of a plate from Late Geometric Well M 20. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 63, fig. of entries 31, 33, 32, 34. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

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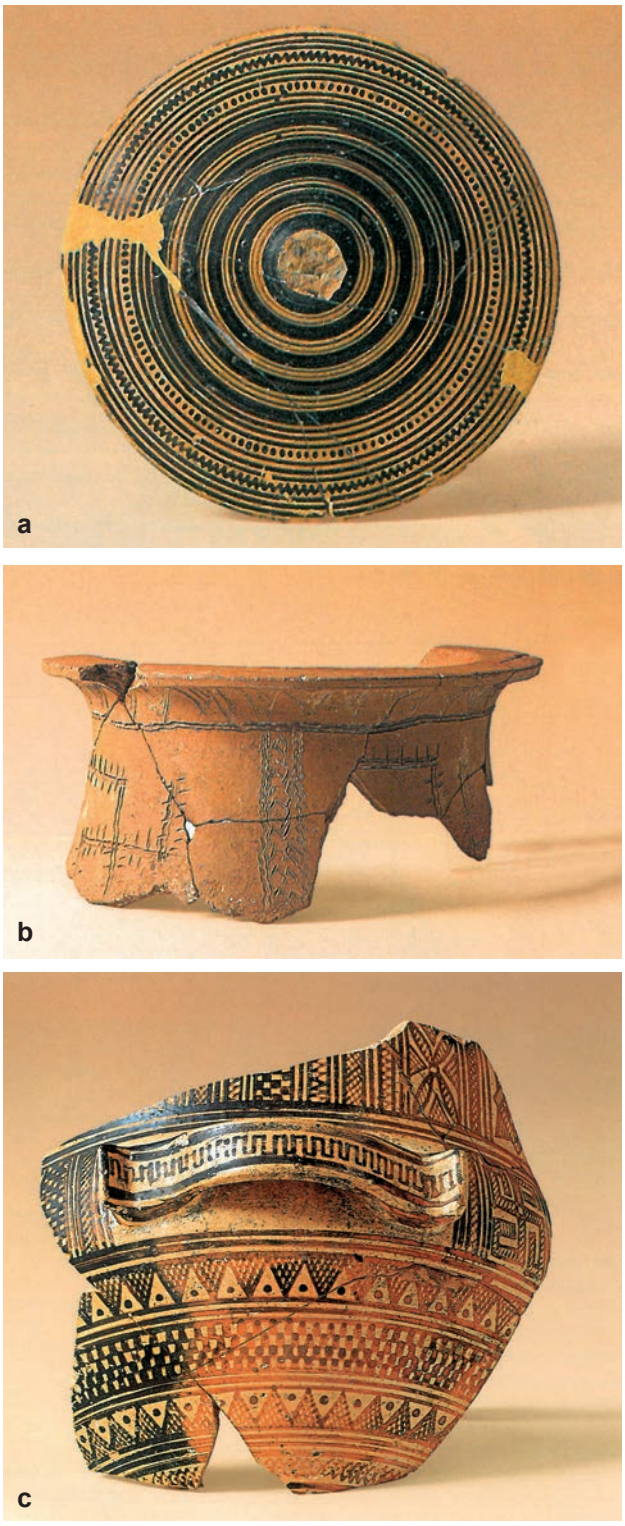

Figure 3.46. Athens, Makrygianni. Makrygiannis plot, Acropolis Station. Finds from Late Geometric Well M 23:
(a) lid of a vase; (b) fragment of a handmade pithos with incised decoration; (c) fragment of a large open vase, possibly a grave marker. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 64, fig. of entries 35, 36, p. 65, fig. of entry 37. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports.

in the bibliography, and considered important, are the so-called Dipylon cemetery, the cemeteries of Erechtheiou Street and Kavalloti Street, the cemetery of Kynosarges, and, most important, the Kerameikos. Other mortuary sites, such as in Kriezi Street, in Erysichthonos and Nileos Streets, and on the Areopagus, appear erratically in the bibliography, as small independent grave groups or individual burials, which despite the existence of officially designated mortuary sites do not fall within their boundaries and are indications of small-scale habitation in the areas where they are located. Last, dispersed burials unearthed in the course of rescue excavations in individual plots are usually not even taken into consideration by research.[293] This picture of mortuary activity in Athens is the outcome of old views on the contemporaneous use of the same site for burial and habitation — namely, the already cited theory on the coexistence of wells and graves and therefore the topographical coincidence of settlements and mortuary sites.

The gradual discovery of burials in the Agora and on the hill of the Areopagus at various points selected for investigation created the impression that groups of two or three graves are family burial grounds, although usually without any traces of an enclosure.[294] This theory was developed despite the fact that a few meters to the northwest lay the Kerameikos, an area designated for burials, and without ever taking into account that the graves in the wider area of the Agora were perhaps not individual burials but small burial grounds, the remnants of more extensive preexisting cemeteries.[295]

The plotting of all the cemeteries and burial grounds of the city on one map, along with the few indications of settlement from the area mainly of the Agora, complicates the already complex picture, since the areas where activity was concentrated in Geometric times present a picture of accumulated graves of all the subperiods of the Geometric period, mixed up with wells that in the great majority of cases have not been dated precisely. This makes it difficult for us to follow the development of the cemeteries in the space and their development by period, and it hampers our understanding of the choice and use of mortuary sites in relation to areas where there was possibly habitation. Proof of the topographical and intellectual impasse that was created is Morris's theory on the Κακοί and the Ἀγαθοί — that is, broadly speaking, on the peasants and the landowners — which tries to explain the increase in the number of cemeteries during the Late Geometric period on the basis of a socioeconomic criterion of hierarchy.[296]

The result of all the above is a series of generalizing views relating to mortuary issues of the Geometric period.

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These are presented below and can to a great degree be attributed to piecemeal conclusions from the excavation or study of individual cemeteries or other burial sites. These are basic problems in the study of Geometric Athens. Some of them can now be resolved while others remain open until research progresses further.

The Kerameikos and the Custom of Cremation

In the history of research, the Kerameikos is presented as the cemetery with the earliest examples of a change in the mode of burial from inhumation to cremation, which presages the situation that followed in the Early Geometric period, and as the first mortuary site in which the new custom rapidly became generalized.[297] This old theory is due in part to the fact that the excavation of the Kerameikos preceded investigations at many other archaeological sites, which moreover were mainly rescue excavations.

The change in the mode of burial at the beginning of the Iron Age is one of the intractable issues that have bedeviled research, which is why many theories have been proposed to interpret both the initial transition from inhumation to cremation and the intermediate oscillations between one burial practice and the other.[298] Originally, the change was linked with the so-called Descent of the Dorians and the consequent change in the composition of the Athenian population.[299] However, because change in funerary customs, one of the most conservative cultural practices, is predicated on preceding changes in the religious or social consciousness of the people,[300] Desborough attributed the change to religious changes possibly imposed by those in authority in the period or even to the desire for tribal or social differentiation,[301] whereas Snodgrass attributed it to a fashion of the age.[302]

This same scholar, on the basis of 18 cremation burials found in the Perati cemetery, some of them in cinerary urns and others under the floors of Mycenaean chamber tombs, proposed that the new custom perhaps started at Perati and then passed to the Kerameikos, from where it was disseminated. Given the migration of population groups in this period, such an observation leads to the hypothesis that the sudden change in the hitherto prevailing practice of inhumation could be considered a consequence of the settling in Athens of the Hellenic populations that gravitated there during the Submycenaean period. That is, since Snodgrass interprets the custom of inhumation in Submycenaean times as continuity of the Mycenaean habit, the new custom of cremation could be considered by analogy indicative of the break with old Mycenaean habits and thus connected with incomers who founded the new Submycenaean cemeteries.[303] This theory, albeit plausible, is not confirmed by the most recent data of research, which show that the phenomenon of cremation did not appear out of the blue.

Although the latest study of the Submycenaean necropolis of the Kerameikos confirmed that six of the 24 cremation burials found there date to the Submycenaean period and that the 18 others continue into the years of the transition to the Protogeometric period,[304] the Kerameikos cannot be accredited with the first current of cremations in the period 1050–800 BC as a reaction to the tradition inherited from the Mycenaeans. This particular cemetery can no longer be considered a cradle of these changes, nor the people who founded it as their agents, since it is not a unique example of a mortuary site with cremation burials in the Submycenaean period and in the years of transition to the Protogeometric: within Athens such burials have been found among the graves of the Eriai Gate (V) cemetery in the plot at Kriezi 23–24 (III. 29)[305] and of the Irodou Attikou cemetery (VII. 3) and outside Athens in the Perati cemetery in all phases of its operation (LH IIIB2/IIIB3 to LH IIIC late).[306] Indeed, it is possible that the last cremation burials in cinerary urns there, before its abandonment in late LH IIIC, were contemporaneous with the first cremations in the Kerameikos (Ruppenstein's Stufe I).[307]

However, even the new funerary custom itself cannot be associated with population groups of incomers to Athens and the new cemeteries of the Submycenaean period, and be considered an indication of differentiation. As has been ascertained, examples of early cremations, of Submycenaean times or of the transitional years to the Protogeometric, occur also in old traditional mortuary sites, such as in the Olympieion, south of the temple of Zeus (IX. 5), as well as in the Agora, on the north slope of the Areopagus (II. 12) and on the north bank of the Eridanos (Graves 79 and 80, which are dated to LH IIIC), and on Agoraios Kolonos (Grave 38, which is dated to LH IIIC/Submycenaean period).[308] Although these are individual examples and numerically far fewer than the inhumations, they seem to denote the gradual onset of change in burial habits, which did not appear suddenly in Protogeometric Athens but was incubated from as early as LH IIIC late and Submycenaean times, became generalized in Protogeometric and Early Geometric times, and was not consolidated before the Middle Geometric period. From that time onward, both burial habits coexist in all the city's cemeteries. Questions on the reasons, procedures, and more precise chronological development of the phenomenon cannot be answered until the Submycenaean cremations of the Agora are studied in detail and are compared first with those of the Kerameikos and then with those in the other important but unpublished cemetery, of Irodou Attikou Street.

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The Dipylon Cemetery, the Kerameikos, and the Custom of Cremation

The Dipylon cemetery has for a long time now been linked with the homonymous Gate IV of the Classical fortification wall, as well as with the Potters' Quarter of Athens, the Kerameikos. In the more recent bibliography it is related also to Peiraios Street and Kriezi Street farther east, in the area of Koumoundouros (Eleftheria) Square.[309] The monumental vase-tomb markers found there, the amphorae and kraters of Dipylon style, are usually referred to as coming from the Kerameikos.[310] Other times, the addition of the correct explanation that their conventional name is taken from the Dipylon cemetery near the Kerameikos, where they were first found,[311] is of little help in clarifying the already confused picture regarding the site of the cemetery, as well as its relation to the conventional name of its characteristic vase-tomb markers. This is a topographical misunderstanding that is now being rectified. It is explained by the history of the excavation of the said cemetery and is due to the gradual acquisition of knowledge on the topography of the northern part of Athens.[312]

In the late nineteenth century, new mortuary sites as well as the first large vase-tomb markers were identified near the already known Kerameikos cemetery. One of the first mortuary sites to yield such vases was the Sapountzakis plot (Peiraios, Kalogirou Samouil and Dipylou Streets: III. 23).[313] Because the closest known gate at the time was the Dipylon (Gate IV), the vases were named conventionally "Dipylon style," by which they were established in scholarship.[314] After the mid-twentieth century, the discovery of other graves and vases of the same type in Peiraios Street (at no. 68: III. 26) led the excavators to the hypothesis that this is the eastern extension of the Kerameikos cemetery. This hypothesis was adopted by researchers dealing with other nearby Geometric burial sites,[315] resulting in the gradual crystalization of a view concerning the existence of a Late Geometric cemetery with the conventional name Dipylon cemetery, a special feature of which was the marking of tombs with the characteristic large vases of Dipylon style, which extended as far as modern Peiraios Street and was part of the Kerameikos cemetery (III. 25).[316]

In the second half of the twentieth century, the finding of other fragments of Dipylon vases in the plot at Eleftheria Square 25 (III. 28)[317] pointed to the practice of the same custom of marking tombs 50 m farther south and prompted the widening of its ambit eastward as far as Koumoundouros Square.[318] In the meantime, the discovery of many other graves in Peiraios Street and Kriezi Street (present-day Eleftheria Square), dating not only from Geometric times but also from the Submycenaean into the Classical period, had already oriented research toward ascertaining the existence of a new, hitherto unknown cemetery. Up until 1967 the excavators of its individual graves avoided including them in one of the two cemeteries known at the time.[319] On the contrary, they used the names of the sites where the graves were located (Kriezi cemetery, Peiraios cemetery, Eleftheria Square cemetery), linked them with the ancient road leading to Hippios Kolonos, began to examine them within the widened chronological and topographical bounds of the Dipylon cemetery, and disassociated them from the Kerameikos cemetery.[320] The confirmation of the correctness of their hypothesis came a few years later with the bringing to light of Gate V (Eriai Gate) at the junction of Dipylou and Leokoriou Streets.[321] From the 1970s onward, all graves of the area, including the Late Geometric ones with the Dipylon vase-tomb markers, were associated with this gate.[322]

Consequently, when we speak about the "Dipylon cemetery" we are referring to the Late Geometric period of use of a wider cemetery that was discovered before all the rest and was thus named because of its proximity to the Dipylon Gate (IV). The rest of the names of "cemeteries" in the area — "of the Eriai Gate," "of Kriezi Street," "of Peiraios Street," and "of Eleftheria Square" — are the initial names research gave to the mortuary sites that were gradually coming to light. They are in fact parts of the same cemetery, which was some 8,500 m^2 in area. This was founded in the same period as the Kerameikos, 300 m northeast of it, in the space delimited by the modern streets Peiraios, Dipylou, and Eleftheria Square (formerly Kriezi) near the point where the Eriai Gate (V) was constructed in 479 BC. The cemetery was in use without interruption from the Submycenaean into the Classical period.

From examination of the individual burial grounds as parts of a single cemetery, it is observed that as a whole this cemetery was made up of smaller units or groups of graves with particular characteristics, such as the burial custom. The burials found in the plot at Kriezi 23–24 (present-day Eleftheria Square 23–24: III. 19) and under the surface of the street (III.17) outside it are indeed all cremations and are dated to the Late Geometric period. The return of inhumation at the end of the Protogeometric/beginning of the Early Geometric period did not affect the habits of this particular population group, which continued to cremate its dead until the Late Geometric period.[323] The only change noted is the replacement of the old type of clay cinerary urn by the bronze lebes, which was obviously associated with males of the higher social echelons. The wealth of

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these people is highlighted moreover by the gold diadems found in many of the graves, which again are attributed to males.[324] This evidence leads to the conclusion that the tombs in Kriezi Street constitute the burial ground of an aristocratic family of conservative profile.[325]

However, the custom of cremation is not observed in the neighboring graves. Starting from the Sapountzakis plot to the west (Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil – Dipylou: III. 23), moving to the plot at Peiraios 57 (within the old boundaries of the Sapountzakis property: III. 24), and ending in the plot at Eleftheria Square 25 (III. 28), adjacent to the north to Kriezi 23–24, it is ascertained that all the graves around the Kriezi Street cemetery held inhumations (except Grave III on the Sapountzakis plot).

The burials in these graves were also richly furnished with numerous vases, gold diadems, weapons, and imports from the Orient, and they span the Middle and Late Geometric periods. Thus we cannot speak of homogeneity in the type of funerary habit for all the burials made in the space during the entire Protogeometric and Geometric period. Homogeneity is noted only in graves close to one another, forming groups or clusters. Homogeneity is observed too in the social class of the individuals using the specific cemetery, regardless of the mortuary custom they follow. What could the foregoing data indicate?

The mortuary customs in the period examined express the wealth and social status of the individuals who observe them. They are, in a way, a means of making a social statement and are a common practice among members of the same family, clan, or phratry, who were often buried in the same space. However, as the tumuli and their tomb enclosures are no longer preserved, in most cases the local concentration of several graves with the same burial habit and the same kind of grave goods may be taken as an initial criterion for identifying such family burial grounds.

In the case of the Eriai Gate cemetery, the group of graves in Kriezi Street differs from the groups in Peiraios Street and Eleftheria Square only in the burial custom in which it persists. Even though the area in which the graves of both groups are located and the distance between them do not support their interpretation as separate cemeteries, they seem to point to their examination as separate smaller burial grounds within the bounds of a wider cemetery. In other words, it is possible that we have here various families that buried their dead in the same cemetery, in groups under family tumuli, and each family according to its own customs.

The choice of burial custom distinguishes each group. The social groups in Peiraios Street and Eleftheria Square, which follow the new custom, would appear to be more progressive than the other group in Kriezi Street. Even so, in the absence of Protogeometric burials of the first social group, it is not possible to elicit the antiquity of its origin or to ascertain its possible "modernization." In other words, are the occupants of the Middle Geometric and Late Geometric graves of Peiraios Street and Eleftheria Square descendants of old clans — the same as the clan of Kriezi Street — that changed their burial customs while keeping the same family burial ground? Or are they perhaps different groups that appear suddenly in the cemetery space in the Middle Geometric period, already agents of other customs? If the latter case holds, then this raises another question: Why did they bury their dead in the same space as the Kriezi Street group? Was it because they were equally wealthy or just as noble? Was it perhaps because of some kind of kinship between them? Could the individuals buried in Peiraios Street and Eleftheria Square have been descendants of those who were cremated in the Kriezi Street cemetery, who had hived off from the conservative core of their clan, which was manifested also in the funerary habit they chose?

Answers to such questions of an anthropological nature can only be sought by applying the research methods of bioarchaeology.[326] DNA analysis of the skeletal material from the graves in Peiraios Street and Eleftheria Square may lead to significant conclusions on the biological affinity of the individuals buried at these sites. Mainly, however, it would confirm or negate the following two issues: first, whether the use of the same burial habit in a group of graves can be taken as an initial criterion for recognizing family burial grounds, and second, whether the Eriai Gate cemetery is made up of groups of graves of members of the same family, as is known so far at least for the Kerameikos[327] and the Late Geometric cemetery of the Agora. By extending anthropological research to other cemeteries of Athens, such as that in Dimitrakopoulou Street, in which there are similarities to the aforementioned ones, we could reach general conclusions relating to the organization of the Geometric cemeteries.[328]

For the present, we emphasize the apparent similarity between the way in which Geometric cemeteries were constituted and Geometric habitation took shape, the former from clusters of tombs, the latter "κατά κώμας," in nuclei of settlement.

Child Graves of Geometric Times

The old theory that the space of the Classical Agora of Athens coincides with the site of the early settlement of the city, where there were small family burial grounds among the houses, also had an impact on scholarship's

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approach to the related issue of child burials in Geometric times. Its advocates, relying on the initial interpretation of the elliptical building in the Agora as a Geometric "house" with an earlier child burial in its interior (1933), exposited their theory on the "intramural"[329] burial of adults, expressing the view that already by the Protogeometric period, children too were buried inside the settlement, but separately from the adults, in or between houses.[330]

The theory enjoys wide credence to this day, and several cases of early burials in inhabited areas of various ancient cities (Aegina, Argos, Tiryns, Lerna, Mycenae, Asine, Thorikos) have been cited in the bibliography as corroborative examples of what was considered a generalized practice of intramural burials.[331] It has been argued that in the two ensuing subperiods, the Middle Geometric and the Late Geometric, the burial of children in cemeteries of adults was permitted gradually.[332] However, the prevailing view is that the known child burials dated to these periods are very few, which could be attributed to the improvement in living standards and therefore lower infant mortality rate.[333] With regard to this issue, Morris maintained that children who died before coming of age were not entitled to a formal burial, as they were considered as social nonpersons, which is why their graves are not found.[334] This theory too continues to carry weight in the bibliography,[335] even though in recent years more scrupulous examination of the child burials of Athens has led researchers to challenge Morris's view.[336] Recently, Mazarakis-Ainian has argued for the existence of intramural child burials in Athens on the basis of the Submycenaean settlement and mortuary remains on the Acropolis, the elliptical building in the Olympieion, and the Geometric "house" in the Agora. In his view, the presence of these graves, which in most cases are associated with apsidal or elliptical-plan buildings, points to the lack of a clear distinction between mortuary and habitation space and is possibly related to the duration of the settlements and their evolution or not into city-states.[337]

In the case of Early Iron Age Athens, with the abundance of mortuary remains dispersed throughout the settlement space of the later asty and even farther afield, and with the rarity of settlement remains, the acceptance or not of the existence of intramural burials depends on interpretation of the building remains. That is, if the apsidal building in the Agora is interpreted not as a house but as a locus of chthonic hero cult, as Thompson proposed many years after its discovery and after filling in the excavation picture of the North Slope,[338] then the concept of intramural burials is not endorsed. The same is true of the elliptical two-space building in the Olympieion, which its excavator, J. Travlos, interpreted as an early temple of Apollo Delphinios.[339] As far as the Submycenaean burials on the periphery of the flat summit of the Acropolis are concerned, noted are both the presence of a grave of an adult (probably a male) and the vagueness of the chronological relationship between graves and houses.[340]

In the present study, an overall reassessment of the data is attempted, with the collating and mapping of all the published child graves found so far in Athens, from the Submycenaean into the Late Geometric period.[341] In table 3.1, child burials are analyzed by areas and the individual sites at which the graves have come to light.[342] Given are the number of child burials found[343] and the ages of the children wherever these are known.[344] It is noted, however, that even where the excavators give the age of the deceased, this is in most cases estimated.[345] For the purpose of compiling the table, considered as child graves were the graves of neonates, infants, and children to the age of about 14 years. The graves of adolescents are counted among those of adults.[346] Furthermore, to verify to what extent the Protogeometric child graves are located in different spaces from the adult graves (which, on the basis of the prevailing theory, would lead to areas of the settlement), we also examine whether other graves have been revealed in the same space. If they have, then the number of adult graves is mentioned too, next to the recorded number of child graves by period. Also included in the table are the graves of the Middle and the Late Geometric period, with the aim of ascertaining possible changes in the choice of mortuary sites of children — that is, whether the burial is intramural or in the same cemeteries as were used by adults.[347]

The fullest observations are from the site of the Agora and therefore lead to better documented conclusions.[348] The rest of the evidence is for isolated cases from rescue excavations at random places in the city. Unfortunately, the inclusion of child graves in wider funerary groups (clusters of graves) can be made only in cases of uniformly excavated spaces of large area, within which the boundaries of clusters can be distinguished. Such areas are the Agora, the Sapountzakis plot, and the Makrygiannis plot. For the rest of the mortuary sites, the child graves can be examined only within the wider limits of the early cemeteries, where these are detected — albeit piecemeal — within the modern urban tissue. Designated as spaces with adult burials are those in which empty pits and cuttings have survived, when these can be dated, even with reservation, by the archaeological and topographical context, such as vases that were grave goods or dated graves in adjacent or neighboring plots.

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Table 3.1. Child graves in Submycenaean, Protogeometric, Early/Middle Geometric, and Late Geometric cemeteries

Area	Sites with Mortuary Activity	SM			PG			EG/MG			LG		
		Children		Adults	Children		Adults	Children		Adults	Children		Adults
		No.	Age	No.	No.	Age	No.	No.	Age	No.	No.	Age	No.
Area I: Kerameikos	Pompeion – Sacred Way	X		X	X		X						
	Plattenbau										X		X
Area II: Ancient Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki	3. Agora: NE corner – Stoa of Attalos	1	infant	1	3	one an infant	3						
	10. Agora: area of N bank of Eridanos – Stoa Poikile	1	–	2									
	11. Agora: area of S bank of Eridanos – Stoa Basileios	2	–	3									
	8. Agora: hill of Agoraios Kolonos	1	–	X	5 +	–	2 +						
	12. Areopagus: N slope	1	–	2			2	2	4–6 years old, 14 years old	14 +			1
	15. Areopagus: W slope – area of Dörpfeld's excavations	2	one of them 8 years old		1	–		2	–				
	14. Areopagus: NW slope										1	6 years old	3
	13. Areopagus: NE slope									7	1	infant	
	9. Agora: S side										1	infant	
	7. Agora: Central Square – Odeion of Agrippa										1	10 years old	
	5. Agora: Tholos and environs										7	infants	13
	4. Agora: Industrial District – House C										1	infant	1
	4. Agora: Industrial District LG/ Archaic cemetery										1	infant	5

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Area	Sites with Mortuary Activity	SM			PG			EG/MG			LG		
Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square	23. Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil & Psaromilingou (Sapountzakis plot)							2 +	infants	17 or	2 +	infants	17
	18. Kriezi 22 & Psaromilingou										1	infant	
Area IV: Varvakeios – Omonoia Square	5. Kotzias Square				1	infant							
	7. Sapphous 12										10	infants	3
Area VIII: Acropolis	1. Acropolis: flat summit	6	infants and children	1 +									
	4. Acropolis: S Slope – S of Herodeion				3	–	9 +			4 +	22	infants	
Area IX: Olympieion	5. Olympieion: area S of temple of Zeus	5	–	5 or	5	–	5						
Area X: Makrygianni	35. Makrygiannis plot (Weiler building)	2	6–8 years old, 5 years old	2 +	1 +	6–7 years old	5				1	infant	
	34. Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou	1	–	1			1				1	infant	1
	16. Erechtheiou 21–23			3 +	2	5–10 years old, 9–10 years old	3 +						
	17. Erechtheiou 24–26			3	1	–							
	5. Rovertou Galli 10 & Karyatidon 14				1	infant							
	36. Mitsaion & Zitrou							1	–	2			
Area XII: Koukaki	10. Drakou 19			10				1	infant				
Area XIII: Theseion	4. Amphiktyonos 8				1		1						
	14. Poulopoulou 20							1		1 +			
	2. Aktaiou & Nileos (and adjacent plot Aktaiou 24)										1	infant	3

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Observations that can be made from study of the table and the accompanying map are: For the Protogeometric period,[349] the vast majority of known child burials at various places in Athens were found in spaces where graves of adults also existed: in the Kerameikos, under the Sacred Way and close to the Dipylon;[350] in the Agora, to the west of the Stoa of Attalos and under its north end (II. 3) and on the hill of Agoraios Kolonos (II. 8);[351] on the South Slope of the Acropolis, on the site of the later sanctuary of Nymphe; in the Olympieion to the south of the temple of Zeus (even though it is possible that some or all are dated to the Submycenaean period, IX. 5); in the Makrygianni area, in the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35) and in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery (X. 16, X. 17); and in the modern neighborhood of Theseion at Amphiktyonos 8 (XIII. 4).[352] In only three mortuary spaces are the child burials not accompanied by adult ones: on the west slope of the Areopagus (III. 15), a largely unexplored space, excepting the site of Dörpfeld's excavation; in Kotzias Square (IV. 5); and at Rovertou Galli 10 and Karyatidon 14 (X. 5). The last two sites are in densely built parts of the modern urban tissue, which has changed many times from antiquity to today. The above reasons and the fragmentary nature of data gleaned from rescue excavations of limited area must be taken into account before extracting conclusions on the spaces. Certainly, neither of them continued in use as a mortuary space in subsequent periods.

Of interest here is the observation that most of the Protogeometric graves (of children and adults) are found in spaces where there is a Submycenaean phase of use.[353] Indeed, the existence of child graves in the same spaces as adult ones is noted already in these years: on the flat summit of the Acropolis (VIII. 1); in the Agora, on the north and south banks of the Eridanos (II. 10, II. 11), to the northwest of the Stoa of Attalos (II. 3), on the hill of Agoraios Kolonos (where an extensive cemetery of adults is indicated by the large number of empty pits and by Submycenaean pottery; II. 8), on the north and west slopes of the Areopagus (II. 12, II. 15); in the Olympieion, south of the temple of Zeus (IX. 5); in the Makrygianni Street cemetery (X. 34, X. 35); and in the Pompeion.[354]

Exceptions to the coexistence of graves of children and adults are encountered in three places: on the west slope of the Areopagus (Dörpfeld area: II. 15), where both in Submycenaean and Protogeometric times there are graves of children but not of adults; in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery, where in Submycenaean times there are graves of adults and not of children; and in Koukaki at Drakou 19 (XII. 10), where there is the same phenomenon.

Child burials of the Early and Middle Geometric period have been found in fewer places than those of the two preceding periods. Once again, they are present along with adult ones at the following sites: in the Agora, on the north slope of the Areopagus (II. 12); in the Eriai Gate cemetery (Sapountzakis plot: III. 23), where the wealth of the finds from adult burials overshadowed the enchytrismoi, which were neither recorded nor drawn[355]; and in the modern Makrygianni neighborhood at Mitsaion and Zitrou (X. 36). In the modern neighborhood of Theseion, a grave at Poulopoulou 20 (XIII. 14), which was considered to be of a child, should probably be considered as of a young mother.[356] Again, there are two places at which only child graves were found: the west slope of the Areopagus (II. 15), already mentioned, and at Drakou 19 (XII. 10).

Last, the overwhelming majority of child graves of the Late Geometric period is located inside cemeteries and burial grounds in which adults are also buried. They are found at the following sites: Kerameikos, on the so-called Plattenbau; the Agora, on the northwest slope of the Areopagus (II. 14), in the Industrial District and the cemetery there (II. 4), and in the Tholos cemetery (II. 5) — that is, in the spaces to which mortuary activity had been limited in these years; the Eriai Gate cemetery, where the graves are dated vaguely to this and the preceding period; the new mortuary space that appeared in these years, at Sapphous 12 (IV. 7); the Makrygianni Street cemetery;[357] and the area of Theseion at the adjacent sites of Aktaiou and Nileos and Aktaiou 24 (where the graves of adults have been found). Exceptions are the cemetery on the South Slope (VIII. 4) and two places on the Areopagus (northeast and northwest slopes: II. 14, II. 15), as well as two others to the south of the Agora (II. 7, II. 9). Only jar burials (enchytrismoi) of children have been found on the South Slope, but the excavator stresses that the initial presence of adult graves that have not survived due to the wide-scale later disturbance of the space cannot be ruled out.[358]

On the basis of the above data, the theory that the mortuary spaces of children were distinct from those of adults does not seem to hold water in the case of the Protogeometric period in Athens; nor does the theory that children were buried within the settlement. If this were the case, it would be exceptionally important, particularly for Athens, where no architectural remains of structures aboveground have survived. Only the remains of those underground — the graves and wells of the period — have survived. In this case, child graves would become a major criterion for locating areas of habitation, because if indeed children were buried not only inside the settlement but also under the floors of houses in the Protogeometric

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period, then each Protogeometric child grave brought to light would be automatically an indicator of the site of a destroyed house that stood above or very near it.

The totality of these underground structures would sketch the negative imprint of the areas of habitation in the Protogeometric settlement.

In the end, however, the plotting of the known child graves on the topographical maps of the modern city reveals that during the Protogeometric period, children were not denied formal burial and were buried in the same cemeteries as adults, in pits and cuttings or in large domestic pots in the case of infants.[359] Just like the adults, they were provided with grave goods — vases and sometimes a thelastron or their toys. Consequently, in Athens at least, child burials cannot be misinterpreted as domestic refuse pits or anything else. We observe too that the burial of children is a practice that continues the habits of the preceding Submycenaean period. Moreover, during the Protogeometric period, children continue to be buried in spaces that were in the majority cemeteries and burial grounds already from the Submycenaean period.[360] So, since the possibility that areas of habitation in the Protogeometric settlements coincide with the sites of so many regular cemeteries must be ruled out, the same holds also for the possibility of using Submycenaean and Protogeometric child burials as a means of tracing the exact location of the houses contemporary with them.

For the succeeding periods, our ascertainments are restricted to the continuity of burial of children and adults in the same spaces, and indeed in the same family burial grounds. This is the situation also in Late Geometric times, when the sites of the cemeteries and the spaces they occupy are sometimes demarcated by a tomb enclosure. In all other respects, the already proposed general observations of research concerning the reduced number of Early and Middle Geometric child burials, in comparison with the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods, and the subsequent increase during the Late Geometric period are confirmed.

We do not know whether this fluctuation in absolute number of graves corresponds to reality or is due to archaeological chance. However, the linking of it to the prosperity of the EG II/MG I years and the consequent improvement in living standards seems more logical than social theories regarding rights of burial and funerary practices especially for children in specific periods.[361] In cities such as Athens, where human presence is continuous in the same area from antiquity to the present, and where the data we have are unevenly balanced between systematically investigated archaeological sites and rescue excavations in building plots within the living modern city, the picture available to the researcher is far from full. Conclusions based on a known part of a largely unknown whole can be at best be no more than unproven interpretations.[362]

Bearing this in mind, the excavation data, and the objective difficulties, we come to the conclusion that in Athens, throughout Protogeometric and Geometric times, the usual practices with regard to the choice of burial space of children do not seem to have differed from those with regard to adults. We hope the ongoing archaeological research and study of the still unpublished mortuary spaces (such as the Submycenaean/Protogeometric cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street) will shed further light on the issue, by complementing, confirming, or overturning the above views.

The Geometric Mortuary Sites of Athens: General Remarks

All the cemeteries of the Geometric period, just like those of the Submycenaean period, are related to the settlement's street and road network.[363] They are located along the sides of streets and major road arteries, which in most cases were associated with gates in the fortification wall in Classical times. Their sizes and sites were modified continuously over the 300 or so years of the Geometric period, and through their development, the development of the settlement itself can be followed.[364] As far as their sites are concerned, the same applies as for the Submycenaean period — that is, their classification, according to Morris, into two types: (a) cemeteries (areas designated for mortuary use, differentiated spatially from the settlement areas and from other cemeteries) and (b) burial grounds (areas with fewer burials, the boundaries of which are not always clearly distinct).[365]

The observed spread of the cemeteries in the space around the Geometric Acropolis provides indirect evidence for determining the extent of the Geometric settlement. The continuation or cessation of use of an already existing cemetery bears witness to the continuity or not of the presence in the surrounding space of the population group that used it, and consequently the use or abandonment of areas of habitation (e.g., the Submycenaean/Protogeometric cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street). Correspondingly, the founding of new cemeteries or burial grounds points to the increasing burial needs of the increasing population, its spread into the heretofore free space of the city, and, in all probability, a change in the mortuary habits of certain groups, which perhaps sought to be differentiated by burying their dead in spaces other than those already in existence (e.g., along the roadsides).

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Development of the Old Mycenaean Cemeteries during the Geometric Period

The old cemeteries of the city — that is, those that began to be used in Mycenaean times and continued without interruption into the Geometric period — are in four locations:

- To the northwest of the Acropolis, in the wider space of the Agora and the Areopagus
- To the south of the Acropolis, in the present Makrygianni neighborhood
- To the southwest of the Acropolis, in the present Koukaki neighborhood
- To the southeast of the Acropolis, on the site of the Olympieion

Ancient Agora – Areopagus

In the Agora, the par excellence Mycenaean burial ground of the indigenous Athenians, which was in use during the Submycenaean period too, burials continued normally throughout the Geometric period, sometimes in the same places as the Submycenaean ones and sometimes in new places within old boundaries of the wider mortuary site.[366] The use of the space did not change, as happened in other cases where a cemetery functioned for a few more years after the end of the Submycenaean period and was then abandoned (e.g., Irodou Attikou Street cemetery), but it did not remain purely mortuary either. Already from the Protogeometric period, characteristic of the Agora site is the coexistence of graves and workshops, with the latter concentrated mainly in the lower-lying part and the graves on the periphery. By the Late Geometric period, workshop activity was predominant in the whole of the central square and the graves had been confined to the southwest part of the area.

Specifically, the development of the Agora and the localized continuity or discontinuity in the use of the space can be appreciated when the Geometric graves, which are parts of larger burial grounds within its wider area, are examined separately by subperiods. Moving from north to south, the first burial ground located is in the area north of the Eridanos, around the Stoa Poikile of Classical times (II. 10). Although a point with intensive mortuary activity during Late Helladic and Submycenaean times, it is the only one that was abandoned from the Protogeometric period; the space was most probably taken over by workshops. However, it is possible that the interruption in the use of the north bank for burials is a local phenomenon and that this function continued to the west, as indicated by graves and Protogeometric pottery found between the Agora and the Kerameikos, in Agioi Asomatoi Square (III. 2) and at Ermou 128–132 (I. 2), as well as by the Middle Geometric graves at Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos plot: II. 16). Moreover, the same seems to be the case to the north, near the Late Helladic/Submycenaean mortuary site at Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki (III. 4), where in the neighboring plots at Pittaki 11–13 (III. 27), Karaiskaki 16–18 (III. 15), and Aisopou and Mikonos 18 (III. 7), burials were made during the Protogeometric period, although these were soon abandoned.

Within the central square of the Agora, burials continued to be made in the two paramount burial grounds with unbroken use from Late Helladic times. In the northeast corner of the Agora, in the vicinity of the Stoa of Attalos (II. 3), burials were made into Protogeometric times in the same place as the Late Helladic and Submycenaean ones. However, the finding of graves opened in the roof of Mycenaean chamber tombs should not yet be interpreted as indicative of a desired link with the heroic past, as this did not start until two centuries later. In Middle Geometric times, the space no longer functioned as a cemetery and the gradual installation of workshops commenced, as the first well to appear to the west of the Stoa of Attalos reveals. The other burial ground in the central space, under the Stoa Basileios, seems to have had a greater longevity of use (II. 11). The pottery recovered from the fill of the foundations of this stoa indicates that burials continued into the Middle Geometric period. There were no other cemeteries inside the central square until the Late Geometric period. Then the Tholos cemetery was founded in the southwest corner of the Agora, and a few more burials, which are possibly associated with it, were made a short way to the southwest (II. 5). Two other indications of mortuary activity — individual burials: an enchytrismos to the southeast of the west end of the Middle Stoa (II. 9) and a Late Geometric/Early Archaic burial of a young girl to the east of the Odeion of Agrippa (II. 7), near an obsolete well — are known from the same period. The evidence available to date is insufficient for their interpretation.

The second burial ground with a long period of use, other than the Stoa Basileios, is that on the flat top of the Agoraios Kolonos, to the west of the Agora (II. 8), which continued to receive burials into the Middle Geometric period. To the east, in the area between the Library of Pantainos and Polygnotou Street (II. 2), burials continued normally in the Protogeometric period, apparently stopped in the Middle Geometric, and began again in the Late Geometric. It is not clear whether the hiatus observed is actual or accidental, due to lack of indications. However, the space of the Eleusinion farther south (II. 18), with

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the unique indication of funerary activity in its history at the end of the Middle Geometric period, should probably be evaluated as an aberration, given that so far no such activity has been noted elsewhere at the foot of the North Slope of the Acropolis. Furthermore, the burial found is peculiar in many respects; it is possible that it was made outside the usual mortuary areas.

The third burial ground on the site of the Agora, in constant use from the end of the Bronze Age and throughout the Iron Age down to Late Geometric times, is the Areopagus. Indeed, the mortuary space, starting from about the midpoint of the north slope of the hill where the Mycenaean cemetery lies (II. 12), expanded so much that it gradually covered the entire slope and by the Late Geometric period reached as far as the east slope (II. 13). This cemetery is the richest in the Agora, especially during its EG I and EG II phases. On the west slope of the hill, near the Industrial District of Classical times (II. 4), where there are indications of the existence of workshops already in Protogeometric times, it seems that a cemetery was founded in the same period as the Tholos cemetery. Late Geometric burials have been identified in the space of the Late Archaic cemetery, but without one being the continuation of the other. Last, on the southwest slope of the hill, uninterrupted use from the Submycenaean into the Middle Geometric period is attested in the cemetery in the area of Dörpfeld's excavations (II. 15), which because of its position should perhaps be correlated more with the development of the south side of the city than with the Agora.

Makrygianni

To the south of the Acropolis, in the present Makrygianni neighborhood, burials continued to be made in the two cemeteries of Submycenaean times, with use of the space attested from the Late Helladic period.[367] In the easternmost cemetery, of Makrygianni Street, there was activity in Protogeometric times in exactly the same places as in the Submycenaean period, on the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35) and the plots in Makrygianni Street between nos. 19 and 27 (X. 33, X. 34). By contrast, there are no indications of mortuary activity from these sites in the Middle Geometric period, even though the cemetery continued to function in Late Geometric times, albeit covering a smaller area. The use of one part of it — that corresponding to the space of the Makrygiannis plot — began to change and, as in the Agora, a pottery workshop was set up close to the old graves.

The other large and very old cemetery on the south side — that of Erechtheiou Street — also continued in operation throughout the Geometric period, possibly over a wider area and with greater density of burials in Protogeometric times (X. 15–X. 18). Burials were made normally until the end of the Late Geometric period. The remains of an earlier enclosure, dated to Geometric times but not more specifically, on the one hand suggest that this was a family burial ground, and on the other point to the effort to protect its boundaries from the settlement gradually growing around it.[368]

Koukaki

In the southwest part of the city, the ancient cemetery at Dimitrakopoulou 110 also continued in use without a break into the Late Geometric period.[369] In fact, its boundaries began to expand (XII. 8), and by the Late Geometric period it spread in a wide radius around the initial nucleus, occupying an area of approximately 6,000 m^2 and reaching as far as the north bank of the Ilissos (70 m). The spaces in the north and center of the area, in which there was intensive mortuary activity in the Submycenaean period, had ceased to be used before the onset of the Geometric period, while the graves, which are organized in clusters as in the Kerameikos and the Dipylon cemetery, extended increasingly southwestward, in the direction of Phaleron.

Olympieion

Last, to the southeast of the Acropolis, burials continued to be made in the cemetery that existed from the beginning of habitation of the city, on the hillock of the Olympieion (IX. 4, IX. 5).[370] Mortuary activity must have spread all over the hill during the Geometric period. In Late Geometric times, two new burial grounds were created beyond the Ilissos (Athanasiou Diakou and Anapafseos: IX. 3, Aristonikou 4: IX. 1). These, however, should be associated with the development of cemeteries on the south bank of the Ilissos rather than be interpreted as an extension of the Olympieion cemetery.

Development of the Later Submycenaean Cemeteries during the Geometric Period

The later cemeteries — that is, those founded during the Submycenaean period and that functioned alongside the old Mycenaean ones to cover the new burial needs of the growing population and that continued in use during the Geometric period[371] — were located at a greater distance from the existing ones, to the northwest, north–northwest, and east of the settlement:

- To the northwest the Kerameikos cemetery
- To the north–northwest the Dipylon/Eriai Gate cemetery and northeast of the Acharnai Gate
- To the east the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery

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Kerameikos

On the banks of the Eridanos, the Kerameikos, the largest excavated cemetery of Submycenaean times, continued to function normally in the Geometric period. Initially, burials were still made on the north bank, in the area of the Pompeion, which was the first nucleus of the cemetery, close to the area with the Submycenaean graves (north cemetery). However, very soon the main cemetery was moved to the opposite, south bank (south cemetery). Here too the disposition to keep close to the Submycenaean graves is obvious: Protogeometric graves have been found in the east part of the bank — that is, as near as possible to the earlier ones on the opposite bank. During the Middle and Late Geometric periods, the graves spread toward the southeast, most probably covering a larger area than has survived (cemetery of Agia Triada), since the entire area to the west of the Tritopatreion and between the Sacred Way and the Street of the Tombs suffered a major destruction and disturbance in the sixth and fifth centuries BC.

Cemetery of the Dipylon/Eriai Gate (V)

Adjacent to the Kerameikos, the second cemetery founded just 300 m east of it also continued to be used for the whole of the Geometric period.[372] The manner and the circumstances in which it was excavated, partly already from the nineteenth century, cannot be compared with the systematic excavation in the neighboring cemetery of the Kerameikos. They account for the voids in research due to the lack of material and topographical data. Although the most characteristic vases of the Dipylon type have been lost, the remaining available evidence shows that this was not only a large but also a rich cemetery.[373] Its use is attested in the Protogeometric period (Kriezi Street, ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench: III. 17), but its massive spread is observed in the Middle and the Late Geometric period.[374] Because of the inadequate dating of the vases from the Sapountzakis plot (Peiraios, Kalogirou Samouil, and Psaromilingou Streets: III. 23), we are unable to determine whether the west boundary extended as far as there by Middle Geometric times. However, it is certain that until the Late Geometric period, the cemetery occupied the entire plot delimited today by Kalogirou Samouil and Psaromilingou Streets and Eleftheria Square (approximately 8,500 m^2),[375] while it is possible that it extended many meters farther north of Peiraios Street.

Cemetery of the Acharnai Gate (VI)

In the north of the city, the Submycenaean burial ground near the Classical Acharnai Gate (VI) continued in use during the Geometric period too.[376] From the arrangement of its few surviving graves, it does not seem to display similarities with cemeteries such as the Kerameikos or the Dipylon, which, although near a road, developed mainly around a central nucleus. On the contrary, it is more like cemeteries such as that in Erechtheiou Street — those founded next to roads and strung out along the sides of them. During Protogeometric times, the burial ground expanded northward, leaving the first Submycenaean graves in the area intra muros of the Classical fortification, and developed outside this in the area of Kotzias Square (IV. 5) and even farther north in Lykourgou Street (IV. 4). In Late Geometric times in particular, mortuary activity was centered in the square, which was possibly where it was densest.

Irodou Attikou Street Cemetery

Last, in the east of the city, the cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street continued to function for a short while, at least in the early years of the Geometric period (VII. 3).[377] This cemetery, which in its founding phase displays similarities in arrangement and burial customs to that of the Kerameikos, is the only cemetery established in Submycenaean times that did not continue to be used throughout the Geometric period but was very quickly abandoned. The fact that it remains unpublished prevents us from knowing exactly when it ceased to function — that is, whether it stopped at the beginning of the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period, during it, or toward its end. On the same side of the city, mortuary activity that had already existed during Submycenaean times farther west, along the same road that linked Athens with the Mesogaia (Syntagma Square: VII. 1, Amalias Avenue: VII. 2) and at an appreciable distance from the Classical fortification walls, did not continue during Geometric times. However, it was possibly replaced in part by a new burial ground (Karagiorgi Servias 4: V. 3) founded in the Protogeometric period, farther west of the previous ones and that functioned until the middle years of the Middle Geometric period — that is, the years in which the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery was no longer receiving burials.

The New Cemeteries of Geometric Times

In parallel with all the preexisting cemeteries of the city — the old Mycenaean ones and later ones founded in Submycenaean times, which continued to be used and to spread — new cemeteries were also established during the Geometric period, in all its subperiods. This fact denotes the greater needs for mortuary sites of a growing population. The new cemeteries were founded at various places in the settlement:

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- In areas where there was no earlier activity of any kind: in the north, between the Eriai Gate (V) and the Acharnai Gate (VI), in the south–southeast of the city (Kynosarges), and in the west (Theseion)
- In areas within the wider boundaries of which official cemeteries had existed and operated for centuries: in the northwest (Agora), the north (Psyrri), the east (Syntagma), the west (Theseion), and the south (South Slope – Makrygianni)

New Cemeteries in New Areas

Between Koumoundouros Square and the Varvakeios

There are no traces of human activity in the north of the city until the Middle Geometric period, in the area between the Submycenaean cemeteries founded near the later Classical Gates V (Eriai Gate) and VI (Acharnai Gate).[378] One of the city's Geometric cemeteries, part of which is identified today in plots at Sapphous 10 (IV. 6) and Sapphous 12 (IV. 7), was founded in Late Geometric times, just 250 m east of the existing and functioning cemetery of the Dipylon/Eriai Gate. This propinquity is hardly surprising given that the cemetery is also more or less equidistant from the Kerameikos (200 m), which was in fact established in exactly the same period. The choice of site is justified by the existence of a major road, the course of which almost coincides with that of modern Epikourou Street. The finding of the graves and the road, in combination with the great distance intervening between the Eriai Gate (V) and the Acharnai Gate (VI) of the Classical fortified enceinte (730 m), generated the hypothesis that another gate or postern gate, still unknown, existed at this point.[379]

Kynosarges

From the south–southeast part of Athens, beyond the Ilissos, there are no known indications of human activity during the Submycenaean period.[380] Of course, this does not rule out the possibility that this area had been used for cultivation or stock raising, due to the presence of the river that ensured fertile soils, lush vegetation, and plenteous water. The earliest archaeological testimony is dated to Protogeometric times, when the space began to be used for burials and the Kynosarges cemetery was essentially founded (Theophilopoulou 11: XI. 13). This cemetery developed apace and expanded during the Middle and the Late Geometric period. Like the Dipylon cemetery, its excavation was piecemeal: it was first investigated by foreign researchers in the late nineteenth century; many finds from it have been lost, while others are in foreign collections.[381] Exploration of it continued erratically, occasioned by the construction of modern buildings in the area. Its limits in the Middle Geometric period extended from Theophilopoulou Street to Diamantopoulou Street (Diamantopoulou 10: XI. 1, Theophilopoulou 11: XI. 3, Theophilopoulou, ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench: XI. 2) and eastward beyond present Vouliagmenis Avenue (Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou: IX. 2, Vourvachi and Vouliagmenis: XI. 8).[382] Use of the same space continued in Late Geometric times (Theophilopoulou 16: XI. 5, Kokkini 4–6: XI. 7, Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou: IX. 2), and it may well have extended even farther to the northeast. The burials found at the junction of Athanasiou Diakou and Anapafseos Streets (IX. 3) and at Aristonikou 4 (IX. 4) are possibly related to the Kynosarges cemetery on the south bank of the Ilissos rather than to the Olympieion site, from which they are separated by the river. Moreover, Grave 2 in the plot at Athanasiou Diakou and Anapafseos (IX. 3) resembles in its grave goods and wealth (it was furnished with a host of vases and a gold-sheet funerary armband) other Late Geometric graves in the Kynosarges cemetery.

Theseion

Last, one further new cemetery appeared in the west part of the settlement, on the borders of the present neighborhoods of Theseion and Petralona, from where there are few traces of human presence during the Submycenaean period.[383] It was founded in the Protogeometric period on the west fringe of the Hill of the Nymphs, along modern Erysichthonos Street (Erysichthonos 23: XIII. 7, Erysichthonos 27: XIII. 8, Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos 38: XIII. 9). The surviving Protogeometric graves are located to the south of the road that linked Athens with the Piraeus and south of the Classical Piraeus Gate (II). Furthermore, they are found near and below the ring road inside the fortification wall, and part of the Classical wall itself, the construction of which would have undoubtedly destroyed many more graves. This perhaps explains in part the dearth of Middle Geometric graves. In Late Geometric times, the cemetery was extended considerably eastward, along modern Nileos Street (trench and plot at Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos 38: XIII. 9–XIII. 11, Nileos 32–34: XIII. 12, Igiou 3: XIII. 10, Aktaiou 2: XIII. 34, trench and plot at Aktaiou and Nileos: XIII. 2), and is one of largest and richest of the period.[384]

New Cemeteries near Preexisting Ones

New mortuary sites, which sometimes can be characterized as cemeteries from the number and density of graves and which sometimes give the image of free burials due to the

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circumstances of their finding, were located within the boundaries of areas where large functioning cemeteries often existed. Most of these new sites were short-lived, with the sole exception that of the South Slope. The phenomenon is not limited to one or two subperiods of the Geometric period or to some specific part of the settlement. It is encountered throughout the period, from the Protogeometric to the Late Geometric, and in various areas. In fact, it raises the questions of why this happened, under what conditions, and who were the responsible agents. In other words, why did some inhabitants (groups?) not use the existing cemeteries to bury their dead? The answers perhaps do not cover all the cases that fall within the frame of the same basic principle. Possibly behind the founding of some of these new burial grounds lies some practical reason relating to habitation (e.g., migration of a population group; shrinking or expanding of a locus of habitation). Behind others there is perhaps a social reason, relating to groups and subgroups of aristocratic clans that tended to differentiate their social positions even through the place of burial.[385] The cases noted are presented below and an attempt is made to extract conclusions from at least some of them.

Area of the Agora

As we have seen, in the northwest part of the city, new burial grounds and cemeteries were founded in the area of the Ancient Agora in the Middle and mainly the Late Geometric period.[386] This specific space has a decisive particularity in relation to the others that were to follow: the existence of the refuse pits and wells of the pottery workshops that gradually took over mainly its central part. The founding of new mortuary sites on the periphery of the Agora seems to be associated with the sinking of wells — that is, the spread of workshop activity in the space. In the Protogeometric period, during which new wells were opened in the central square at points that were not associated with burial use, the mortuary sites were not disturbed and those of the Submycenaean period continued in use. However, when from the Middle Geometric period the wells began to spread in the space and to claim areas that until then had served as cemeteries (northeast corner of the Agora on the site of the Stoa of Attalos: II. 3, north bank of the Eridanos near the Stoa Poikile: II. 10), the need for the spatial planning of other spaces for mortuary use arose. This perhaps explains the location of Middle Geometric burials in the plot at Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos property: II. 16), where there are no signs of earlier activity. The change in use of the space in the vicinity of the Stoa Poikile from mortuary to workshop, with the sinking of Well K 1:5 at the end of the Protogeometric/beginning of the Early Geometric period, caused the westward shift of the cemetery existing until that time. The abandonment of some cemeteries and the obligatory founding of others in new places within the wider area of the Agora is much clearer in the succeeding phase, the Late Geometric. The spread of the workshop installations within the Agora site, as this is detected from surviving wells and refuse pits, prevented the founding of new cemeteries. Those that were founded in the end were not only restricted to the southwest part of the central space, which had not been utilized, but were placed within clearly more confined areas, culminating in the last cemetery, which was founded near the Tholos and also had an enclosure (II. 5).[387] So what is deduced from the Agora area is that new cemeteries were founded in still unexploited areas and were a consequence of a change in use of the space until then. As we shall see, the situation is not so clear-cut for the remaining points of the city.

Psyrri

Farther north, within the limits of the modern neighborhood of Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square, dispersed graves are observed, along with indications of mortuary activity, starting from the Protogeometric period (Kranaou and Sarri: II. 16), continuing in the Middle Geometric (Agiou Dimitriou 20: III. 3, Aischylou 31: III. 6),[388] and down into the Late Geometric period (Agion Anargyron 5: III. 1, Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki: III. 4). This part of the city is situated near the cemeteries of the Agora and even nearer to the cemetery of the Dipylon/Eriai Gate, which was founded in Submycenaean times and remained in use without interruption. The presence of empty pits with pottery of the Protogeometric and Middle Geometric periods in plots in Leokoriou, Lepeniotou, and Ermou Streets, and the finding of whole vases — grave goods from destroyed graves — upon the soft limestone bedrock at other sites, confirm that mortuary activity in the area was extensive and that the burial grounds were not confined to the spaces where surviving graves have been found.[389] Inevitably, this raises a question: Why, since the Dipylon/Eriai Gate cemetery existed, are burials found elsewhere too, outside of it in various random spaces in the area south of it? We may ask, moreover, whether these spaces are indeed random and the burials free, or whether the picture we have today from the available evidence is not fortuitous? In fact, in most cases of sites where graves or funerary indications have been found, it is not possible to observe any grouping of them and therefore to suppose the existence of a wider cemetery made up of smaller burial

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grounds. What seems to be the object of observation and comment is the correlation of both new Middle Geometric and Late Geometric mortuary sites with modern Karaiskaki and Agiou Dimitriou Streets. These follow the course of a very ancient thoroughfare that linked the central and north parts of the settlement and was used without break since at least the Late Helladic III period, as the southernmost mortuary sites indicate (Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki, Pittaki 11–13, Karaiskaki 16–18, Aisopou and Mikonos 18).[390] Consequently, it is possible that we have here too (as in the cemetery in Sapphous Street to the northwest and Erysichthonos and Nileos Streets to the west), during Geometric times, the phenomenon of the creation of new burial sites along the length of main road arteries linking the center of the settlement with the periphery. After all, this same tendency seems to be followed also by the EG II burial ground at Agiou Markou 6–8–10–12 (V. 1), which was founded on an even more central thoroughfare that linked Athens with Acharnai and in Classical times passed through the homonymous gate (VI) in the Themistoclean fortification wall. The existence of so many graves in the whole of the mainly northwest part of the settlement, all of which were associated with main roads, meaning that their presence will have been conspicuous, was possibly correlated with the increase in population in the north part of the settlement. It may have been associated also with a disposition for display and differentiation on the part of the individuals or groups buried outside the existing cemeteries along the sides of much-frequented roads, a disposition that was to hold sway in the succeeding period, the Archaic, among members of the aristocracy.

Syntagma Square

The new cemetery in the east part of the city, which is detected in the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 4 (V. 3), is not consistent with the above line of thinking.[391] Although we are not in a position to know when exactly it was founded and when exactly it was abandoned, the period in which it was used, as emerges from the dating of the abundant pottery found in the fill, coincides with the period when the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery was no longer receiving burials. The eastward shrinking of the mortuary sites is evidenced too by the abandonment of the burial grounds in the forecourt of the Parliament building, with the result that at some moment in the Protogeometric period, the east part of the city was without (or almost without) a cemetery. Perhaps the cemetery at Karagiorgi Servias 4 filled this void. We know nothing about the area it covered or about the number of burials made there during the period of its operation. Neither do we know whether it was founded before or after the abandonment of the large Irodou Attikou Street cemetery to the east. However, even if use of the two mortuary sites coincided for a few years, the fact that the preceding Submycenaean/Protogeometric cemetery finally ceased to function, whereas the cemetery at Karagiorgi Servias 4 continued to operate in the Middle Geometric period, suggests that what we have here is not the founding of a cemetery associated with the spread of mortuary activity, and therefore an increase in the density of habitation in this part of the settlement, but the opposite. The cemetery in Karagiorgi Servias Street seems to have served the needs of a community that possibly decreased initially in Protogeometric times, as is indicated by the abandonment of the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery and the founding of the new cemetery closer to the heart of the city. However, this cemetery too was not used for very long, as it was abandoned in the Middle Geometric period.

Theseion

In the west part of the city, in parallel with the cemetery founded in the vicinity of the Classical Piraeus Gate (II) and close to the road leading to the Piraeus, other burials are observed from as early as the Protogeometric period and from the Middle Geometric period, all of them located in the north part of the area — that is, north of Poulopoulou Street.[392] The Protogeometric graves in the plots at Amphiktyonos 8 (XIII. 4) and Poulopoulou 10 (XIII. 13) are 30 m apart and possibly point to the existence of a wider mortuary site that cannot be detected today. Certainly, the same burial grounds did not continue in use during the Middle Geometric period. The burials in the plot at Poulopoulou 20 (XIII. 14) could perhaps represent the northernmost extension of the same burial ground during Middle Geometric times, but it is difficult to assume the same for the other two burials in the plot bordered by Aktaiou, Eptachalkou, and Ephestion Streets (XIII. 1). Even so, the attempted linking with contemporary burials in the Agora and the Dipylon cemeteries cannot possibly be accepted topographically.[393] The mortuary use of spaces outside the boundaries of the officially designated cemeteries of the period is encountered in Late Geometric times too (Dimophontos 5: XIII. 6) and, as will become clear below, was not a phenomenon restricted to the west side of the city.

South Slope of the Acropolis – Makrygianni Area

Last, in the southern sector of the settlement too, the appearance of burials in various places, concurrently with the functioning of the two old cemeteries in the area and independently of these, is noted already from

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Protogeometric times.[394] One of the first cemeteries created and the only one used until the end of the Late Geometric period is that on the South Slope, to the south of the Herodeion (VIII. 4). The graves found indicate that the space was used during the Protogeometric period (burials in pit and cist graves; cremations in cinerary urns at the end of the period), during the Middle Geometric (disturbed burials in pits), and even more intensively throughout the Late Geometric period (simple pit graves but mainly enchytrismoi of infants). There is a gap, actual or archaeologically accidental, due to the lack of graves of the Early Geometric period, which, however, is filled indirectly by a group of Early Geometric vases, obviously from a destroyed grave.[395] Moreover, the scant presence of Early Geometric pottery and the almost total absence of vases from the Middle Geometric period in the cemetery are at odds with the presence of pottery of the same periods in nearby sites in the area (South Phaleron Gate XIII, Karyatidon and Kalisperi – Kougeas residence: X. 25).

Farther south, within the bounds of the modern Makrygianni area, the new burial grounds that appeared were in most cases short-lived, particularly those that began receiving burials in the Protogeometric period. Their presence in the space raises many questions. There is no topographical continuity in the position of the new Protogeometric graves (Rovertou Galli 10 and Karyatidon 14: X. 5, Rovertou Galli 18–20 and Parthenonos: X. 7, Garivaldi, Sophroniskou, and Phainaretis Streets: X. 3). On the contrary, they appear scattered throughout the southern part. Even those that first appeared in these years in the southeast part of the area, near the north bank of the Ilissos (Veikou 5–7: X. 1, Syngrou Avenue 25: X. 31, and Syngrou Avenue between Misaraliotou and Chatzichristou: X. 29), are in proximate but not adjacent plots. So we could presume the existence of a cemetery in use from Submycenaean times in the plots at Dimitrakopoulou 7 and Phalirou 8, and Veikou 5–7, but the evidence for dating the cuttings in the second plot to Protogeometric times is insufficient. Perhaps their position is related to the easternmost of the two roads that linked the city with the harbors of Phaleron and that in Classical times passed through East Phaleron Gate XII.

By contrast, it is possible that in the Middle Geometric period, a cemetery of considerable longevity, functioning into Late Geometric times, was founded in the north part of the area. It lay just 200 m southeast of the already existing cemetery of the South Slope and extended into the space that is defined today by Parthenonos, Kallisperi, and Karyatidon Streets (X. 14, X. 13, X. 25). If the indications guide us correctly to this hypothesis, then the number of cemeteries operating concurrently during the Middle Geometric period in the south part of the city is three or four, depending on whether the unpublished cemetery in Makrygianni Street was receiving burials in these years. At the same time, burials were made at two other sites, at Parthenonos 12 (X. 37) and Mitsaion and Zitrou (X. 36). Although these did not continue in use during the ensuing period, they differ from other such sites of the Protogeometric and Late Geometric periods in the following respects: the number of surviving graves is large, particularly in the plot at Parthenonos 12 (nine graves), and they lie at points that were badly disturbed during the centuries that followed. The Classical fortification wall passed over the graves at Parthenonos 12, and a road, a drainage system, and Classical houses were constructed over those in Mitsaion and Zitrou. Consequently, the possibility that they are two Middle Geometric burial grounds of limited area, which functioned only within the time frame of this period and were destroyed for the most part by later building activity at the sites they occupied, cannot be ruled out.

In the transitional years from the Middle to the Late Geometric period, one further cemetery was founded, in Kavalloti Street (X. 24). Together with the earlier cemetery of Erechtheiou Street, this was the most important one in the area, due to the orderly arrangement of the graves in parallel rows, as well as the wealth of the finds from them. An important trait of this cemetery is its propinquity to that of Erechtheiou Street. Its founding a few meters north, on the side of the same road that passed through the later South Phaleron Gate XIII, at once so close to yet separate from the old cemetery, is not easy to interpret. However, since the part that has been revealed is possibly only a portion of its overall area, which perhaps continued north and south under the properties at Kavalloti 20 and 29, and to the west under the surface of Propylaion Street, the possibility that it was an extension of the existing cemetery or that its south limit reached and touched the northernmost Late Geometric burials in the plots in Erechtheiou Street, cannot be precluded.[396] The striking persistence of the custom of cremation of the dead inside the graves and the placing of ashes in large cinerary urns differentiates it significantly not only from the existing neighboring cemetery but also from most of the cemeteries of its period, in which, with the exception of the cluster of graves in Kriezi Street, the Dipylon/Eriai Gate cemetery, and the Dimitrakopoulou Street cemetery, the custom of inhumation once again held sway. Perhaps we have here yet another instance of the phenomenon encountered in the cemeteries of the Kerameikos, the Dipylon/Eriai Gate,

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and Dimitrakopoulou Street, where burials were made by families or clans, in clusters, which today gives the impression of separate burial grounds due to the different burial custom followed.

Close to the Kavalloti Street cemetery, other individual Late Geometric burials have been found in the plots at Promachou 4–6 (X. 39), Promachou 5–7 (X. 40), and Erechtheiou 30 and Kavalloti 21 (X. 19), which in the past had been linked with both the finds from Erechtheiou 20 and the excavations in the area between Dionysiou Areopagitou and Veikou Streets[397] and have all together been attributed to the existence of an organized Geometric cemetery in the area. The data available to us do not allow us to say whether the above burials are related directly to the cemetery contemporary with them in Kavalloti Street; nor can we proceed to such broad chronological and topographical generalizations. The specific burials are also on the sides of an ancient road that ran from the South Slope of the Acropolis as far as Phaleron, passing through the South Phaleron Gate (XIII). The concentration of graves and cemeteries around both the roads ending at the South Phaleron Gate is obvious and extends the limits of mortuary activity, creating an area of 3,700 m^2 with an exceptionally high density of burials.[398] It would be no exaggeration to treat this space in the southwest part of the Makrygianni area as one large necropolis consisting of many smaller cemeteries.

Last, the reuse of the very ancient burial ground in the plot at Garivaldi, Sophroniskou, and Phainaretis Streets (X. 3) seems to fall within the bounds of honoring or commemorating the dead, as emerges also from respect shown for the remains of the preceding Middle Helladic and Protogeometric burials at the same point and in the same funerary construction.

The increase of burials in the south part of the city makes the area a wide necropolis, in which the spaces between the cemeteries and the various burial grounds were difficult to exploit differently from a rural territory. And for this area, where cemeteries had always existed, the founding of new burial sites spotlights issues relating to the phenomenon of differentiation of "aristocratic" groups, as well as deviation from prevailing burial practices with regard to the spaces where burials were made.

Conclusions: Iron Age Athens

Athens in Geometric times was one of the outstanding urban settlements of the period and exerted considerable influence on many other contemporary communities.[399] We know this not from evidence relating to its form or extent but from its avant-garde pottery, which in those years was exported in large quantities and traded all over the Mediterranean. This pottery has survived in Athens through the city's cemeteries, due to its use as grave goods offered to the dead. The tombs are essentially the fount of our knowledge on the Geometric settlement, since hardly anything is known about the history of Athens and the life of its inhabitants during the Dark Age.

The centuries that succeeded the so-called Submycenaean period, the years immediately following the demise of the Mycenaean world, were ones of slow and gradual recovery lasting a long time. Living conditions were harsh, at least in the early years.[400] During the second half of the tenth century BC as well as in the first half of the ninth, Athens continued to be home to inhabitants of settlements in the countryside, which after 1200 BC were gradually abandoned and for the most part deserted.[401] The number of wells and the spread of the cemeteries indicate that the population was growing steadily, while from the graves, the development of a form of social stratification can also be detected.[402] The increase of contacts and mercantile relations with the East toward the end of the Geometric period brought imports of precious metals and luxury goods, together with the introduction of the alphabet, leading to improvements in the economy of the settlement, or rather in living standards of a part of its population.[403]

The political and social organization of Geometric Athens rested, to a greater or lesser degree, on the rule of powerful families with important ancestors, mythical or real, a system that progressively included other men.[404] After the collapse of the palatial system, the manner of wielding power changed and each group of towns and villages replaced the anax with the basileus and the monarchy with the aristocracy.[405] These basileis were local rulers descended directly or indirectly from specific aristocratic families, and it is they who were in authority in the settlements and secured their protection from all kinds of danger.[406]

By the Early Geometric period, an aristocratic ruling class of landowners had been consolidated. It controlled the rest of the population, which was involved in production, seafaring, trade, stock raising and agriculture. This sociopolitical articulation remained virtually unchanged for a long time. By contrast, toward the end of the Geometric period, the economic gulf became wider, and the difference in social stratification becomes apparent through the cemeteries with the creation of family burial grounds, and from the rich grave goods (gold diadems and imported luxury objects) accompanying certain burials.[407]

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Changes of this kind and scale inevitably influenced also the kinds of habitation and settlements. Before the beginning of the Geometric period, Athens retained its Mycenaean form, with its center the walled Acropolis, erstwhile seat of the Mycenaean anax; the settlement nuclei were arranged in various places outside and around this, over a large area mainly to the northeast and south. The habitation pattern changed little after the beginning of the Early Iron Age, notwithstanding the migrations that took place in the early years. It remained stable and permanent, it continued to be organized around the Acropolis, and the population groups "lived in unwalled villages" (Thucydides, 3.94.4) without urban plan and organization. However, over the years and as the population increased, the settlements grew gradually, and together with them the boundaries of the areas they occupied expanded, so that toward the end of the Geometric period, the Athenian polis was created.[408]

From this important period for the formation of Athens, virtually no architectural remains relating to the settlements have survived. The settlement nuclei and the areas in which these developed are traced today through the cemeteries that existed from the Submycenaean period and were enlarged, and through those that began to be founded already from the onset of the Geometric period and increased in number in Late Geometric times. As a whole they spread circularly around the walled Acropolis. The early cemeteries extended as far as the boundaries of the space that was to be occupied by the walled city of the Classical period and that was destined exclusively for habitation by the living.

Seeking the Settlement: Views Old and New

As for the settlement in the final years of the Late Bronze Age, the views accepted and widely disseminated to this day, and that dominate in the bibliography on Athens in the Early Iron Age, do not take into account the preceding form of the settlement that stems from the Late Helladic period and is expressed through the continuity of the function of various spaces and areas. The theories on the Geometric settlement are confined to observations and conclusions of research until the time of their proposal from the two excellently excavated sites in the northwest part of Athens: the Kerameikos cemetery and the Ancient Agora. The linking of the two sites, which had been proposed from the outset due to their topographical proximity, was considered to have been confirmed by the finds from the Geometric period within the space of the later Agora, since the wells located there were interpreted as remains of habitation that bore witness to the position of the early core settlement.

The same reasons that impose the reexamination of these sites to determine the beginnings of the Submycenaean settlement lead us also to reconsideration of views on the Geometric settlement: the use of the early wells as a means of locating now lost houses of the Geometric settlement and the overlooking of the continuity of use of the Agora cemetery for burials. New evidence, from research and studies, on the one hand underpins new views on the Geometric settlement, and on the other confirms views on the Submycenaean through observation of the use of the space of the Agora and similarities to or differences from other areas of Athens.

Once again, the publication of the 17 early wells and refuse pits in the Agora proves to be a protagonist in this upheaval in scholarship, for it turns our attention to the mainly craft-industrial use of the site, as opposed to the settlement use. Study of the filling from the Geometric wells investigated showed that many of the structures hitherto called wells are in fact refuse pits and that some of these had been filled not with domestic refuse but with workshop discards. These data confirm the suspicion that from the beginning of the localized change in use of the space, as this is manifested by the sinking of wells, the Agora was not the locus of the early settlement nucleus of Athens (which in any case should not be sought as the only one) but an area with intensive craft-industrial activity. Thus is explained too the closeness of the Geometric cemeteries in the wider area (which preexisted and continued to be used), first and foremost that on the north slope of the Areopagus, to the workshops of potters, who throughout history and for practical reasons opted to work and live on the outskirts of Athens.[409]

On the basis of the above, the picture of the site of the Classical Agora in Geometric times changes, and with it our picture of the whole settlement, since inhabited areas should be sought in the wider space of the subsequent asty. In this procedure, the role of the cemeteries that have been found everywhere around the Acropolis is upgraded. The old theories concerning the Agora interpreted the numerous graves dispersed within the "settlement" space on the basis of the axiom that each group of graves discovered constituted a small family burial ground associated with an analogous cluster of houses, the position of which was indicated by the wells closest to the graves. This view totally disregarded the preexisting organization of the Late Helladic and Submycenaean settlement. The existence of cemeteries such as of the Kerameikos, Irodou Attikou Street, and Erechtheiou Street attests the operation of organized spaces designated from the outset as mortuary sites and does not justify the arbitrary and ad hoc burial in

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other areas of the settlement, and even more so between houses, despite the fact that in these years the organization of space into areas of habitation and areas of burial was not so hard and fast and clear-cut as it would be after 479 BC, with the building of the fortification wall. From observation of the mortuary sites of the city, it becomes clear that these must have been near to the settlements they served yet situated separately from them, in areas free of habitation and always near roads.

The most recent studies on the issue show that reconsideration of theories formulated so far is necessary for the Acropolis too. From the recent reexamination of part of the early pottery from the flat summit of the Rock there are good grounds for suspecting that this space continued to be used for burials after the Submycenaean period and down into the Late Geometric period. The presence there of large fragments of funerary vases of Dipylon type cannot be interpreted otherwise, despite the fact that by the middle years of this period, worship of Athena had been established on the top of the Acropolis.[410] Although in the first phase the coexistence of both uses of the space — mortuary, which in these years had already begun to wane, and cultic, which was being consolidated dynamically — seems possible, the study of the whole corpus of early pottery from the Rock, so far largely ignored, would shed better light on this matter. Certainly, the presence of mortuary evidence on the Acropolis begs examination of its slopes as spaces of habitation in the Geometric period too. We should not forget that the transformation of the summit into exclusively a locus sanctus and place of worship had not yet been completed and that the slopes almost never ceased to be lived on by the Athenians, even when in Classical and Hellenistic times the settlement sites shrank, giving way to the erection of large public edifices.

The Spread of the Geometric Cemeteries and Their Correlation with Areas of Settlement

The picture created for the early burial grounds and the cemeteries of Protogeometric and Geometric Athens is that they are dispersed at various sites around the Acropolis, in the wider area of the Agora, the Kerameikos, the area south of the Acropolis, and a zone along the banks of the Ilissos. However, the simultaneous imprinting of all the Protogeometric and Geometric wells between them as remains of settlements in the space has led to the conclusion that in Athens of this period, graves and settlement units were located in small groups everywhere around the Rock, as a result of which the boundaries between habitation and burial areas were not merely confused but did not even exist.

Although from a purely archaeological standpoint this view is close to the excavation reality, it harbors the great danger of overlooking small but essential details and creating fallacious impressions relating to the choice of places of burial, on account of its temporal generalization for the entire duration of the three centuries of the Geometric period. However, if we utilize new evidence of research regarding the use of the space of the Acropolis, the Agora, and its wells, and if we take into account the period of use of specific mortuary sites and combine their position with the Classical gates and the roads, our way of looking at the Geometric settlement changes and we are in a position to follow its gradual development.

The sites of the cemeteries, some of them organized from their founding in Submycenaean times, are indeed dispersed around the Acropolis and always near to natural thoroughfares linking Athens with Eleusis and the Peloponnese, the Mesogaia, and Phaleron, or beside pathways that were later associated with gates of the Themistoclean enceinte. Such a placement in space refers also to an analogous pattern of habitation (if we consider that the Athenians buried the dead near points where they dwelled)[411] not yet in a single space, as in Classical times, but in various areas in settlements. The locus of settlement of the population groups should be sought near to each cemetery, since it would be strange indeed for people living, for example, in the southeast part of Athens, near the Kynosarges cemetery, to bury their dead in the cemetery of the Dipylon/Eriai Gate, which is in the northwest part. However, the gradual spread of the existing Submycenaean cemeteries, which continued to be used in Geometric times, and the founding of new cemeteries in places at that time free of any kind of use covered the space intervening between these and the Acropolis, gradually reducing the still vacant areas available for habitation.

Consequently, the picture created for the Geometric settlement on the one hand vindicates the view of Snodgrass and his supporters that Early Iron Age Athens was "an agglomeration of houses and burials,"[412] but with the necessary provisos that (a) already from the Submycenaean period the inhabitants lived in various areas, near their cemeteries, not among the graves but in organized settlements that were possibly small in area and number of inhabitants, although more than two or three houses, and (b) the proximity of burial and settlement spaces — to a point of reciprocal incorporation in some cases — did not exist from the outset and is not due to lack of foresight and organization of burial procedures and sites. On the contrary, it emerged gradually with the development of the already existing mortuary sites and the founding of new ones, as

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a result of the demographic growth of Athens, and attests the spread of its settlement from the Protogeometric down to the Late Geometric period.[413]

Protogeometric Period[414]

In the Protogeometric period, Athens had the same form as in Submycenaean times[415] (fig. 3.47). The watershed in the burial habits, with the passage from inhumation to cremation, did not cause changes in the arrangement of the cemeteries and those of the Submycenaean period (former Mycenaean and later Submycenaean) continued in use.[416]

Habitation around the Acropolis was not dense, and free areas (grazing land, arable land, and virgin land) would have intervened. However, it seems that the migration of population groups continued. Some left; others perhaps relocated, as a result of which the sites of inhabitation had not yet been finalized.

This is revealed by the abandonment of the large Submycenaean/Protogeometric cemetery of Irodou Attikou Street in the east part of the city. Its founding in the same period as the Kerameikos cemetery to the northwest placed the wider boundaries of expansion of early activity toward the east of the city, reaching those of its Hadrianic expansion. Its abandonment in the early years of the Geometric period signals the shrinking of human presence in the space. The cemetery ceased to function when the population group that founded it was no longer nearby.

However, in the Protogeometric period, the founding of a new cemetery to the east of the settlement but very near the boundaries of the Classical enceinte indicates that habitation declined but did not cease. Some people perhaps remained and in reduced number moved farther west. It was perhaps they who founded the Protogeometric cemetery in Karagiorgi Servias Street, which continued to operate normally until at least the Middle Geometric period, when it too was abandoned. The site of the Protogeometric settlement linked with this should be sought somewhere close by. One possible area of habitation is that north of the Eridanos, between the North Gate (no. VII; Dragatsaniou Street) and the Diochares Gate (VIII), but without precluding also the area south of the river toward the northeast side of the Acropolis — that is, the eastern part of the present neighborhood of Plaka.

It is possible that this area was quite heavily populated and closer to the East Slope of the Acropolis, if the cemetery that existed on the hillock of the Olympieion, continuing the long tradition of mortuary use of the space, is anything to go by. Moreover, to the west of the hill was the old Makrygianni Street cemetery, which in these years seems to have occupied a large area. So it is not improbable that some of the earliest settlement sites of the Geometric period should be sought to the east and southeast of the Acropolis. Furthermore, the presence of the river Ilissos to the southwest of the hillock of the Olympieion would have naturally attracted habitation near its fertile banks.[417] This seems to be borne out by the founding at this time of the Kynosarges cemetery, which in the ensuing years developed into one of the richest cemeteries of Athens. If the scant traces of Protogeometric mortuary activity noted in the plot at Diamantopoulou 10 are interpreted correctly, then the settlement of affluent Athenians in the Middle and Late Geometric periods, who furnished their dead with gold diadems and copious vases, was created in the area in precisely these years.

Returning to the south part of the city, to the present neighborhood of Makrygianni, we ascertain that in the space stretching from the Makrygianni Street cemetery to the east foot of the Hill of the Muses, and from the lower South Slope of the Acropolis to the cemetery in Erechtheiou Street, new graves began to appear. Most of these have been found individually in the space, except on the South Slope, where the use of the cemetery can be followed for the duration of the Protogeometric and Geometric periods. A few meters farther west, on the southwest edges of the Areopagus (in the area of Dörpfeld's excavation), another burial ground was in use in this period. For the rest of the graves to the south of the Acropolis (Rovertou Galli 10 and Karyatidon 14; Garivaldi 28, Sophroniskou, and Phainaretis Streets; and Syngrou Avenue), the data are not enough to lead us even to preliminary conclusions, such as whether they are parts of lost wider cemeteries or free burials in the space. However, experience from the Agora, where each part of a wider mortuary space, consisting of two and three graves that were revealed gradually, was interpreted as an independent family burial ground, should alert us to the possibility of archaeological coincidence during research, which if prematurely reduced to interpretation leads to distortions. Nonetheless, what can be commented on is that for these new burials to be made in these places means that these sites were not exploited in any other way and were completely free until that time. Thus it seems that in Protogeometric times, habitation to the south of the Acropolis, which still remained sparse, began to become progressively denser, judging by the appearance of new graves in the area, which, however, in their turn gradually took over space that could be used for the development of the settlement.

Even farther southwest, in the direction of Phaleron but at a greater distance from the Acropolis, the cemetery in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 110 continued in existence. This is

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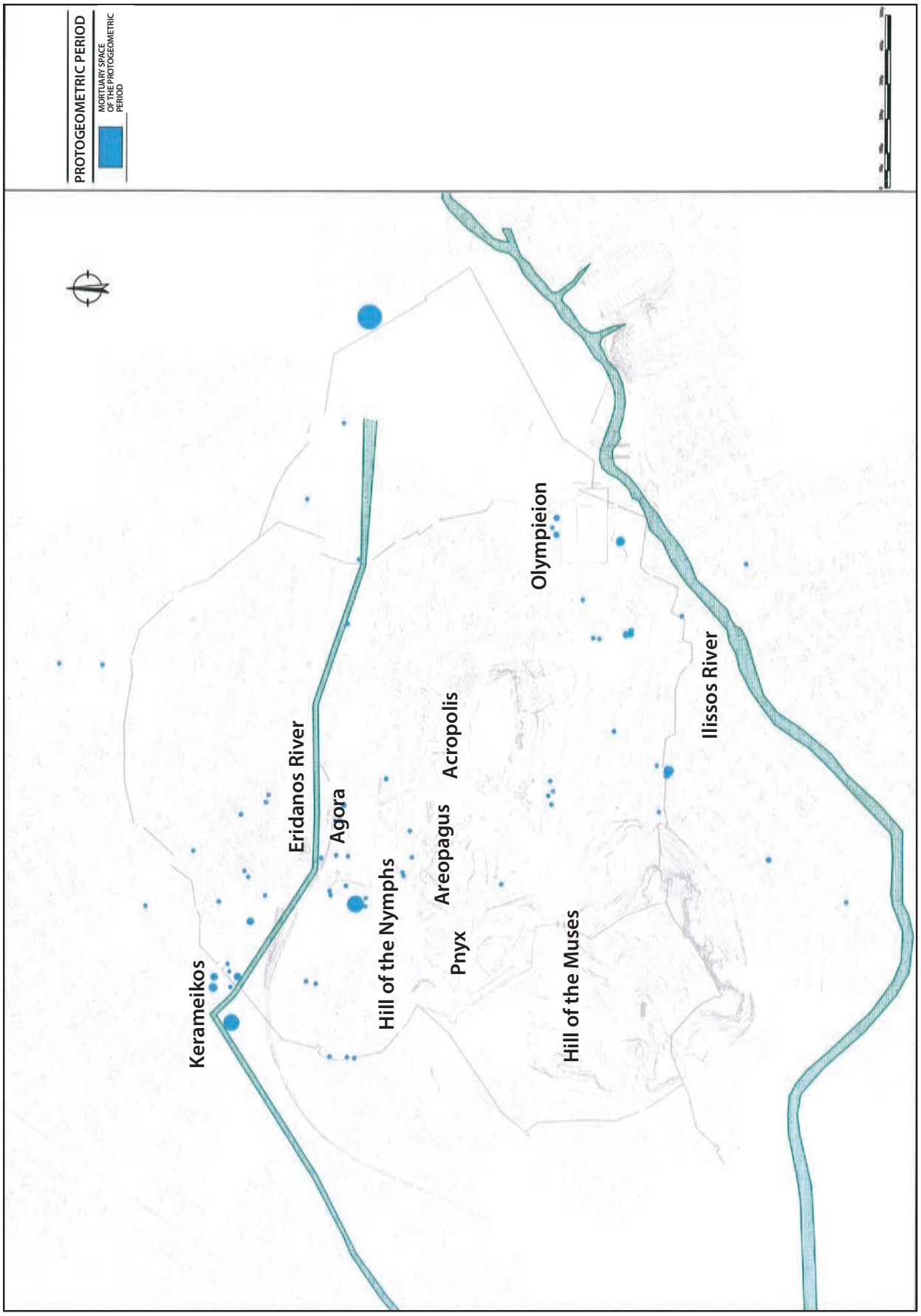

Figure 3.47. Athens. The sites of the Protogeometric cemeteries. This map can be viewed in detail online at www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/3.47.

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essentially the unique site at which uninterrupted use from Mycenaean times down to the end of the Geometric period has been ascertained. The lack of archaeological evidence from the other parts of the large roadside cemetery along the length of the Phalerike Hodos is perhaps fortuitous. However, it might point to a shrinking of habitation in this part of the settlement too. The continuity in use of the part of the cemetery near the north bank of the Ilissos, which in the following years was to spread in the space and to yield some of the richest grave goods, as well as evidence of a population group expressed through its organization and persistence in specific burial customs, leads us to suspect the beginning of an important settlement to the southeast of Philopappos Hill. The onset of habitation in the west part of Athens should be sought between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Agoraios Kolonos, in the present neighborhood of Theseion. The settlement in the area prospered in the Geometric period, which was expressed once again through the rich grave goods accompanying the burials of the ensuing periods.

In the north of Athens, the neighboring cemeteries of the Kerameikos and the Dipylon continued in existence. The Kerameikos cemetery expanded to both banks of the Eridanos. The cemetery of the Dipylon/Eriai Gate also continued in use, but unless the few archaeological data available to us are misleading, it was still in its infancy, in a course that was to peak in the Late Geometric period. The continuation of the existence and concurrent function of two cemeteries in the same space reveals that even if the initially two settlements founded near them had perhaps united topographically, their internal differentiation continued to exist. Habitation in the northwest of the city should indeed have increased appreciably in these years, judging by the fact that toward the southeast, in the space today identified with the neighborhood of Psyrri, other graves appear, possibly a new roadside cemetery along the ancient road lying under modern Karaiskaki and Agiou Dimitriou Streets. Here too, as in the south of the city, the haphazard uncovering of these graves does not allow us say anything further about them. The presence of intact vases on the surface of the soft limestone bedrock and of empty pits in plots even farther south indicates that there were other graves that have not survived, due to the disturbance over many years even of the surface of the bedrock, which at this particular point is very high. Whatever the case, the occupation of the present neighborhood of Psyrri by graves reduced the potential space for the northern settlement nuclei and limited their area. Farther east, in the area of the present Varvakeios and the Commercial Center, the graves of the other roadside cemetery outside the Classical Acharnai Gate (VI) should be linked with habitation nearby, which, however, must have covered a smaller area than that of the northwest part of the settlement.

Last, in the space of the Agora, we can locate the first and most important craft-industrial quarter of the potters of Athens, those who inspired the Geometric style and produced the famed Athenian Geometric vases. The space changed use gradually, from exclusively mortuary into workshop as well. The wells and refuse pits that served the potters' workshops were opened near the cemeteries but not inside them, and the possibility that the potters lived and worked in the same place cannot be ruled out. The early cemeteries in the Agora site continued to operate in the same spaces they occupied in the Submycenaean period. The population that used them was perhaps the same as dwelled of old on the North and West Slopes of the Acropolis. There is no evidence so far on the use of the top of the Rock.

Early and Middle Geometric Period[418]

No radical differentiations are observed from the Early and Middle Geometric period, at least as far as the location of the cemeteries is concerned. Again, these were not affected by the reappearance of the burial habit of inhumation in parallel with that of cremation (fig. 3.48). Consequently, there were no differentiations in the settlement areas either. The basic organization established during the Protogeometric period continued, and Athens experienced what may be described as a calm heyday, which is reflected in the further development of the cemeteries and the increasing wealth of the grave goods.

As in the previous period, there is no evidence from the top of the Acropolis; nor does there appear to have been change to the east of it. The cemetery of Karagiorgi Servias Street continued to receive burials, as did the hillock of the Olympieion. The indications we have from the cemetery west of it, in Makrygianni Street, point to its gradual shrinking and limiting to the east part of the initial space. Beyond the Ilissos, habitation was consolidated on the south bank of the river, where the Kynosarges cemetery developed. The wealth of grave goods from there reveals that the population of the associated settlement was economically thriving.

There was an increasing concentration of mortuary activity to the south of the Acropolis. Apart from the cemeteries of Erechtheiou Street and the South Slope, where burials continued to be made normally, it seems that two other cemeteries were founded close by: one on the fringes of the South Slope, southeast of the existing

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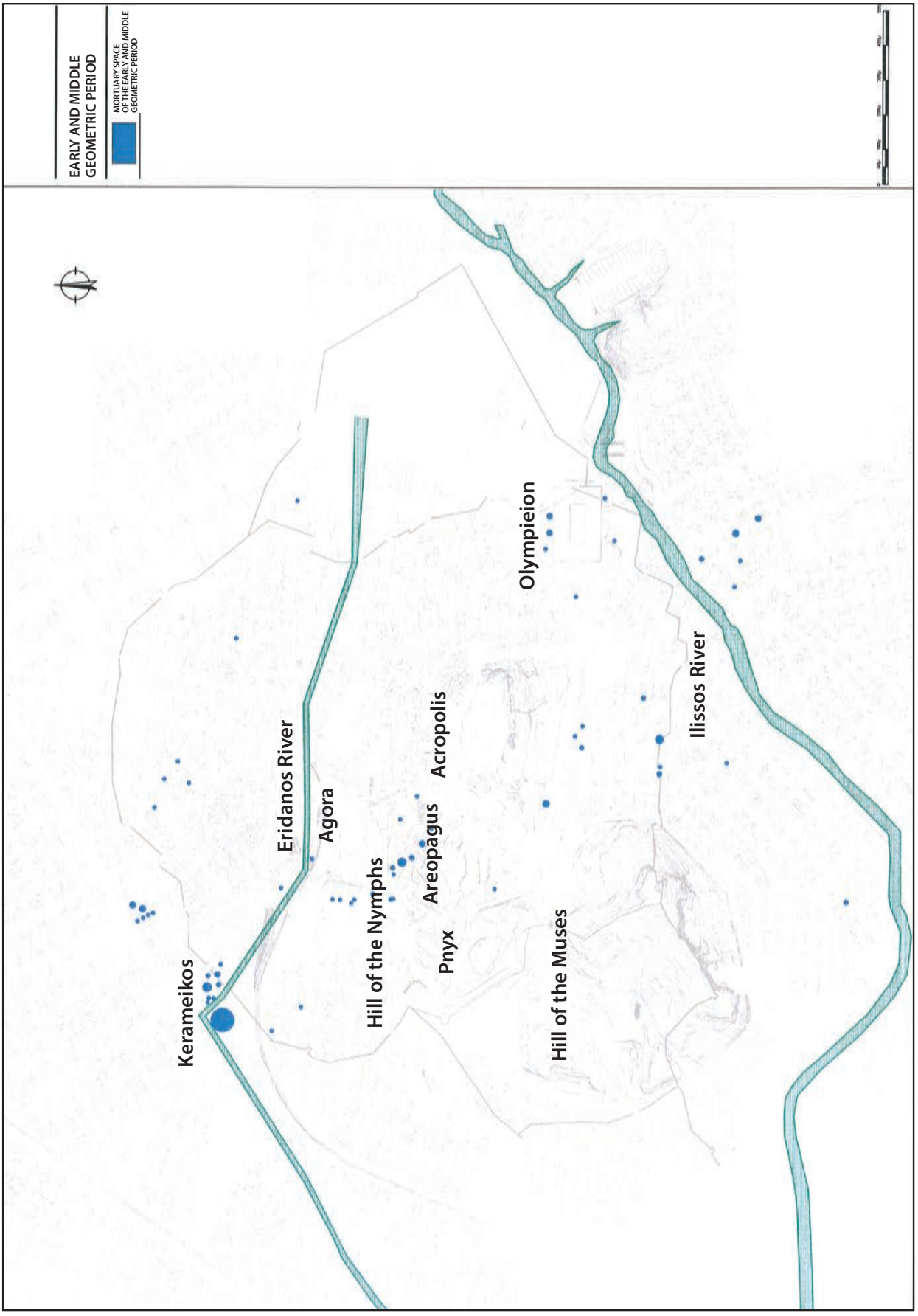

Figure 3.48. Athens. The sites of the Early and Middle Geometric cemeteries. This map can be viewed in detail online at www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/3.48.

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one and south of modern Dionysiou Areopagitou Street (between Parthenonos and Karyatidon Streets), and one to the west of the Erechtheiou Street cemetery (in Parthenonos Street). The continuous founding of new cemeteries to the south of the Acropolis is puzzling. The area became filled with graves that encroached on the houses, and free spaces available for habitation in the most favorable part of the settlement, in terms of orientation, were compressed even more. Farther southwest, in the present neighborhood of Koukaki, there is no sign of change in the cemetery in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 110. The burials were made in the same place and there does not yet appear to be any remarkable development of the associated settlement.

On the contrary, in the west of the city, the settlement in the present Theseion neighborhood evidently spread, as burial plots developed in the north part of the space. The population in the northern sector of the settlement increased even more. In the Kerameikos the cemeteries on the two banks of the Eridanos amalgamated, while the expansion of the cemetery of the Dipylon/Eriai Gate seems to have begun. For the area of present-day Psyrri, there are fewer indications than for previous years, but burials do not seem to have ceased in the roadside cemetery in Karaiskaki and Agiou Dimitriou Streets.

As for the Agora, workshop activity extended into the central square and into areas that were used for burials until the previous period. Most of the old cemeteries functioned normally, and in that on the north slope of the Areopagus there was such notable expansion and wealth in Early Geometric times that its connection with the royal house of the Medontids and the placement of their seat somewhere on the col between the Acropolis and the Areopagus have been proposed.[419]

Late Geometric Period[420]

In the last subperiod of the Geometric period, the development of the cemeteries and the areas of habitation reached its peak (Fig. 3.49). Human activity in Late Geometric times is detected all over the area intra muros of the Classical fortification and subsequently a settlement space. However, in these years the space was filled mainly by cemeteries, making the boundaries of habitation in the individual areas extremely difficult to determine.

Graves evidently existed even as far as the flat summit of the Acropolis, shortly before it became exclusively the numinous domain of the patron goddess. The Late Geometric mortuary evidence from the top of the Rock leaves open the possibility that the space never ceased to receive burials from Submycenaean times down to the mid-eighth century BC, and it confirms the existence of habitation on the slopes of the Rock and near its highest point for the duration of the Geometric period. Those who now buried their dead on the flat summit belonged to the same social class as those who used the Kerameikos cemetery and the Dipylon cemetery, for they placed the same type of monumental, high-cost vases as markers on tombs.

In the east part of the city there was perhaps a further shift and relocation of population to a nearby area. The cemetery in Karagiorgi Servias Street was abolished some time before the beginning of the subperiod, and its space was claimed by the living. The east part of the city seems to have remained without a cemetery at the moment when in all other parts there was more than one cemetery to cover the population's mortuary needs. However, this picture may be due to circumstance. The Late Geometric pottery found farther north, in the plot of the Royal Stables/former Army Share Fund (Panepistimiou 9), where there was an extensive cemetery in the following period, as well as even farther north (Panepistimiou 31), is perhaps the sole indication of the northward shift of part of the settlement and the cemeteries.

In the south of the city, we do not know exactly what was happening on the hillock of the Olympieion, but mortuary use of the space into the Early Archaic period perhaps implies the cemetery's operation in Late Geometric times too. By contrast, the Makrygianni Street cemetery started to contract in the same way as is observed in the cemeteries of the Agora in the preceding period: the installation of at least one pottery workshop in the space modified the use of land in the west part of the site, where burial activity began to neighbor workshop activity. Otherwise, the rest of the space to the south was dominated by the dead. The cemeteries of all the preceding periods operated normally, but not all the Geometric sites at which graves have appeared at various times. The most important new cemetery in the area (Kavalloti Street) was founded north of the very old cemetery of Erechtheiou Street, on the side of the road associated with the South Phaleron Gate (XIII). Together with one more roadside cemetery, founded a few meters to the east on the side of the second road terminating at the same gate, these created a large mortuary area. The burials there, and particularly in the Kavalloti Street cemetery, attest that the people using it were of high social status, were wealthy, and had relations with the Orient.

The same prosperity is characteristic of the settlement on the south bank of the Ilissos, which continued to grow and flourish. The Kynosarges cemetery had spread spatially, and the people living near it and as far as the

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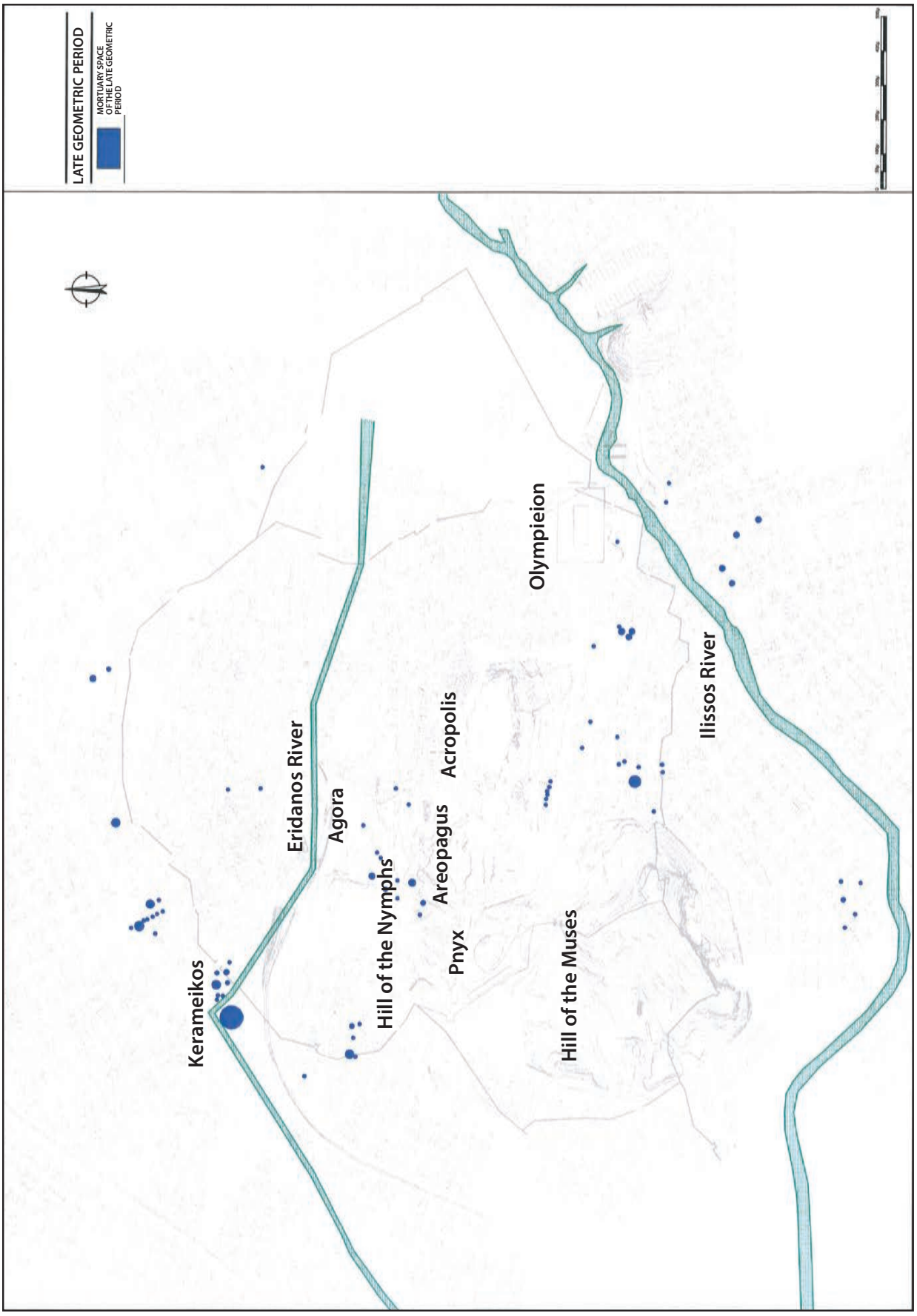

Figure 3.49. Athens. The sites of the Late Geometric cemeteries. This map can be viewed in detail online at www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/3.49.

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hillock of the Olympieion continued to adorn their dead with gold funerary jewelry.

Farther west, in present Koukaki, there was an upsurge of activity in the cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou Street, which is distinguished by its organization and wealth. Its boundaries expanded considerably, but its development was southward — that is, mainly toward Phaleron rather than toward the Acropolis. The population group that used this cemetery preferred to cremate rather than inhume its dead, in accordance with the burial trend that returned in these years. The insistence on the expensive custom of cremation and, in some cases, the use of a bronze cinerary urn rather than a clay one find parallels in the Kriezi Street group of the Dipylon cemetery. The outmoded mortuary practices, the cost of the procedures these demanded, and the accompanying objects suggest that we have here one more conservative, aristocratic clan of Late Geometric Athens.

There was considerable development also in the west cemetery of the settlement, in the present neighborhood of Theseion, which by this time covered a large area beside the road to the Piraeus and near the Piraeus Gate (II). The presence of gold diadems in the graves of this cemetery too bespeaks the affluence of the people it served, who, however, inhumed their dead.

In the Kerameikos, the family burial grounds were demarcated by some kind of enclosure, as is deduced from the rich graves in the Plattenbau, one of the few places that survived in the Late Geometric cemetery.[421] Due to the continuous disturbance and destruction of this part of the cemetery in Archaic and Classical times, we have virtually no information on the precious grave goods that accompanied the dead. However, the arrangement of the graves in clusters, which are related to clans and families, and the delimiting of the burial ground emerge both from the remains of the structures and from the observance of a single burial custom.

The same is deduced from the neighboring cemetery of the Dipylon/Eriai Gate, which although it had spread in the space around the initial nucleus in Kriezi Street (present-day Eleftheria Square) displays locally variety in burial customs. However, these disparities reveal differences between the grave clusters in the same cemetery, where the whole population group using it buried its dead within a common burial ground, but each family separately and in accordance with the customs it preferred. Thus the societal group represented in the grave cluster in Kriezi Street differed from that of the cluster in the Sapountzakis plot. The former persisted in cremating the dead, whereas the later inhumed them. As noted above, comparison of the population group served by the cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou Street with that in Kriezi Street points to a rather conservative clan[422] that insisted on following the old funerary custom and was particularly prosperous, therefore aristocratic. Indeed, in an attempt to associate it with one of the three royal lineages of Athens — the Neleids, Philaids, and Medontids — the first was given precedence because of the depiction, on the monumental vase-tomb markers, of the duel between the Neleid king of Pylos, Nestor, and the Moliones. However, because the same incident also decorates the Late Geometric oenochoe P 4885, found in the Agora, in Grave XIII of the Tholos cemetery, the initial argument loses its force (fig. 3.50).[423]

The spread of the Dipylon cemetery beyond Peiraios Street, the founding of the cemetery in Sapphous Street in the north of the city, and the use of the roadside cemetery in Kotzias Square indicate that in Late Geometric times, settlement in the southern area and as far as the present neighborhood of Psyrri became denser, as apparent from the roadside cemetery that existed there from Submycenaean times and continued to be used for burials, at least the part in Karaiskaki Street. Late Geometric graves are not observed in the area intra muros of the Classical fortifications, perhaps indicating that the space was beginning to be used for settlement.

By now the site of the Agora had been taken over by potters. Mortuary activity was confined to the southwest of the central square, where, near the Tholos and in the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, new family burial grounds appear to have been founded.

Figure 3.50. Rollout of Oenochoe P 4885 from Grave XIII of the Late Geometric Tholos cemetery, with representation of the duel between Nestor and the Moliones. Papadopoulos 2007, p. 123, fig. 118B. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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The Settlement Development of Geometric Athens[424]

In our endeavor to trace the development of the form of Athens from the Submycenaean to the Geometric period, the lack of settlement remains obliges us to look to the city's cemeteries, about which much more is known than about the loci of habitation.[425] In all subperiods, the Geometric cemeteries were located close to settlement sites, beside the rivers Eridanos and Ilissos, as well as along roads and paths serving movement to and from Athens. The Athenians exploited to advantage these natural passes in the fifth century BC, when constructing the Themistoclean fortification wall of 479 BC and opening gates there. Thus is explained too the position of the Classical cemeteries extra muros of the city and in front of the gates in its wall,[426] which remained where the first cemeteries had been founded in prehistoric times and continued in use without interruption.

By observing the choice of sites for founding new cemeteries, we are able to distinguish those areas of land that were free of any use until then and that met a series of specifications: a sufficiently large area to accommodate a reasonable number of burials for several years, easy access for the performance of funerary rites, and not being used for any other purpose not only at that moment but in the longue durée. Sites fulfilling these requirements could not exist within the inhabited parts of the settlement, or very far away from them either. They should probably be sought at a mean distance between the settlement, as this was formed in different periods in the inhabited areas, and the countryside surrounding it.

In practical terms, this endeavor has proved difficult, as an early city that has neither a fortification wall nor an urban plan develops freely in the available space. So it is only natural that the earliest cemeteries were located nearer to the inhabited areas than those founded later and that they were progressively incorporated into the settlement nuclei and/or abandoned — just as it was equally natural for the boundaries of the cemeteries, as they grew, to expand far beyond their initial limits and in the end to encroach on neighboring spaces, whether of burial or habitation. However, what happened when new cemeteries were founded near preexisting ones and occupied areas potentially available for settlement? In other words, what were the reasons for founding new Geometric cemeteries in all the subperiods and how did these interact with areas of habitation?

New cemeteries were founded in the Protogeometric, Middle Geometric, and Late Geometric periods, due to the increase in the city's population, the covering of old cemeteries, and possibly the reappearance of the custom of inhumation, which requires more space than cremation. It is possible that the new cemeteries were linked with the ongoing migrations of population groups from the provinces to Athens or even from one part of the settlement to another (such as in the east part). Such resettlement entailed, of necessity, the selection of a new mortuary space. An alternative explanation is that the new spaces were associated with ascendant aristocratic lineages/clans whose power and wealth increased in step with the economic development of Athens and were expressed through the founding of family burial grounds on tracts of land belonging to them. This is particularly apparent at the end of the Geometric period, when some of these cemeteries were clearly marked out spatially by a tomb enclosure (Kerameikos – Plattenbau; Tholos cemetery)[427] but were also much smaller in area, as well as of much shorter duration than the old Late Helladic/Submycenaean cemeteries, as well as the later Early/Middle Geometric cemeteries.

Of course, we cannot interpret in this way all the burials that are found individually at various points in the city. Certainly there are burials that are parts of the extension of existing cemeteries or that form an ensemble with neighboring ones, but from their circumstantial discovery we are unable to understand their positions. Whatever the case, burials of this kind are problematical and very often lead research to an impasse, particularly when the picture they give cannot be interpreted on the basis of the few starting points that function as concessions in study of the topography of early Athens.

The best known and the oldest of all these starting points is the oft-quoted passage from Thucydides (2. 15. 3–6), who describes Athens before the synoecism of Theseus and then when "the Acropolis was the city, together with the region at the foot of the Acropolis toward the south." Leaving aside once more the issue of the moment in time to which Thucydides dated Theseus and the synoecism, we concentrate on the topographical issue raised — namely, the location of the main settlement "toward the south." Of course, without knowing the exact geographical direction in which the fifth-century BC historian pointed his compass, and by attempting to identify some meager indications at least of habitation in the space that we understand to be south of the Acropolis — the modern Makrygianni area from the height of Dionysiou Areopagitou Street as far as Tsami Karatasou and Petmeza Streets — the only thing we ascertain is the very widespread presence of graves and extensive cemeteries. The sole traces of nonmortuary activity were identified recently in the east part of the area, on the site of

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the new Acropolis Museum, and consist of a pottery kiln and a few architectural remains. As we know from many parts of Greece, as well as from the Athenian Agora, such workshop installations were set up near cemeteries and commercially busy roads and are taken as indicators of habitation and use of the space. They are found within the old cemetery in Makrygianni Street, which shrank toward the end of the Geometric period and possibly constituted the interface between mortuary and nonmortuary activity in this place.

On the contrary, in the central and west parts of the Makrygianni area, the diffuse presence of graves in the space leaves no free points where it could be assumed that dense habitation developed in these years. The problem is compounded by the absence of wells. With the exception of the two wells found, in Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion and in Rovertou Galli and Karyatidon, which are dated vaguely to the Geometric period, the supply of water to the space from points closer than the banks of the Ilissos seems inadequate.

Without ruling out the possibility that houses existed in the space, what we understand as the south part of Athens does not seem to have been utilized fully for an extensive settlement. Perhaps the natural southward slope of the ground, pronounced even today, was a constraining factor. Such a use of the space justifies also the placement of graves and small cemeteries in the free areas between the small settlement nuclei. Moreover, the few architectural remains of the period, preserved here and even farther south in Koukaki, are retaining walls that were constructed to level certain points in the space, possibly so that these could be used for cultivation. Apart from the wells, these are the earliest and unique traces of human intervention we have from Geometric Athens. Works of this kind are encountered over a wide area in this same place during the succeeding Archaic period, when the cemeteries were shifted toward the periphery of the later Classical fortification wall and the space was taken over by houses.[428] Consequently, it seems that the configuration of the south part of the settlement, which in the future was to be always terraced, began in the Geometric period and perhaps in its later years, to which the final phase of use of the space for burials is also dated.

In our endeavor to interpret the passage in Thucydides, we must move toward the Acropolis in an attempt to identify a possible settlement area. Working our way backward this time through the Makrygianni area, from the Ilissos toward the South Slope, we ascertain that here lies the northernmost and earliest limit of mortuary activity, the cemetery to the south of the Herodeion. No traces of graves have been found beyond this. It is perhaps here that we should seek the point of habitation closest to the Mycenaean ramparts of the Acropolis. We should take into account the fact that the South Slope of the Acropolis as far as its summit was at that time covered by fill and that the rock had not been cut, as we see it today, for the construction of the later fortifications on the flat summit. Furthermore, the first part of the passage from Thucydides places the ancient city on the Acropolis, but traces of it have disappeared due to the continuous habitation of the South Slope over the centuries and to the large-scale works carried out repeatedly on this side of the Rock.[429]

On the other side of the Acropolis, the north, the gradual change in use of the spaces had already begun. However, because these were central, they are not as clear as to the south. In the Ancient Agora, the graves did not coexist with the wells of the settlement installation, as was previously believed, but were gradually ousted from the center of the space to the periphery, as workshop activity increased and possibly also habitation associated with it. Since in Submycenaean times, the Agora was the basic necropolis of Athens in proximity to the Acropolis and the mortuary tradition of the space was deeply rooted, this process was slow and gradual. If we assume that most of the wells that took over the space in Late Geometric times belonged to workshops, then the atmosphere around them was perhaps inimical to habitation nearby. Maybe that is also why the west half of the north part of Athens (the present-day Psyrri neighborhood) was not inhabited but was used for burials, in continuation of the areas west of it where the cemeteries of the Kerameikos and the Dipylon/Eriai Gate had already been founded. On the other hand, the possibility that the graves in the Psyrri neighborhood were associated with the people living and working in the space of the later Agora cannot be ruled out. The hill of Agoraios Kolonos functioned rather like an embankment or a natural boundary, and its west foot was inhabited normally from Protogeometric times, as demonstrated by the founding of a cemetery. On this side of the settlement, the maximum boundaries of habitation to the west were set at an early date and were to be followed by part of the Classical fortification wall of Athens.

On present evidence, the east half of the north part of Athens was virgin land. Indeed, the old roadside cemeteries existing from the Submycenaean period were located from the outset in the vicinity of the later Acharnai Gate (VI), leaving free a large area stretching as far as the north bank of the Eridanos. The new cemetery in Sapphous Street, which was founded in Late Geometric times, and possibly one other cemetery that extended along the road coinciding

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with Panepistimiou Street (nos. 9 and 31) were located extra muros of the Classical enceinte. The long distance between these northern cemeteries and the Acropolis, in comparison to the short distance between the Rock and the other southern cemeteries, is perhaps the factor denoting limited use of the space to the northeast of the Acropolis, where habitation may have been intensified in the Late Geometric period, when related mortuary activity also appeared.

To the east, the settlement that existed in Submycenaean times proved to be transient. The abandonment of the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery at the beginning of the Geometric period and the founding of another cemetery in Karagiorgi Servias Street, very close to the east branch of the Classical wall of the city, are interpreted as indicating a decrease in habitation, perhaps due to the movement of part of the population that had initially settled in the space to another place inside or outside the settlement. As a consequence of this shift, human activity in Geometric times reached also the eastward boundaries of the walled asty of the Classical period. Habitation should be sought in the wider area around the Diochares Gate (VIII) and on both banks of the Eridanos, where traces of a cemetery have also come to light in the plot of the Metropolis (Greek Orthodox cathedral) and the former Ministry of Education (Voulis and Mitropoleos Streets).

Farther southeast, in the area north and east of the Acropolis, the situation is complicated by the fact that Plaka is a listed neighborhood, where excavations are avoided if possible. The absence of burials and the aquifer of the Empedo/Klepsydra spring make the north foot of the Acropolis a possible locus of habitation already from Submycenaean times. However, from the rest of the area, the aforementioned burials beside the Eridanos are the sole known indications, together with a handful of Late Geometric pottery (Kodrou 15) that does not seem to come from graves. On the contrary, the finds known to us are mainly Roman and even later, as research into deeper levels is barely feasible. However, the cemetery in the Olympieion and the likewise early cemetery in Makrygianni Street are indisputable documentation of the existence of habitation to the southeast of the Acropolis from the Submycenaean period and even earlier. Furthermore, recent verification, through the Aglaureion inscription, that the Archaic Agora of Theseus was located in the east part of the city, turns our attention with even greater interest to this unexplored part of Athens, which as a center of political life in Archaic times must have been inhabited much earlier.[430] Indeed, perhaps it is in this direction, the southwest, that the old city "toward the south" described by Thucydides in the fifth century BC should be sought.

Notes

1 Whitley 1991, p. 61.

2 The conventional name for the period was established by the British scholars Snodgrass (1971) and Desborough (1971). The cultural situation it expresses has been doubted (James 1991). See *Agora* XXXVI, p. 974. On this issue and the knowledge gained from research over the past 20 years, which modifies the picture known to date, see Kourou 2009.

3 The conventional dating of the above subperiods follows the system defined by J. N. Coldstream for Attica, as do their abbreviations. See Coldstream 2008 [1968], p. 330.

4 The strict chronological division between the subperiods that researchers used to characterize as Late Mycenaean IIIC, Submycenaean, and Protogeometric is not as clear-cut in Athens as certain scholars maintain. For the absolute dating of the period from the late eleventh century BC, see Whitley 1991, pp. 83–84; Papadopoulos 2007, p. 96, entry 29; Papadopoulos et al. 2011, pp. 187–202.

5 See Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, pp. 245, 314, and Mazarakis-Ainian 2007–2008, pp. 385, 377, where he argues that the building of elliptical plan found to the south of the Olympieion on the east side of the temple of Apollo Delphinios, which its excavator identifies as the early temple of the god, is a house. Threpsiadis and Travlos 1963, p. 10; Martin 1940–1941, p. 238; Travlos 1972, chapter 3, fig. 3.

6 Gazetteer of Archaeological Sites: VIII. 1.

7 For the two column bases found inside the Archaic temple during the first excavations and initially attributed to the remains of the Mycenaean palace or houses (whereas Iakovidis considered them remains of an earlier temple), see Iakovidis 1962, pp. 57–65, with an earlier bibliography on the issue. See below: "Acropolis: City, Citadel, Cemetery, or Sanctuary?"

8 Digital Map II PG–MG–LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-PG-MG-LG.

9 Digital Map II PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-PG.

10 The volume on the Early Iron Age wells and deposits of the Agora, by Papadopoulos and Lis, is in progress in the *Agora* series.

11 No pots for drawing water were found at the bottom. The excavator considered it an unfinished well. See Papadopoulos 2003, p. 28, with Thompson's notes from the excavation daybook.

12 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 84, note 19.

13 After the abandonment of two of the three wells on the north slope of the Areopagus (I 18:4 and M 17:5), a grave was opened in the fill of each. Smithson 1974, p. 330, note 12. See II. 7, Grave N 11:1, in the fill of Well N 11:5, east of the southeast corner of the court of the Gymnasium. Brann, 1960, p. 413.

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14 Smithson 1974, p. 330.

15 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 92.

16 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 77.

17 Digital Map II MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-MG.

18 The northernmost indication is the well unearthed in the plot at Karaiskaki 1 and Arionos 2 in the neighborhood of Psyrri (III. 14). However, the evidence available from the excavation does not offer as secure a date as that of K 1:5.

19 Camp 2005a, p. 70.

20 According to Young, their topographical and temporal proximity denotes the existence of continuous habitation in this place. Young 1951, pp. 144–145.

21 Little and Papadopoulos 1998, p. 379.

22 Digital Map II LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-LG.

23 *Agora* XXVII, pp. 12, 232.

24 The great depth of the LG wells of the Agora and their abandonment by the end of the period are the basic arguments in Camp's theory that during the second half of the eighth century BC, Athens, and indeed all of Greece, suffered a protracted drought, which was followed by famine at the end of the century. See Camp 1979. Since 1979, when this theory was first proposed, the number of wells located and dated to the period 760–700 BC has risen to 22, in contrast to the number of wells for the whole of the seventh century BC, which has remained at 14. See Camp 1999a, p. 261, note 9.

25 See note 24 above and chapter 4, "Ancient Agora: The Transformation of Private into Public Space." See Camp 1996a, p. 39; Camp 1999a, pp. 260–262.

26 The remains of the kiln no longer survive. Thompson 1940, p. 6; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 126–131.

27 Nothing survives of this clay-settling pit either. Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 126–131.

28 For S 18:1, see Shear 1939, p. 219; *Agora* VIII, p. 131. See Well L in Brann 1961, pp. 97, 117–125; *Agora* XXXI, p. 16. For S 19:7, see Shear 1939, p. 227; *Agora* VIII, p. 131; *Agora* XXXI, p. 16.

29 Digital Map III PG–MG–LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-PG-MG-LG.

30 Digital Map IV PG–MG–LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IV-PG-MG-LG.

31 At the time of its excavation, the Classical cemetery on the Army Share Fund plot was associated with the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 4 and with the Classical graves found between Nikis and Voulis Streets, near the Diochares Gate (VII) in the Classical wall. This began to be discussed in 1960, after Threpsiadis's investigation of the plot at the junction of Voulis and Mitropoleos Streets. See Threpsiadis 1962 and Alexandri 1970, p. 55, drawing 22: northeast side of the fortification wall and site of a gate. See also Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 53, and Travlos 1971, pp. 159–160. This impression continued to hold until recently, when the northeast cemetery of Athens was discussed. Today, after the excavations occasioned by the Athens Metro project, it is considered more likely that the cemeteries on the plot of the Army Share Fund building and the Diochares Gate (VII) were originally two separate mortuary sites, which over the centuries and due to the continuous need for burial space coalesced into one cemetery; Zachariadou 2000, p. 249.

32 For the use of the space during the Geometric period, see Charitonidis 1958, where he proposes also the existence of a sacred garden of the Muses in this place between the fourth and third centuries BC (Charitonidis 1958, p. 145).

33 Digital Map X PG–MG–LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/X-PG-MG-LG.

34 Alexandri 1970, pp. 32–37.

35 Farther east, in the southwest corner of the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou 41, Parthenonos 32–34, and Kallisperi 20 (Angelopoulos property), remains of walls forming the northeast corner of a room have been revealed. According to the excavator, these are remains "of a very ancient house, which, however, it is doubtful whether it belongs to the prehistoric or to the Geometric period" (Stavropoullos 1966, p. 47). The presence of Middle Helladic remains in the same space (two houses, one well, and two graves) possibly indicates that the walls are prehistoric; see X. 14. For this reason the plot is not marked as a site with indeterminate settlement activity (in gray) on the map of Area X (Makrygianni).

36 Stavropoullos 1966, p. 49.

37 Digital Map X LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/X-LG.

38 Zachariadou 1989, p. 9; Kalligas 1995a, pp. 5–6.

39 Mougnai 2000, s.v. 31–37, pp. 62–65.

40 Kalligas 1999, p. 14.

41 Eleftheratou and Saraga 2009, p. 49.

42 Digital Map XII PG–MG–LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XII-PG-MG-LG.

43 See Appendix of Tables.

44 Graef and Langlotz 1909; Hurwit 1999, p. 89. The possibility that earlier sherds (of SM, PG, and MG periods) exist in the remaining 90 percent of the unpublished material cannot be ruled out. Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 297–298.

45 Digital Map VIII PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VIII-PG.

46 Graef and Langlotz 1909, pls. 7, nos. 9, 212, 273; Desborough 1952, p. 93; Smithson 1982, p. 154, note 44; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 27–28, pls. 1–3; Hurwit 1999, p. 89.

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47 Broneer 1939, pp. 402–404; Smithson 1982, p. 154, note 44; Hurwit 1999, p. 88.

48 The precise provenance of these fragments cannot be determined because the label accompanying them was lost during the Second World War. Smithson 1982, p. 154, note 44; Hurwit 1999, p. 88.

49 Digital Map VIII MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VIII-MG.

50 Graef and Langlotz 1909, pl. 10, no. 272; Broneer 1939, pp. 402–404; Coldstream 2008 [1968], p. 13 no. 2; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 29, pl. 3, no. 5, pl. 4, no. 1; Hurwit 1999, p. 88.

51 See note 47 above.

52 Charitonidis 1975, pp. 3, 41–43.

53 Digital Map VIII LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VIII-LG.

54 Graef and Langlotz 1909, p. 23.

55 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 34–40, pls. 4–8.

56 Charitonidis 1975, p. 42, note 21.

57 Furthermore, whole vases have been mended from parts found scattered to the north and south of the square. Charitonidis 1975, p. 44.

58 Digital Map I PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/I-PG.

59 The PG burials in the Kerameikos were published initially by Kübler and Kraiker in 1939 (*Kerameikos* I, pp. 89–130, 180–220) and were completed subsequently by Kübler in 1943 (*Kerameikos* IV). See also Welwei 1992, pp. 63–64; Lemos 2002, pp. 9–10, 14–15, 18–19, 152–153.

60 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 34; Knigge 1991, pp. 16–17.

61 Digital Map I MG–LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/I-MG-LG.

62 *Kerameikos* V. For an integrated plan of the cemetery see Hoepfner 1970, pp. 287–290; Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 40; Knigge 1991, pp. 20–21.

63 Snodgrass 1971, p. 145; Knigge 1991, pp. 20–24; Lemos 2002, p. 155; Houby-Nielsen 2000, pp. 156–157.

64 Snodgrass 1971, p. 263. This type of cinerary urn is also encountered in the same period in the neighboring cemetery of the Eriai Gate (Kriezi Street) as well as in Koukaki.

65 This datum and specifically the observation that toward the middle of the eighth century BC, characteristic grave goods denoting the status and/or gender of the deceased (weapons and tools for males; domestic objects for females) were no longer placed inside graves had earlier led research to the conclusion that during the Late Geometric period, the Kerameikos was in decline, despite the presence of numerous monumental vase-tomb markers at the site; Snodgrass 1971, p. 150.

66 *Kerameikos* V, Graves 45–66, 99, 100.

67 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 46; Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 98; Morris 1987, p. 82; Houby-Nielsen 2000, pp. 156–157. For the practice of raising a tumulus and constructing an enclosure after the last burial of the group, see Antonaccio 1995, p. 251.

68 The earliest pictorial funerary vases come from Grave 25 and certain other graves of the Sacred Way (*hS*). Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 114.

69 Knigge 1991, pp. 104–106, Tumulus 15. For the theory linking the tumulus with the Alkmeonid clan, the brick funerary building 17, and the marble trapeza inscribed with the name of Hipparete, daughter of Alcibiades, from the demos of Skambonis, who was possibly the granddaughter of the general Alcibiades, see Knigge 1991, pp. 107–109.

70 Pyxides with horse figurines on their lid, kraters, and so on. *Kerameikos* XIII.

71 Possibly linked with the destruction of this old necropolis, a morally reprehensible act that demanded atonement, is the sanctuary of the Tritopatreoi, which was founded in these years, probably contemporary with the tumulus, with the aim of appeasing the souls of the disturbed dead. See Knigge 1991, p. 106; Morris 1987, p. 79; and Antonaccio 1995, pp. 264–265, where correlation with an ancestor cult is proposed. Robertson 2010, pp. 159, 168–172; Stroszeck 2010.

72 Bohen 1997, p. 53.

73 Styrenius 1967, p. 87; Knigge 1991, pp. 104–106; Bohen 1997, p. 45.

74 Morris 1987, p. 81.

75 For their content and dating, see *Agora* XXXV, pp. 35–502.

76 Digital Map II PG. For the material from the PG graves of the area of the Agora, see Lemos 2002, pp. 9–10, 14–15, 18–19, 153–154. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-PG.

77 *Agora* VIII, pl. 45.

78 In comparison with the Submycenaean period, a slight decrease in mortuary activity to the south and its cessation on the north bank of the Eridanos, at least as far as the height of present-day Ermou Street, may be supposed, as farther north it begins again near an important road in the plots at Pittaki 11–13 and Karaiskaki 16–18. However, this may be a chance phenomenon, judging by the existence of an EG/MG burial ground in the plot at Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos plot).

79 The position of the Protogeometric child grave in the space of the collapsed roof of a Late Helladic grave is fortuitous and does not indicate a disposition for linking with the heroic past, a trend detected two centuries later in the Late Geometric period.

80 For the mortuary use of the Agoraios Kolonos hill from the end of LH III and throughout the Geometric period, as well as at the end of the eighteenth century AD, see Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002.

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81 Digital Map II MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-MG.

82 In Smithson's view, this street was possibly a branch of the basic artery linking the Areopagus with the Dipylon. Smithson 1974, p. 375.

83 Thompson 1956, pp. 48–49.

84 The excavator considered as fortuitous the position of MG II Grave N 21:6 in the upper levels of the fill of the dromos of Mycenaean Tomb N 21–22:1. Shear 1940, p. 292, plan 15.

85 Two busy streets intersect at this point: the later Street of the Marble-Workers and one that passed south of the Agoraios Kolonos and either continued almost parallel to the South Stoa and joined the Panathenaic Way or branched and continued up the north slope of the Areopagus. Costaki 2006, pp. 307–312, 326–327.

86 The find is known from three other sites — two in Athens (Agiou Dimitrou 20 in Psyrri and Mitsaion and Zitrou in Makrygianni; see III. 3, X. 36) and one at Eleusis (Grave α); see Skias 1898, p. 104. For the use of clay models of footwear and their association with burials mainly of adolescent girls, see Kourou 2011, pp. 192–193 with relevant bibliography.

87 Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, particularly p. 19.

88 It finds parallels in three contemporary and equally wealthy graves in the Kerameikos (Graves G 41, G 42, G 43) with "exotic" grave goods. According to the excavators, these were tombs of rich Athenians — landowners possibly engaged also in export trade. *Kerameikos* I, pp. 235–239. Following this same line of thought, the seal impressions found in the grave indicate that the dead female was involved with economic affairs, which, however, would have been limited to her household. It is possible that by this period, landownership had modified the earlier meaning of aristocratic origin by birthright. See Smithson 1968, pp. 82–83.

89 Smithson 1968, pp. 82–83. According to another viewpoint, the opulence and quantity of the grave goods accompanying the female were perhaps due to her untimely death during pregnancy or in premature childbirth. Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, p. 33.

90 Shear 1933, p. 470. The same street forks to the west of the triangular sanctuary. One branch leads to the site of the Mycenaean cemetery on the north slope of the Areopagus, and the other skirts the northwest foot of the hill, continues southward, and passes from the col between the hill of the Pnyx and the Areopagus — that is, through the site of Dörpfeld's excavations. See Smithson 1968, p. 78. For the proposed correlation between the triangular sanctuary of Classical times, the Geometric "house," and the cemetery on the north slope of the Areopagus, see Antonaccio 1995, p. 264.

91 See 2.1.2. below.

92 They were found in three phases; Dörpfeld brought to light the first seven burials in 1897, and the ASCSA the other three in 1932 and 1947.

93 Smithson 1974, pp. 331–332.

94 Smithson 1974, p. 341.

95 Digital Map II LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-LG.

96 Brann 1960, p. 403.; *Agora* VIII, p. 129.

97 Thompson 1953, p. 39; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 112, note 44, with bibliography.

98 Young 1939, pp. 21–44; *Agora* VIII, pp. 127–128. Young's initial dating of the graves was reevaluated by Brann in *Agora* VIII, where she dates them 25 years earlier.

99 Young 1939, p. 99.

100 Thompson 1950, pp. 330–331; *Agora* VIII, p. 125.

101 Young 1949, p. 277; *Agora* VIII, p. 125.

102 From the outset, Young had proposed that the site of the Archaic cemetery was already used for burials from the eighth century BC (continuously until the sixth century BC) and had linked it with the street that passed beside it, through the valley of the Industrial District, and joined the southwest corner of the Agora with the area of Dörpfeld's excavations. Young 1949, p. 277; Young 1951, p. 78.

103 Digital Map III PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/III-PG.

104 A whole vase found without any nearby architectural remains is usually interpreted as coming from a grave that has not been found due to the archaeological conjuncture or to its earlier destruction. The phenomenon of empty graves or grave goods outside a funerary architectural context is common at sites in continuous use, such as Athens. Charitonidis 1975, p. 3; Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, p. 23; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 21, 273.

105 Bournias 2005, p. 121.

106 For the location of part of the city ring road intra muros, at the junction of the eastward neighboring streets Sachtouri and Evripidou, see Costaki 2006, p. 133. For the possibility of the existence of a gate or postern gate of the Classical fortified enceinte to the southeast of Eleftheria Square, in the plot bounded by Dipylou, Kranaou, Sarri, and Sachtouri Streets, see Theocharaki 2007, pp. 473–474. On the reasons for the existence of such a zone inside the fortification wall, see Tomlinson 2005, p. 66.

107 Digital Map III. I MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/III.I-MG.

108 One such vase, today in a private collection, was found in the decade 1930–1940, at an unknown site in Peiraios Street, in the course of digging for the foundations of a building. Dated circa 900 BC, it finds a typological parallel in this vase from the "Warrior Grave" found on the north slope of the Areopagus (Grave XXVII). Blegen 1952, pp. 280, 293–294, figs. 76–78.

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109 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 75.
110 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 78.
111 According to the excavators, not all the enchytrismoi found in this plot were recorded. Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 78.
112 See note 87 above.
113 The excavators of the plots identify the pottery found there as Geometric but do not date it more precisely.
114 Digital Map III LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/III-LG.
115 Mentioned indicatively is a monumental krater decorated in the Dipylon style, with representation of the prothesis of a dead warrior and a procession of chariots and warriors. Philippaki 1968, pls. 22–23.
116 Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63.
117 Digital Maps VIII PG, IV PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VIII-PG, www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IV-PG.
118 Digital Map IV MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IV-MG.
119 Digital Map IV LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IV-LG.
120 Digital Map V PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/V-PG.
121 Digital Map V MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/V-MG.
122 For use of the space during the Dark Age, initially for burials, then for cultivation, and later, between the fourth and third centuries BC as a sacred garden of the Muses, see Charitonidis 1958, p. 145.
123 Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 55–56.
124 The MG grave found under the Metropolis (Greek Orthodox cathedral) of Athens falls in the same category. See VI. 3.
125 Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 32, note 4.
126 Digital Map V LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/V-LG.
127 Amandry 1948, p. 387.
128 Chatzioti 1988, p. 10.
129 Digital Map VI PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VI-PG.
130 Desborough 1952, pp. 5–6. For the association of specific types of funerary amphorae with male and female burials, see Desborough 1972, pp. 167–170.
131 Biris 1999 [1966], pp. 75–76.
132 Digital Map VI MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VI-MG.
133 Digital Map VI LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VI-LG.
134 Threpsiadis 1962, p. 22.
135 Digital Map VII PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VII-PG.
136 For these graves, see chapter 2, "National Garden – Syntagma Square."
137 See chapter 2, 1.2.6.
138 This type of grave brings to mind the grave with the two amphorae of different dates in the plot at Agiou Markou 6–8–10–12 and the two amphorae found on the Metropolis plot (V. I and VI. 3).
139 Digital Map VII MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VII-MG.
140 Digital Map VII LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VII-LG.
141 Digital Map IX PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IX-PG.
142 In the gazetteer entry IX. 5, fig. 53, the temple is referred to as a "Classical temple."
143 Digital Map IX MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IX-MG.
144 Walter 1940, p. 168; Walter 1942, p. 106.
145 Digital Map IX LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IX-LG.
146 According to Snodgrass (1971, p. 146), it was the cremation was of a child, which shows the persistence of customs of the previous phase. However, the indications available are insufficient to support such an identification.
147 Higgins 1961, pp. 97–98.
148 The pyxis with horses appears circa 900 BC and disappears completely at the end of the eighth century BC. See Bohen 1997, pp. 47, 54–55.
149 The excavation report states that the inhumation is later than the cremation, but photographs of the published vases show that this is probably a printing error. III Archaeological District 1965, pp. 37–38, drawing 2, pls. 37δ–42.
150 Digital Map X PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/X-PG.
151 Particularly important is the discovery of the prehistoric cemetery as indicative of the earliest use of the area for burials, which was ascertained down only to Submycenaean times from the rest of the plots. Tsouklidou-Penna 1990, pp. 13–14.
152 Lemos 2002, pp. 9–10, 14–15, 18–19, 154.
153 Miliadis 1957a, p. 44.
154 Noted here is the early recording in the literature of an example of child cremation (Brouskari 1980) many years before the presentation of analogous burials from the Agora, which confirms that this mortuary custom was not reserved only for adults (Liston 2017, pp. 515–519). See Lemos 2002, p. 154, with reference to an analogous example from Lefkandi.
155 Very important too is the finding of remains of rubble masonry behind the later tomb enclosure, which possibly belonged to another enclosure of Geometric times. For the use of such enclosures and their association with the cult of heroic ancestors, see Antonaccio 1995, p. 251. The later fencing denotes respect for the ancient mortuary space. Nonetheless, the fact that the enclosure stands upon the Submycenaean grave proves that the exact site of the cemetery was not known. The enclosure is dated generally to the fourth century BC. See Miliadis (1955, p. 44), who dates it to the third quarter of the fourth century BC; Brouskari (1980, p. 29), who dates it to the beginning of the century; and Parlama (1995, p. 34), who dates it "to the period of the large fortification works of an outwork and moat."

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156 Brouskari 1980, p. 30; Lemos 2002, p. 154.

157 However, Geometric sherds were found farther north too, in the next section of the trench, at the height of property no. 42.

158 The Makrygiannis plot has been excavated many times, at various points, each time occasioned by various public works. As the results of these investigations have not been published overall, the data available to us are deficient and vague. The PG burials mentioned are taken from selective publication of finds from excavations that preceded construction of the Akropolis Station of the Athens Metro and the building of the new Acropolis Museum.

159 According to Kalligas (1995a, p. 5), the cist graves are very few and there are no cremations. Even so, two of the burials he describes in Parlama and Stampolidis (2000, pp. 44–50) are cremations (Burial 84/Pyre 8 and Burial 85/Pyre 9), and one is an inhumation (Grave 57). Furthermore, one other cremation burial (Area 4) is described by Eleftheratou and Saraga (2009, p. 52).

160 Kalligas 2000, pp. 46–47. For the practice of covering one or more cist graves with a tumulus, see Antonaccio 1995, p. 251.

161 Alexandri 1970, p. 57.

162 Digital Map X MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/X-MG.

163 Coldstream 1968, p. 46, no. 4e; Smithson 1974, p. 372.

164 Orphanou 1998, p. 37.

165 See note 87 above.

166 No grave from the period under examination has been published to date, and some comprehensive assessments of the use of the space are confused, as they were made while research was still in progress. See Kalligas 1995, p. 5, where he mentions activity "during the so-called Submycenaean-Protogeometric period, which spans the eleventh, the tenth and perhaps the ninth century BC. The use is not ascertained by levels containing pottery of the period but by the existence of graves." He adds that "in the ninth century BC an interruption in the use of the space is observed." A few years later, after completion of Athens Metro excavations at the site, he writes: "The excavation showed that from prehistoric times and into the Geometric period the space had been used at times as a burial ground." Kalligas 2000, p. 32.

167 Digital Map X LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/X-LG.

168 Some of these are almost the same height (0.70 cm) as the Dipylon vases.

169 Mougnai 2000, s.v. 31–37, pp. 62–65.

170 The space under the modern road surface was not investigated due to the pressing timetable of construction of the new street. Miliadis 1957a, p. 37.

171 Digital Map XI PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XI-PG.

172 Liangouras 1979, pl. 49 δ.

173 Digital Map XI MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XI-MG.

174 The finding of one of these in situ on the arm of the deceased indicates that funerary bands had more than one use. See IX. 3., Grave 2.

175 Digital Map XI LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XI-LG.

176 Digital Map XII PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XII-PG.

177 It was not possible to determine the position of this particular plot on the modern map of Athens, as Alopekis Street has been renamed Zinni. We were able to identify the position with the help of Ourania Vizyinou, to whom I am most grateful.

178 In the case of Grave IX, the custom of cremation was not practiced, perhaps because the burial dates from the end of the period.

179 Digital Map XII MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XII-MG.

180 We have reservations about the age of the deceased, as there is no mention of any anthropological examination of the osteological material. For the procedure of cremation, see Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, pp. 15–17. For the most recent research findings, which prove that children too were cremated from as early as the LH IIIC/Submycenaean period in the Agora, see Liston 2017, pp. 518–519.

181 Digital Map XII LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XII-LG.

182 Digital Map XIII PG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XIII-PG.

183 Digital Map XII MG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XII-MG.

184 Coldstream (2003 [1977], p. 7) had considered it a child grave, presumably because of the presence of a thelastron. However, the rest of the grave goods suggest that it was probably of a female. Moreover, thelastra are associated with young mothers or women who died in childbirth. Lemos 2002, p. 189. The level of maternal mortality in antiquity is estimated at 14 percent. Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, p. 20, with relevant bibliography.

185 Digital Map XIII LG. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XIII-LG.

186 The excavator does not clarify to which subperiod of the Geometric period the grave dates. In the present study it is considered Late Geometric because the habit of infant enchytrismos was common in those years.

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187 Preserved in the pit were residues of bones and a pyxis with horse figurines on its lid, which is not published. The excavator dates the grave generally to the Geometric period. However, as this type of pyxis first appears circa 900 BC and disappears completely at the end of the eighth century BC (Bohen 1997, pp. 47, 54–55), we do not know whether the particular example dates from the Middle or the Late Geometric period. In the present study, due to the ascertainment of intensive mortuary activity in the neighboring plots during the Late Geometric period, this plot is coexamined with these, with all reservations.

188 Chapter 2, 2.1. and 2.1.3.

189 Desborough 1952, p. 1; Desborough 1972, pp. 261–265, 362.

190 Burr 1933, pp. 542–640; Snodgrass 1971, p. 363; Desborough 1972, pp. 261–265, 362; *Agora* XIV, pp. 9–18; Camp 1977, p. 36; Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 394; Snodgrass, 1980, pp. 29–34, 154–157; Camp 1986, pp. 24, 33; Morris 1987, pp. 63–69; Knigge 1991, p. 20; Welwei 1992, p. 64; *Agora* XXVII, pp. 11–12; Coldstream 1995, p. 393; Bohen 1997, p. 44; D' Onofrio 1997, p. 67; Kistler 1998, pp. 168–169; D' Onofrio 2011, p. 657. However, see also Whitley (1986, pp. 109–111, and 1991, pp. 62–64), who places the settlement between the Acropolis and the Kerameikos but relies more on the concentration of graves than on the wells of the Agora. See also Lemos (2002, pp. 135, 151, 198), who distances herself from the established view.

191 For the issue of child burials between houses of the settlement, in the courtyards and under their floors (Morris's theory), see 2.3.3, below.

192 Papadopoulos 2003.

193 The early cemeteries of the Agora are published in the *Agora* series (volume XXXVI) by Papadopoulos and Smithson. The study by Papadopoulos and Lis on the Early Iron Age wells and deposits of the Agora is in press in the *Agora* series.

194 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 21, 297.

195 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 297–298.

196 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 37.

197 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 40.

198 Lemos 2002, p. 188; Lemos 2006, p. 514; Palaiokrassa 2006, p. 616; D' Onofrio 2007–2008, pp. 451–452; D' Onofrio 2011, pp. 657–658, with bibliography.

199 Scholl 2006, pp. 46–75.

200 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 57–65; Shapiro 1989, p. 19. On this temple and the bronze gorgoneion attributed to it as an akroterion ornament, see Touloupa 1969; Whitley 1986, pp. 106–107; Whitley 1991, pp. 60–61; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p. 244; Korres 2000, p. 5; Vassopoulou 2004, p. 2; Scholl 2006, pp. 18–23; and Scholl 2009, pp. 74–79, where the existence of a temple of Athena Polias from the late eighth century BC is argued and the uninterrupted existence of a cult on the site from Mycenaean times is underlined. However, it is thought that if a temple existed, it must have stood in the north part of the flat summit, on the site of the Mycenaean palace, where other early temples are located. Glowacki 1998, pp. 80, 82, with relevant bibliography.

201 Bohen 1997, p. 44; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 298.

202 It is estimated that about 10 percent of their total was published by Graef and Langlotz in the early twentieth century and by Gauss and Ruppenstein at the end of the century, without counting fragments of vases that are mended with others found on the North and the East Slopes, above the sanctuary of Aglauros. See Papadopoulos 2003, p. 298, with relevant bibliography. On the locating of the sanctuary of Aglauros on the East Slope, through an inscription found in situ, see Dontas 1983.

203 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pl. 1, nos. 5–6.

204 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 28, 40.

205 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pl. 3, nos. 3–4.

206 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 29–30, 40, with relevant bibliography on the Attic kalathoi, and pl. 3, no. 5, and pl. 4, no. 1. For the exclusively funerary use of the kalathos, the pyxis, and the lekythos, see Lemos 2002, p. 149.

207 They have been found in two cemeteries outside Athens: at Merenda (Grave 1967/15) and at Anavyssos (Graves 65/XLV and 73/I). See Morris 1987, p. 152.

208 Langdon 1997, pp. 116–118; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 312.

209 Hurwit 1999, p. 90.

210 Glowacki 1998, p. 80.

211 It is interesting that Hurwit takes into account the existence of the earlier Submycenaean cemetery on the flat summit and introduces into the debate one further possibility — that the sherds come from vases that were grave markers and consequently the Acropolis continued, in part at least, in the mid-eighth century BC, to be what it was in the Submycenaean period, a settlement with a cemetery and not yet a temenos. However, his question is shown further on to be purely rhetorical, as he considers that by circa 750 BC, the Acropolis had been turned completely into a sanctuary, so burials could not have been made on the flat summit. Hurwit 1999, pp. 89–90.

212 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 35–37.

213 AKV 241, 242, 246, 257. See Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 36.

214 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pl. 4, nos. 5–6, pl. 5.

215 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 34–35, 38, 40, pl. 7, nos. 1–2; Étienne 2004, p. 40.

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216 Hurwit 1999, pp. 89–90; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 38–40; Scholl 2006, pp. 27–28; Scholl 2009, pp. 76, 79.
217 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 40 and note 146.
218 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 312–313.
219 Hurwit 1999, pp. 94, 99; Holtzmann 2003, pp. 37, 41.
220 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 312–313.
221 Bohen 2017, pp. 14, 51, and especially pp. 89–90.
222 Hurwit 1999, p. 89.
223 Hurwit 1999, p. 89. For the historical interpretation of the Geometric finds from the Acropolis, see Scholl 2006, pp. 76–89.
224 Rutter 1974a, pp. 303–305; Rutter 1974b, p. 437; Gauss 2003, p. 102.
225 Broneer 1939, pp. 417, 422–423.
226 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 26.
227 Broneer 1939, p. 416.
228 Smithson 1982, p. 154, note 44. See note 47 above.
229 Étienne 2004, p. 40.
230 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 297, 304, drawing 5.16, p. 307.
231 See chapter 2, "Seeking the Settlement," "Submycenaean Settlement Sites in Use from Mycenaean Times," and "Relation between the New Submycenaean Cemeteries and the New Settlement Sites."
232 See 190 above.
233 For the remains of the apsidal building with the benches in its interior, which was identified as a house, and the child's grave found under its floor, see Burr 1933, pp. 545–547.
234 *Agora* VIII, p. 190.
235 The new interpretation was based on the child burial H 17:2, found in its interior, on the votive deposit, and on the eight other EG graves found very near the site. Thompson 1968, pp. 59–60; *Agora* XIV, p. 17, note 50; Thompson 1978, pp. 98–99; Whitley 1986, p. 108.
236 Bohen 1997, p. 44; Mazarakis-Ainian 1997, pp. 86–87, 314–315, where its use as a house is not ruled out. Antonaccio 1995, pp. 122–126, with similar views. Mazarakis Ainian 2007–2008, pp. 366, 377, 388, where the initial use of the building as a house and its subsequent conversion into a locus of hero cult is proposed. Lemos 2002, p. 135, and Lemos 2006, p. 514, note 42, where she sides with the views of Mazarakis-Ainian and Antonaccio. Étienne 2004, p. 22. Contra Papadopoulos 2003, p. 21, note 95; *Agora* XXXVI, p. 10, note 31.
237 *Agora* XIV, p. 17.
238 The fact that there are not settlement remains from the Geometric period and that "the remains consist[ing] of short lengths of light, stone wall socles and clay flooring" are from workshop installations of the seventh century BC becomes clear only in the footnotes of the text; *Agora* XIV, p. 17, note 50.
239 Indications of workshops in the space are, after the graves, other important evidence relating to use of the Agora that has been ignored, even though these were found in the early years of the excavations (Thompson 1950, p. 37) and were straightaway commented on by Brann, *Agora* VIII, pp. 110–111.
240 *Agora* XIV, p. 186.
241 *Agora* XIV, p. 17.
242 Thompson 1984, p. 8; Greco and Osanna 1999, pp. 172–173; Hasaki 2002, pp. 286, 288; pp. 292–294 for the positions of the workshops.
243 Tsakirgis 2009, p. 48.
244 Papadopoulos 2003.
245 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 22. The Eridanos and access to water from the numerous wells at the site must have played a major role in the settlement of potters in the Agora. Thompson 1984, p. 8.
246 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 274–279. See also Tsakirgis 2009, p. 48. According to Papadopoulos (2003, pp. 21–22, 272–280), this is also why the space was later turned into the Agora: it was one of the few places in Athens that had not been densely built up or taken over generally by the living. The earlier graves were not a problem for its creation, while the potters could be relocated to the northwest, which is in fact what happened. However, the name of the space was not forgotten, and this probably explains the confusion between "Agora" and "Kerameikos" in the sources.
247 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 297–316.
248 *Agora* VIII, pl. 45 (1962); *Agora* XIII, pl. 25 (1970); *Agora* XXIII, topographical plan of the Agora (1986); *Agora* XXX, topographical plan of the Agora (1997).
249 The data used for this approach do not represent the whole corpus of Early Iron Age material from the Agora. All the evidence available from the excavation reports and the preliminary publications has been utilized, prior to the publication of the volume *Agora* XXXVI.
250 Digital Topographical Plan 6.
251 Digital Map II PG; Appendix of Tables: II. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-PG.
252 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 275, where he adds that they tend to be concentrated in spaces where there were earlier Mycenaean graves.
253 See Wells M 17:5 and H 16-17:1 in the north slope of the Areopagus and Well K1:5 on the north bank of the Eridanos.
254 The two Protogeometric wells found there were contemporary with the graves (see below).
255 The detection of workshop activity through wells also inside the space of the Agora was already pointed out in 1974 by Smithson (1974, p. 330). See note 11 regarding Well R 17:5 in the southeast corner of the Agora, which she links through

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the discards found in its shaft with a pottery workshop of the second half of the seventh century BC, and the bibliography.

256 The grave was partly dug in its fill. Smithson 1974, p. 330 and note 12.

257 For the dating of the graves, see Shear 1933, p. 468. For the dating and content of the well, see Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 92–97.

258 Little and Papadopoulos 1998, pp. 373–404.

259 Digital Map II MG; Appendix of Tables: II. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-MG.

260 Sole exception is an almost intact oenochoe fired to the point of partial vitrification, which could either be a kiln-damaged product that was intentionally discarded or a water-drawing pot that accidentally fell into the well. Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 97–99.

261 He argues that the reason this point was settled in the end in the LG period, as apparent from the wells sunk there, was that the area to the west was densely inhabited, again as borne out by the wells, and therefore the only available space was the east. *Agora* XXVII, pp. 11–12.

262 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 97.

263 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 101–108.

264 By extension, the area around the cemetery attributed to the Medontid clan was proposed as space of habitation of its members, despite the fact that there are no wells from the EG and MG periods on the Areopagus that would denote settlement. See Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 297, and Coldstream 1995, p. 393, with references to all the relevant bibliography.

265 Bohen 2017, pp. 59, 67–68.

266 *Agora* XIV, p.10.

267 Liston and Papadopoulos 1998; Papadopoulos 2000, p. 104. For one more similar case on irregular burial within the wider area of the Agora, see Rotroff et al. 1999, regarding Hellenistic Well G 5:3 on the hill of Agoraios Kolonos, where the skeletons of babies and dogs were found. On the same find, see Papadopoulos 2000, pp. 110–111.

268 An exception are two individual graves found inside the Agora — one in the upper fill of a well to the east of the Odeion, which was abolished at the end of the LG period, and one enchytrismos to the southeast of the west end of the Middle Stoa, in an area where repeated and sometimes unsuccessful attempts to sink LG wells are observed. See II. 7, II. 9.

269 *Agora* XXXI, p. 16.

270 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 143.

271 For Camp's theory about the drought in the late eighth century BC, see chapter 4, "Ancient Agora: The Transformation of Private into Public Space."

272 The Late Archaic, possibly family cemetery of the Areopagus, excavated on exactly the same spot, was founded many years afterward and destroyed the preexisting Late Geometric graves.

273 This view was proposed very early on by Young (1949, pp. 275–279) but was not warmly received. See Morris 1987, p. 65. On the same issue, see Papadopoulos 2003, p. 273.

274 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 275–276, where the site of the workshops and the cemeteries is correlated. Hasaki (2003, pp. 286, 294) disagrees.

275 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 276.

276 The criteria for choosing the space of the later Agora as suitable for installing pottery workshops seem to be the same as those for the Makrygiannis plot, where too argillaceous sediments have been found; Eleftheratou and Saraga 2009, p. 49. Furthermore, the site is near roads linking the city with the harbor at Phaleron, from where ships engaged in the maritime trade of Athenian Geometric vases departed. At Corinth too, Athens's main rival in producing and trading vases, the Potters' Quarter was founded on the outskirts of the inhabited area, but later than at Athens, in the Late Geometric period. *Corinth* XV. 1, pp. 3–15.

277 For the stochastic archaeological picture that results from systematic and "rescue" excavations, see Whitley 1991, pp. 62–63.

278 Appendix of Tables: III, V.

279 See II. 10 and notes 18 and 19 above.

280 For analogous cases of cuttings found at Pella, Nemea, and Megara and interpreted as traces of ancient methods of viticulture, see Lilibaki-Akamati 1988; Pikoulas 2000–2003, and Vordos 2002. For similar configurations at Kontopigado near Alimos in Attica, where they have been interpreted as remains of a flax-washing industrial facility and are dated to LH IIIB/C early, see Kaza-Papageorgiou 2011, pp. 199–208, fig. 2. The similarities to the find at Karageorgi Servias 4 (V. 3) lie only in the finding of four long ditches parallel to one another. In other respects, and without focusing on the time gap between the two ensembles, the Alimos ditches are much bigger (in length and width) than the Karageorgi Servias ones and are of different form. Furthermore, in the Karageorgi Servias case, there are no contemporary rectangular cuttings between the ditches, but there are later pits all over the area of the plot, which destroyed the ditches in places.

281 Appendix of Tables: II.

282 Appendix of Tables: X, XII.

283 These interventions concern the part of the city in the plain, since on the flat summit of the Acropolis leveling works by constructing terraces had started already in the Mycenaean period, to prepare the ground for the construction of the palace. See chapter 2, note 96.

284 See Archaic and Early Classical retaining walls of the South Slope south of the Herodeion (VIII. 4); the Archaic retaining wall at Syngrou Avenue no. 40–42 (X. 29) that intersects

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the Geometric retaining wall at the south end of it at a right angle; and Archaic, Early Classical, and Hellenistic walls in the plot at Kavalloti 18 (X. 22).

285 The construction of retaining walls to create terraces for cultivation on sloping ground in settlements had been proposed by Boardman also for Emporio on Chios. Boardman 1967, p. 252.

286 These funerary remains are most likely related to the Geometric cemetery south of the Herodeion, from which they are only 60 m away.

287 Zachariadou 1989, p. 9. Kalligas 1995a, pp. 5–6.

288 Mougnai 2000, s.v. 31, p. 62.

289 Mougnai 2000, s.v. 31–37, pp. 62–65.

290 Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 613–614.

291 Kalligas 1999, p. 14; Kalligas 2000, p. 32.

292 Eleftheratou 2006, p. 28.

293 Lemos 2002, p. 156.

294 *Agora* XIV, p. 10.

295 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 21–22. For the types of mortuary sites according to Morris, see "The Geometric Mortuary Sites of Athens," below.

296 According to Morris (1987, pp. 9, 101–104), not all the inhabitants of Attica had the right of burial in the same cemeteries as the aristocrats. The small cemeteries, which consisted of small clusters of graves from the PG into the MG periods and from the Early Archaic period to the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC, represent the highest social classes of the population. On the contrary, the increase of burials in cemeteries, as well as burial grounds, in Athens and Attica during the Submycenaean period, the LG period, and the period 525–500 BC is due to the temporary lifting of burial restrictions when populous social classes were incorporated in the city. This historical process, which is expressed through the ongoing battle between these two class groups, led to creation of the polis. Morris 1987, p. 94. For objections to this theory, see Snodgrass 1977, p. 12; Snodgrass 1980, p. 21; Papadopoulos 1993, pp. 183–184 (with relevant bibliography); Étienne 2004, pp. 21–22.

297 Snodgrass 1971, p. 144.

298 *Agora* XIV, p. 12, note 30; Morgan 2009, pp. 44–45.

299 Lemos 2002, pp. 186–187, 191–193 with relevant bibliography.

300 Morris 1987, pp. 44–53, 93–96; Knigge 1991, p. 19; Valavanis 2017, p. 46; Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], pp. 33, 41–42.

301 Desborough 1972, p. 139.

302 Snodgrass 1971, pp. 144–148, where he challenges Desborough, arguing that if the reason were religious, it should have radically affected other sectors too, such as the cult of the dead or funerary offerings, as well as the mode of burial of children. For the last reason he dismisses the possibility that the cause was in the tendency of specific communities (e.g., that linked with Kerameikos) to manifest tribal or social difference.

303 Snodgrass 1971, p. 147. For the chronological relation between the Kerameikos and Perati cemeteries, and the rejection of Snodgrass's theory, see *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 240 ff.

304 *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 252–253.

305 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 244, pl. 40b. In fact, two of them seem to have belonged to males and were particularly richly furnished.

306 See chapter 2, "Kerameikos."

307 Ruppenstein 2003. The issue is broached in the latest study on the Kerameikos and its Submycenaean necropolis. See *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 240–243.

308 *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 294–298 (Grave 38), 485–490 (Graves 79–80), 617–619, pl. 5.8.

309 Lemos 2006, pp. 512, 517, 526.

310 Tiverios 1996, pp. 239–240 with relevant bibliography; Kaltsas et al. 2010, pp. 69–70.

311 Plantzos 2011, p. 56.

312 Morris 1987, p. 151.

313 Morris 1987, p. 81.

314 These are large and expensive vases (kraters and amphorae) that were difficult to make and fire. They were commissioned by aristocrats and were placed, one each, on the tombs of leading Athenian families. The use of kraters as tomb markers begins after 900 BC and declines circa 740 BC. Bohen 1997, pp. 49, 51, 54.

315 Threpsiadis 1963, p. 22.

316 Philippaki 1968, p. 61.

317 The site at Eleftheria Square 25, to date the easternmost known limit of the cemetery, is just 30 m from the Sapountzakis plot, which is the westernmost.

318 In the end, in Athens, Dipylon-style vases have been found not only in the cemeteries of the Eriai Gate and the Kerameikos but also in the Kynosarges cemetery, at the junction of Vourvachi Street and Vouliagmenis Avenue (XI. 8), as well as on the flat summit of the Acropolis (VIII. 1). This fact disassociates them from a specific population group that buried its dead near the Dipylon and correlates them with whoever could afford to acquire them.

319 See III. 24, III. 17, III. 19.

320 Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96; Alexandri 1968b, p. 20.

321 See Schilardi 1969, pp. 38–39 for the initial erroneous placement of it at the junction of Dipylou and Kalogirou Samouil Streets — that is, northeast of the site at which it was found. See Alexandri 1970, p. 41, drawings 12 and 15, for the north side of the fortification wall, and see Matthaiou 1983 for its erroneous naming, in his opinion.

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322 See III. 13, III. 18, III. 28. Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], pp. 40, 89.

323 According to Coldstream (2003 [1977], p. 98), this was the cemetery "where cremation was never superseded."

324 This type of grave good is not linked exclusively with the Dipylon cemetery. Gold diadems have been found in other cemeteries of the city: in the neighboring Kerameikos (Tombs 13, 42, 43), in Theseion (XIII. 1, XIII. 10, XIII. 11), in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery (X. 15, X. 18), and in the Kavalloti Street cemetery (X. 24), as well as in many graves in the Kynosarges cemetery (IX. 2, IX. 3, XI. 2).

325 Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 98. Due to the repetition of a Homeric mythical incident — the duel between the Siamese twins from Eleia, the Moliones or Aktoriones, and the young king of Pylos, Nestor, — in the iconography of three kraters, the linking of the cemetery with the Neleids, believed to descend from the royal house of Pylos, was proposed (Herodotus 5. 65); Coldstream 2003 [1977], pp. 335–336. By extension, the specific clan was considered to have dwelled in the north–northwest part of the city, near the Dipylon cemetery, in which it buried its members; Coldstream 1995, p. 393. This view is shared by Bohen, who considers that from the early eighth century BC, the cemetery of the Eriai Gate replaced the previous burial ground of the Neleids, Precinct XX. In her view, the large funerary vases in the cemetery belonged to tombs of members of the Philaid lineage. Indeed, she attributes Grave III and Krater NAM 806 to the Neleid king Agamestor, who reigned from 797 to 778 BC, according to her own chronological system for the kings of Athens. Bohen 2017, pp. 15, 19, 59, 71–75.

326 Depending on the taphonomic conditions, more data can be extracted from burnt bones of cremations than from bones of inhumations. Cf. Liston 2017, pp. 509–510.

327 The view that the Kerameikos comprised family burial plots from its beginnings, in the LH IIIC period, had been proposed by Mountjoy, but without documentation, as only a small part of the anthropological material had been examined. Mountjoy 1988, pp. 25–26. Ruppenstein shares her view in *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 245–247.

328 The Geometric graves found on the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 110 (XII. 8) constitute a cluster located on its south side. In addition, insistence on the custom of cremation is observed, since cremations outnumber inhumations among the surviving Geometric burials in the plot. Indeed, in neighboring plots, where cremations also exist (Dimitrakopoulou 116 and Aglavrou: XII. 9, Meidani 12–14: XII. 14, Dimitrakopoulou 95: XII. 6), the use of a bronze cinerary urn is observed too, as in the Dipylon cemetery and the Kerameikos cemetery (Grave 71); Snodgrass 1971, p. 263.

329 The term *intramural burials* (from the Latin *intra muros*) means burials inside the fortification wall and refers to graves that have been found inside the walled area of a city — that is, inside a settlement (see Cicero, *Ad Fam*. IV 12.3). In the case of Athens, the term is used in the bibliography in relation to the city's pre-Classical period by researchers who argue for the existence of an Archaic fortification wall, even though no remnant of such a wall has yet been found. It is also used by those who maintain that child burials inside Geometric settlements were customary. In the present study, the term is used of necessity when referring to these views. However, we consider that the term is only strictly applicable to the Submycenaean burials on the summit of the Acropolis, as we recognize its prehistoric fortification wall as the only one detectable today, prior to the Themistoclean wall of Athens, raised in 479/478 BC. We do not espouse either the old identification of the Geometric apsidal building of the Agora as a house or the theory of the burial of children inside houses and/or residential areas.

330 Snodgrass 1971, pp. 145, 147; Desborough 1972, pp. 270–271; Morris 1987, p. 65. For child burials inside Bronze Age and Early Iron Age settlements, see also Sourvinou-Inwood 1995, pp. 433–439.

331 Charitonidis 1975, p. 42, note 22; Morris 1987, pp. 62–63; Whitley 1991, p. 84; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 21–22, with relevant bibliography; Papadopoulos 2000, p. 111; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 299–230 and note 159, with relevant bibliography; Lemos 2006, pp. 511–512.

332 Snodgrass 1971, p. 150.

333 Smithson 1974, p. 373; Houby-Nielsen 2000, p. 155.

334 Morris 1987, p. 62.

335 Houby-Nielsen 2000, p. 155. Lemos (2002, p. 189) argues that the exclusion from or acceptance of children in a mortuary site or a mortuary practice was the decision of each PG community. Coldstream (2003 [1977], p. 359) observes that the miniature Athenian vases found at Lefkandi and intended as grave goods for child burials cannot have been made solely for export. Mazarakis-Ainian (2007–2008, pp. 385–386), using examples from Oropos, maintains that in the excavation, the "informal" child burials may be mistaken for domestic bothroi.

336 See also Lemos 2002, pp. 153–155.

337 Mazarakis-Ainian 2007–2008, pp. 365, 389–392.

338 Thompson 1968, p. 60 and note 26. See 2.1.2 above.

339 See above note 14 above.

340 See chapter 2, "Summit of the Acropolis Hill."

341 Digital Plan 13 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan13. The numbers on the map correspond to gazetteer entry numbers of plots in Table 3.1 and are placed at archaeological sites where child graves have been found.

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342 In the first column is the name of the area and its Roman numeral, and in the second the site where graves have been found. The combination of the Roman numeral with the Arabic numeral preceding the name of the site is the entry number in the gazetteer, where all excavation data are recorded. Only mortuary sites at which there are graves of both adults and children of one or more periods are examined.

343 When the number of graves (of children or adults) is unknown, an X appears in the "number" column in the table. When there are indications that the number of graves was greater than that recorded, a plus sign is added to the number.

344 In most cases the graves are referred to as "child" without specifying the age of the child. In such cases, a minus sign is entered in the "age" column.

345 Very few anthropological studies have been made of child burials, as the skeletons are usually not preserved. Lemos 2002, p. 155, note 40. Among these few are some from the Agora (Young 1939; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004), from the Erechtheiou Street cemetery (Brouskari 1980), and recently from the Makrygiannis plot (see X. 35, SM burials). For the same site see Liston 2017, p. 516, note 47. For the rest of the burials, we have reservations about the age of the dead given in the reports, particularly those found in early excavations. For example, the graves on the west slope of the Areopagus were brought to light by Dörpfeld at the end of the nineteenth century. Their attribution to children was based on measurements of the pits and the type of vases deposited as grave goods. As no osteological material has survived from these graves, we resort to various logical ways of confirming the identification, such as the diameter of the bronze armlet from the Submycenaean/Protogeometric grave Heidelberg B (II. 15), which would have fit a child's arm, as well as this kind of grave good, which was common in child burials.

346 See II. 5 (Tholos cemetery), II. 12 (Dörpfeld and ASCS cemetery).

347 In two cases of early excavations, difficulties were faced with regard to the dating of graves (of children and adults): in the Sapountzakis plot (III. 23) and in the Olympieion (IX. 5). The data from these are unclear as they cover two periods (EG/MG and LG in the Sapountzakis plot; SM and PG in the Olympieion). To utilize the information, at least with regard to the coexistence of graves of both age groups, the graves are presented in the columns of two periods in the table, with the conjunction *or* between them.

348 Unfortunately, the publication by M. Liston (2017) of the results of her reexamination of anthropological material from the Agora came out while the present volume was being edited. Consequently, the new data are not included in table 3.1. However, they do not overturn the picture it gives. To the contrary, Liston's conclusions about the early cemeteries of the Agora are consistent with what emerges from the table. These can be summarized in four points: (1) cremation of individuals of all ages, therefore of children too; (2) proper burial for children from the Protogeometric into the Late Geometric period; (3) the inclusion of child burials inside cemeteries with adult burials; (4) child burials representing 44 percent of the total examined. In addition, it was shown that the use of nonbiological criteria (such as grave size and kind of grave goods) leads to erroneous demographic conclusions. Liston 2017, pp. 515–520; Morris 1987, pp. 59–62. For weapons and spindle-whorls as sole secure criteria for determining gender, in contrast to other types of grave goods encountered in graves of both men and women, see Strömberg 1993, pp. 39–40, 101–102.

349 Lemos 2002, pp. 188–189.

350 Lemos 2002, p. 155 and note 43, with relevant bibliography.

351 Lemos 2002, pp. 153–154.

352 To the above sites should be added the Protogeometric cemetery in Nea Ionia, where two graves of children have been found together with cremations of at least four adults. This cemetery is not included in the present study on Athens because it is located a considerable distance outside the topographical boundaries set for its investigation. Smithson 1961.

353 It is present in the Kerameikos, the Agora (in the northeast corner: II. 3, on the Agoraios Kolonos hill: II. 8, on the west slope of the Areopagus: II. 15), the Olympieion (IX. 5), and the Makrygianni Street cemetery (X. 35).

354 Krause 1975, fig. 6; Houby-Nielsen 2000, pp. 156–157.

355 As the excavators note, the number of enchytrismoi was greater, but not all were recorded and drawn. Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 78.

356 Found inside it, apart from a thelastron, was a host of grave goods: a pyxis, an intact oenochoe, two kalathoi (one intact), a chain of 183 intact faience beads, a disk-shaped clay pendant, nine clay beads with incised decoration, one bronze fibula, one iron fibula, and one bronze finger ring; Alexandri 1968, pp. 110–112, drawing 55, pl. 96β–δ. The thelastron, on which the initial identification as a child grave was based (Coldstream 1977, p. 42), accompanies not only burials of children but also those of women, perhaps young mothers or mothers who died in childbirth (Lemos 2002, p. 189). Pyxides and in particular kalathoi have been found in female graves in the Agora and the Kerameikos (Lemos 2002, pp. 157, 189). Furthermore, the heavy necklace of faience beads and the numerous

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other clay and metal jewelry items could not have been worn by a child. On the basis of this, we propose that Grave II at this particular place be reidentified as that of an adult female. The anthropological examination of the preserved skull of the deceased would clarify the issue once and for all.

357 The presence of Late Geometric child burials in the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35) is attested by one enchytrismos and one fragment of an incised burial pithos from the fill of a well shaft (M 23); Mougnai 2000, s.v. 36, p. 64. If this does not originate from the same plot, it may have been brought there from the neighboring plot at Makrygianni 19–21 or Makrygianni 23–27 and Porinou, which were part of the wider roadside cemetery of Makrygianni Street.

358 In subsequent years, the space was reconfigured over a large area, with removal of earth to level it. This means loss of a large part of the Late Geometric fill of the cemetery, in which there may have been other graves, of adults, which were destroyed. Moreover, the excavator stresses his suspicion of the existence of other graves, of the Early and Middle Geometric periods (during which there appears to be a gap), which have not been found but the presence of which is implied by pottery scattered in the site. Charitonidis 1975, pp. 42–44.

359 The Middle Geometric child cremations (Graves B', Γ', and I') in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery are so far unique.

360 Lemos 2002, pp. 153–154, 189.

361 "I am wary of proposals of 'children's cemeteries,' 'intramural burial under houses,' or bizarre rites that would dispose of children elsewhere. . . . I would expect some (such) simple explanation for the rarity of burials in the ninth century, rather than a temporary lapse or change for the burial of children." Smithson 1974, p. 373.

362 "This too is a confirmation of the piecemeal character and the chance unity of the excavated space (of the cemetery on the South Slope), something that should make us cautious about extracting more general, and indeed topographical, conclusions." Charitonidis 1975, p. 63.

363 Travlos 1971, p. 158.

364 Digital Plans 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, and 11 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan3

365 Morris 1987, pp. 72–74; Lemos 2002, pp. 156, 187, where one other criterion is added: continuous use of the space for three or four generations.

366 Appendix of Tables: I.

367 Appendix of Tables: X.

368 Antonaccio 1995, p. 251.

369 Appendix of Tables: XII.

370 Appendix of Tables: IX.

371 Lemos 2002, p. 190.

372 Appendix of Tables: III.

373 Morris 1987, pp. 78, 81.

374 See III. 13, III. 18, III. 19, III. 24, III. 25, III. 26, III. 28.

375 The north–south measurement was made from the plot at Peiraios 59 to the north building line of Psaromilingou Street, and the east–west measurement was from the plot at Peiraios 59 to the building line of Eleftheria Square.

376 Appendix of Tables: IV.

377 Appendix of Tables: VII.

378 Appendix of Tables: IV.

379 Alexandri 1969, p. 91; Costaki 2006, p. 114; Theocharaki 2007, p. 475.

380 Appendix of Tables: XI. Bohen associates the cemetery with the Medontids and erroneously speaks about a Submycenaean phase of its use, even though no graves of this period have been found there. Bohen 2017, pp. 51, 60. Likewise, the "destruction" of the cemetery in the second half of the eighth century BC, to which she refers and which she attributes to the Neleids, is not substantiated anywhere, neither archaeologically nor bibliographically. The excavator O. Alexandri (1969, p. 61) writes about burials, "the majority of them plundered" ("σεσυλημένες ως επί το πλείστον"), and refers to not only the Geometric but also the Classical ones in the plot at Theophilopoulou 16 (XI. 5). Bohen's information is not taken from the primary source, and it seems that she misinterprets the word *plundered* from the phrase in Alexandridou 2016, p. 347 ("Since all were found plundered, their date is insecure"), even though this is a correct translation of the excavator's Greek text.

381 Coldstream 2003.

382 The plot bounded by Vouliagmenis, Trivonianou, and Evpompou lies about 170 m from Theopholopoulou 11 and Diamantopoulou 10.

383 Appendix of Tables: XII.

384 Morris 1987, p. 82.

385 It is possible that the upper social class of the Protogeometric period chose to be buried in organized cemeteries (such as Kerameikos or Irodou Attikou Street), thus denoting its differentiation from groups of inferior social status, which buried their dead in smaller family burial grounds. Lemos 2002, p. 157.

386 Appendix of Tables: II.

387 Morris 1987, p. 81.

388 See Appendix of Tables: III.

389 See I. 1, III. 21, III. 22, III. 23. Bournias 2005, p. 121.

390 The Late Geometric pottery found in the plot at Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki could either come from a destroyed grave or from an offering on earlier LH III and Protogeometric tombs existing in the space, provided their

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position was known in some way (by chance discovery or because they had been marked).

391 Appendix of Tables: V.

392 Appendix of Tables: XIII. The plot at Erysichthonos 27–29 is 230 m from the plot at Poulopoulou 10, 130 m from Poulopoulou 29, and 200 m from Eptachalkou and Ephestion.

393 Chatzipanagiotou and Panagou 2006, pp. 64–65.

394 Appendix of Tables: X.

395 See Charitonidis 1975, pp. 3, 41–43.

396 Morris 1987, p. 81.

397 Alexandri 1969, pp. 88–89; Parlama 1970, p. 112.

398 The measurement corresponds to the area defined by the site extending from Promachou 4–6 to Erechtheiou 20 and from the west boundary of the graves in the surface of Kavalloti Street as far as the plot at Erechtheiou 30 and Kavalloti 2.

399 Desborough 1972, p. 135. For the Protogeometric settlements and their characteristics, see Lemos 2002, pp. 195–217.

400 Morris 2009; Lemos 2002, pp. 191, 193.

401 Whitehead 1986, p. 5; Lemos 2002, p. 199. Despite all these, there are indications of habitation during the Geometric period at several old Mycenaean sites of Attica: Eleusis, Aixone (Halyke Glyphada), Marathon, Acharnai (Menidi), Myrrhinous (Merenda), and Thorikos.

402 In the Protogeometric period there were no notable changes in comparison with the preceding Submycenaean period, during which differences relating to the gender, age, or social status of the dead were hardly expressed through grave goods. Whitley 1986, pp. 164–165, 248; Whitley 1991, pp. 97–116, 181. This starts to happen from the ninth century BC (EG/MG I), when identity and social rank ("hierarchical" pattern) were expressed by the presence of imported and luxury objects. Whitley 1986, pp. 190–193, 248–249. From the early eighth century BC onward (MG II/LG I), the distinction escalates with the use of monumental vases as tomb markers. Whitley 1986, pp. 194–196, 224–225, 248–249. The uniformity in burial practices and the absence of social differentiation in grave goods toward the end of the century (LG II) have been interpreted as indicative of a change in social stratification, which led to the prevailing of "isonomy" and the formation of the structures of the city-state. Whitley 1986, pp. 244–246, 250. See also Antonaccio 1995, p. 255; Lemos 2002, pp. 155–156, 197; Morgan 2009, p. 46.

403 Camp 2001, pp. 22–23.

404 Étienne 2004, p. 27.

405 Morris 1987, pp. 172–173; Kourou 2009, p. 122; Morgan 2009, pp. 43–44.

406 Welwei 1992, pp. 67–68; Antonaccio 1995, p. 255; Bohen 2017.

407 Coldstream 2003 [1977], pp. 113–114.

408 Huxley 1980, pp. 258, 262; Whitley 1986, p. 100; Kourou 2009, pp. 109, 130; Morgan 2009, p. 60.

409 Hasaki 2002, pp. 286, 293.

410 Scholl 2009, pp. 76–80, where there is reference to other sanctuaries of Athens and Attica (of the hero Akademos, of Zeus on Parnes and Hymettos) and to the sanctuaries of Artemis at Mounichia and Brauron, where votive offerings earlier than those of the Acropolis have been found.

411 Lemos 2002, p. 188.

412 Snodgrass 1980, pp. 28–31; Whitley 1991, pp. 61–64; Lemos 2006, p. 514.

413 Smithson 1977, p. 78.

414 Digital Plan 7 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan7

415 Digital Plan 3 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan3

416 Lemos 2002, p. 156.

417 Mazarakis-Ainian 2007–2008, p. 388.

418 Digital Plan 8 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan8

419 Coldstream 1995, p. 393.

420 Digital Plans 10 and 4 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan10

421 Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 98.

422 Coldstream 2003 [1977], p. 98.

423 Young 1939, p. 69, fig. 43; Thompson 1940, fig. 44; *Agora* XIV, p. 15, fig. 24; Coldstream 2003 [1977], pp. 335–336, fig. 112.

424 Digital Plan 6 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan6

425 Digital Plan 4 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan4

426 Kourou 2004, p. 121.

427 For the cemetery in Nea Ionia, which had a tomb enclosure and is dated to the Protogeometric period, see Smithson 1961.

428 A characteristic example is the site of the cemetery of the South Slope to the south of the Herodeion, which was abolished and where large-scale configuration works involving removal of earth from various points to fill others and construction of large horizontal and perpendicular retaining walls and terraces must have preceded the building of the Archaic houses that have been revealed. See chapter 4, "Acropolis: Habitation on the Slopes."

429 The Theater of Dionysos, the Stoa of Eumenes, and the Odeion of Herodes Atticus managed to erase almost totally traces of the part of the Classical city and its houses that preexisted on the sites these monuments occupied, leaving the wells as unique witnesses to the use of the space. Korres 2002, pp. 10, 12, 14.

430 Dontas 1983.

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Chapter 4

Archaic Period 700–480/479 BC

Excavation Data

The picture of Archaic Athens and the evidence pertaining to it express precisely the spirit of the period: this is a transitional stage in the city's history and topography, one that succeeded developmental processes of long duration and that preceded major changes. The terminus post quem of the Archaic period is defined conventionally as the start of the seventh century BC and is distinguished by the appearance of eastern or Oriental influences in art (Orientalizing period). The terminus ante quem is defined historically by the double destruction of Athens by the Persians, under Xerxes in the autumn of 480 BC, and under Mardonius 10 months later, in the summer of 479 BC. The "marginal" course that Athens followed in relation to neighboring cities, as evident through its absence from the first stage of Greek colonization and its delay in instituting a tyrannical regime, is an issue on which there is scholarly dissension. Most researchers interpret the phenomenon as retrogression and containment of development in relation to the Geometric period, while others see it as proof of a different evolution of the state.[1]

Characteristic of the study of the city's development is the uneven cobbling together of patchy snippets of information from the ancient literary sources (nonexistent for the preceding periods) and the meager archaeological material. This not only fails to give a satisfactory view of the topography but also raises many major questions.[2] The most fundamental of these concern the location of the Archaic Agora of Theseus, the date of the transfer of the administrative functions of the polis to the Agora of Classical times to the northwest of the Acropolis, and the existence or not of an Archaic fortified enceinte. The first issue took a new turn in 1980 with the discovery in situ of the Hellenistic inscribed honorific stela of Timokrite, priestess of Aglauros, directly below the large cave on the East Slope, which showed that the early Archaic Agora of the city should be sought to the east/northeast of the Acropolis and not to the north/northwest, as most scholars had hitherto believed.[3] The other two questions remain open, but because they are beyond the scope of the present study they will be touched on here only to the degree that they impinge upon its aims in some way.

Among the archaeological testimonies of Archaic Athens are a few architectural remains related to habitation — essentially the first in the city's history (excepting the wells). However, the quantity of finds from cemeteries is conversely reduced. Characteristic at this time is the appearance of important Archaic mortuary sites outside the asty, on the coasts, and in the plains of the Attic chora, where the representatives of the aristocratic class had their estates.[4] The shift toward the countryside had commenced cautiously at the end of the Geometric period, just like all

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the other changes — social, political, and topographical — effected during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, leading Athens in political and topographical terms to the organization and form of the Classical city.

Settlement Remains

The settlement remains of the Archaic period are more numerous than those of the previous periods and survive in more locations in the ancient city. They are found on the top and the slopes of the Acropolis (high on the North Slope and on the West and South Slopes), within and around the site of the Classical Agora, in the neighborhood of Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square, in Plaka, on the low hill of the Olympieion, and in the areas of Makrygianni and Koukaki.

Area VIII: Acropolis[5]

Archaic settlement remains have come to light almost all over the Rock,[6] except on the summit, where the building remains uncovered belong to the early temple of Athena, the Hekatompedon (or, according to earlier theories, also to the "Archaios Neos"), and to other edifices that served religious needs.[7]

The principal remains were located in the following areas:

- Northwest Slope, in the area of the Klepsydra
- West Slope, west of the Beulé Gate
- South Slope, south of the Herodeion

On the Northwest Slope, in the area of the Klepsydra, eight Archaic wells have come to light (VIII. 2). When these ceased to function they were turned into debris pits for discarded objects and building materials from a large-scale clearing operation after a disaster. These wells are dated to the seventh or sixth century BC but are not fully published.

On the West Slope, west of the Beulé Gate, a room of an Archaic house dated to the second quarter of the sixth century BC was uncovered in the course of works to remove from the hillside the dumps of various earlier excavations (VIII. 3).

On the South Slope, the finds are more numerous and clearer (VIII. 4). At the center of the west part, on the site occupied for three centuries by the extensive Geometric cemetery,[8] Archaic houses built upon terraces created by contemporary retaining walls have been found (fig. 4.1).

Figure 4.1. Athens, Acropolis. South Slope, south of the Herodeion. Retaining Wall 162. Photo by Eirini Dimitriadou, 2010.

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Three have been excavated; two of them are still visible in the area between the Herodeion and the Dionysiou Areopagitou pedestrian zone. They are dated from the Archaic to the Early Classical period.

The remains of two Archaic houses were unearthed close to the retaining walls and in direct relation to the terraces these underpinned. House Γ is associated chronologically with the first terrace, which was created by constructing one of the earliest retaining walls, Wall 72α, and is dated to the sixth century BC. The second house was found 40 m south of the west end of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and is dated to the Late Archaic period. It is not visible today, as it was backfilled after its investigation.[9]

Area II: Ancient Agora – Areopagus[10]

The settlement remains found are represented by numerous wells and household or workshop deposits, and a few architectural remains, located all over the site of the Agora. Indeed, some remains dated to the seventh century BC are observed even at its center, from which they gradually disappeared during the subsequent centuries. With the exception of wells that have been linked with clearing operations after the Persian Wars, and the remains of buildings that were considered public,[11] the bulk of the Archaic remains has not been studied and published. Those data that follow are indicative of the use of the space in the period under examination. In order to trace this development as satisfactorily as possible, the architectural remains, wells, and refuse pits have been divided into two groups:

- Those dated to the seventh century BC and down to the early sixth century BC (fig. 4.2)
- Those dated to the early sixth century BC and down to 480 BC (fig. 4.5)

From the Seventh to the Early Sixth Century BC

The earliest remains in the first group are of Building A, to the southeast of the later Tholos (II. 5). This is a large oblong building consisting of several spaces. Uncovered in one room were remains of a small pottery kiln (H 12:17), and in another a clay-settling tank.[12] On the basis of these two installations, the building was identified from the outset as a pottery workshop of the late eighth century BC, as emerges from the pottery on the clay floor of the kiln. The workshop was abandoned in the mid-seventh century BC, as indicated by the pottery from the destruction level of the firing chamber and the whole kiln. This dating agrees with the latest pottery found in the rest of the building. The early pottery workshop was set up in the southwest corner of the later Agora, right next to the cemetery, whose final years of operation (third quarter of eighth century BC to early seventh century BC) coincided for an interval with the period of use of the workshop.[13]

Farther west, on the southeast slope of the Agoraios Kolonos, one other well of the seventh century BC has come to light (D 11:5); its fill points to its association with a pottery workshop (II. 8). The well was sunk in the late eighth century BC and was filled in during the mid-seventh century BC. The presence of figurines and the large number (approximately 90) of broken unpainted bowls (skyphoi) led the excavator to suggest that these objects may have come from destroyed graves that existed on the hill — or more likely from a nearby sanctuary.[14] However, objects such as "round clay disks, pierced by a hole through the center" (obviously draw-pieces); misshapen vases, which are illustrated in the study but are not commented on as such; clay loom-weights; and fragments of terracotta figurines can be considered, both individually and as a whole, discards of a nearby pottery workshop.[15] To the southwest of the site, wells have been revealed both in the area of the Industrial District at the foot of the Hill of the Nymphs and under the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion (II. 1).[16] One of these, Well J 15:1, initially served the needs of a house or a workshop. After its abandonment it was turned into a pit for funerary and cult objects in disuse, with which it was filled.[17] The finds as a whole date the well to the beginning of the seventh century BC.

On the contrary, the unfinished Well J 18:8 on the north slope of the Areopagus seems to have been used from the outset as a refuse pit, but without being related to some house or workshop (II. 12). It contained pottery of the mid-seventh century BC and votive offerings possibly from the nearby Geometric/Archaic heroon to the southwest (of the Geometric "house" of the Agora).[18] Farther north too, the same excavation picture is presented by wells found at the center of the later Agora, in and around the site of the Odeion of Agrippa. Wells M 11:3 and O 12: 2 were not associated with contemporary architectural remains, and their fill consisted of complete vases from the POU, as well as discarded funerary and cult objects from the clearing of the surrounding space (II. 7). From 650 BC and after, the three defunct wells were used for dumping fill, but not all at the same time. Well O 12:1 was abandoned in the third quarter of the seventh century BC, M 11:3 toward the fourth quarter of the seventh century BC, and O 12:2 in the late seventh/early sixth century BC (fig. 4.3).[19]

Well M 11:3 contained material that seems to have been brought from the Geometric/Archaic sanctuary, as noted also in the case of J 18:8. However, most of the finds

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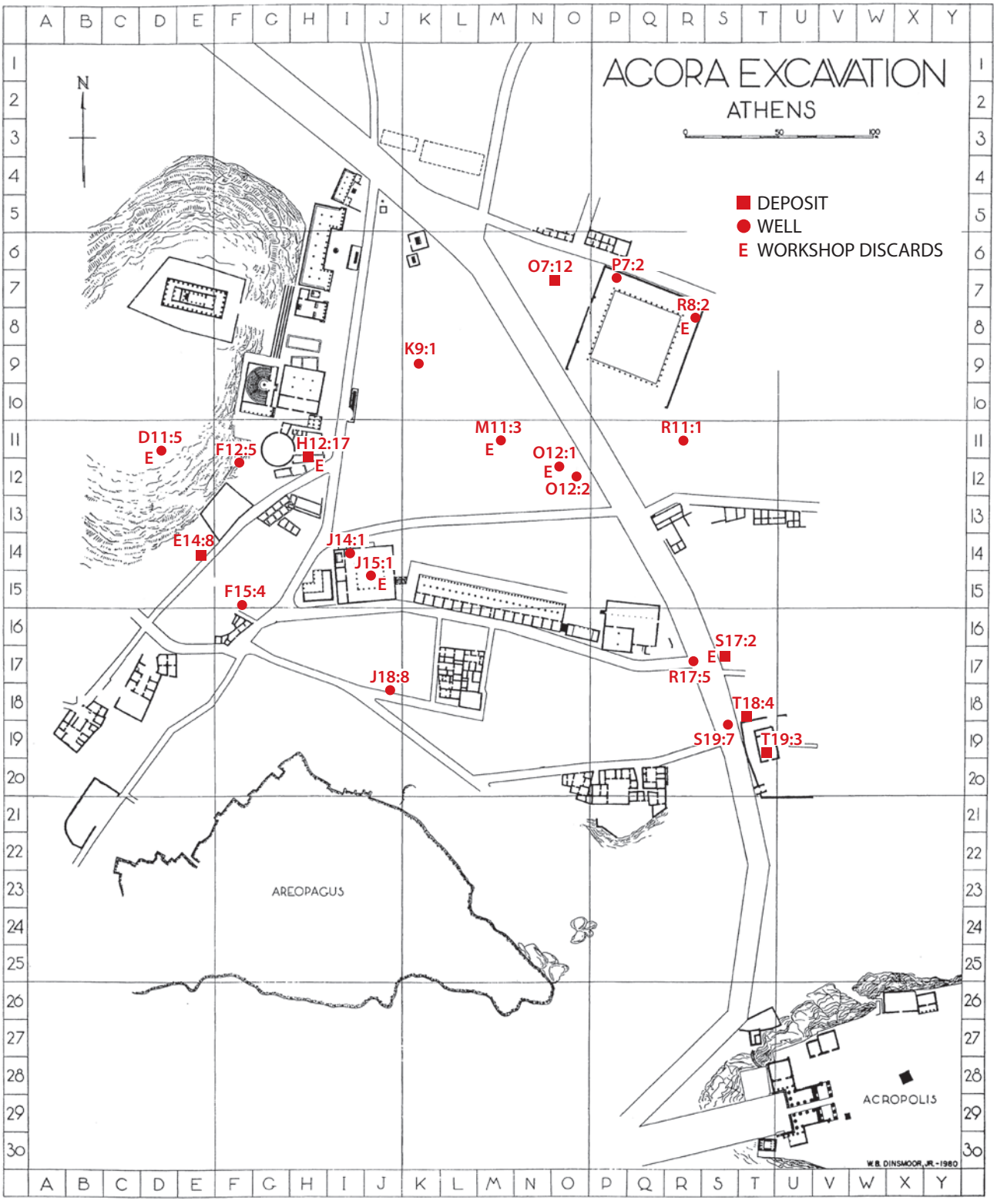

Figure 4.2. Athens. Archaic wells and household or workshop deposits of the Agora dated to the seventh century BC and to the early years of the sixth century BC. Template from *Agora* XXIII, pl. 14. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Figure 4.3. Athens, Agora. East of the Odeion of Agrippa, Well O 12:1: (a) Protoattic amphora decorated with a bull protome on either side of the neck; (b) Protoattic closed vase decorated with a mule. Papadopoulos 2007, p. 140, fig. 130A; Brann 1961, pl. 90, F8. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

are vases and tools, coming from the chattels of houses and the equipment of workshops (fig. 4.4).

The picture is the same in the east, where wells have been located on the site of the later Stoa of Attalos (II. 3). Well R 8:2, which too was abandoned in the third quarter of the seventh century BC, contained fill similar to that of the previous wells.

In the southeast corner of the Agora and northwest of the Eleusinion, Well S 19:7 was in use from the late eighth into the mid-seventh century BC, as deduced from the POU fill. Well R 17:5 and the refuse pit S 17:2 are related to each other (II. 18). The refuse pit was interpreted by Brann as belonging to a house, was dated to the second half of the seventh century BC, and was linked with Well R 17:5, which was identified as belonging to a workshop.[20] This well was restudied recently by Papadopoulos, who confirmed the initial identification, as apart from a host of vases destroyed in the making, its fill as a whole contained lumps of clay, ocher, and many figurines and other votive objects that seem to come from the area of the Eleusinion.[21] The excavation of Well R 17:5 revealed many similarities of its content to that of the neighboring and contemporary refuse pit S 17:2. Finds of the same type from its fill — tools (grinders), raw materials, and beads or buttons in unusually large quantities — were interpreted as stock of the workshop's production.[22] The similarity of the content of the two neighboring shafts led

Figure 4.4. Athens, Agora. Northeast corner. Protoattic amphora from Well R 8:2, decorated with a pair of horses on either side of its body. Papadopoulos 2007, p. 141, fig. 130B. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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to the conclusion that R 17:5 and S 17:2 served the same craft-industrial installation.

Last, architectural remains of buildings found at the same point could be related to the workshop activity detected there, although their proposed identification as houses cannot be ruled out. These are the remains brought to light under the west edge of the southeast fountain and the southeast corner of the Mint (II. 19). The building under the fountain has been revealed partially, exposing the foundations of two rooms. The same applies to the remains further south under the Mint. So fragmentary is their state of preservation that it is not possible to conclude whether these remains are of a single building or of several buildings. Whatever the case, the southernmost part was built beside a street that passed in front of it from east to west, as indicated by a fragment of a contemporary retaining wall that survived to the northeast of it and separated the property from the street. Construction of the building or buildings is dated circa 600 BC and abandonment of it or them after the mid-sixth century BC.

From the Early Sixth Century BC to 480 BC

The wells and deposits of the second group are no longer located inside the central triangular space of the Agora but around it, and they are about six times more numerous than in the previous century (fig. 4.5).[23] This is not true of the surviving architectural remains, which continue to be few.

Again, the earliest of these have been found close to the southwest corner of the Agora, and with the exception of Building C, which was erected on the west side of the site in the first quarter of the sixth century BC and was considered by Thompson to be public, the rest of the architectural remains belong yet again to a workshop, this time not for pottery but for iron smithing (II. 5).[24] These are the few surviving parts of Building B, a small single-space structure found under the northeast corner of Building F and dated circa 600 BC. The remains of a circular hearth and iron scrap around this denote the building's function as a forge.

A few meters farther north, Well H 10:2, between Building C (first quarter of the sixth century BC) and the later Building D (fourth quarter of the sixth century BC), yielded an assemblage of typical domestic pots of the first half of the sixth century BC.[25]

To the north of this well, on the west side of the central space, traces of a large building have come to light between the Archaic buildings C and D and the two temples of Apollo Patroos, the surviving Classical temple and the underlying apsidal temple of the Archaic period (II. 20). Only scant and scattered remains of the lowest foundation of the walls have survived. Originally they formed an L shape, with each wall 11 m in length, which can be traced from the foundation trenches cut in the bedrock. The large area of the enclosed space and the rather flimsy construction of the walls point to an open space, which, since it straddles the area of two sanctuaries (of the Mother of the Gods and of Apollo), was probably not associated with either of them. In all likelihood this was a private structure, earlier than the founding of the cult of the two deities in the space. According to the excavator, when the Archaic temple of the Mother of the Gods was constructed in 500 BC, the building was already in ruins. Consequently, it had ceased to function before the building of the Archaic temple of Apollo — that is, pre-550 BC — and it is therefore possible that it was constructed in the first half of the sixth century BC. However, its chronological relation to Buildings C and F (second/third quarter of the sixth century BC) cannot be determined.[26]

To the west of the Stoa Basileios, two pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock, inside which pure solid clay was found, were identified as stores of raw material for a pottery workshop (II. 11)[27] that was operative around 540–530 BC. The remains of a polygonal wall and one of more makeshift construction that perhaps supported a bench or shelf, essential in a space where a potter forms vases,[28] confirm initial suspicions of the existence of an Early Archaic pottery workshop, which was perhaps destroyed during the Persian invasion.[29]

Many wells have come to light at the southeast foot of the Agoraios Kolonos and in the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. One of the wells excavated in the Industrial District, Well C 18:8, under the court of the Poros Building, is dated by the fill from its POU to the second quarter of the sixth century BC. Together with the remains of walls and floors of the sixth century BC, found in the north part of the outbuilding of the same building, it points to habitation at the site during these years.[30]

On the east side of the Agora, the wells and various kinds of deposits excavated along the east side of the Panathenaic Way fall into two groups, both close to basic road axes, one at the north end of the Stoa of Attalos and one close to the south end. The fills in the wells of the north group, which span the entire sixth century BC, yield no information on the existence of workshops. Only the unfinished Well Q 13:5, which was sealed immediately in the second/third quarter of the sixth century BC, contained a large quantity of unpainted but also luxury pottery, as well as objects of everyday use (II. 3).

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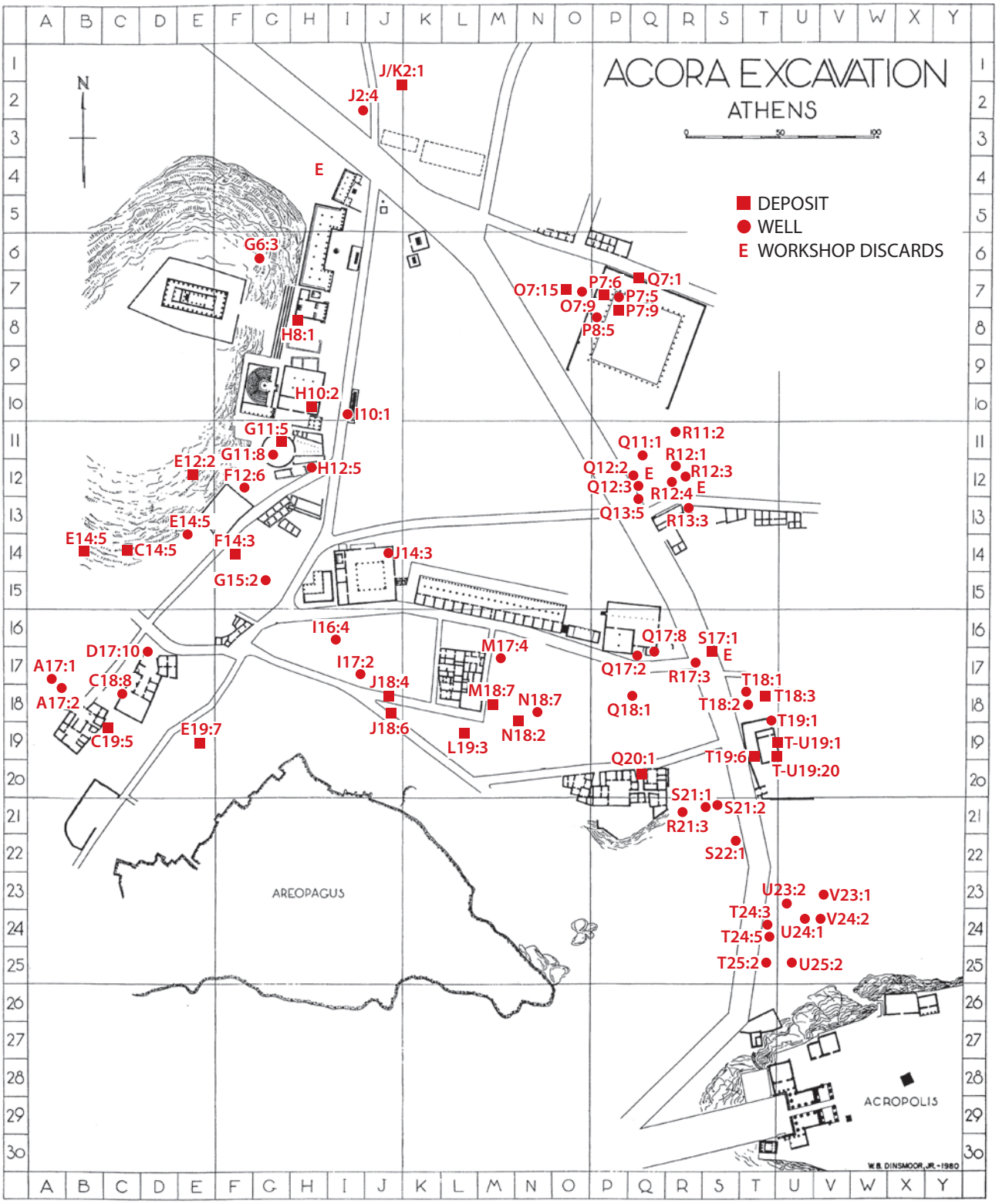

Figure 4.5. Athens. Archaic wells and household or workshop deposits of the Agora dated to the sixth century BC and down to the early years of the fifth century BC. Template from *Agora* XXIII, pl. 14. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Remains of two buildings that housed shops were found on the same site, northwest of the wells and at the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (II. 3). These stood at a nodal point, on either side of an intersection of two early streets. Both buildings are dated to the sixth century BC (the east one to the middle years; the west to the latter years). They were destroyed by the Persians in 480/479 BC and rebuilt upon the same foundations very soon afterward. On the same side of the Agora, the east, the wells around the south end of the Stoa of Attalos are dated to all stages of the sixth century BC. At least two of them, Q 12:3 (known in the international bibliography as the Stoa Gutter Well) and R 12:3, belonged to one or more pottery workshops (II. 3). These wells are 20 m apart and are contemporary. The few remains in the lowest level of their use fill indicate that they functioned as wells during the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC (525/520–500/490 BC) and were then sealed suddenly, in one go, in the early fifth century BC. Domestic refuse and discards of pottery workshops were found in the uniform dump filling of both, while Q 12:3 yielded a very large quantity of luxury pottery, which is thought to have been produced in a workshop destroyed by the Persians.

On the north bank of the Eridanos and below the cella of the Early Roman temple in the sanctuary of Aphrodite are the stone-lined well of a Late Archaic house (J 2:4), which too was destroyed by the Persians, and the remains of an Early Classical house built immediately afterward on the same spot (II. 10).[31] In its earlier phase, the house comprised three rooms and a court to the northeast, in which was the well.[32] It is dated to the late sixth century BC on the basis of the POU fill of the well.[33] Its destruction is dated to 479 BC, and the final filling in and abandonment of the well is dated to the time of the clearing of the city after the Persian Wars, between 479 and 470 BC (fig. 4.6).[34]

The destruction of the Late Archaic house by conflagration is evinced by the level of material from the disintegrated superstructure (stone blocks, disintegrated mud bricks, and fragments of roof tiles, all burned). The same level also included a large number of fragments of domestic pots dating from the first two decades of the fifth century BC. Below this level and to the northeast of Well J 2:4, three floors of the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC were found; these date the initial construction of the house.[35] Above the destruction level was a new series of floors belonging to the second building phase of the house,

Figure 4.6. Athens, Agora. Area of the north bank of the Eridanos. Selection of vases from Well J 2:4. Camp 1996b, pl. 71. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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dating this to the second quarter of the fifth century BC, after the Persian Wars.

Also linked with the clearing of the city and removal of the debris after the destruction is the deposit J/K 2:1, uncovered to the east of the Commercial Building and found full of black-glaze vases for domestic use (II. 10).[36] Other such refuse pits have been revealed at the same site, indicating regular habitation in the area north of the Eridanos during Late Archaic times.

In the southeast corner of the Agora and along the east side of the temple of Triptolemos, remains of houses and domestic deposits that existed on the site of the Eleusinion and date to before the mid-sixth century BC have been brought to light (II. 18). These houses were demolished around 550 BC to build in their stead the temple of the Eleusinion sanctuary, which expanded southward in those years.

However, most of the Archaic settlement remains in the area have been found on the north slope of the Areopagus.[37] At the foot of the hill, south of South Stoa I, the remains of a building insula and of streets of the same period have been unearthed (II. 12). These are the lowest foundations of walls dated to the mid-sixth century BC and are preserved under early pre-Classical houses. They belonged to Late Archaic houses that were destroyed by the Persians in 480/479 BC and were rebuilt on their initial foundations when the house owners returned to the devastated city (475–450 BC). Judging by the remains of their second building phase, these houses formed a neighborhood during the Late Archaic period too. This is confirmed by the remains of the two streets at right angle that delimited it, which are dated on the basis of their surfaces to the years before the Persian Wars. The rebuilding of the houses in the Early Classical period did not involve any significant alteration of their ground plan, which would have caused a local modification of the street network. The neighborhood apparently had a drainage system, as indicated by a pipe under the gravel surface of the east street, while an unlined pit found to the west of the west street has been interpreted as a latrine cesspit (κοπρών) of a destroyed house farther west, pointing to the existence of private sanitary facilities.[38]

The neighborhood extended westward, as indicated by the remains of the court of one more house of the mid-sixth century BC, revealed to the west of the complex. This is the House of Thamneos, of which only two corner walls of the court, the stone-paved floor, and the domestic storage pit J 18:4, in the middle of the space, survive (II. 12).[39] From the POU fill of the pit come many domestic pots, indicative of the variety of vessels used by an Archaic household and that also define its POU. Among these are the black-glaze olpe and oenochoe bearing the incised inscription "Θαμνέος εἰμί" (I am of Thamneos).

Similar settlement remains exist farther to the east, on the northeast slope of the Areopagus. In the area of the Philosophical Schools, southeast of the aforementioned building insula and specifically under the west part of the Late Roman House Ω, highly fragmented remains of three Late Archaic houses have come to light (II. 13). The earliest of the three, the west, is small and of irregular ground plan, consisting of rooms around a court with a well. Constructed in the early fifth century BC, these houses were destroyed by the Persians a few years later, in 480/479 BC, and were rebuilt to the initial plans as soon as the Athenians returned to their city. One room from the second building phase of the west house, of Early Classical times, is identified as an andron on the basis of its measurements — it could accommodate five symposium couches in perimetric arrangement — the off-center position of the doorway, and the remains of a built hearth in the middle of the room.

Other architectural remains of the second half of the sixth century BC have been uncovered along the entire west side of the Agora. In the Industrial District, the remains of the Late Archaic House M have been excavated. Only one room of this survives; one side of it is the rock face (II. 4). One well, B 19:10, found in the same area, under Classical House C (II. 4), belonged to some other house that had been destroyed in the early fifth century BC (500–480 BC), as indicated by the dating of the fill that sealed it.

In the southwest corner of the Agora, under the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion, another well, I 14:1, of a house and/or workshop of the last quarter of the seventh century BC, has come to light; it remained in use until the first quarter of the sixth century BC (II. 1). It is possible that the remains of two rubble-masonry walls found close by are related to it.[40]

Settlement remains have been found farther north too, on the site of the later Classical "House of Simon" (II. 21). These are of a small house or workshop "or, as was commonly the case, a combination of the two," according to the excavator.[41] Remains of a room, the court, the well (H 12:15), and the refuse pit (H 12:18) have survived. The well yielded intact unpainted water-drawing pots that had fallen into its shaft when it was in use (POU 520–480 BC), as well as debris from the house destroyed by the Persians and what remained of its equipment, which were dumped inside during the ensuing clearing operations. Judging by the earliest pottery, which is dated around the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC and corresponds to the years

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when the house was lived in, the period of its use was short. However, it was rebuilt after the Persian Wars, in the same position, at the limits of the public space and next to one of the boundary stones (horoi) of the Agora.

Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square[42]

The only settlement remains in the area have been found in the plot at Agion Asomaton and Tournavitou (III. 2). These are two rooms of a building thought to be a house. Differences observed in their construction suggest that these are probably not contemporary. Associated with the architectural remains were fragments of Archaic vases "of excellent quality"[43] and an Archaic lamp.

Area V: Commercial Center[44]

The plot at Lekka 23–25 yielded two unfinished marble female statues of the early fifth century BC, found lying on the soft limestone bedrock (V. 8, fig. 4.7). In the view of the excavator, these were intended for the pedimental decoration of a temple, and it is possible that they remained unfinished due to the Persian Wars.[45] Their size makes it highly unlikely that they had been brought from far away, suggesting the existence of a marble-carving workshop hereabouts.

Figure 4.7. Athens, Commercial Center. Lekka 23–25. Two unfinished marble female statues. Alexandri 1969, pl. 39. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Area VI: Plaka[46]

To date, architectural remains are known only from the area southeast of the Acropolis, in the plot at Kodrou 15 (VI. 4), where the court of a house, a well, and the remains of two walls were found. Part of the compacted earth floor of the court has survived, and the well at the center. The wellhead, which is the upper part of a clay pithos, was found in situ. In the space around the architectural remains are signs of serious disturbance, as pottery dating from all periods, from Late Geometric and Archaic times (sixth century BC) to the Byzantine age, was found.

Archaic pottery has been recovered from the fill of two other plots in the wider area in which the Archaic Agora of the city was located: at Adrianou 146–150 (VI. 1), from where whole vases of the mid-sixth century BC were restored, and at Lysikratous 15 (VI. 6).

Area IX: Olympieion[47]

In the east part of the site and south of the temple of Zeus, an unknown number of wells was found. Their shafts yielded fragments of Protoattic and black-figure vases, originating from the clearing of graves in the space (IX. 5).[48] There is no information on the period of use of these wells, or on the existence of structures with which they were possibly associated. Taking the pottery found in their fill as terminus post quem of their use, their presence at the site can be dated to the seventh century BC.

Area X: Makrygianni[49]

The settlement remains located in this neighborhood appear at its northernmost points, which are the continuation of the South Slope. Many have come to light between Dionysiou Areopagitou, Propylaion, Rovertou Galli, and Karyatidon Streets — that is, in the part corresponding to the area south of the Herodeion.

Visible today in the corner plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion are the remains of houses built on terraces that were underpinned by retaining walls of Archaic into Early Classical times (X. 12). The earliest retaining walls should be dated after the second half of the sixth century BC, the date of the Archaic grave found at the site, and before the end of the sixth/beginning of the fifth century BC, when they were replaced by an overlying building of careful construction.[50] The large retaining walls at right angle to one another are of the Early Classical period, while the other walls, considered as belonging to "the internal arrangement of the level space created,"[51] probably belonged to the houses built upon the terrace. The constructions were dated by the excavator to Early Classical times, although it is not clear whether that means before or

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after 480 BC.[52] The dating to the years before the Persian War seems more plausible, as in the second half of the fifth century BC the terrace was reconstructed and enlarged; new houses were built on it and other terraces were created around it. It seems logical to assume that these works were carried out after 480 BC, a period in which the northward continuation of the area of the South Slope between the Herodeion and Dionysiou Areopagitou Street was reorganized in the same way (VIII. 4).

In the likewise corner plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou 41, Parthenonos 32–34, and Kallisperi (Angelopoulos plot), which is less than 150 m east of the preceding one, remnants of Archaic walls, not connected with each other, have been found (X. 14). A small amount of pottery of the Orientalizing period, which is generally rare in the area (see also Makrygiannis plot), has also been found, documenting the previous sparse use of the space but of little help in determining the nature of this use (fig. 4.8).

Traces of continuity of habitation were ascertained also in the adjacent through plot to the east, at Dionysiou Areopagitou 35 and Kallisperi 16, but these are not described in the excavation report (X. 13).

Remains dated to the period have been unearthed in the neighboring plots directly south, on Rovertou Galli Street, but these differ in type, measurements, and possibly use from the previous ones. In the corner plot at Rovertou Galli 16 and Parthenonos, three complete terracotta figurines and parts of others, of the seventh century BC, were found inside a natural cavity (X. 6). Their presence is difficult to interpret, as there are no indications of a destroyed grave from which they could have come. Nor is the existence of any sanctuary in the area known, except the sanctuary of Nymphe, some 200 m northwest of this point. Last, the finds from the neighboring plot to the west, at Rovertou Galli 18–20 and Parthenonos, offer no clues as to their interpretation (X. 7). All that was found there was a wide Archaic stepped wall built of fieldstones and mud, about which no further information is given.

Farther east, the wells and the other traces of habitation in the Makrygiannis plot are all unpublished (X. 35).[53] We know of at least four wells dispersed in the space, a wall 1.40 m thick found in the area of the northwest corner of the plot, and levels of pottery from the Persian destruction to the northeast of the Weiler building. Other sporadic building remains have been revealed, but their poor state of preservation does not permit reconstruction of their plans,[54] and pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries BC was recovered from various points in the plot.

No architectural remains have been found in the north part of the Makrygianni neighborhood. A small amount of pottery found farther east, in the plots at Dionysiou Areopagitou 5 and Makri 1 (X. 11) and Athanasiou Diakou 9 (X. 9), is not associated with contemporary architectural remains.

Most of the settlement remains in the south half of the area are again in the west part. The remains of a pre-Classical house under remains of a later house of the Early Classical period were excavated in the plot at Promachou 5 (X. 40). From the earlier house, two rooms and one

Figure 4.8. Athens, Makrygianni. Dionysiou Areopagitou 41, Parthenonos 32–34, and Kallisperi 20 (Angelopoulos property). Fragment of a Protoattic amphora. Third Archaeological District 1963, pl. 36β. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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other wall survive, and from the later house just one room. The thickness of its foundations indicates that the Early Classical house was two stories high. The fill of the plot contained lamps of the sixth/early fifth century BC[55] and many sherds of Archaic and Classical vases. The date of the lamps accords with the dating of the settlement remains, which in their turn can be linked with the period before and after the Persian Wars.

Farther west, in the plot at Kavalloti 18, under the earliest surface of the road that ends at Gate XIII and is dated to the early fifth century BC, remains of an Archaic and an Early Classical wall (first half of the fifth century BC) have come to light (X. 22). Neither of the two seems to be associated directly with the road, but nothing else can be said about them.

Farther south, in the plot at Erechtheiou 20, directly outside the east branch of Gate XIII, two separate groups of walls were revealed, with no apparent connection between them. Although the excavator treats them as a single unit,[56] they could belong to two different buildings (X. 15). The walls belong to two parallel rooms with a long and narrow space between them (a corridor?). These remains lie very near the Themistoclean fortification wall and may well have continued northward to where the fortification wall passed, which would have precluded any possibility of rebuilding them after the Persian Wars.

The remains in the east part of the area are limited to one well with Protoattic pottery and a few walls of indeterminate function. Well 66 was found in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 7 and Phalirou 8, in the course of opening the tunnel of the Athens Metro, and is unpublished (X. 8). A polygonal wall had been revealed in earlier excavations in the same plot.

Farther southeast, in a trench along Syngrou Avenue, outside nos. 40–42, a rubble-masonry wall was revealed. Its upper surface had been altered during the fifth century BC to accommodate a water conduit (X. 29). It was perhaps a retaining wall.

Last, even farther east, in the plot at Iosiph ton Rogon 6, a retaining wall with two building phases has been uncovered; its south end stands on an Archaic grave (X. 20). Its function as a retaining wall is deduced from the fill found behind it. The wall is not dated by the excavator.[57]

Area XII: Koukaki[58]

The only trace of habitation in this area is the large wall built of fieldstones at Drakou 19 (XII. 10). It came to light to the north of a Geometric retaining wall, which it seems to have replaced, as it ran in the same east–west direction (fig. 4.9).

Evidence of Cemeteries and Roads

With the exception of the systematically investigated archaeological sites of the Kerameikos and the Agora, most of the Archaic mortuary sites are known from rescue excavations conducted within the modern urban tissue of Athens. However, these have not been studied and published in detail.

Area I: Kerameikos[59]

Most of the graves are concentrated in the basin of the Eridanos and on its two banks, in the same locations used from the Submycenaean into the Geometric period. The graves on the south bank cover the entire triangular area created between the Sacred Way and the West Road, and by modern Peiraios Street as far as the Tritopatreion. Those on the north bank are located closer to the Classical fortification wall of the city, which destroyed a large part of them, east of the northwest road linking the Sacred Way to the road leading to the Academy and west of the road running north–south near Peiraios Street. The wider space of the cemetery consists of smaller and clearly delimited burial grounds that are defined even more specifically by the smaller and larger roads passing through it.[60] The tumuli are concentrated on the south (left) bank of the Eridanos, possibly because here there was more space. Usually, they cover individual tombs, but some of the large ones were used for more than one generation.[61] It has been suggested that prosperous citizens whose ancestors were established in the same place for centuries were buried on this bank, whereas the north (right) bank of the Eridanos, where there was a large tumulus of the early seventh century BC, was the preserve of the powerful clans that dominated the Early Archaic city, through their status as landowners and their leading roles in the administration (fig. 4.10).[62] The earth tumulus was most popular before the end of the seventh century BC, as is surmised from the majority of those found, which are dated to pre-600 BC.

As the sixth century BC progressed, the tumuli became fewer and smaller (although some kept their old grandeur),[63] while the number of small tomb buildings increased.[64] This phenomenon seems to be due to strictures of space rather than Solon's reforms of funerary legislation. In the end, the solution found was to erect tomb monuments on top of earlier burials. Even so, two unusually large tumuli were raised in the sixth century BC — one south and the other west of the Tritopatreion. The first dates from the time of Peisistratos,[65] while the second is suspected to be the burial place of the aristocratic Alkmaionid clan.[66]

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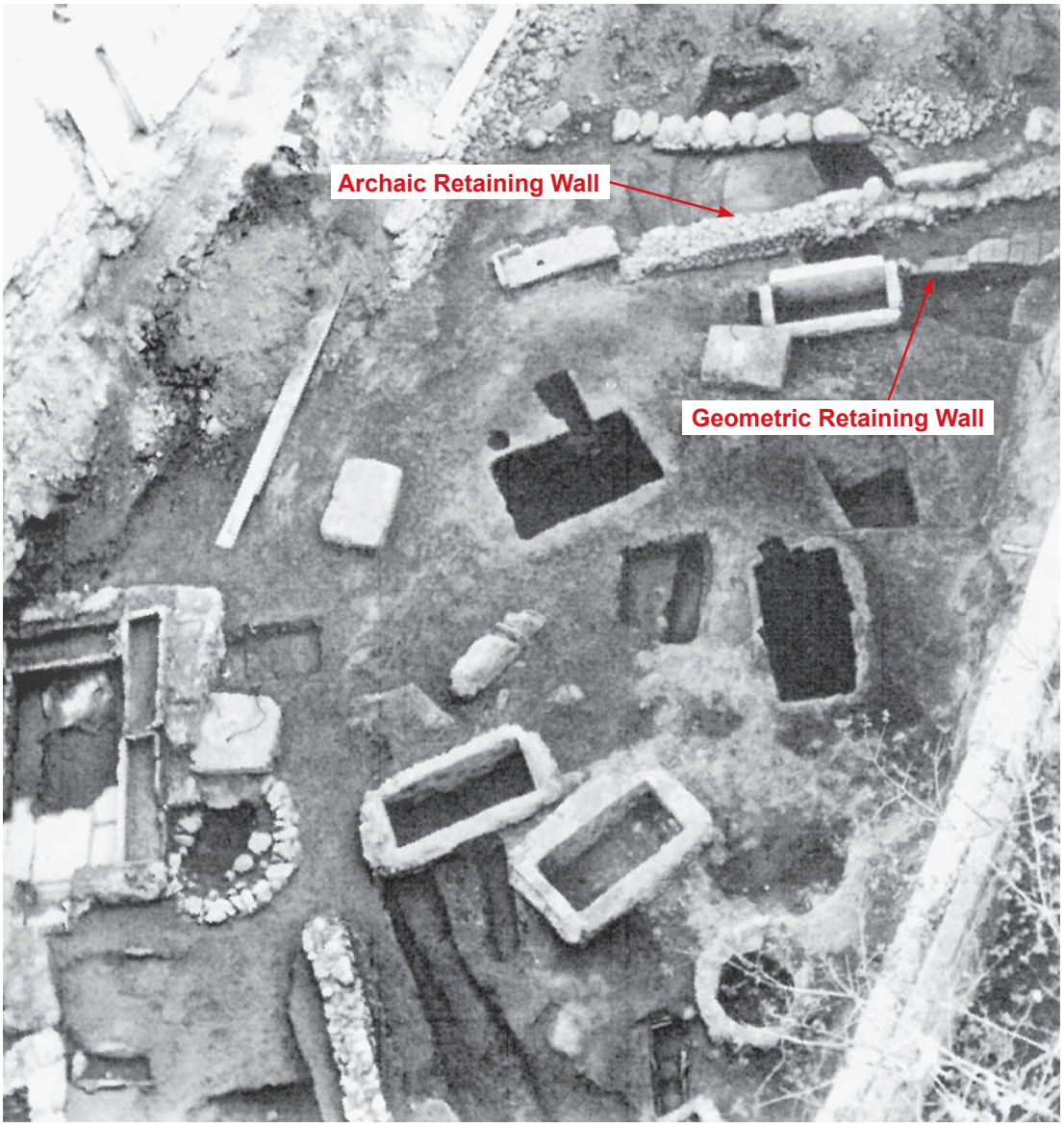

Figure 4.9. Athens, Koukaki. Drakou 19. General view of the plot. Top right: Geometric and Archaic retaining walls. Alexandri 1984, pl. 30β. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

By the end of the sixth century BC, these two tumuli had disappeared under masses of fill. The space was unified and infrastructure was created for the development of a new necropolis, which operated in the closing years of the sixth and throughout the fifth century BC. This move coincides with the early years of Kleisthenes's governance. Destruction of tomb monuments that represented the tyranny and the aristocracy, and the remodeling of the Kerameikos cemetery, expressed the application of isonomy, which Kleisthenes introduced in Attica, at the level of not only the polis but also the necropolis of Athens, where memories of the power of the past were expressed through the imposing tumuli.[67]

Area II: Ancient Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki[68]

The most basic Archaic burials in the Agora — the so-called Archaic cemetery of the Areopagus and a few neighboring ones studied and published by Young — yielded evidence comparable to that from the Kerameikos.[69] In contrast to Geometric times, and especially to the Protogeometric and Middle Geometric periods, during which burials inundated the space, the gradual decrease in burials that began in Late Geometric times had been almost completed by the Archaic period. There are two main points where mortuary activity continued: the area of the Tholos and the west slope of the Areopagus. At two locations — the Industrial

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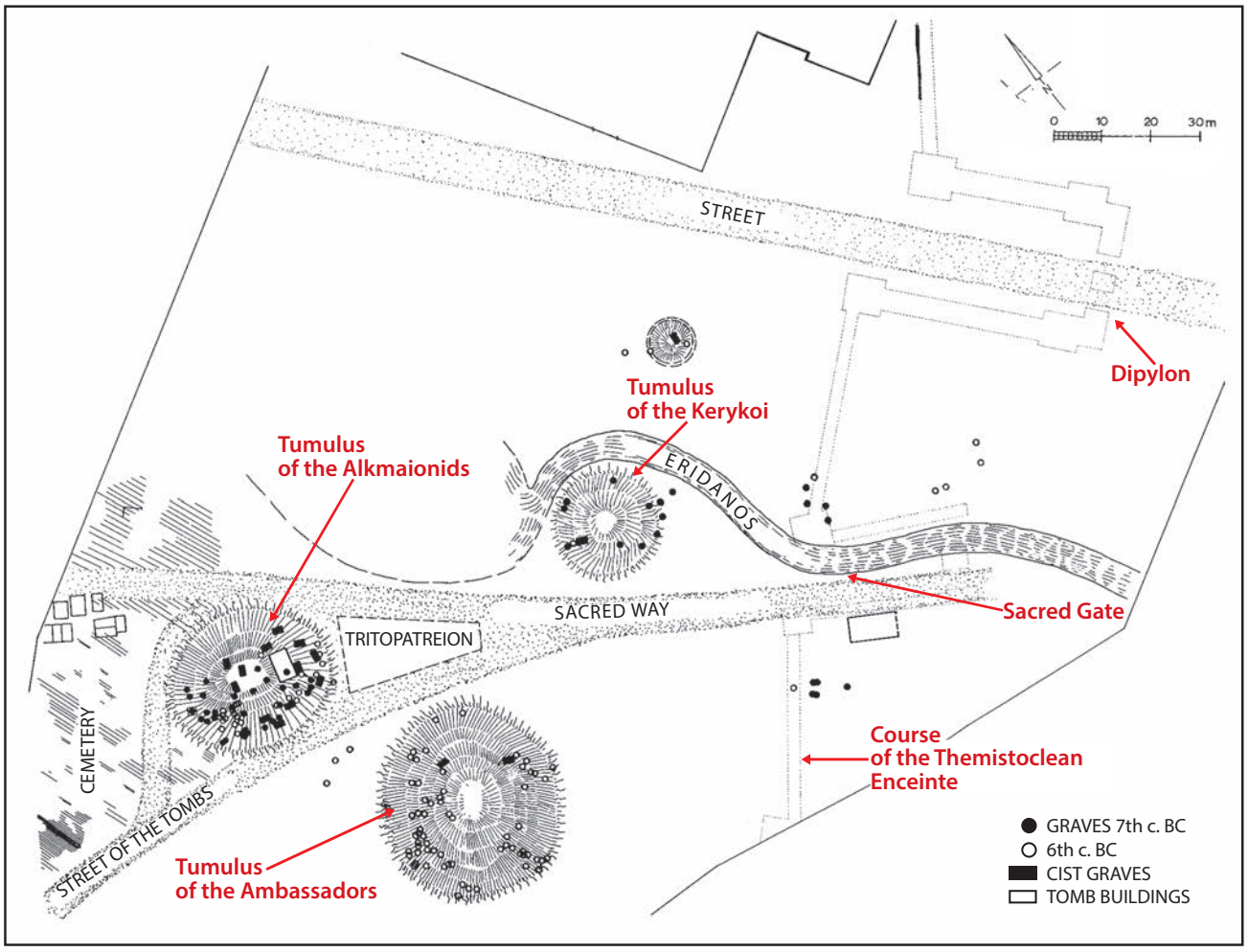

Figure 4.10. Athens. The Kerameikos from the seventh century BC until the end of the Archaic period. Redrawn from Knigge 1991, p. 25, fig. 17.

District and perhaps the north slope of the Areopagus — individual free burials are observed.

One of the two known cemeteries that continued to operate in proximity to the Agora was the Late Geometric cemetery on the site of the later Tholos (II. 5). In the space that had begun to be used from the third quarter of the eighth century BC, possibly as a family cemetery, burials continued to be made until the early years of the Archaic period. Two enchytrismoi have been found: G 12:5 (Grave V) and G 12:10 (Grave VI), which are dated to the transitional years between the late eighth and the early seventh century BC. Three more, considerably later, are dated to the late seventh/early sixth century BC.

The second cemetery is situated some distance from the central space of the Agora, on the west slope of the Areopagus. Like the previous one, it was used from the Late Geometric period, apparently by a family, and had an enclosure (II. 4). Eighteen graves were found here. They can be dated to the Archaic period and represent all kinds of burial habits: there are 12 inhumations, five cremations, and one enchytrismos.[70] They span the second to the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC, but it is very possible that the space was in continuous use from the end of the eighth century BC, as Subgeometric and Archaic pottery, obviously coming from destroyed graves, was found over the entire area of the cemetery, as well as in the fill of the sixth-century BC graves.

A little lower down the west slope of the Areopagus, in the valley of the Industrial District, three more graves have come to light. However, these are not related to the graves of the Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery, as they were located at three different points. One inhumation (Grave 49) was revealed 15 m northwest of the cemetery and is dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BC. The finding of three more empty grave pits led the excavators to propose the existence of another burial ground on the west slope

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of the Areopagus, apart from the one already known.[71] Of the other two graves in the area, one containing an enchytrismos (Grave 51/B 19:2) was found on the fringes of the Areopagus, under Roman House O, and is difficult to date (seventh or sixth century BC), and one containing a cremation burial (Grave 50/A 18:2) was unearthed to the south of the Street of the Marble-Workers, at the foot of the Hill of the Nymphs, and is dated to the beginning of the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC.

On the north slope of the Areopagus, two finds have been interpreted as graves (II. 12). These were revealed in the space between the settlement complex on the north slope and the West House, which underlies House Omega. The first assemblage was an "undisturbed deposit, which contained two lekythoi" (N 20:8).[72] When it came to light in 1938, it was considered a burial beneath a house floor, consistent with Young's then current theory.[73] Later it was clarified as a cremation, when the two vases from it were published, which dated it to 510–490 BC.[74] Nothing more is known about the circumstances of its discovery. If it is indeed a grave, then it is so far the latest known example of a burial near the Agora. The second find was a black-glaze pithos containing vases and residues of bones. It is considered to be an enchytrismos of an infant (M 18:6) and is dated to the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC. There is no description of or other information on this find either.[75]

Last, to the north of the archaeological site of the Ancient Agora, on the boundaries of the modern neighborhood of Monastiraki, pottery was found inside four undated wells in the plot at Ermou 93 (II. 17). The most characteristic vase fragments are the upper part of an Archaic black-figure amphora with a horse protome in a panel,[76] part of an Archaic lekanis, and the conical base of an Archaic krater. The finds attest the existence of destroyed graves near the area where the wells were opened.

Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square[77]

All the graves found in the area are related to the Eriai Gate cemetery. Beginning from the northernmost positions, Archaic graves and contemporary vases of high-quality art were brought to light in the first excavations in the area of the Dipylon and Peiraios Street, in the sector between Koumoundouros Square and the archaeological site of the Kerameikos (III. 26), and in the space in front of the plots at Peiraios 57 (III. 24) and 59. Most graves were found on the east side of the ancient road and specifically in the plot defined by Peiraios, Psaromilingou, and Kriezi Streets (present-day Eleftheria [Freedom] Square). At Peiraios 57 (III. 24) is part of the Sapountzakis plot (Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil – Psaromilingou: III. 23), which was excavated extensively in the late nineteenth century, when many graves and the "Nettos" amphora were unearthed. Recently, six more graves (with inhumations and cremations) have come to light; some furnished with numerous vases are dated from the Early Archaic period to the mid-fifth century BC. According to the excavators, the Archaic graves found in the Sapountzakis plot, in which a total of 231 graves dating from the Middle Geometric period into the fourth century BC were excavated, are strikingly few.

Farther east, the five graves in the corner plot at Kriezi 22 and Psaromilingou (present-day Eleftheria Square and Psaromilingou) (III. 18) belonged to children and infants. All the burials were in clay larnakes, except one enchytrismos in an unpainted kalpe, with miniature vases and thelastra as grave goods. They are dated between the Late Archaic and the Early Classical period.

In the adjacent plot to the north, Kriezi 23–24 (present-day Eleftheria Square 23–24), the two Archaic graves revealed a short distance from the child graves belonged to adults (III. 19). The same applies to one of the two graves excavated on the surface of Kriezi Street, outside the property at no. 25 (III. 17), when the ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench was opened. This is an enchytrismos in a burial amphora with the inscription "MNE[MA]" incised on the shoulder. It is dated to the early seventh century BC.[78] The second is an adult inhumation furnished with 12 vases and dated to the third quarter of the sixth century BC.

At the rest of the sites, human activity during the Archaic period is ascertained through pottery only from the fill of plots or undated wells (Leokoriou 4–6–8 and Ivis: III. 22, Arionos 4 and Ermou: III. 10, Karaiskaki 16–18: III. 15, Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki: III. 4, Agion Anargyron 5: III. 1, and Agiou Dimitriou 20: III. 3).

Area IV: Varvakeios – Omonoia Square[79]

In the area of the later Acharnai Gate, part of an Archaic cemetery of almost 50 graves was found after the mid-nineteenth century. This was the provenance of the earliest known Panathenaic amphora ("Burgon"), which contained residues of a cremation. There is no further information on the site and the circumstances of discovery of this funerary assemblage.[80]

A few meters to the northwest, in the Kotzias Square cemetery, use of the space continued normally after Late Geometric times and during the Archaic period (IV. 5). Three enchytrismoi of the seventh century BC, three burials of the sixth century BC (an enchytrismos, an inhumation in a pit, and a pyre), and 65 graves of the latter years of the period were unearthed. Apart from the southeast

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part of the square, where ancient activity was identified between Roads I and II, these graves now extended also to the northwest, toward the third and westernmost of the roads (Road III) that passed through this area. Fragments of two tomb sculptures were found in this space: a Sphinx with polos and a male head with holes for inserting a wreath, which is not preserved. Both are works of the same craftsman and are dated circa 540 BC.[81]

To the east, continuity of mortuary activity is observed also in the cemetery founded in the Late Geometric period, in Sapphous Street. One Archaic grave (cremation) was found at no. 10 (IV. 6) and one more at no. 12 (IV. 7).

Area V: Commercial Center[82]

Remains associated with mortuary activity have been found at four places in the northwest of the area, in only one of which have actual graves been uncovered. In the plot at Panepistimiou 31 (V. 7), pottery of the Archaic period was found inside cavities in the bedrock. Its presence does not seem to be linked with burials but with remnants of surfaces of an old road.

Graves dated to the sixth century BC were found some 150 m farther southwest, in the plot at the corner of Stadiou and Omirou (V. 6). These are part of the nucleus of a cemetery in the northeast area of Athens.

Farther south, pottery of the Orientalizing period has come to light at Panepistimiou 9 (plot of the Royal Stables or the Army Share Fund building) (V. 4). In the view of the first researchers, these were grave goods from graves "possibly earlier than the transformation of the space into an organized cemetery."[83] However, they are not the earliest indications of use of the space. Sherds of Late Geometric vases have also been found, suggesting that burials were made here earlier.

Last, fragments of vases dated to the late sixth/early fifth century BC were found inside a pit in the soft limestone bedrock, in the plot at Praxitelous 25 and Miltiadou 2 (V. 5).

Area VI: Plaka[84]

Just one grave, an inhumation in a pit and undisturbed, was found in the east part of the area, in a trench opened in the surface of Amalias Avenue, opposite nos. 32–34 (VI. 5). Three empty pits (of cremations and an inhumation) found with it were most probably violated graves.

However, in the plot bounded by Voulis, Mitropoleos, Pentelis, and Apollonos Streets (VI. 2), the destroyed torso of a tomb kouros was found. It had been used in the filling between the faces of the Themistoclean enceinte and points to the existence of a roadside cemetery near Classical Gate VIII.

Area IX: Olympieion[85]

On the hillock of the Olympieion, which was used as a burial ground throughout the Geometric period, pottery dated from the end of the seventh into the second quarter of the sixth century BC and assigned to destroyed graves has been found inside wells both to the north of the temple (near the south wall of Gate IX) and to the southeast (IX. 4 and IX. 5). Some sherds were published by E. Brann and attributed to three well-known painters of the Archaic period. These are a fragment of an early Protoattic amphora or hydria, decorated with a chariot from an ekphora scene by the Analatos Painter (circa 700 BC); four fragments of a late Protoattic skyphos with representation of the head of a sphinx and one fragment from an early black-figure amphora, which are attributed to the Nettos Painter (fourth quarter of the seventh century BC); and three fragments probably from an amphora with a depiction of a sphinx by the Gorgo Painter (early sixth century BC).[86]

Area X: Makrygianni[87]

In the northwest part of the area, in the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion (X. 12), was a grave containing five lekythoi, which dated it to the second quarter of the sixth century BC. The findspot is the northernmost burial plot in the area. It is the southward continuation of the South Slope and the area south of the Herodeion, where a cemetery operated into Late Geometric times.

The next burials in the north part of the area were found east of and slightly lower on the slope than the burial in the previous plot. Three have been excavated in the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35) — one on either side of the Weiler building and one more to the southeast of it. They are unpublished. However, the head of a colossal kouros (NMA 4331) was found inside one of the wells in the space (Well 9).[88]

In the section of Kavalloti Street between Propylaion and Erechtheiou Streets, where the large Late Geometric cemetery was brought to light, the sole Archaic grave was found (X. 24). The three black-figure lekythoi from inside it date it to the end of the sixth century BC.

On either side of the above site, 45 m and 20 m away from it, respectively, the plots at Kavalloti 14 (X. 21) and Kavalloti 18 (X. 23) have yielded pottery of the Archaic period. At Kavalloti 14, one whole Archaic vase was found in fragments; it possibly comes from a destroyed grave. The pottery in the plot at Kavalloti 18 may well be related to the cemetery, although it is equally likely that it is associated with the road that passed to the east of the plot.

Farther to the southwest, in the plot at Propylaion 34 (X. 41), part of a cemetery founded in the Late Archaic period and that continued in use into the Classical has been

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excavated. Cremation pits came to light in the south and east parts of the plot.

To the west, in a trench opened in Syngrou Avenue outside the property at no. 42, sherds of the seventh century BC and a broken Archaic pithos that could be associated with an enchytrismos were found (X. 29).

Last, a short distance to the west, in the plot at Iosiph ton Rogon 6 (X. 20) — north of Gate XI and the road that passed through it — an Archaic cremation burial was revealed. Found in the same space was a later conduit of unclear date, with a covering of reused architectural material and fragments of Archaic sculptures, the most typical being the headless torso of a kouros. If this was not the marker of the specific tomb, then it was certainly related to a contemporary one that existed hereabouts. A few vases were found near the tomb. Last, pottery found 40 m southwest, in the plot at Lembesi 19 and Iosiph ton Rogon, is perhaps related to the existence of mortuary activity in the area around the road and Gate XI (X. 28).

Area XI: Kynosarges[89]

The Kynosarges cemetery, founded during the Geometric period, continued in use in the Archaic. Graves and associated pottery have come to light over the entire area occupied by the cemetery in the Late Geometric. This continuity was ascertained not only in excavations conducted by the British School at Athens in 1896–1897, in the area between Vourvachi Street and Vouliagmenis Avenue, but also in rescue excavations carried out in the twentieth century, in the plots at Diamantopoulou 10 (XI. 1) and, farther to the southeast, at Kokkini and Theophilopoulou Streets.[90] In the trench opened in the surface of Theophilopoulou Street, in the section between Menaichmou and Kokkini Streets (XI. 2), a Late Archaic cremation inside a circular pit was uncovered. A few meters farther east, the fill in the plot at Theophilopoulou 11 (XI. 3) yielded fragments of Late Archaic funerary vases, which in the excavator's opinion confirm that the important phases of this cemetery were at the end of the Archaic and in the Classical period. Farther east along the same street, disturbed graves were found in the plot at Theophilopoulou 1–3–5 and Paraskevopoulou (XI. 4). These are pits, with traces of burning in one of them and sherds of black-figure lekythoi of the late sixth/early fifth century BC. Four other pit graves, furnished with black-figure vases (skyphoi and lekythoi), were unearthed in the plot at Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou, east of the previous sites (IX. 2).[91] Because these graves were very close to the site excavated by the British School at Athens, the two sites are considered a continuation of one another.[92] Last, from the relevant indications in the plot at Kallirrois 5 – Perraivou – Kokkini (XI. 6), it seems that the boundaries of the cemetery were much farther north, as far as the Kallirrhoe springs.

Area XII: Koukaki[93]

The mortuary remains in this neighborhood are located in its north and northeast parts — on the boundaries with the Makrygianni neighborhood. A Late Archaic grave richly furnished with ten black-figure lekythoi (one of them from the workshop of the Diosphos Painter) was found in the plot at Erechtheiou 13–15 (XII. 12). This is the only Archaic grave excavated to date in the area of the large Erechtheiou Street cemetery.

Farther east, on Petmeza Street, at the point where the ventilation shaft of the Athens Metro (XII. 18) was constructed, three pit graves and one pyre of the late sixth/early fifth century BC were excavated. These burials are related to the east Phaleron Gate (XII) and the road that through it linked Athens with the harbor at Phaleron.

Last, burial activity continued in the wider area of the cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou Street, some distance away, as emerges from Archaic pottery found at its northernmost limit on Veikou Street, in the plot at Veikou 123–125 and Aglavrou (XII. 3).

Area XIII: Theseion[94]

The funerary remains found in the area lie on the south side of the road that passed through Gate II (Piraeus Gate) and linked the city with the Piraeus. Continuity of use during Archaic times of the roadside cemetery that was at its peak in the Late Geometric period is indicated by pottery retrieved from the corner plot at Aktaiou and Nileos (XIII. 2), and Igiou 3 (XIII. 10). The first site yielded, among other material, a tomb amphora with a depiction of a horseman, which is dated to the mid-sixth century BC.

The sole Archaic grave in the area was found about 120 m farther west, in the plot at Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos (XIII. 9), through which part of the Classical fortification wall passes. The grave was unearthed in the northwest corner of the plot, virtually abutting the enceinte, which fortuitously did not destroy it. A fragment of an Archaic marble Sphinx, found some 5 m away, is probably from a statue set up on this tomb or another one, now lost.

Last, Archaic pottery has been found also 10 m to the north, at two sites on the side of another ancient road running parallel to Peiraios Street, in the plots at Vasilis 18 (XIII. 5) and Poulopoulou 19 (XIII. 15). However, as remains of two small urban sanctuaries of the Late Archaic period have come to light in both plots, the vase sherds found should be linked with the votive offerings of devotees rather than with burials in this space.[95]

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Discussion and Synthesis of the Material

The Site of the City: Views Old and New

The form of the city and the development of habitation in Athens during the Archaic period are not included among the major topographical issues that have preoccupied research, such as the location of the Archaic Agora or the date of the founding of the second Agora to the northwest of the Acropolis. These issues arise in the bibliography suddenly, for the years shortly before the Persian Wars, with hindsight from the disaster that ensued. Then Athens is dealt with as a polis, of crystalized form similar to that of the Classical period, despite the fact that the intermediate stages in its development have not been observed (fig. 4.11). The dearth of Archaic settlement remains has contributed to creating this hiatus in our knowledge. This is due in large part to the destruction of the city by the Persian army, in 480 BC under Xerxes and in 479 BC under Mardonius, who retreated "but first burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing" (Herodotus 9.13), as well as to the Athenians themselves, who immediately after their return from Troezen, Aegina, and Salamis, where they had sought refuge, began "to rebuild the city and the walls . . . sparing neither private nor public edifice that would in any way help to further the work, but demolishing them all" (Thucydides 1. 89–90).

Consequently, whatever has been said at various times about habitation in the Archaic period has emerged piecemeal from sites at which scant and patchy settlement remains have come to light (south of the Herodeion and Dionysiou Areopagitou Street and in the area of the Klepsydra on the North Slope of the Acropolis). Yet again, the graves have played a role in creating general impressions, even though there were remarkably fewer graves in the Archaic period than in Geometric times, when they took over areas mainly in the south part of the city.[96] Since for the Archaic period, as for the preceding ones, graves and houses were considered to have been placed together and indiscriminately in space, the mortuary sites have been utilized once again as testimonies of settlement in the same areas. Thus the absence of Archaic graves from within the "densely inhabited" areas of the Geometric period was interpreted as due to the shrinking of the city in Archaic times, particularly in its south part, where the phenomenon is more pronounced.[97]

Moreover, there are differences of opinion as to the dating of the eight wells in the area of the Klepsydra. Depending on the terminus ante quem of their use, these are related either to the works carried out by Peisistratos and his sons on the Acropolis in the second half of the sixth century BC or to the settlement that used them and was destroyed by the Persians in 480 BC.[98]

Once again, the Agora and its remains preoccupy — if not monopolize — research. However, the wells that continued to proliferate at the site are no longer attributed by researchers only to houses but also to workshops, which in many cases are one and the same. Implicated in the issue of the turning of this space into the city's Agora are theories

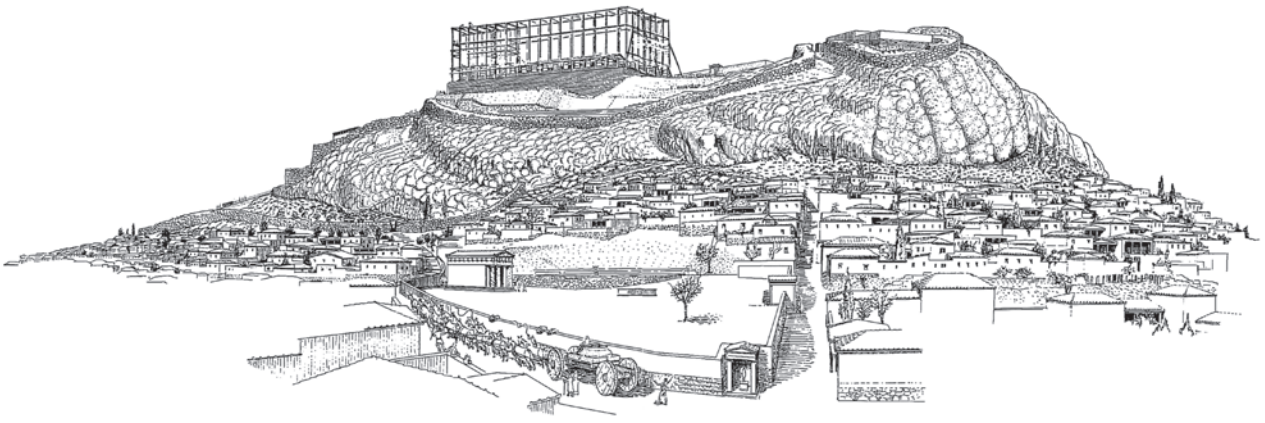

Figure 4.11. The south and southeast part of the city on the eve of the Persian destruction. Restoration drawing by M. Korres, based on the most recent topographical mapping, earlier measurements of the various excavated sectors, and geomorphological observations. Depicted are the half-destroyed yet still preserved Mycenaean fortification walls and the Rock, as well as the hill, without the technical interventions made later for construction of the Herodeion, the theater, and the other public buildings of the South Slope. Represented on the site of the original theater of Dionysos are the houses that existed there. According to Korres, the zigzag road to south and west of the sanctuary of Dionysos is earlier than the Mycenaean ramparts. It led to the Acropolis and connected it with the hillock of the Olympieion and its very ancient settlement. The other road leading to the slope, along the east side of the sanctuary of Dionysos, has been located in excavations. Korres 1994, fig. 17, p. 106, with bibliography. Courtesy of M. Korres.

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concerning the date of its founding.[99] Commonplace in the various views on when this took place is the elimination of old private houses from the central square when the space became state property. The abandonment of wells in the middle and closing years of the sixth century BC and until the beginning of the fifth century BC is the evidence that each researcher endeavors to utilize, depending on the date he or she proposes. All the remains of early buildings found are considered to be of houses, with the exception of those revealed under the later Classical public edifices, which for this reason are considered public too.[100] Shear Jr. and Papadopoulos have overturned with convincing arguments the earlier theories concerning Buildings C, D, and F. These scholars have demonstrated that workshops (Buildings A and B) existed in the space during the seventh century BC and that these continued to operate into the sixth century BC, as is shown from their wells. These issues are analyzed below.

Acropolis: Habitation on the Slopes

These years saw the gradual completion of the change in use of the fortified site from a locus of settlement to a locus of worship.[101] The transition from one state to another passed through intermediate stages, during which the earlier receding activities coexisted with the emerging ones. In the seventh century BC, notwithstanding its evolving transformation into a sacred space, the Acropolis continued to be what its name denotes: it kept its original character of fortified citadel.[102] By the second half of the century, the settlement and the late-eighth-century BC cemetery that seems to have existed had left the summit of the hill, which hosted at least one temple or sanctuary with altar and cult statue.[103] This information is gleaned indirectly from the incident of Kylon's conspiracy, as recorded by Herodotus, Thucydides, and Plutarch. It seems that he and whoever else tried to gain control of the city had first to capture and hold its citadel.[104] The importance of this literary testimony lies on the one hand in the fact that it is the first historically datable event associated with the development of political regimes in the otherwise misty picture of the city's history during the seventh century BC, and on the other in that it provides evidence on the topography of the Acropolis and the lower city.[105]

Northwest and West Slopes of the Acropolis: Beautification and Monumentality versus Habitation

The presence of the Empedo spring high on the Northwest Slope of the Acropolis and the existence of aquifers in the area around this were the reasons for continuous habitation hereabouts. From Neolithic times, the water supply to the North Slope had been from the Empedo spring, and this continued even after Classical times with construction of the fountain building of the Klepsydra, where the springwater was collected more systematically.[106]

In the Archaic period, eight new wells were sunk in the area,[107] the first to be opened after the Submycenaean wells that existed in the same place. Their construction indicates that the water table had not been depleted. Even so, the absence of Geometric wells or other remains indicates that the area was not inhabited during the intervening three centuries. This gap can be explained by the concentration of activity lower down, in the natural hollow of the later Agora, where the water-supply needs of the potters working and dwelling in the space were met on the spot by the wells sunk there.

With the discovery of these Archaic wells, it became clear that these were not wells that on drying up had been used as domestic refuse dumps, as was the usual practice of the ancient Athenians. They were wells that functioned normally until some moment in time, when they were abolished intentionally in one fell swoop. The uniform fill of all eight shafts included debris from destroyed houses[108] and pottery of the sixth and early fifth centuries BC (table 4.1). Consequently, the material with which they were sealed resulted from the clearing of an area, most probably an entire quarter, on such a wide scale that it involved the total demolition of small buildings or — if these were already demolished[109] — the dumping of all their debris. The attempts to date the abandonment of these Archaic wells, which follow, are related also to the purpose for which the wells were sunk.

According to T. L. Shear and to the excavator of the wells, A. W. Parsons, this systematic clearing of the area down to the foundations must surely be linked with works in the wake of the city's destruction by the Persians and the return of the Athenians to the asty. The debris found inside the wells is what remained of houses on the Northwest and West Slopes after the second catastrophic assault on the empty city by Mardonius, in June 479 BC (10 months after the previous invasion in the autumn of 480 BC), during which whatever was still standing was razed to the ground (Herodotus 9. 13).[110] Parsons dates the works, on the basis of the pottery found in the fill of the wells, to circa 475 BC or slightly later — that is, the years when the Klepsydra was constructed. Thus he argues that the clearing of the ruins of the destroyed houses, the dumping of the debris inside the eight Archaic wells, and the replacement of these by the new fountain building erected on top of the Empedo spring are interrelated actions that belong overall in Kimon's building program.[111]

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Table 4.1. Klepsydra wells

Deposit Grid Number or Site	Well	Deposit	Type of Fill	Dating of Fill	POC	POU	POA/ Terminus Post Quem	Special Features	Gazetteer No.
T 24:3	●		dumped fill; much building debris, including roof tiles, water pipes, and a chimney	U: ca. 500 BC and earlier	?	scant remains of use fill, no later than ca. 530/520 BC	–	–	VIII. 2
T 24:5	●		dumped debris fill, poros block, fragments of tiles near the bottom	ca. 525/500 B.C and earlier	?	–	–	–	VIII. 2
T 25:2	●		two poros blocks, roof tiles, bronze arrowheads	ca. 500 BC and earlier	?	–	–	–	VIII. 2
U 23:2	●		roof tiles, mud brick (?)	U: ca. 500 BC or soon after	?	ca. 525/500 BC	–	–	VIII. 2
U 24:1	●		household debris, roof tiles	U: ca. 500 BC	?	ca. 500 BC	–	–	VIII. 2
U 25:2		■	domestic rubbish pit	three separate dumps; L: ca. 535/520, M: ca. 525 at latest; U: ca. 500 or possibly 490 BC	?	–	–	left unfinished	VIII. 2
V 23:1	●		–	U: ca. 500/490 BC	?	ca. 525/500 BC	–	–	VIII. 2
V 24:2	●		M: mud brick, broken roof tiles, beams, upper part of pithos as wellhead	ca. 525/500 BC	?	ca. 500 BC	–	–	VIII. 2

Notes: The locations of the deposits correspond to the 20-m squares of the American School of Classical Studies excavations grid shown in *Agora* VIII, pl. 45; *Agora* XII, fig. 24–25; *Agora* XXIII, plan; and *Agora* XXX, plan. The following conventions, made by the *Agora*'s authors, indicate separate fillings in wells: POC: period of construction; POU: period of use (or use filling); POA: period of abolishment; L: lower dumped fillings; M: middle dumped fillings; U: upper dumped fillings; S: supplementary (or top) fillings.

B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, who published part of the unpainted and the black-glaze pottery from the wells, and M. Moore and M. Z. Pease Philippides, who published the black-figure vases from them,[112] dated the POU of the wells, on the basis of the pottery in the lowest level of the use fill (wherever this was distinguishable), from 530/525 BC[113] to circa 500 BC.[114] They dated the sealing of the wells circa 500 BC. In two cases they were able to date it precisely to 490 BC.[115] These results confirm the initial conclusions of Parsons and Shear.

Even so, Camp offered another interpretation. In his opinion, "all eight [wells] seem to have a similar history, with a use and abandonment confined to the sixth century BC," although he does not rule out the possibility that they continued in use until 470 BC.[116] He associated both their appearance and their abandonment with the years of

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the tyranny of the Peisistratids and their political and constructional activities upon the Rock. Indeed, he went on to propose two historic moments that could be linked with the said wells. The first was in 566 BC, when Peisistratos seized power for the first time by capturing the Acropolis.[117] The wells on the North Slope could have been sunk then to secure the water supply of the Acropolis and the success of his operation.[118] The second case, and the more likely in Camp's view, was in 510 BC, when the Spartans under Kleomenes tried to overthrow Hippias.[119] Here Camp interprets Herodotus's statement that the siege was doomed to failure from the outset because the beleaguered citizens were fully supplied with food and water as plausible testimony of the possibility of obtaining water from the eight Archaic wells in the area of the Klepsydra.[120]

Although this may have been the case, it is more reasonable to suppose that these wells already existed and were exploited, since the Empedo and its wells lay inside the old Pelargikon fortification wall, whose most important role was to secure the water supply of the Acropolis by protecting its natural springs,[121] rather than that they were opened because of the siege.

Furthermore, this suggested military use of the wells does not give a logical explanation of the presence of building debris inside them. Camp, in a footnote in his thesis, attempts to broach this issue, but again by connecting it with the Peisistratids and their building project. Despite the fact that the mud bricks, roof tiles, conduits, chimneys, timbers, and polygonal stones constitute a very clear archaeological sample of the destruction of an Archaic building, clearly not monumental but domestic in character, Camp disassociates them from their obvious interpretation and speaks of them as "debris [that] could equally well have come from the dismantling of whatever structures Peisistratos had caused to be built up there."[122] Thus he rules out the possibility of these wells belonging to a settlement on the Northwest Slope. This is consistent with his general view that the main urban settlement from the end of the Mycenaean period down to the end of the sixth century BC was located to the northwest of the Acropolis, on the site of the Agora, and that the wells that have been identified there covered the population's needs for water. Thus the far-off wells on the Northwest Slope are not interpreted as traces of habitation in the area, since Camp places the settlement much lower down.

We opt for Parsons's view and consider the Archaic wells on the Northwest Slope as indicating habitation in the area of the Klepsydra, which can be traced until the Persian destruction of the city. However, this does not necessarily mean that the number of wells implies the same number of houses.[123] Although the detailed study and publication of the wells is pending, study of part of the pottery found in their fill can give us the terminus post quem and the terminus ante quem of the period of habitation of the space. The lowest level of the fill, which corresponds to the POU of the wells, shows that at the turn of the third to the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC, a settlement that was supplied with water from these wells existed on the Northwest Slope. The dating of the pottery from the uniform filling that closed down the wells (in the case of the domestic deposit U 25:2 in its upper level) confirms that by the early fifth century BC, and in fact circa 490 BC, the houses in this settlement no longer existed. In the absence of the full publication of the wells, we are unable to say when exactly they were sunk — in other words, how much earlier they are than 530 BC. Consequently, we cannot say whether systematic habitation in this location began in the sixth century BC or earlier.[124]

By contrast, the evidence available from study of the pottery from the fill of these wells brings us somewhat closer to the circumstances in which this settlement was destroyed. Parsons's contention that the building material found in the wells is related to the Persian destruction of the city is very persuasive in historical and archaeological terms and cannot be dismissed lightly. Otherwise, the discarded building materials from nonmonumental buildings, which were found inside their shafts, seems inexplicable. If this is the case, then the settlement was not rebuilt after the Athenians' return but was left in ruins. The clearing of the debris and the disposal of it seems to coincide with construction of the fountain house of the Klepsydra. Examining the issue from this perspective, we could perhaps say that although the Archaic settlement of the Klepsydra was destroyed by the Persians, what put an end to the old habitational use of the area was the polis itself. The decision to upgrade the North Slope of the Acropolis spelled officially and practically the end of habitation here. Concurrently, the construction of the Klepsydra, the revamping of the Pytheion by laying the stone-paved court, and the founding of other sanctuaries on the North Slope, such as of Pan, after the Persian Wars, gave the upper part of the slope a sacred and public character, which was in keeping with the image gradually being created on the top of the Rock.[125]

However, apart from the problem of dating precisely the time span of this settlement, there are also difficulties in detecting its topographical limits (fig. 4.12). The wider area of the Klepsydra borders the space of the Eleusinion sanctuary southeast of the Agora, on the North Slope of the Acropolis. Its southernmost section (Section II) is the

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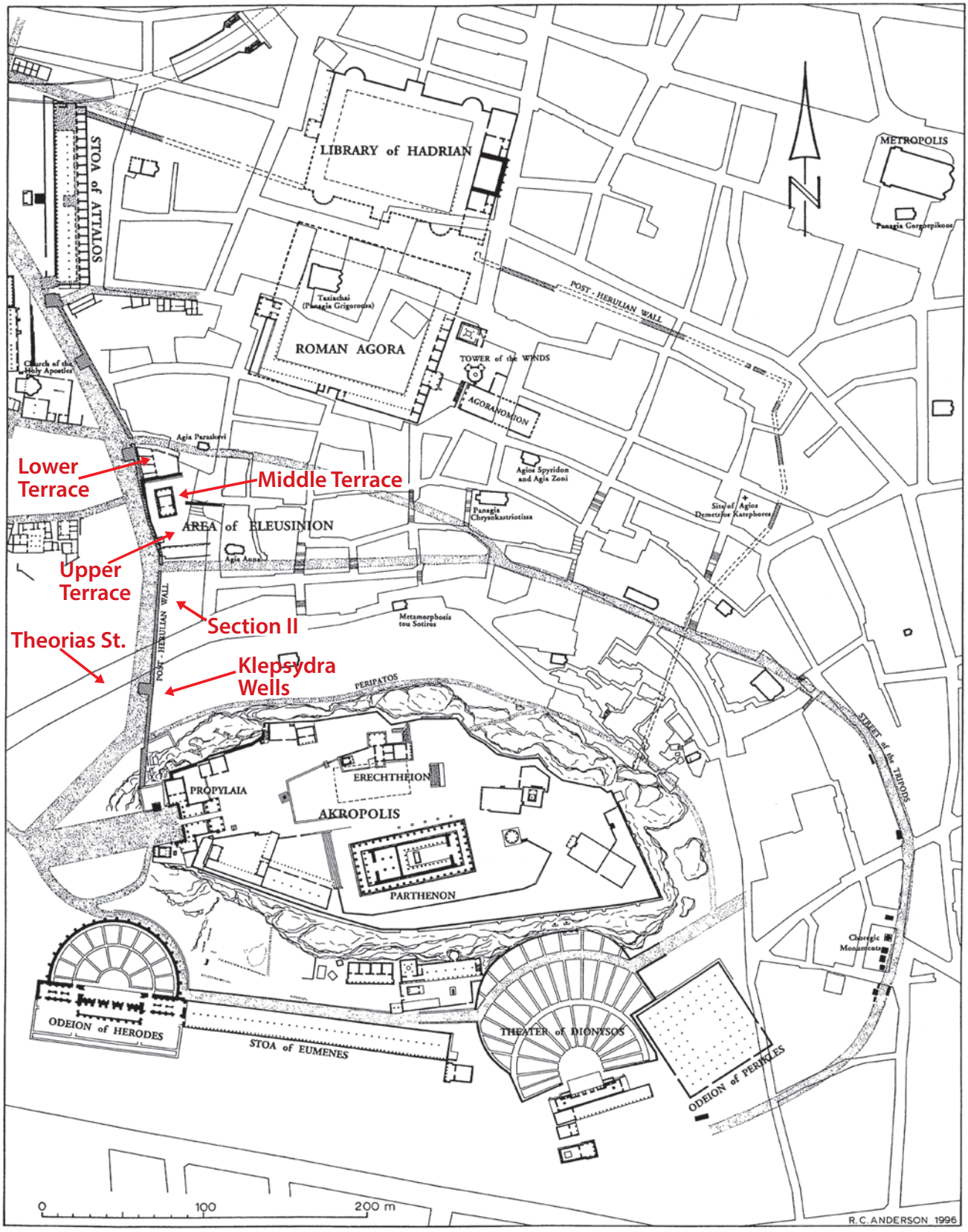

Figure 4.12. Athens. Topographical plan of the Acropolis and the areas around it. *Agora* XXXI, p. 13, plan 2. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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highest and steepest point in the excavated space of the sanctuary and is separated from the area of the Archaic wells by modern Theorias Street. Characteristic of the excavation picture is the total absence of signs of early habitation, in contrast to what we know about use of the space on the middle terrace until the mid-sixth century BC. The earliest finds revealed are ritual deposits (apothetai) of vases associated with Eleusinian cult, which are dated from the fifth into the second century BC and indicate that during these years the area was part of the sanctuary or a place of depositing its discards.[126] The same picture of absence of early habitation is encountered immediately to the south, on the upper terrace of the Eleusinion, which in contrast to Section II is a spacious flat area ideal for settlement. No architectural remains, wells, or pits have been found from the years before the mid-seventh century BC, to which the earliest apothetai of the area, full of terracotta figurines and other votive offerings, are dated.

Given the privileged position of the two spaces — the more southerly (Section II) is close to the Klepsydra and the walled Acropolis; the upper terrace is beside the Panathenaic Way — this fact is striking. We would expect Archaic habitation to have extended northward around the wells in the area of the Klepsydra.[127] However, it does not seem to have extended northward beyond the conventional boundary of modern Theorias Street. This may be due to the steep gradient of the North Slope in Section II and to the demarcation of the temenos of the Eleusinion at least from the mid-seventh century BC.[128]

As far as the southern limits of the settlement are concerned, these depend on the position and course of the Pelargikon. If, as Camp argues, the Empedo spring and its wells were protected by the early fortification wall, then we could assume that the houses of the Archaic settlement were built intra muros of the Pelargikon, at this point on the Northwest Slope. However, if, as Iakovidis and others maintain, the Pelargikon passed directly south of the Peripatos, leaving the spring and wells outside the protected space, then the settlement would have been located extra muros, almost abutting the outer face of the fortification wall.[129] Whatever the case, the limits of habitation seem to have been confined to this place, unless they extended westward too, toward the area of the later Beulé Gate.

The Archaic wall and the remains of a room to the south of it, which were uncovered in 1965 on the West Slope, are important finds, as there are extremely few traces of habitation in the space from the Archaic period and indeed from before 566 BC, when the Great Panathenaia were reorganized. Henceforth, the Acropolis was considered a "demilitarized" area (to use Vanderpool's term), meaning that it lost the character of a fortress and was transformed into a sacred space.[130]

This large wall, which is related to the remains of the Archaic building, was found under the Classical ramp leading to the entrance to the Acropolis, on the axis of the Propylaia of Mnesikles and the Beulé Gate. Parts of it appear lower down on the slope too, and its overall initial length is estimated as approximately 80 m. The wall is neatly constructed (particularly on its north, visible side) with polygonal masonry, on the basis of which it is dated to the sixth or early fifth century BC.[131] Its excavator, A. Keramopoullos, at first thought it was a fortification wall and part of the Enneapylon. However, according to Vanderpool's more widely accepted view, it was one of the two retaining walls of the Archaic ramp leading up to the Acropolis.[132] The remains of the two walls — remnants of a room with a floor — which were found south of the Archaic wall, are earlier. Both the south and the east wall, built of stones with dressed outer face, were founded on the leveled bedrock. The room had been partly destroyed by the large Archaic wall that passed through it, cutting through its south wall. Vase sherds from the floor date the period of use of the room to the second quarter of the sixth century BC (575–550 BC). At the same time, they set the terminus ante quem of its use, as well as of construction of the large retaining wall of the ramp, which seems to have been the reason for the abandonment and destruction of the preexisting building.

On the basis of the above data, it can be proposed that this room belonged to an Archaic house, one of those that apparently existed high up on the West Slope, near the top of the Acropolis, in the space intervening between the old Mycenaean fortification and the Pelargikon circuit wall.[133] This house possibly belonged to the same settlement as is detected through the fill of the eight Archaic wells in the area of the Klepsydra, which secured the inhabitants' water supply. However, contrary to what has been suggested for the houses on the Northwest Slope in the area of the Klepsydra, here the ruins of the room were found in situ and the archaeological data give a clear picture of when and why it was abandoned. The remodeling of the entrance to the Acropolis in the sixth century BC, by constructing a monumental ramp, logically demanded the abolition of private buildings in favor of public constructions. It seems that rehabilitation of the area of the Klepsydra moved in the same frame, with the abandoning of the wells and the removal of the ruined Archaic settlement so that the space around the new fountain building could be beautified. This phenomenon is encountered time and again in

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the settlement development of the city, in the course of its long history (founding of the Agora and construction of the Theater of Dionysos in the Classical period, building of the Stoa of Eumenes in the Hellenistic period, founding of a new Agora and construction of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus in the Roman period, and so on).[134]

South Slope of the Acropolis – Area South of the Herodeion: Sanctuaries and Houses versus Cemeteries

Contrary to the views of research to date on this area in Archaic times, the change of use of the South Slope, as detected through the Archaic settlement remains, points to the spread of habitation.[135] Initially, the extensive cemetery that existed from the Protogeometric into the mature Late Geometric period to the south of the Herodeion ceased to receive burials and the use of the space gradually changed.[136] As the graves no longer reached to the foot of the Rock, a clear habitation zone was created. This pushed the cemeteries farther south. The disassociation of the space from mortuary activity is marked by the founding of the sanctuary of Nymphe in the east part of the cemetery, in the third quarter of the seventh century BC.

A few decades later, in the sixth century BC, the change of the landscape and its character was even more pronounced due to infrastructure works.[137] The South Slope, with the precipitous double incline at this point (from north to south and from east to west) and the "furrowed ground" with gullies and ravines, was leveled by transporting and depositing fill and constructing the first retaining walls.[138] This intervention in the natural landscape is dated by the stratigraphy of the space and on the basis of the presence of vase sherds of the sixth century BC together with sherds of earlier periods in the disturbed levels.[139] The large and robust retaining wall 72α, which was constructed in these years, keeping in place earth brought from south of the space, underpinned a terrace that interrupted the natural southward incline of the ground and created a flat space for building houses. The construction of terraces, a method known from other early cities on steeply sloping ground (Telos,[140] Tenos,[141] Chios[142]), served the better development of settlement units and/or clusters.[143] Indeed, it was applied farther south too, as is apparent in the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion (X. 12), where the steep gradient of the ground continues.[144]

Upon the terrace created with fill brought from elsewhere in the Geometric cemetery,[145] the earlier of the two Archaic houses at the site, House Γ, was soon built. Both this and the second house were oriented southeastward and therefore were sheltered from north winds in winter and exposed to the noonday sun, exactly as Xenophon recommends (*Memorabilia* 3. 8. 9).[146] It has been observed that because these two houses appear as separate entities, they do not seem to have formed settlement ensembles, which may indicate sparse habitation of the space.[147] This possibility cannot be ruled out, given that the terraced arrangement of the initially small building plots may well have imposed the distance between the houses. The situation changed after the Persian Wars, when the terraces were widened. However, as the discovery of the second house in the space, to the southwest of the first, denotes, habitation apparently continued normally until the Late Archaic period and 480 BC, when the area was destroyed.

Ancient Agora: The Transformation of Private into Public Space

Observation of human activity in the space of the subsequent Agora in the seventh century BC begins with an ascertainment and an enigma: the intensive mortuary activity of the previous period had almost ceased and the Agora was no longer used as a cemetery, while from the closing years of the eighth century BC and down to 700 BC, many of the Agora wells were suddenly sealed.[148]

The dying down of mortuary activity, unlike the abandonment of the wells, did not take place within a few years. It had already begun by the Late Geometric period, when the wells of the potters' workshops spread in the central and southwest space, gradually ousting the graves to the slopes of the vale of the Industrial District.[149] With sole exceptions being the cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus, with its three neighboring graves, and the Tholos cemetery in the southwest corner of the later Agora, the entire remaining space, both central and peripheral, was never again used for burials.

The abandonment of 16 wells circa 700 BC has become a controversial issue among researchers trying to interpret the phenomenon. Brann, who was the first to bring this to the attention of scholarship, proposes as explanation the possibility of a drought, causing the drying up of the wells, or a catastrophic war.[150] Camp, in dealing with the matter, initially examined the possibility of a war with Aegina, with which, as we know from Herodotus (5. 81–82 and 86), Athens was on hostile terms due to "an ancient feud" and "long-standing arrears of enmity." However, Camp rejected this, firstly because this war is not defined temporally, and when and if it happened it was waged in the sea around Aegina, where the Athenian fleet was destroyed,[151] and secondly because there is no reference to any kind of martial activity in Athens; nor are there signs of destruction in the abandoned wells. He too opted for Brann's proposed drought, which in Camp's opinion

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was protracted and commenced in the middle years of the eighth century BC, as evidenced by the greater depth of the wells and the increase in votive offerings in the sanctuary of Zeus Ombrios on the summit of Hymettos.[152] Indeed, developing the theory further, he proposes that if this drought was severe enough to cause the abandonment of the Agora wells, then it is very possible that it led to famine and pestilence, therefore to a reduction in the population. To this Camp attributes the decline of Attic pottery at the end of the eighth/beginning of the seventh century BC, in comparison with Corinthian pottery, as well as Athens's dilatoriness, in relation to other cities, in participating in the first stage of colonization and espousing the tyrannical regime.[153]

This attractive scenario, which is accepted by several scholars, is rejected by Morris, with cogent arguments but without proposing an alternative interpretation of the phenomenon.[154] He objects mainly to the argument on the increased depth of some of the wells, which he attributes to the peculiarities of their geological substrate. Furthermore, he maintains that the closure of wells does not necessarily imply a decrease in population, as it is possible that other ways of securing water had been found in the meantime. Last, Morris underlines the ancient sources' unjustifiable silence regarding a disastrous famine/pestilence, which if it had occurred would surely not have passed without comment.

Recently, Étienne, staunch supporter of Papadopoulos's theory that the early Potters' Quarter (Kerameikos) of Athens was located on the site of the later Agora, interprets the abolition of its wells as pointing to a shift of habitation and of the workshop area, as outcome of a more generalized trend to vacate the central space of the Agora in the seventh century BC and to transfer activity to the periphery.[155] Étienne's interpretation of the phenomenon may be considered as very close to a logical assessment of the problem, if it is corrected with regard to the time frame he places. Below, it becomes apparent that wells existed in the central space of the Agora throughout the seventh century BC (O 12:1, K 9:1, M 11:3, O 12:2). They were closed gradually and had disappeared completely by the first quarter of the sixth century BC (Well I 10:1).

From the Seventh to the Early Sixth Century BC

Regardless of the reason for the abandonment of the Agora wells around 700 BC, the archaeological data show that new wells were sunk in the space in the seventh century BC. These were far fewer than the wells that were to be opened in the sixth century BC, but hardly fewer than those that had preceded in the eighth century BC. By examining their positions together with the scant contemporary architectural remains in the space and the remaining cemeteries, the picture of the Agora site can be drawn and its use detected (table 4.2).

To the west, a large pottery workshop with a kiln (Building A), in use from the late eighth century BC, coexisted in contact with the sole cemetery near the central space (Tholos cemetery), which functioned without interruption from the third quarter of the eighth until the early years of the seventh century BC (II. 5). This workshop was to operate until the mid-seventh century BC, when it was abandoned. Its site was left vacant until about the mid-sixth century BC, when Building F was erected on exactly the same spot. Workshop activity in the area is detected also higher up on the southeast slope of the Agoraios Kolonos (II. 8).[156] Judging by the size and the multiple open-air and sheltered spaces of Building A, it may well have covered the needs of more than one workshop. We know from the sources that very often artisans, and indeed those specializing in different crafts, were accommodated together in large houses divided into smaller rooms, which the owners let individually, thus securing a hefty income. These buildings were called synoikies and housed both the workshops of the craftsmen, where they made their products, and shops where they sold them.[157] Moreover, given that each pottery workshop did not necessarily have its own kiln but may have shared use of a kiln with another workshop, the question arises as to what extent Building A should be considered an early synoikia. But even if this is not the case, it is a large privately owned craft-industrial building that bears witness to the presence of potters in the area in continuation of the Late Geometric period.

To the southwest, no notable increase in habitation is observed in comparison to the preceding period. There are a few wells at the foot of the Agoraios Kolonos (near the Strategeion) and on the north–northwest lower slopes of the Areopagus (near the Early Classical triangular sanctuary). Perhaps use of the space was limited, which would justify indications in the Industrial District that burials were made in the cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus throughout the century (II. 4).

In the southwest corner of the Agora, under the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion, new wells were sunk (J 15:1, I 14:1). In other words, new private houses and/or workshops were set up in an area where there was analogous activity during the preceding years (II. 1).

The first signs of habitation are observed on the north slope of the Areopagus, where it was to be intensified in the ensuing century. However, of particular importance for the function of this space in the century under consideration is the central triangular part delimited by the Agoraios

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Table 4.2. Agora wells and industrial or domestic deposits from the late eighth/early seventh century BC to the early sixth century BC

Deposit Grid Number or Site	Well	Deposit	Type of Fill	Dating of Filling	POC	POU	POA/ Terminus Post Quem)	Special Features	Gazetteer No.
H 12:17		■	debris from pottery kiln	ca. end of 8th/ 7th century BC	?	end of 8th/7th century BC	7th century BC	–	II. 5
D 11:5	●		uniform fill, industrial debris; pottery workshop	ca. end of 8th century/ 650 BC	?	–	–	–	II. 8
J 15:1	●		uniform debris from houses and workshops	turn of 8th/ 7th century BC	?	–	–	–	II. 1
J 18:8	●		uniform pottery and offerings from Geometric "house"	ca. 650/625 BC	?	–	–	footholds	II. 12
M 11:3	●		heavy and uniform dumped fill debris from houses, workshops, and Geometric "house"	ca. 650/600 BC	?	scanty use filling	–	partly stone-lined; footholds	II. 7
O 12:1	●		dumped fill, debris from houses and workshops	ca. 650/625 BC	?	–	–	footholds	II. 7
R 8:2	●		dumped fill, debris from houses and workshops	ca. 650/600 BC	?	–	–	footholds	II. 3
S 19:7	●		use and dumped fill	ca. end of 8th century/650 BC	?	–	–	–	II. 18
R 17:5	●		mostly uniform, industrial debris; pottery workshop	ca. 650/625 BC		–	–	footholds	II. 18
S 17:2		■	industrial debris; pottery workshop	Subgeometric/ 650 BC	?	–	–	–	II. 18
T 19:3	□	■	probably votive deposit	ca. end of 8th century/650 BC	?	–	–	–	II. 18

Notes: The locations of the deposits correspond to the 20-m squares of the American School of Classical Studies excavations grid shown in *Agora* VIII, pl. 45; *Agora* XII, fig. 24–25; *Agora* XXIII, plan; and *Agora* XXX, plan. The following conventions, made by the *Agora*'s authors, indicate separate fillings in wells: POC: period of construction; POU: period of use (or use filling); POA: period of abolishment; L: lower dumped fillings; M: middle dumped fillings; U: upper dumped fillings; S: supplementary (or top) fillings.

Kolonos, the Areopagus, and the early Panathenaic Way (II. 7).[158] Contrary to what Étienne contends, the wells here had not yet been abandoned.[159] Wells continued to be sunk during the seventh century BC in the same areas where they had existed in the Late Geometric period, and as the content of their fill reveals, they belonged to private houses and workshops (II. 7). However, from 650 BC on, each well that closed was not replaced, so by 600 BC the site was free of the installations that had used them. According to Brann, the fact that no well that was sealed later than the beginning of the sixth century BC (such as Well M 11:3 on the site of the Odeion of Agrippa) has been found in the central space of the Agora confirms the theory that during these years, almost all private installations were moved away from the area so that it could be transformed into public space — that is, the Agora of Solon.[160] This view is espoused by all researchers who date the founding of the Agora to circa 600 BC but is rejected by the rest.[161]

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However, perhaps the phenomenon of the abandonment of these wells and private structures, which did indeed begin in the second half of the seventh century BC and was completed by the end of the century, should not necessarily be considered equal to the founding of the Agora. As we shall see below, a significant number of wells were abandoned in the mid-sixth century BC too. So it is possible that this move was the beginning of an arrangement of the space, the first attempt at its gradual transformation from private to public, clearly within the framework of a plan conceived by the state and that in any case could not have been implemented from one year to the next. The concept of the demos and of common, public property did not yet exist. On the contrary, property was still associated with the Eupatrids. Any change in the ownership and use of land in favor of the demosion, a term that does not appear in textual sources before the end of the century, in relation to Solon, would have been tantamount to changes in the economy of the society and social stratification.[162] Indeed, given the turbulent history of these times, it would not be too fanciful to suggest that the political and social conditions themselves, which formed the zeitgeist in the polis, may perhaps have slowed down the processes.[163]

Whatever the motive for this elimination of workshops and dwellings, it did not apply to the east part of the Agora, along the east side of the Panathenaic Way from the Stoa of Attalos as far as the Eleusinion. Wells were opened in the southeast corner throughout the seventh century BC, at the same points where they had existed in Late Geometric times (II. 3). It emerges from the fill of at least one of the wells that there were potters' workshops in the space, just as in earlier years. Workshop activity spread more and more to the southeast. The archaeological evidence from the various kinds of deposits and the wells in the southeast corner of the space give a clear picture of the existence of a large workshop hereabouts in the second half of the seventh century BC. The location of this installation and its products are related to the nearby sanctuary of Demeter (Eleusinion), which was founded in those years (II. 18).[164] It is in this workshop that many of the terracotta votive offerings found in the sanctuary were probably made.[165] Specifically, the well (R 17:5) and the industrial debris pit (S 17:2) associated with the said workshop constitute the clearest documentation that the Potters' Quarter continued to exist on the site of the subsequent Agora during the seventh century BC.[166]

Even farther south, on the North Slope of the Acropolis, the sacral deposits (apothetai) found on the upper terrace of the Eleusinion demonstrate that this was a locus sanctus. They are full of votive offerings and give the terminus post quem of the establishment of cult at the site (mid-seventh century BC), which in the early years was celebrated in the open air.[167] However, these apothetai are important for two more reasons. First, they are the earliest and only indications of religious activity in the site of the Agora, which although ubiquitous in later centuries was less intense in the early seventh century BC. The founding of the Eleusinion in the city (ἐν ἄστει Ἐλευσινίου), as an annex of the great sanctuary of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, set its seal on amicable relations between the two cities after years of hostility and their final unification, which completed the synoecism of Attica.[168] Second, the choice of the particular place for founding the sanctuary provides indirect information on the area during the seventh century BC in relation to the nature of worship of the two deities. It is considered that in this sanctuary, as at Eleusis, the Thesmophoria were celebrated. These rites demanded total secrecy and protection of the participants in them, a precondition known also from other festivals linked with Demeter.[169] The sacral deposits, which were found only on the upper terrace of the sanctuary, which had not been extended northward at this time, identify it as the locus of cult. This is the highest point of the sacred space, devoid of any trace of earlier habitation, as well as without any prospect of neighboring settlement, as the southward declivity of the slope (Section II) is so precipitous at this point that any use other than the discarding of redundant material from the sanctuary is ruled out.[170] Consequently, it seems that this area to the southeast of the Agora and on the North Slope of the Acropolis was in these years still remote and sparsely (or hardly) inhabited. It may well be that this was why this particular space was selected for founding the Eleusinion in the middle years of the century.[171]

Habitation began in these years, and the settled area closest to the sanctuary lies a few meters northwest, in the southeast corner of the Agora. The remains of the large building on the site of the later southeast fountain bring back to the forestage the issue of private property in the space during the years of transition from the seventh to the sixth century BC (II. 19). Thompson attributes the remains to private houses and underlines their importance, as they are the earliest building traces in the area. Shear Jr. accepts the identification and stresses the significance of the fact that at the end of the same century these houses seem to have been demolished intentionally to make way for the public fountain building, which he dates to 530–520 BC.[172] There is no reason to doubt that these were indeed private buildings. However, the intensive workshop activity in the space next to them provokes potential correlations.

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Even though no well or refuse pit with such indications has been found within the bounds of these structures, the short distance between them and the workshop deposit S 17:2 and the well (R 17:5) associated with it justifies such a hypothesis.

From the Sixth Century BC to 480/479 BC

The issue of the state takeover of the area of the Agora is even more pressing with regard to the sixth century BC, when the central space was freed finally of the wells. If, as Shear Jr. argues, this shows that the triangular space delimited by the three basic road arteries had become public already by the beginning of the century, then the proliferation of wells along all three sides indicates the obligatory relocation of old houses and workshops and the founding of new ones now on the periphery of the public space, which continued to expand as the century progressed[173] (table 4.3).

No notable changes in use are observed on the west side in the early years of the century. Even though the space occupied by the pottery workshop (Building A) in the previous century remained free, a blacksmith's workshop (Building B) operated a few meters to the north (II. 5). A few years after its abandonment, Building C was constructed to the north of it in the first quarter of the sixth century BC. This small two-room building of parallelogram plan had initially been identified as the Solonian Boule.[174] However, investigation of Well H 10:2, which probably served its needs, did not corroborate such an interpretation. To the contrary, it confirmed Shear Jr.'s view that this was a private house, as were the remains farther north, in the space between the later temples of Apollo and the Mother of the Gods (II. 20).[175] Comparison of Building C with the somewhat earlier building under the southeast fountain shows that not only are their construction and layout the same but also that the building in the southwest corner had more rooms than the "seat of the Boule of the Four Hundred."[176] If this view is correct, then the west side had not yet acquired any kind of public character and continued to be private property.

Farther southwest, within the Industrial District, the wells sunk show that activity hereabouts increased in comparison to the previous century. However, the surviving remains, scant due to extensive building activity in the valley in Classical times, do not allow us to define this further (II. 4). It is clear that some people lived permanently in the space and needed water. However, the burials, which continued in the area throughout the sixth century BC, in the cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus and elsewhere in the valley, raise questions.[177]

Closer to the central space, the southwest corner of the Agora was inhabited from the first half of the sixth century BC. Another house (J 14:3) was built near the one that existed there from the fourth quarter of the seventh century BC (I 14:1), but both were abandoned by 550 BC at latest (II. 1). It is characteristic that until the Aiakeion was erected on this spot, the space remained free of other buildings. Although we do not know the exact duration of the interval between the abandonment of the houses and their wells and the founding of the sanctuary (second half of the century or 500 BC according to others), it may well be that we are dealing once again with an expropriation of private space on behalf of the state (demosion) for the purpose of turning it into a place of worship.[178] According to Shear Jr., the southwest corner is one of two places where a tendency toward expansion of public space at the expense of the houses in the area, around 570 BC (first quarter of the sixth century BC), is revealed. The other is the southeast corner, where the phenomenon is repeated some 20 years later, after 550 BC.[179]

The houses were abandoned in the framework of large-scale interventions in the natural environment along the entire west side, in implementation of the state master plan for the space and heralding the major restructuring of its northwest corner, carried out at the end of the century. The purpose of these interventions was to raise the level on which the previous buildings had been erected and to rehabilitate a large area along the west side of the later Agora. To this end, the dell at the east and southeast foot of the Agoraios Kolonos, whose direction was followed by the Great Drain in the early fifth century BC, was filled in with huge amounts of broken natural stone from places where the soft limestone bedrock had been cut away.[180] Practically, these works are related to the construction of Buildings F and D and the Archaic temple of Apollo, as well as with leveling the uneven central space. Essentially, however, these were mainly works to improve the public space, which became official and from 550 BC onward was put under the protection of Apollo Patroos and Zeus Phratrios. The founding of their cult within the Agora symbolized the incorporation of the different and very often rival tribes of Attica in a united polis of Athenian citizens.[181]

The changes in use of the site that had taken place by the mid-sixth century BC had gradually brought the widening of public space at the expense of private. It is not known to what extent the erection of Building F between the second and third quarter of the sixth century BC affected this tug-of-war. If, according to the prevailing view, we consider it a public building and seat of the

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Table 4.3. Agora wells and industrial or domestic deposits: early sixth century BC–480 BC

Deposit Grid Number or Site	Well	Deposit	Type of Fill	Dating of Filling	POC	POU	POA/ Terminus Post Quem	Special Features	Gazetteer No.
C 18:8	●		–	At the top supplement fill of 550/500 BC	?	substantial use fill, ca. 575/550 BC	–	stone-lined	II. 4
Q 13:5	●		heavy dumped fill	ca. 575/540 BC	?	–	–	footholds	II. 3
Q 12:3	●		heavy dumped filling, industrial debris; pottery workshop	ca. 520/490 BC	?	little evidence	Persian sack	–	II. 3
R 12:1	●		heavy dumped filling	ca. 520/480 BC	?	–	Persian sack	–	II. 3
J 2:4	●		stratified domestic debris	—	?	end of 6th century/479 BC	Persian sack	stone-lined	II. 10
J 18:4		■	storage pit, household pottery	L: ca. 550 BC; U: ca. 525/500 BC	?	–	–	–	II. 12
Well under House Ω	●		–	ca. beginning of 5th century/480 BC	?	–	Persian sack	–	II. 13
B 19:10	●		–	ca. 500/480 BC	?		Persian sack	–	II. 4
I 14:1	●		–	ca. 625/570 BC	?	no distinct evidence	–	partly stone-lined	II. 1
H 12:15	●		household debris; two dumped fills but closely contemporary	U: 520/480 BC; at the top, scanty supplement fill of end of 5th or beginning of 4th century BC		heavy use fill, 520/480 BC	Persian sack	partly faced with stones; rock-cut below	II. 21
H 12:18		■	domestic fills	ca. end of 6th and early 5th century BC		from beneath original floor: 500 BC; between original and second floor: 490/450 BC	Persian sack	–	II. 21

Notes: The locations of the deposits correspond to the 20-m squares of the American School of Classical Studies excavations grid shown in *Agora* VIII, pl. 45; *Agora* XII, fig. 24–25; *Agora* XXIII, plan; and *Agora* XXX, plan. The following conventions, made by the *Agora*'s authors, indicate separate fillings in wells: POC: period of construction; POU: period of use (or use filling); POA: period of abolishment; L: lower dumped fillings; M: middle dumped fillings; U: upper dumped fillings; S: supplementary (or top) fillings.

Peisistratid family,[182] then we must accept that in those years the west side of the Agora acquired an official character articulated with the state. However, if the building was private — yet another synoikia or a potter's workshop — as Papadopoulos recently proposed, then the city's political life had not yet been transferred to the Agora and its seat was still in the eastern sector of Athens, in the old Agora of Theseus.[183]

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Even so, the public character of Building D, which was built circa 530 BC between Buildings F and C, and with which it is connected by a large enclosure (peribolos), is by no means certain.[184] Although it too was connected with the Solonian Boule (Building C), the ensemble formed by the two buildings, with the large open space between them, gives the impression of a large residence with outbuildings on the sides of a common court. The plan and size of the open space bring to mind the building of the first half of the century, situated between the Archaic temple of Apollo and the early Metroon (II. 20). From this perspective, it may well be that during the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC, the west side of the Agora was still in the hands of affluent citizens who held out against expropriations by the state. One other possibility, discussed by Camp, is that these buildings were public but were not associated with functions of the Archaic Athenian state. Rather they were associated with use of the public square in these years — for dramatic performances relating to the newly introduced cult of Dionysos Eleuthereus in the city and for athletic games, military exercises, and political gatherings.[185]

On the other side, the east, the earliest private installations, which were concentrated in the northeast corner of the space from the early sixth century BC, were abandoned by mid-century, and any new ones created in the meantime also ceased to exist by the end of the century at latest (II. 3). Although there is insufficient published information on the wells that served the needs of these structures, the existence of workshop activity in the area from the Early Iron Age and the uninterrupted presence of refuse pits and wells close to a basic road artery support the hypothesis that these wells belonged to workshops.[186] The two buildings with multiple spaces, on the opposite side of the road, were built in the same years that the wells were abandoned: the east, with the open court, in the mid-sixth century BC and the west at the end of the century. This conjuncture surely merits further consideration. The two multispace buildings to the northwest of the Stoa of Attalos are two synoikies that, after numerous repairs and interventions, stood on the same spot for centuries.[187] The coincidence of the construction of these with the abandonment of the structures in the northeast corner of the Agora may well attest the shifting and rehousing of manufacturing and mercantile activity from the original locus east of the Panathenaic Way to the periphery of the public space, which now extended eastward and was better organized. Indeed, the fact that no traces of workshop activity were found on the Archaic floors of the buildings perhaps indicates that the enterprises they housed were not workshops making products but shops selling ready-made goods.[188] This change did not apply to the trading activity some 100 m to the south, in the area around the south end of the Stoa of Attalos, where vases were made and sold normally during the second and third quarters of the century (Q 13:5). This is perhaps the only point where workshop activity continued until the early years of the fifth century BC. Some shops that began to operate in the space in the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC (Q 12:3, R 12:1, R 12:4) were not affected by anything until 480/479 BC, when they were destroyed by the Persians (II. 3).[189]

Farther southeast, the space had in the meantime been utilized and was no longer sparsely populated as in the seventh century BC. To the northwest of the Eleusinion, workshops still existed in the same place as had those of the seventh century BC, supplying pilgrims with votive offerings (II. 18). A part of the ever-expanding settlement in the area had almost encroached on the sanctuary of Demeter, high up on the North Slope. The middle terrace to the north of the sanctuary was occupied by private houses, built close to the shops and workshops. The organizing of the central space as public and the rearrangement at points where private structures had hitherto existed resulted in the concentration of habitation over the entire south side of the Agora. The space extending from the southwest corner to the southeast corner with the Eleusinion, and from the edges of the public square to the north and northeast slope of the Areopagus, filled with houses (II. 21, II. 19, II. 18, II. 12). The North Slope, the habitation of which had begun in the middle years of the previous century, was developed even more during the sixth century BC, acquiring streets and a drainage-sewerage network.

In the same years, private buildings that stood to the southeast of the square from the beginning of the century and slightly later were demolished. At the end of the century, the settlement on the middle terrace of the Eleusinion had the same fate, as it was an obstacle to northward expansion of the sacred space (II. 18). The abolition of this settlement in the latter years of the century and the vacating of the space in order to double the original area and build the temple of Triptolemos[190] (second quarter of the sixth century BC) constitute one of the most eloquent examples of the change of space from private to sacred, and the transformation of the aspect of the Agora in these years. At the beginning of the century, the process of remodeling the space had begun from the southwest corner of the Agora. Toward the end of the century, having expanded rapidly toward the southeast, it reached the southeast corner.[191] The settlement that had developed there shrank and was now confined to the west of the Panathenaic Way, on the

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north and northeast slopes of the Areopagus, which by the end of the century were probably desirable residential areas (II. 12, II. 13).

The north side of the Agora must also have been a privileged position for houses. It had similar advantages to the north slope of the Areopagus and indeed a better orientation, since it faced south. Although this quarter lies under the modern city and only the part around the Stoa Poikile has been expropriated and excavated, this is the picture we gain. Two observations can be made with respect to the river, which dominates the topography: the Eridanos does not seem to have been a natural boundary for the expansion of the city, unlike the Ilissos in its south part,[192] and even though it is so close to the houses, it did not serve as a direct water source. These observations are based on the existence on its north bank of a Late Archaic house (II.10), which although only about 15 m away from the riverbed nonetheless had its own well (J 2:4). It is known from the literary sources that in the period spanning the first century BC to the first century AD, the Eridanos was a polluted stream from which not even animals drank (Strabo, *Geography*, 9. 1. 19). However, the explanation of the presence of the well should not be related to this information, as it is highly unlikely that the pollution problem had started so early.[193] It is more likely that the explanation lies in the nature of the terrain and the long-established practice of sinking wells next to the beds of rivers and streams in order to obtain good-quality water.

In a recent four-year geophysical research program at this point on the banks of the Eridanos, through archaeological soundings down to the bedrock and geological sampling, the geomorphology of the valley was mapped.[194] This work showed that the natural riverbed was much bigger than hitherto imagined: its width ranged from 20 to 30 m between two corresponding benchmarks on each bank, depending on the quantity of water, and the riparian zones 30 to 40 m distant from the main bed have a gradient of the order of 5 to 5.5 percent (fig. 4.13).[195]

Consequently, Well J 2:4, of depth 5.80 m, could have easily covered the water-supply needs of the Late Archaic house, as at least the lowest third of its shaft was below the highest point of the riverbed. This easy access to water does not seem to have been utilized in the same way by the pottery workshop constructed on the south bank of the river, exactly opposite the Late Archaic house and behind the spot where the Stoa Basileios was erected a few years later (500 BC), as it apparently had no well.[196] This workshop is at once the northernmost on the west side and the latest of the Archaic period found so far in the Agora. It is possible that the building of houses on the north bank of the Eridanos did not begin as early as on the north slope of the Areopagus and perhaps not before the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC, to which Well J 2:4 is dated.

Once again, this might be due to the geomorphology of the deep valley of the Eridanos, and also of the dale on the west side of the Agora, skirting the east foot of the Agoraios Kolonos. Ammerman remarks that at the point of convergence of the two, between the Stoa Basileios and the Altar of the Twelve Gods, there was a narrow "bottle-neck" pass, making circulation difficult and the fording of the Eridanos possible only via some kind of bridge (fig. 4.14).[197] It seems that this was why man-made fill was deposited here from the mid-sixth century BC.[198]

The spread of habitation to the areas north of the Eridanos during the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC seems to have been due to the preceding major public infrastructure works (third/fourth quarter of the sixth century BC), namely the filling in of the Eridanos Valley and diversion of the torrent through a system of pipes. These works were completed with the remodeling of the

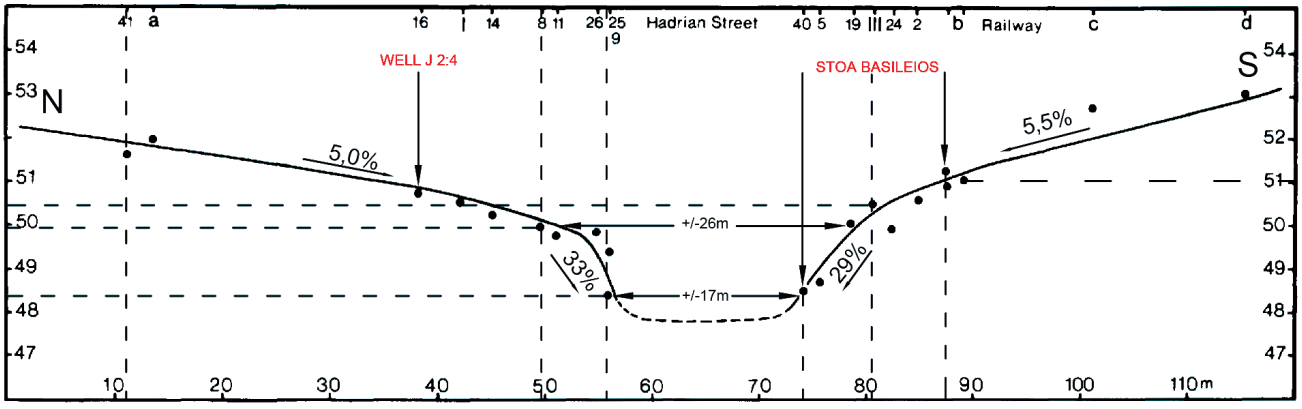

Figure 4.13. Athens, Agora. North–south section through the valley of the Eridanos, with the gradient of the banks at the location of Late Archaic Well J 2:4 and the Stoa Basileios. Adapted from Ammerman 1996, fig. 5. Courtesy of A. J. Ammerman.

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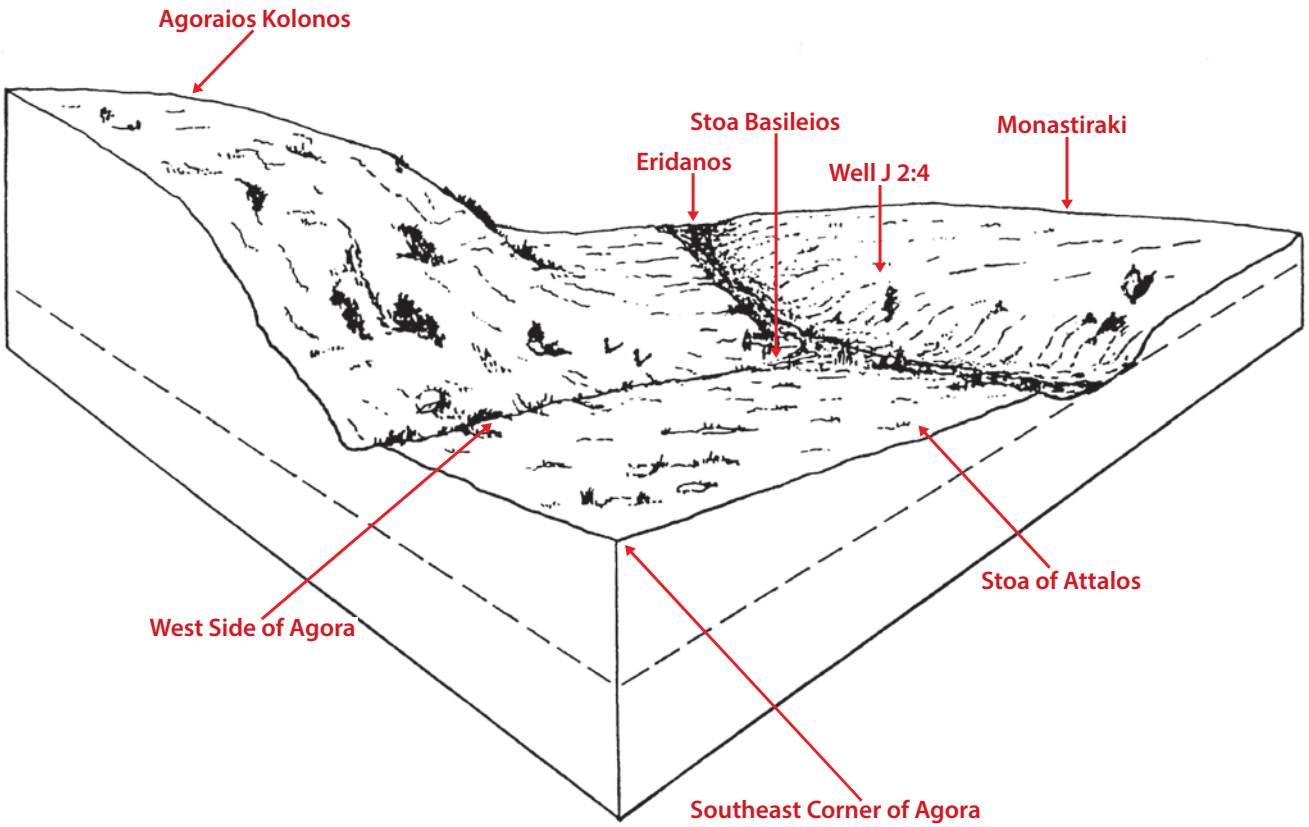

Figure 4.14. Athens, Agora. Terrain and topography of the Eridanos Valley. Ammerman 1996, fig. 7. Courtesy of A. J. Ammerman.

northwest corner of the Agora as a wide pass (fig. 4.15). Together with resolving the problem of access to and from the central public space, easy access to the areas north of the Eridanos was restored too. These areas suddenly found themselves at the city's most nodal point and were not merely popular but in high demand as real estate.

By the same token, the ensuing improvement of the Panathenaic Way was the other major public work that should be linked with changes observed in the wider area to the southeast of the Agora.[199] There is no doubt that the refurbished roadway, which commenced from the northwest corner of the Agora and led via the southeast corner to the Acropolis, was related to the southeastward extension of public space, the revamping of this, and all the preceding abandonments of private structures at that point, including possibly abandonment of the settlement in the vicinity of the Eleusinion.[200]

Concurrently, suitable preconditions were created for putting up new commercial buildings and shops, thus completing also the organization of the mercantile character of the space. This was the last of the large-scale public works projects that had gradually turned the site into public space and necessitated the readaptation of private space. Irrespective of when exactly the Agora was founded, once the projects had been completed, the space was ready to function as the city's new Agora. The fact that some of the basic buildings of the Archaic period (such as the Prytaneion, the Boukoleion, the Anakeion, and the Theseion) have not been found may be explained in one of two ways: either they simply have not been located yet, or some of the city's functions were not transferred at that time to the state-owned space to the northwest of the Acropolis but remained where they were, to the east, in the Archaic Agora.[201]

The early years of the fifth century BC saw no significant changes in habitation, which had been consolidated by the end of the previous century. The wells opened in the transitional years from the sixth to the fifth century BC bear witness to the normal functioning of the houses and the other private installations to which they belonged. It seems that most of the north slope of the Areopagus was inhabited, because the settlement now spread also over the northeast side of the hill (with houses under House Ω) (II. 13). The Industrial District was flourishing, indeed starting to live up to its conventional name, as borne out by the proliferation of wells there during the first decade of the

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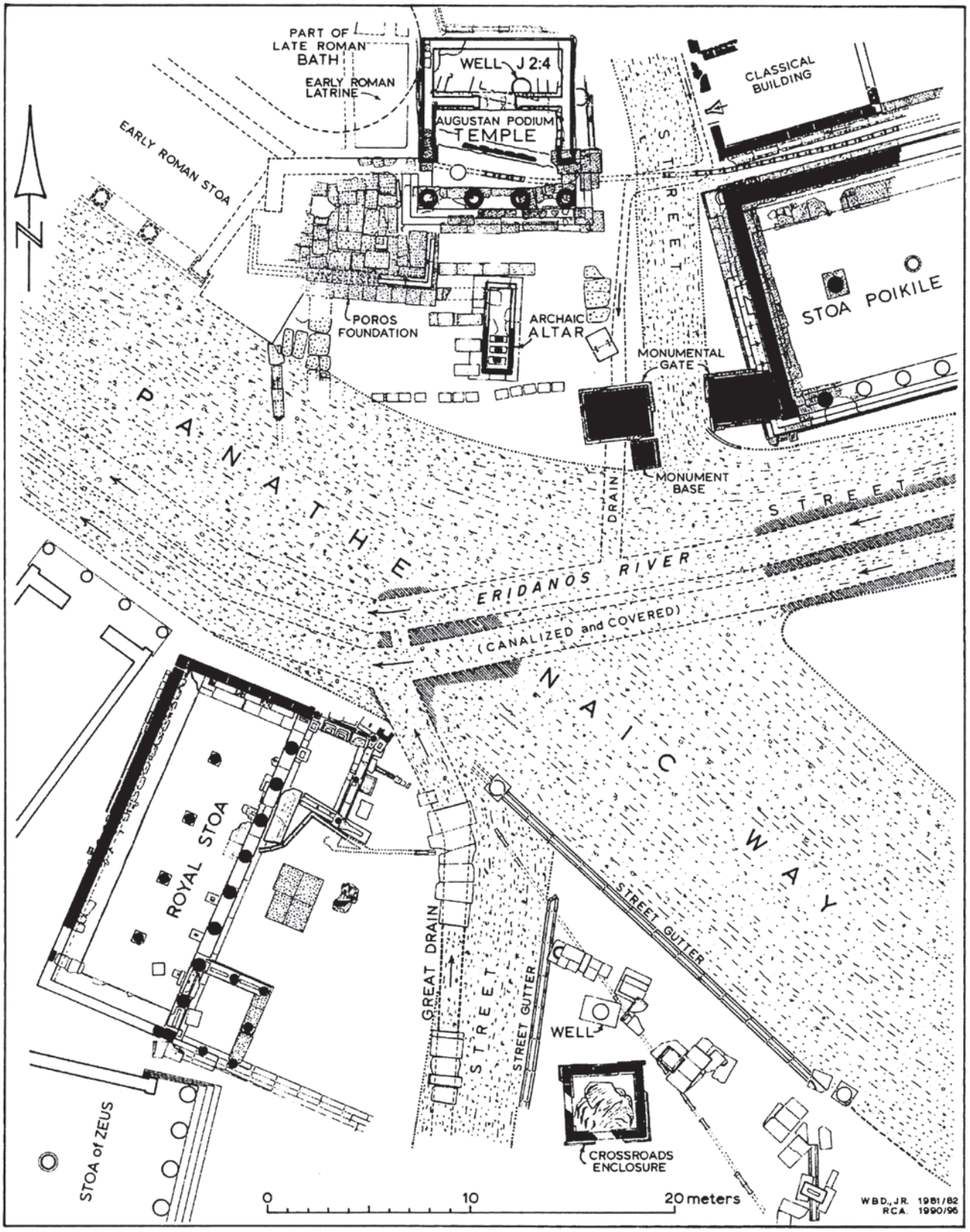

Figure 4.15. Athens, Agora. The northwest corner of the Agora, with the now covered-over Eridanos and the remodeled Panathenaic Way passing over it. Shear Jr. 1997, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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fifth century BC. Despite the fact that no notable architectural remains of these early structures — houses and workshops — have survived, the finding there of more "Persian destruction deposits" to date than in any other part of the Agora points to the existence of many buildings that were destroyed in this space (fig. 4.16).

The Persian devastation of Athens in 480 and 479 BC affected the whole of the Agora. We do not know exactly which buildings were destroyed in the first assault and which in the second. We know only that "[t]he Persians sat down on the hill over against the acropolis, which is called by the Athenians the Hill of Ares, and besieged them" (Herodotus, 8. 52). Since during the first capture of the city, Xerxes's army "arrived at Athens, laying waste all the country round," and his men "took the city, then left desolate" and "they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis" (Herodotus, 8. 50–53), it is certain that the greatest damage to the buildings in and around the Agora, public and private, was caused then. Moreover, Mardonius's return to the city in the summer of 479 BC was not something that could have been foreseen. Information from the ancient sources regarding the destruction of the Late Archaic houses in the autumn of 480 BC is general and concerns the whole city: "the houses were in ruins, only a few remaining, in which the chief men of the Persians had themselves taken quarters" (Thucydides 1. 89).

In fact, the archaeological evidence confirms that all the houses, as well as the shops, around the Agora were destroyed. However, through careful study of their remains, we are able to ascertain which were destroyed completely and which were not. Of course, it is by no means easy to determine the degree of the Persians' involvement in the destruction of a house or other building, or to apportion the fair share of blame to the Athenians,[202] for as Thucydides relates (1. 89–90): "[T]he Athenian people, when the Barbarians had departed from their territory, straightway began to fetch back their wives and their children and the remnant of their household goods from where they had placed them for safety, and to rebuild the city and the walls; . . . the whole population of the city, men, women and children, should take part in the wall-building, sparing neither private nor public edifice that would in any way help to further the work, but demolishing them all."

Nonetheless, we may speculate that if a citizen, on returning to ruined Athens after Plataia, found amid heaps of still-smoldering ruins his own home, half-destroyed but with something of the walls still surviving, he would not have demolished it down to the foundations to build a new one in its place but would have set about repairing it.[203] It is probably this likelihood that was capitalized on by Themistocles, who, in his effort to boost the morale of the citizens and to encourage them to return to the normal pace of life, urged them to "build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner wholly away" (Herodotus, 8. 109).

Returning to the houses around the Agora, we note that the precursor of the House of Simon (II. 21), in the southwest corner of the Agora, was one of those that was demolished ("ἐπεπτώκεσαν").[204] It must have been destroyed together with the rest of the buildings in the central public space and the Industrial District. In this case, Themistocles's exhortation should be paraphrased as "οἰκίην τε ἀνοικοδομησάσθω." A brand-new house was indeed built on the plot of the old one, using absolutely nothing of it, not even the initial stone subfoundation or the well, which were filled in.

By contrast, the houses on the north bank of the Eridanos and the north and northeast slope of the Areopagus (fig. 4.17) were damaged but were rebuilt upon their old foundations, which had presumably been preserved in satisfactory condition.[205] We may assume that the fire did not spread far and that their wooden roofs had not collapsed or (giving our imagination wider rein) that these particular houses were among those few that were spared (περιῆσαν), because in them "the chief men of the Persians had themselves taken quarters" (Thucydides 1. 89).[206]

Whatever the case, the specific Early Classical houses kept their old ground plan, with relatively small rooms, which is also related to the keeping of the existing street network in the area (II. 10, II. 12).[207] Although we know nothing about the street plan of the city during this period, judging by the irregular ground plans of the houses on the Areopagus, as well as by the remains of the rest of the Archaic buildings in the Agora (under the southeast fountain, Buildings C and D), we conclude that the streets were winding and that building was haphazard.[208] This emerges in any case from the strict legislation against arbitrary building, which was said to have been imposed in the late sixth century BC by Hippias, who "offered for sale upper stories that projected over the public streets, together with flights of steps, railings, and doors that opened outwards" (Pseudo-Aristotle, *Oeconomica* 2. 2. 4).

The anecdotal nature of the information does not detract from the reliability of its content, either with regard to the existence of this phenomenon in Archaic Athens or with regard to the legal concept it expresses, according to which any overlying construction whatsoever belongs to the owner of the underlying plot of land upon which it is founded (in this particular case the state).[209] Moreover,

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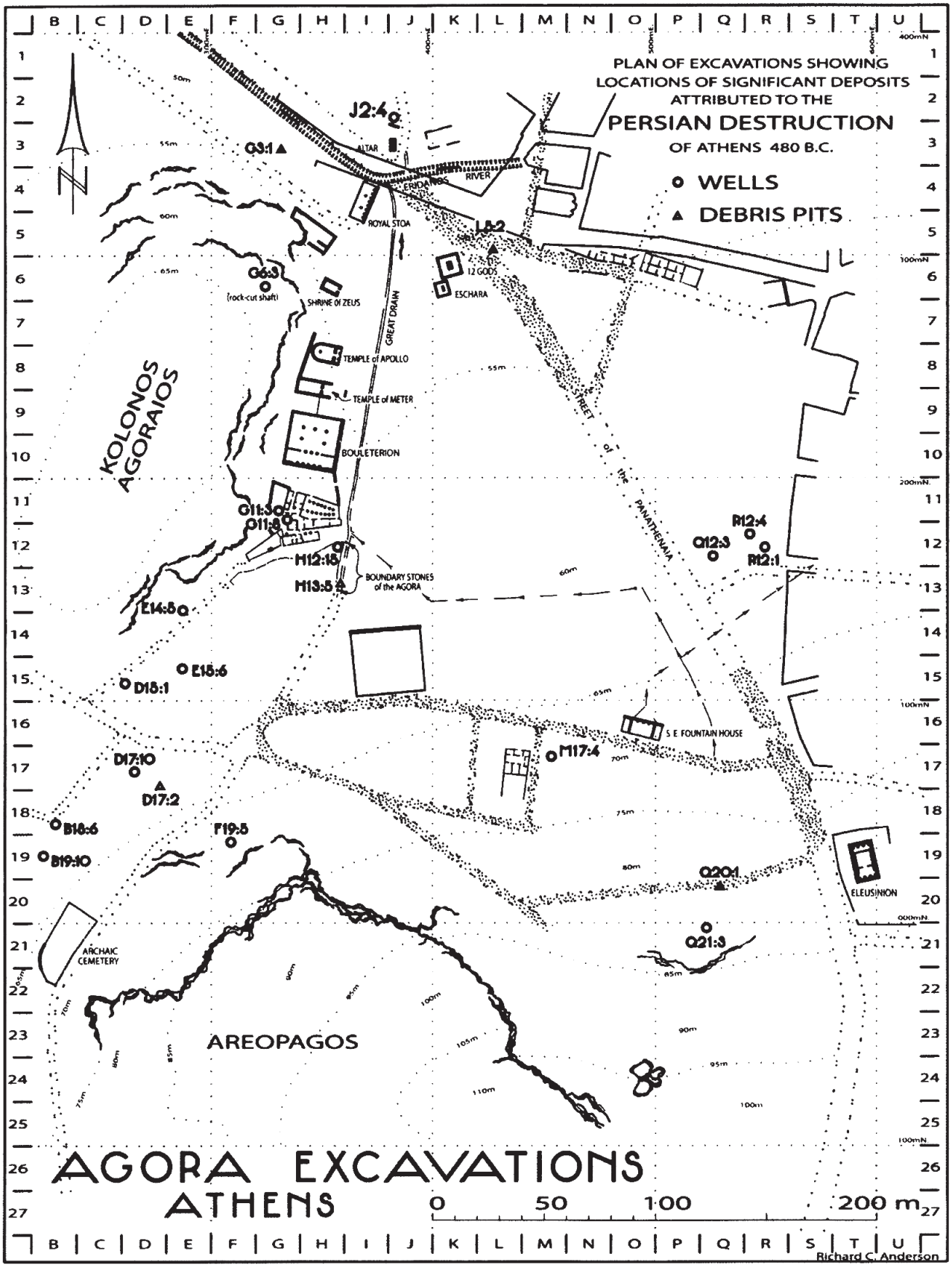

Figure 4.16. Athens. Deposits and wells in the Agora, with content from clearing operations that followed destruction of the city by the Persians in 480/479 BC. Lynch 2011, p. 6, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Figure 4.17. Athens, Agora. Reconstruction of the ground plan and 3D restoration of the Early Classical house on the northeast slope of the Areopagus, under Late Roman House Ω. Tsakirgis 2009, p. 48, fig. 47; Hoepfner 1999, p. 244. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens; courtesy of W. Hoepfner.

the verb ἐπώλησεν (translated here as "offered for sale") is considered to refer to redemption of the trespass by the owners of the unlawful constructions — in other words, a fine legalizing the violations.[210]

Only in the westernmost of the three houses on the northeast slope, that under House Ω, is a noteworthy modification of the ground plan observed (fig. 4.18). During this phase, the middle room of the east wing, which was probably a court, was repaired and turned into an andron accommodating five couches.[211] Although this was not a luxurious construction (the andron had an earthen floor just like the other rooms in the house), it did have a central hearth (for heating or for keeping food warm). This is the earliest known example of an andron in a house in Athens and is a clear indication of the wealth and high social status of its owner.[212]

Indeed, if it is taken into account that the specific house had been built but a few years before the Persians captured the city and that the Athenian citizen who owned it had the means to rebuild it even better after their retreat, then there is little doubt that this was the residence of some wealthy Athenian and perhaps one of those in which the Persian officials had lodged. Its presence on the north slope of the Areopagus confirms the impression already formed about use of the space — namely, that this was a popular residential area that developed during the sixth century BC,

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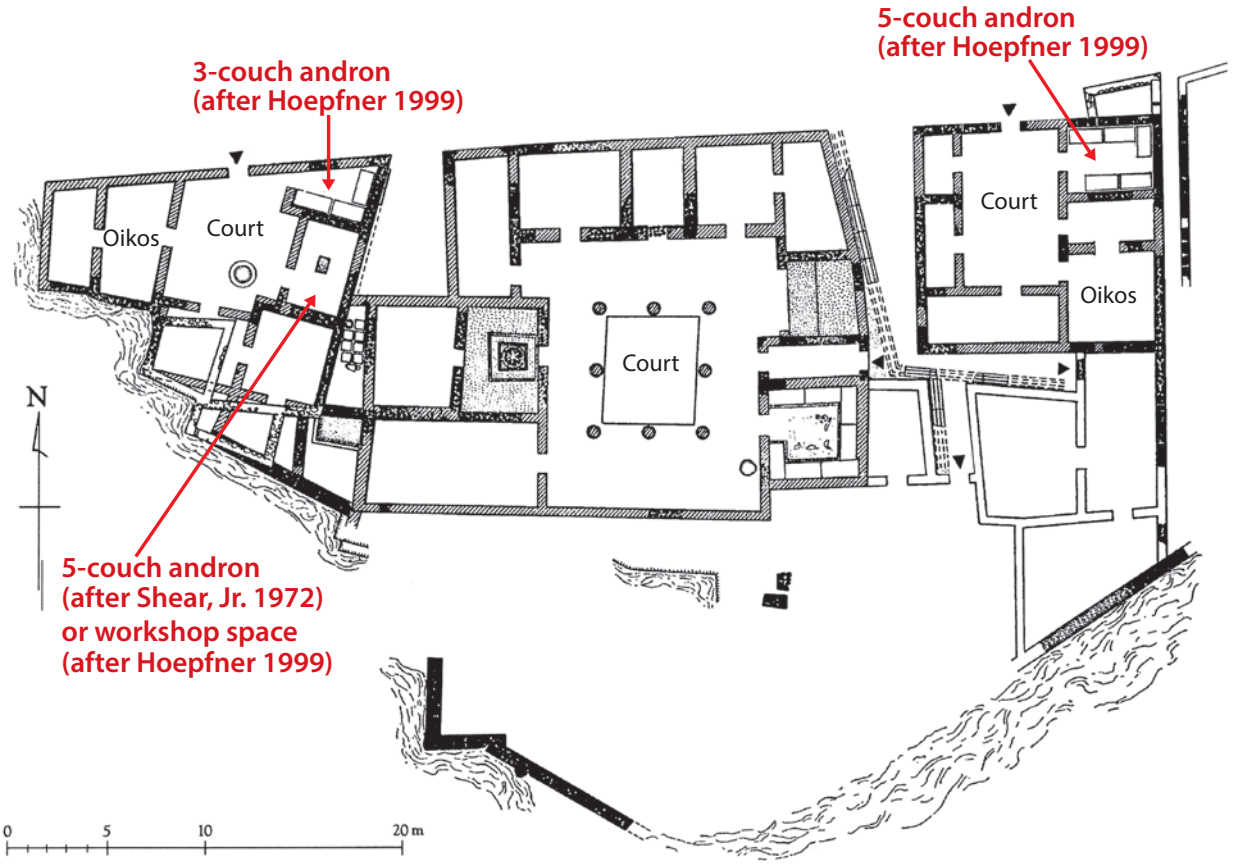

Figure 4.18. Athens, Agora. Northeast slope of the Areopagus. Early Classical houses under Late Roman House Ω. Hoepfner 1999, p. 244. Courtesy of W. Hoepfner.

remained so until the early fifth century BC, and was expanded even more after the Persian Wars. Indeed, the increasing demand for housing during the fifth century BC, as well as later, led to cutting away of the slope to create more space for building. As a consequence, the southernmost walls of the new houses were also retaining walls that underpinned terraces upon the artificially configured slope of the Areopagus.[213]

An analogous configuration is encountered on the opposite side of the Agora, on the north bank of the Eridanos. There too the geomorphology led to the construction of a series of polygonal walls, parallel with each other and with the river, which reached down to the bank and created terraces.[214] The house to which Well J 2:4 belonged was rebuilt upon one such terrace immediately after 479 BC (II. 10). From the very little evidence available, due to acute disturbance at this point, it seems that the owners sealed the well but did not start to repair the house right away. This work is estimated to have begun in the second quarter of the fifth century BC and concerned the remodeling of the interior spaces, which were increased by at least four rooms. The outside walls were kept, as also in the Areopagus houses.[215] However, the debris pits found in the space around the house, with material dated to 480/479 BC, point to the existence of other contemporary houses on the north bank. This material came from the destroyed household belongings.[216]

Agora: The Phases of Use of the Space, the Processes of Transformation, State Intervention in Private Real Estate Property, Expropriations

Through tracing human activity in the space of the Agora over the centuries, we ascertain that this particular part of Athens changed use many times, in an official and compulsory manner — in other words, through state intervention — even from the early years of its history. The gradual changes observed in the same area from the tenth to the early fifth century BC point to analogous processes, which in the absence of textual sources can be detected only in the archaeological record. In the course of 500 years, the form and use of the space of the Agora changed completely three times.

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The first change is observed in the Protogeometric period, when it began to be transformed from a long-established mortuary site of Mycenaean times into a craft-industrial area, through the installation of pottery workshops. It remained as such throughout the Geometric period (late eighth century BC).

The second change took place gradually from the late eighth/early seventh century BC and is particularly pronounced during the sixth century BC, when all craft-industrial and settlement activity ceased.[217] The appropriation of private land ownership is evidenced by the organized abandonment of the private wells and was completed by the middle years of the sixth century BC. In the following half century, it is possible that part (?) of the space was turned into a square for military parades, athletic contests, and theatrical events.[218]

The third and most important change in the use of the space was effected in the early fifth century BC and established the Agora henceforth as seat of the Athenian democracy.

The change in use status of an entire area to the northwest of the Acropolis, from private to state-owned, and the change of its form from a cemetery to a web of settlement and craft-industrial activity, and then to a hub of the public life of the polis, took as long as it took Athens to mature politically and in governance to achieve the democracy. Consequently, incentives for the transformations of the space are related directly to the period in which the corresponding social and political transformations were manifested. Within this historical framework, the reasons for the deprivatization of the space and its taking over by the state in the sixth century BC should be distinguished from the reasons for founding the Agora. For example, the rehabilitation and enhancement of the Agora in the time of Peisistratos and his sons, from an area of private workshops and houses to a public space of assembly, are in keeping with the spirit in which they wielded power and the public-benefit infrastructure projects they implemented. However, the founding of the Classical Agora expresses the fundamental principles of the ensuing political system, which brought to fruition the vision of democratic governance of the city.

Unfortunately, we know nothing about how private individuals were ousted from their houses and workshops, as no pertinent literary or epigraphic testimony has survived from Athens. Just one inscription refers to sums of compensation paid by the state to individuals, but this comes from Boeotia and is much later (late third/early second century BC).[219] On the basis of this it becomes clear that 500 years after the turning of the Agora of Athens into public space, such situations were foreseen and the legal procedures for dealing with them were defined. What, we may ask, can be supposed for Athens in the seventh century BC and the ways of settling property issues between citizens and the state?

The social and economic crisis that Solon was called on to resolve, when he was elected archon in 594 BC, for the most part concerned writing off debts of the Hektemoroi.[220] Given such a clime of dysnomy, it is not possible for us to speculate as to what extent the state acknowledged its obligation to recompense the potters installed in a space that they were apparently summoned to vacate. The state may have acknowledged its obligation, on account of the preceding legislative effort of Drako, but it may not have, since democracy and isonomy were concepts as yet unmastered. In this case, we should not speak about the compulsory expropriation of private property on behalf of the state but of sequestration. Nonetheless, regardless of how it was implemented, the idea and the principle of ridding the space to the northwest of the Acropolis of the intrusive jumble of workshops and houses are dated to these years.

The pace of the state takeover of the Agora site was stepped up in the sixth century BC, extending to the sides of the central space. The likelihood of a fairer exchange between state and citizen was perhaps greater in these years — after Solon's legislative reforms — but was mainly due to the manner of governance of the city by Peisistratos and his sons, who "carried the practice of virtue and discretion to a very high degree, considering that they were tyrants," and "the city itself enjoyed the laws before established" (Thucydides 6. 54.5–6). From this perspective, it seems likely that the owners of the houses in the southwest corner of the Agora, those that stood on the site of the later Aiakeion; the people who lived in the houses south of the Eleusinion; and their neighbors who owned buildings on the site of the southeast fountain, which were all abolished in the middle years of the sixth century BC, were not expelled from their land without compensation.

It is ironic, however, that when, in the late sixth century BC, was founded the democracy of Kleisthenes, which in comparison to the previous regimes would seem to be the most well-disposed toward the fairer settlement of the matter of the state takeover of Athenian citizens' land, the major project of state appropriation of the space of the Agora had been achieved to such a degree that expropriations were no longer demanded.[221] The layout of the northwest corner of the space and the remodeling of the Panathenaic Way were carried out within a space that was already public/state property. The taking over of the private landholdings to the northwest of the Acropolis had already been completed in the years of the oligarchical and

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tyrannical regimes, and the newly instituted democratic system was free to inaugurate, at no political cost, a public space, the administrative center of the city, the very heart of the democracy.

Settlement Activity in the Rest of Athens

The North Part of the City

Our only insight into settlement activity in the area of the Archaic city to the north of the Agora and the Eridanos is gained from the architectural remains in the plot at Agion Asomaton and Tournavitou in the modern neighborhood of Psyrri (III. 2) and indications of the existence of a marble workshop in the plot at Lekka 23–25 in the Commercial Center (V. 8). In the Geometric period, the area north of the Agora was used for burial, which placed it on the periphery of the areas of habitation. Although the find at Agion Asomaton and Tournavitou is the sole remnant of a house in the wider area, it is highly unlikely that it was the only one that existed in the space. The concentration of mortuary activity in the already existing cemeteries in this part of the city (Kerameikos, the cemeteries of the Eriai Gate and Sapphous Street) and the formation of the road intersection to the northwest of the Agora in these years may well have triggered the gradual spread of settlement to the northwest part of the city.

The South and Southeast Part of the City

In contrast to the meager material from the area of the city north of the Agora, the most settlement remains in the whole of Athens are in its south and southeast part.

The picture of habitation from the South Slope of the Acropolis is carried on into the west part of the Makrygianni neighborhood, which is its natural continuation. Former mortuary sites (Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion: X. 12, Dionysiou Areopagitou 41 – Parthenonos – Kallisperi: X. 14) became areas of settlement. The absence of pottery of the Orientalizing period from the vicinity of Dionysiou Areopagitou Street and the Herodeion led earlier researchers to the conclusion that during the first half of the seventh century BC and later, there was perhaps less habitation in the area south of the Acropolis than in earlier times.[222] During the Geometric period, the area south of the Herodeion and as far as Classical Gate XIII was devoid of habitation but not of mortuary activity, which was in fact particularly dense in the part between Garivaldi and Karyatidon Streets. Consequently, comparison with the quantity of Orientalizing pottery from the same site, whether this comes from graves or from habitation structures, cannot lead to conclusions on the extent of the settlement but only on the kind of activity to which it points. Even so, on the basis of the results of later excavations too, pottery of the seventh century BC does indeed appear to be rather infrequent in the space. Until recently it had been found only in the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35), which may be due to chance, in terms of excavations, but it may also indicate that development of habitation in the space did not begin before the middle years of the sixth century BC (as is the case farther north too, on the South Slope) and indeed did not extend toward the river.

Certainly, the steep incline of the ground imposed here too, after the mid-sixth century BC, the creation of terraces, which were developed in steps from north to south and east to west, creating surfaces on which buildings could be erected. As is observed farther north as well, the early terraces of the sixth century BC are small in area, which means the houses built on them were small too, whereas as the period progressed, the widening of the spaces by constructing new, larger retaining walls affected commensurately the size of the houses.

In the southernmost plots in the west part of the area, the remains of houses brought to light are later and show that toward the end of the period, the settlement tissue was spreading farther and farther south. The plots at Promachou 5 (X. 40) and Erechtheiou 20 (X. 15) are spaces that were not only inhabited in the Late Archaic period but were rebuilt anew and reinhabited after the catastrophe of 480/479 BC. Possibly their location beside one of the two basic road arteries between the city and Phaleron played an even greater role in their destruction.

Only scant information can be gleaned for the east part of the Makrygianni neighborhood, and this comes mainly from the Makrygiannis plot (X. 35). However, the data cannot be utilized, as the results of the recent excavations at the site are unpublished. There are traces of continuous activity from the seventh century BC, although it is not known to what extent, if any, the Orientalizing pottery found there is related to the graves uncovered. The few wells located attest habitation in this space during the sixth century BC, but given the absence of architectural remains, this must have been sparse and sporadic.[223] It is possible that toward the end of the century, habitation reached as far as the north part of the plot, as is hinted at by part of a wall 1.40 m thick unearthed to the northwest of the space,[224] as well as "rich layers with pottery of the years of the Persian destruction" to the northeast.[225] The specific wall and the wall 1.60 m thick found in the plot at Rovertou Galli 18–20 and Parthenonos (X. 7) are the two most robust Archaic walls revealed in the entire city, in comparison with the retaining walls of the south part, which are no more than 0.60 m thick.

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With the exception of a well of the Early Archaic period found outside the Classical South Phaleron Gate (XII), in the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 7 and Phalirou 8 (X. 8), the architectural remains in the area consist of mainly retaining walls, which are concentrated in the vicinity of the north bank of the Ilissos (Syngrou Avenue at nos. 40–42: X. 24, Iosiph ton Rogon 6: X. 20). In particular, the wall located near the north branch of Gate XI, provided it is Archaic,[226] is interesting because it is built on top of an Archaic tomb, from which the torso of an Archaic kouros found in the same plot perhaps comes.

The presence of retaining walls that are not associated with other architectural remains is observed from the Geometric period and points to the existence of free tracts of land near the north bank of the Ilissos, which were possibly cultivated.[227] Given their short distance from the fertile banks of the river as well as from the city, these would have been privileged positions.[228] Land use must have been the same farther east too, in the modern neighborhood of Koukaki, where again the only Archaic remains uncovered are walls underpinning terraces. The retaining wall in the plot at Drakou 19 (XII. 10), a few meters from where an earlier Geometric one in the same direction was found, emphasizes the need for constructing terraces in the space, obviously because of the steep gradient of the rock. Furthermore, this denotes continuity of use of the space, possibly in the same way, in Geometric times too. The lack of architectural or funerary remains reinforces the suspicion that this space was cultivated.

In the southeast part of the city, wells found in the archaeological site of the Olympieion, southeast of the temple of Zeus, indicate use of the space, but for what purpose we cannot specify. The only information given by the excavator, M. Mitsos, is that their fill contained sherds of Protoattic and black-figure vases (IX. 5).[229] One possibility is that the wells were associated with the transitional phase in transformation of the space from cemetery into sanctuary. In this case, the wells could document the presence of houses or workshops that developed on the margins of the cemetery and were abandoned along with it, since the wells were filled in with material resulting from clearance of burials farther north, in the area of Gate IX.

The East Part of the City

The only settlement remains in the east part of the city have come to light to the southeast of the Acropolis, in an area that has not been excavated systematically either in breadth or depth, and in a plot where the archaeological levels are badly disturbed (Kodrou 15: VI. 47). These two characteristics are the outcome of the continuous habitation at this particular part of the city from the Archaic period to the present day. Moreover, because Plaka is a scheduled neighborhood, excavations there are limited to the upper levels of the stratigraphy and to spaces that have remained free of buildings.

When the two walls and the court with well were revealed in the plot at Kodrou 15 in 1972/1973, the excavator, A. Liangouras, dated them to the Classical period. Most of the pottery found in the stratigraphical sections at four points in the plot was indeed Classical. Furthermore, a court with well most times refers to the Classical house type, and the architectural remains and pottery found here would seem to concur with this. However, among the finds is one item that merits further investigation, because it may offer information on the earlier history and use of the same space. This is the terracotta wellhead of the well in the court.

According to the excavator, the upper half of a clay jar (pithos) had been placed on the mouth as the wellhead.[230] This means that the wellhead was found in situ, making it a uniquely important find in Athens. Those wellheads found to date were all recovered from the interior of wells, where they had fallen after the collapse of the walls of the shaft (in cases where they belonged to the same well) or had been discarded in dry wells used as refuse pits. The last wellhead of such type was brought to light in 2000 in the Agora, north of the Eridanos, in the fill of Well J 2:14, which had been sealed in the mid-fifth century BC.[231] We have no information on the finds from the well in the plot at Kodrou 15, even though it was excavated to a depth of 8.50 m. The fact that the investigation was not completed down to the bottom and therefore yielded no water-drawing pots (intact or in fragments), which represent the POU level (vessels that broke or slipped from their ropes and fell into the shaft), makes it difficult to define the onset of its use.[232] That is why we consider the in situ find of the clay wellhead exceptionally important for dating the well itself, if not also for dating the remains around it.[233]

The excavation data indicate that wellheads were exclusively in the form of the upper part of a pithos until the third quarter of the seventh century BC, when clay cylindrical wellheads appeared.[234] Both types coexisted in the sixth century BC, but the former ceased to be used after the Persian Wars, as is confirmed also by their absence from scenes in vase painting after the first quarter of the fifth century BC.[235] When a wellhead is found fallen inside a well shaft, it is impossible to estimate the duration of its use.[236] However, if, as we deduce, the clay wellhead at Kodrou 15 was found in situ, then it is known to echo a fashion of the sixth century BC, which no longer appears

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in Athenian houses from 480 BC onward. There is no evidence of decisive significance for dating the architectural remains in the plot at Kodrou 15. The remains of the foundations of walls were considered as dating from the Classical period, but toichobates 0.60 m thick and constructed of fieldstones and mud are common in both the Archaic and Classical periods,[237] as they could support a mud-brick superstructure up to two stories high. The pottery assemblage, of which the greater part dates to the Classical period, included also sherds of the sixth century BC, which were found in a level to the west of the well.

On the basis of all the above and primarily the extremely rare excavation coincidence of finding a wellhead not only in situ but also of the specific earliest type, which accords with the Archaic pottery recovered from nearby, we propose the dating of at least the well — if not the rest of the architectural remains surrounding it — to the Archaic period, with a possible second phase of use in Classical times. In other words, the well at Kodrou 15 possibly belonged to a house that was earlier than the Persian Wars. Either it had been destroyed completely and a new house was built around it in 480 BC, or it had been destroyed partially and repaired. The second alternative seems the more likely, because if the building had collapsed totally, the clay wellhead would most probably have been destroyed along with the other constructions aboveground.

The Archaic Cemeteries: Views Old and New

The basic characteristic of the Archaic period with regard to mortuary activity and the city's cemeteries is condensed in two observations:

- The number of graves revealed is small in comparison to the Geometric period (and also the Classical period).
- The old Geometric cemeteries and the individual burial grounds of the city in the areas around the Acropolis gradually ceased to receive burials and were moved away from there.

This phenomenon is observed both in the northwest part of the city (Agora – Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square) and in the south part (Makrygianni), where, due to the limited area from the South Slope to the Ilissos, as well as the high density of Geometric cemeteries, it is more pronounced.

The first issue, the discovery of fewer graves, has yet to find a satisfactory explanation. According to Morris, who asserts that not all the inhabitants of Attica enjoyed the right of formal burial (and therefore are not detectable in the archaeological record) and that this was reserved only for the Ἀγαθοί, an increase in the number and area of the cemeteries is observed in periods when the related restrictions were lifted, such as the Submycenaean and Late Geometric, in which case the Κακοί too were buried in a similar way. Thus the "reduced" number of graves during the seventh century BC and until circa 525 BC denotes a period with strict funerary restrictions and represents the highest social classes.[238] Other researchers, who find many weak points in Morris's theory, turn more to the fact that a generalized dispersion of habitation is observed in Attica during the Archaic period, attested also by the various Archaic settlement sites (most of them identified through surface surveys) and the strengthening of the Attic demoi, particularly after Kleisthenes.[239]

In relation to this issue too, we should not overlook the destruction of the city in 480/479 BC and the ensuing rebuilding of it using construction material from the ruined buildings and monuments. And although the Persians' role in razing to the ground the buildings of Archaic Athens — sacred, private, and public — is recorded by the ancient authors, there is no literary testimony on vandalism of the cemeteries.[240] Graves are absent from descriptions of the destruction given by Herodotus (9. 13), Aeschylus (*Persians*, 809–812), and Thucydides (1. 89). The last states (1. 93. 2) only that in the hasty and untidy (κατά σπουδὴν) construction of the fortified enceinte, "many columns from grave monuments and stones wrought for other purposes were built in." He gives a "snapshot" of the course of the Classical fortification wall of the city, which passed over many cemeteries that were in use until the eve of the city's destruction. In these extenuating circumstances, it is not unlikely that even the Athenians themselves, "the whole population of the city, men, women, and children, should take part in the wall-building." And notwithstanding their respect for the dead, they had no qualms about using the tomb stelai and the statues they found at hand to protect their city, since the graves these marked would in a short while be under the enceinte's foundations. The extensive use of such material is attested by the kouros torsos and the inscribed pedestals set up on tombs, which were found built into parts of the fortification wall brought to light in Plaka and in the Makrygianni area, Kerameikos, and Theseion.[241]

As far as the Agora is concerned, the absence of graves (and of wells) after 700 BC could perhaps be explained by this site's gradual acquisition of a public character. In reality, the retreat of graves from the wider space of the Agora (including the north slope of the Areopagus) had begun already in the Late Geometric period, as workshops

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encroached upon the space. Furthermore, the discovery of the Aglaureion inscription, which proves that the early Agora of Theseus was located in the east and not the northwest of the city, annuls the possibilities that the site of the Agora of Classical times functioned as such in the time of Solon and disassociates the moving away of the graves from its later public role. Indeed, since the phenomenon gradually became generalized in the city, Morris has proposed that the absence of graves from areas that in Archaic, Classical, and later times were places of settlement should be considered strong proof of the abandonment of the mortuary spaces and the final transfer of the cemeteries to outside the inhabited area.[242]

Development of the Old Geometric Cemeteries during the Archaic Period

The picture of the locations of the Archaic cemeteries on the map of Athens gives the impression that these were organized and ordered around the city.[243] Since many of the larger and by this time established cemeteries of the Geometric period seem to be abandoned and the burials shifted toward the periphery, the area around the Acropolis changed both in the north part of the city and the south.[244] For the chronological and quantitative evaluation of this process, detailed examination of all indications coming from the Late Geometric mortuary spaces is essential, in order to ascertain the continuity or the cessation of their function. Analytically, burial activity of the Archaic period in Athens is attested in the following areas.

The North and West Parts of the City

In the north part of the city, the Kerameikos cemetery continued in use even though the burials of this period, and particularly of the seventh century BC, are notably fewer than in Geometric times. The erecting of luxurious tumuli over the graves points to the high social status and aristocratic descent of the persons interred there.[245] However, after the abolition of the tyranny and the founding of the democracy, the space was arranged in accordance with the new mores of the new political system. Large-scale earth depositions obliterated the tumuli and the now leveled space was used for the burial of citizens of all social strata.[246]

Farther east, in the area of Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square, where there were dispersed roadside tombs in the space until the Late Geometric period, mortuary activity seems to have ceased, except for the cemetery of the Eriai Gate. This continued to operate, even though there was a fall-off in the number of burials in comparison to both the preceding Geometric and the succeeding Classical period. During the Early Archaic phase, this cemetery, like the neighboring Kerameikos, kept its aristocratic character, as is deduced from the high-value funerary vases found there, among them the Nettos amphora.[247] Unclear are the indications from the rest of the area, where no other graves have been found — just pottery, which could come from nearby destroyed graves but also could have been transported there in earth fill from the Gate V cemetery. The history of use of the actual spaces in which pottery was found does not facilitate the working hypotheses. The sole exception is the plot at Leokoriou 4–6–8 and Ivis 8 (III. 22), where a Corinthian aryballos found inside a well shaft may well have come from the clearing of a grave in the vicinity. For the rest (Arionos 4 and Ermou: III. 10, Karaiskaki 16–18: III. 15, Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki: III. 4, Agion Anargyron 5: III. 1, and Agiou Dimitriou 20: III. 3), all that can be extracted from the contexts presented in the excavation reports is that the presence of fragments of Archaic vases among pottery of other periods hints at the use of the space in Archaic times. In all probability this pottery is related to destroyed graves, given that the same sites or neighboring ones were used for burials in the past. This hypothesis is complicated by the plots at Karaiskaki 16–18 (III. 15) and Agias Theklas 11 and Pittaki (III. 4), as the earlier mortuary activity in these is dated to the Protogeometric period, and it becomes more likely for the plots at Agiou Dimitriou 20 (III. 3) and Agion Anargyron 5 (III. 1), in which it is dated to the Early Geometric/Middle Geometric and the Late Geometric period, respectively.

In the Varvakeios – Omonoia Square area, the use of the cemetery in Kotzias Square (IV. 5) continued during Early and Middle Archaic times, and it was, as earlier, sporadic. At the end of the period there was a big increase in the number of graves and their expansion into the space to the northwest. This change signaled the beginning of systematic use of the cemetery, which was to intensify in the Classical period. We do not know whether and to what extent this particular cemetery was damaged by the Persians. However, the destruction continued after the Persian Wars, in the course of laying the road and arranging its sides. The Archaic graves were covered by layers of earth mixed with fragments of their tomb sculptures/markers. On the basis of the earliest road surface, these works are dated precisely to 480 BC and are linked directly with the building of the Themistoclean fortification wall.[248] The longevity of the cemetery in this part of the city, on the sides of very ancient thoroughfares, and its great development in Classical times, during which it came to be just outside the city walls, led to the hypothesis that another gate or postern gate existed at the junction of Streit and Sophokleous Streets, although this has not yet been discovered.[249]

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The Sapphous Street cemetery (IV. 6, IV. 7), which was founded in the area between Gates V and VI during the Late Geometric period, has generated an analogous hypothesis due to its position near roads leading to this point from the southwest.[250] The northern cemetery too continued in use in Archaic times, albeit with considerably fewer burials than in the preceding period and also the succeeding one, the Classical.

In the northeast part of the city, in the area of the modern Commercial Center, the graves in the site at Stadiou and Omirou Streets (V. 6) may well be remnants of the initial phase of the extensive northeast cemetery that has been located in other places too, in Panepistimiou, Stadiou, Amerikis, and Voukourestiou Streets, with graves dating even into the Roman period.[251] Before publication of the Athens Metro excavations, the cemetery in this area was identified as the large roadside cemetery outside Gate VIII (Diochares), the onset of use of which is dated to the fourth century BC. However, after recent investigations it has become clear that farther north there was a second extensive cemetery with a particularly high density of burials, mainly in Classical times, and with a different initial burial nucleus from the more southerly one of Gate VII. Over the centuries and due to the constant need for mortuary space, it seems possible that the ambit of each cemetery enlarged to such a degree that in the end they coalesced. However, the initial cores of both cemeteries must be separated topographically and in all likelihood chronologically too, since the northernmost seems to have been founded in the sixth century BC, on the basis of the dating of graves in the Stadiou and Omirou plot (V. 6). This hypothesis is confirmed by the pottery of the Orientalizing period, which was found in the fill of the plot at Panepistimiou 9, some 300 m farther south.

All the above cemeteries in the northern sector of the city, which remained in use without interruption during the Archaic period, are situated near the gates in the Classical fortification wall — that is, on the outskirts of the city as these were fixed from 479 BC onward. However, in the rest of the space, as far as the north foot of the Acropolis, where burial grounds and random burials existed until the Late Geometric period, changes took place.

As always, it is the area of the Ancient Agora that is the most interesting. There, the moving away of burials from the central space and their restriction to the southwest, toward the vale between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, had begun in Late Geometric times. Mortuary activity had come to an end by the early seventh century BC. The last burials noted are in the old Late Geometric cemetery of the Tholos (II. 5) and are dated to the transition from the eighth to the seventh century BC. The fact that after an interruption in its operation, three child burials (enchytrismoi) were made in the late seventh century BC indicates that the cemetery still kept its old identity.[252] The termination of burials around the space is associated directly with theories on the founding of the Solonian Agora in these years and the identification of Building C as the Boule of the Four Hundred. For those who still accept this theory, the reuse of the Tholos cemetery at a time when the space had begun to become public is problematical but is possibly an exception implicating members of old-established Athenian aristocratic families. However, if we pull back from this theory, we observe that the only building that functioned a short distance from the cemetery in the late seventh century BC was a small blacksmith's workshop (Building B). This was by no means prohibitive for carrying out burials in the old cemetery, which in any case continued to operate normally.

Similarly problematical is the second exception to the change of use of the space inside the Agora, the cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus, which functioned normally from the Late Geometric period to the end of the sixth century BC.[253] The existence of this cemetery near the Agora until 500 BC, when the space inside and around the central square had already been expropriated by the state and this major public work was on course for completion, is difficult to explain. Burial inside the Agora was permitted exceptionally only for great heroes and the founders (oikistai) of new cities, as the dead were considered pollution (miasma) inside the sacred space.[254]

From this perspective, the explanation offered — that this cemetery belonged to a very important family,[255] possibly even the Peisistratids — is perhaps not far-fetched.[256] Regardless of the credibility of this view, which is in line with analogous attempts to identify burial grounds with other eminent families of early Athens,[257] the specific cemetery is an unusual case that is not encountered anywhere else in the city, but it cannot be treated as an indication of continuing mortuary use of areas within the urban tissue.[258] Nonetheless, the locating of three more burials at different points in the Industrial District denotes that mortuary activity continued hereabouts until the end of the sixth century BC and outside the enclosure of the Archaic cemetery.

The funerary evidence from the north slope of the Areopagus (II. 12) is vague and rather ambivalent. Here we treat the uppermost assemblages with reservation because to date they have not been utilized by research. It is characteristic that there is no mention of these two

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cases, together with the cemetery of the Tholos and the cemetery of the west slope of the Areopagus, among the places where mortuary activity was continued in the area of the Agora. A series of other observations is also puzzling. First is the position where the assemblages were found — namely, within the flourishing settlement on the north slope. Second is the kind of vases, which are not only of miniature funerary type but also subsequently domestic. Third is the osteological material from the enchytrismos (M 18:6), which was considered to be "child" bones not on the basis of modern methods of analysis but on macroscopic examination, which in the past led to the identification of bone remains of microfauna and birds from saucer pyres as bones of neonates or infants.[259] Fourth is the existence next to the enchytrismos a pit (M 18:7) containing animal bones and three vases.[260] Fifth is the presence in Grave N 20:8 of two lekythoi, a vase type that is used together with unguentaria also in early ritual pyres.[261] On the basis of this evidence, and until assemblages M 18:6 and N 20:8 have been studied in detail and published, their identification as child graves should perhaps not be taken for granted.

In the west sector of the city there are only scant indications of the continuity of use of the roadside cemetery founded in the vicinity of Gate II in the Middle Geometric period. The one and only tomb excavated in the plot at Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos 38 (XIII. 9), abutting the fortification wall, attests the existence of other graves in this space, which have been destroyed. Indeed, judging by the fragment of the Sphinx statue/tomb marker found nearby, these were tombs of affluent citizens, as was also the case during the previous phase of the cemetery's heyday in the Late Geometric period.[262] The same situation is deduced also from Archaic sculptures exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum, many of which were found built into the fabric of the Classical fortification wall in the area of the Piraeus Gate, from which they were removed.

The South and East Parts of the City

The abandonment of a large portion of the mortuary sites in the southern sector of the city is more readily apparent, due to the limiting of its area to the east and south by the Ilissos. The mortuary sites closest to the Acropolis were abandoned first, beginning from the large Geometric cemetery on the South Slope to the south of the Herodeion, which had stopped receiving burials by the first quarter of the seventh century BC. This is deduced from pottery finds attributed to disturbed burials (VIII. 4).[263] However, the grave in the plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion (X. 12), on the southward continuation of the South Slope, perhaps indicates that the last and sporadic burials in the area date to the mid-sixth century BC.

During the Early Archaic period, the open-air sanctuary of Nymphe was founded in the space, perhaps in the third quarter of the seventh century BC, as the earliest pottery suggests.[264] The reasons for founding this particular sanctuary on the site of an old cemetery are not clear, and attempts to attribute a chthonic hypostasis to Nymphe, the par excellence tutelary deity of marriage, have not been accepted.[265]

Burials stopped too in the Geometric cemetery that seems to have existed until the Late Geometric period farther to the southeast on the slope, in the area delimited by present-day Dionysiou Areopagitou, Karyatidon, Kallisperi, and Parthenonos Streets in the Makrygianni neighborhood. In the Angelopoulos plot, which coincides with this, graves have not been revealed, and the very little pottery of the seventh century BC found there is more likely to be related to the fragmentary remains of Archaic buildings.

The large old cemetery of Erechtheiou Street, which was used intensively and uninterruptedly in the area of Gate XIII from the Submycenaean period, also presents a picture of desertion (X. 15–18, XII. 11, XII. 12). No burials have been unearthed on the sides of the intra muros part of the road leading to the gate. Comparison with the preceding phases gives overwhelming precedence to the Geometric period. However, in this particular part of the city, the repeated fortification interventions should also be taken into account, beginning from construction of the Classical Gate itself in 479 BC. The laying of drains, found under the surface of Erechtheiou Street, in the fifth and fourth centuries BC; the building of the outwork; and construction of the dry moat in the fourth century BC may well have obliterated other Archaic graves from the space before it was finally abandoned.[266] Although this has not been confirmed by excavation, it is implied by the discovery of three Archaic tomb pedestals built into the left branch of Gate XIII (Erechtheiou 25: X. 18).[267] These fragments must have belonged to tombs existing close to the point where the gate was constructed, at least from the end of the third/beginning of the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC. The possibility that they had been brought from the nearby plot at Propylaion 34 (X. 41) cannot be ruled out. However, their weight and the distance of 50 m that had to be covered from one point to the other make this rather unlikely. Consequently, the abandonment of the site in Archaic times should not be considered certain, as this impression may well be due to the considerable disturbance of the area and to archaeological serendipity.

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Moreover, farther south, in the part of the road extra muros (Erechtheiou 13–15) and approximately 70 m away from the initial nucleus of the cemetery, a burial has been revealed. It may have been on the periphery and for that reason survived.

Farther east, in the Geometric cemetery of Makrygianni Street, the evidence is again vague. No burials are observed in this mortuary site, which operated continuously from the Submycenaean into the Late Geometric period (X. 32, X. 33, X. 34). However, they do appear in its westward continuation, in the Makrygiannis plot (X.35), where they had ceased during the Late Geometric period. The three new burials excavated at various points in the site are still unpublished and therefore cannot be dated even approximately. However, should they prove to be early — that is, before the mid-sixth century BC — then they will constitute together with the burial at Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion a strong indication that burials had not completely retreated from the north half of the Makrygianni area by then. But if they are dated to the third or fourth quarter of the century, then they will create a parallel for the last isolated burials in the Industrial District of the Agora and the cemetery (II. 4). Any other much later dating — that is, toward the beginning of the fifth century BC — would be a major surprise for research, causing upheavals in the known mortuary data from the whole city.

Possible continuity in the use of the space until the mid-sixth century BC seems to be attested also in the Late Geometric cemetery in Kavalloti Street (X. 24), but by just one grave. Both the Archaic and the earlier Late Geometric graves have been found west of the ancient road that ended at Gate XIII. The excavator notes that investigations were not expanded to other points, so it is not possible to say for certain to what extent the Archaic grave should be considered a chance find or a clear indication of continuity of use of the cemetery.[268] The intact Archaic vase recovered from the plot at Kavalloti 14 (X. 21) perhaps confirms the extension of burial activity farther east too, but the date of this cannot be defined further.

Last, the appearance of new graves is observed also at three points in the south part of the city, without analogous earlier use, all located in spaces associated with the fortification wall. In the plot at Propylaion 34 (X. 41), a cemetery was founded in the Archaic period and continued in use into Classical times. The same phenomenon is noted outside Gate XII (Petmezas shaft: XII. 18) and Gate XI (Iosiph ton Rogon 6: X. 20), where, however, the one grave located cannot be considered an indication of the founding of an extensive burial ground, unless we accept that it was destroyed to such a degree that all traces of it have vanished.

A considerable recession in comparison to its peak phase in Late Geometric times is noted also in the use of the cemetery in Dimitrakopoulou Street (XII. 3).

The old cemetery on the hill of the Olympieion, close to the Ilissos River, continued to be used until the second quarter of the sixth century BC, as is surmised from the Protoattic funerary pottery found both to north and south of the temple of Zeus (IX. 4, IX. 5). The concentration of the Early Archaic material to the east of the north and south parts of the hill may place the cemetery on the sides of the road related to the later Gate IX in the Classical circuit wall. This final phase of the cemetery, the Archaic, must have been destroyed together with what had remained from the earlier ones, during works by the Peisistratids to level the hill in the latter years of the century.[269]

We do not know whether the intact grave on Amalias Avenue (opposite nos. 32–34: VI. 5) and the three proximate pits that may all belong to one cluster were part of a wider area in which burials were made. In any case, these are the easternmost known traces of mortuary use of the space to the east of the city.

Directly opposite, on the south bank of the Ilissos, the use of the Geometric cemetery of Kynosarges continued normally to the southeast of the city (XI. 1–6, XII. 6, XI. 8). Although the Archaic burials and the pottery from destroyed graves, found in plots excavated in the twentieth century, are notably few, the continuity of activity is documented mainly by finds from late-nineteenth-century excavations in the area by the British School at Athens, which span the entire Archaic period. The finding here and there of grave clusters, which were part of the wider cemetery in the area on the south bank of the Ilissos, is explained by the continuous use of the space during antiquity and the building of the Roman Gymnasium of Kynosarges, which destroyed and covered a large part of the earlier cemetery.[270] On the basis of examination of the above evidence, the emerging picture of mortuary activity in the city during the Archaic period confirms current theories on the decrease in the number of small dispersed burial grounds of the Geometric period in the southern sector of the city during the seventh century BC.[271] Concurrently, it is ascertained that burials continued to be made in the old Submycenaean and Geometric cemeteries lying some distance from the Acropolis, where activity that in other eras would probably have been channeled into smaller burial grounds nearer to it was gradually concentrated. The new Archaic graves were located near points where gates in the Classical fortification wall were later built (XII, XIII) — in other words, farther from the Rock (X. 41, XII. 18, X. 20). In this light, the unpublished Archaic graves in the

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Makrygiannis plot are enhanced as finds of major importance. Their study will make a decisive contribution to confirming or negating the conclusions extracted to date on the change of use of mortuary space in the south part of the city during these years.

Conclusions: The Archaic City until Destruction by the Persians

For Athens the Archaic period was one "of experiments" and of major developments, which in the end led to the full formation of the city-state and the instituting of the democracy.[272] The course followed, as well as the history of the city for the first 100 years, is far from clear. Most of the events that played a decisive role in the overall process of the social, political, and cultural transformation of Athens are unknown to us. We know of some from the later ancient sources, while we try to detect others in the archaeological record.

The generalized impression prevailing to this day about the early years of the Archaic period was of a city in regression, in comparison with its rapid development during Geometric times.[273] As we have said, the main evidence supporting this impression was Athens's absence from the first stage of Greek colonization and its delay in establishing the tyranny, in contradistinction to other contemporary cities. The picture of introversion, as it is perceived today, as well as of cultural isolation and provincialism, was completed by the supplanting of Athenian pottery by Corinthian in the markets and the smaller number of cemeteries, and therefore of settlements, observed throughout Attica. This incongruous series of facts has been interpreted as due to the lack of a strong central authority in the city, which led to its shrinking, perhaps because of some natural, economic, or military disaster around 700 BC. This then led to an increase in the power of the Eupatrids and political instability, which came to a head in Kylon's coup. Proposed possible causes of this general destabilization are a protracted drought followed by famine and pestilence, reduction of agricultural production, Athens's involvement in the Lelanteion War, or a war with Aegina.[274]

Lately, research has tended to interpret the same facts differently, relying on archaeological studies that provide new evidence. Thus economic recession due to the lull in the pottery trade is rejected because it has been demonstrated that Middle Protoattic pottery was not produced for export purposes but for purely ritual ones, expressly for Attica and Aegina.[275] The drop in the city's population is explained by the trend of decentralization and gravitation to the periphery, while the small number of Archaic settlements may well be due to gaps in our knowledge.[276] The impression of retardation in establishing the tyranny can be rebutted by the institution of annual archons, implemented from 684/683 BC. Athens's nonparticipation in the colonization movement can be explained as indicative of internal equilibrium due to a sufficiency of available land. The lack of a central authority is countered by the fact that the demos and the archons had succeeded in preventing the founding of the tyranny by Kylon and that a few years later (621/620 BC) Drako made the first attempt to establish the rule of law, aimed at curtailing violence between the aristocratic clans and the threat this posed to social stability.[277] Athens's unusual course during the seventh century BC is explained as a period of introversion and internal ripening of the political system, in marked contrast to the extrovert policy of the other cities. This course was confined to Attica, with the aim of imposing Athenian domination of the entire peninsula, from Eleusis in the southwest (including Salamis) as far as Eleutherai in the northwest, Oropos in the northeast, and the surrounding islands, by the mid-sixth century BC. Some scholars see this as expressing the famous synoecism that was later attributed to the oikistes Theseus.[278] However, irrespective of the date of the synoecism, the testimony of Thucydides (1. 126. 7–8) that as soon as the Athenians learned of Kylon's capture of the Acropolis, they "came in a body from the fields against them and sitting down before the Acropolis laid siege to it," expresses the fact that circa 630 BC they were already a political entity.[279]

The incorporation of the social developments of the Submycenaean period of the city within its Archaic structure is detected through the genealogy and origins of the Athenian aristocracy in these years. The relationship of the Peisistratids to the clan of the Neleids, who arrived from Pylos; the origins of the families of the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton from Euboea (Gephyraioi) or Boeotia; the descent of Miltiades I (uncle of the Miltiades of Marathon) from Aiakos of Aegina and Philaios of Salamis indirectly kept alive the remembrance of populations that, headed by scions of deposed Mycenaean royal houses, found refuge in Attica and settled in Athens at the close of the Late Bronze Age.[280] In the end, these were some of the heroic ancestors of the citizens of the Classical period, the initial nuclei of the Athenian population in the narrow sense of the city's inhabitants.

From the archaeological viewpoint, the homogeneity in funerary customs, which in these years were largely stabilized in relation to the preceding Geometric period, and the use of common mortuary sites on the outskirts of the city, particularly after the abandonment of the last

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cemeteries close to the Mycenaean burial grounds and the Acropolis, express at the level of urban planning the unification of the populations and their submission to common laws and mores.

The participation of Solon, Peisistratos, and his sons in the process of totally transforming the urban landscape of Athens is the second important issue that preoccupies researchers, especially with regard to the founding of the Agora to the northwest of the Acropolis. A less archaeological and more social approach to the issue makes clear that the change of the ownership status of this large area from private to public was the outcome of the policy of these historic figures of the sixth century BC. Although the social reforms of Solon, who was elected archon in 594/593 BC, and the eunomy in which they were founded do not seem to be related to old theories on the function of the space as the Agora from the sixth century BC, nevertheless the processes of eliminating the craft-industrial and residential character of the area to the northwest of the Acropolis began in the mid-sixth century BC, when, under Peisistratos, the form and structure of Athens began to be organized through major construction works for public benefit.

The gradual distancing of the houses, workshops, and shops from the space of the later Classical Agora and the change in function of this space are expressed clearly through the abandonment of the wells inside the central part. It seems that then more than ever, the need for the expansion of the city northward (since the southern sector was already congested) was realized and that evacuation of the space was deemed necessary for the change in its character to trigger development of the urban tissue in this direction.[281] The possible use of the space in this period for public athletic, military, and theatrical events is consistent with the zeitgeist of the tyranny of Peisistratos (546–528 BC) and his sons (528–510 BC), which has been likened to the "enlightened despotism" of the eighteenth century.[282]

In parallel with the public works projects, sanctuaries were founded. They not only adorned the city but also were instrumental in shaping Athenian consciousness, through symbolisms experienced on a daily basis in the urban environment. This was the period of organization of official cult and, by extension, the social structures of the asty.[283] The transfer of local cults into the city, such as of Demeter from Eleusis and of Artemis Brauroneia and Dionysos Eleuthereus from the borders of Attica and Boeotia, and the founding of sanctuaries to these deities upon and around the Acropolis, may well express the strengthening of the relations of powerful clans with their places of provenance and the annexing of these places to Athens. In effect, they denote the constitution of the Athenian city-state and enhance Athens as the political and religious center of Attica.[284] The choice of the Acropolis as locus par excellence of manifesting these changes is not fortuitous. It embodies potent symbolisms suggested by the very history of the Rock. Henceforth, Athens was defined as the center of Attica, and the center of Athens was its eternal navel, the Acropolis. At the beginning of the sixth century BC the Rock still had its dual character of fortress and sanctuary. But although its religious role began to outstrip its strategic position, in those years the sanctuary of Athena was inferior to the other great sanctuaries of the period, in both wealth and splendor. This situation changed radically under the Peisistratids. The ambitious building program they implemented transformed, with the construction of monumental temples, the image of the summit of the Acropolis. The korai statues of Parian marble and the sculptures of horsemen, which were dedicated to Athena by rich Athenian families, embellished the sanctuary and enhanced its prestige.[285] These changes, in combination with the reorganization of the Panathenaia (566 BC), put Athens on the map as a venue of festivals on a par with those of Nemea, Isthmia, Delphi, and Olympia, while concurrently influencing the layout of the lower city.[286]

The toppling of the tyranny and the establishment of the democracy by Kleisthenes (508/507 BC) was expressed once again on the Acropolis with the inauguration of a new building program. However, this time efforts to organize the political system turned to the territory of Attica as a whole. With the aim of ending once and for all the old relations of power and authority of the aristocratic clans, new demoi were created in the rural territory (chora) and inside the asty.[287] The nuclei — urban, suburban, and rural — of many of these demoi are identified with the numerous settlements dispersed in Athens and on the coasts or in the hinterland of Attica. Many demoi were already important but did not yet have political entity.[288] Consequently, it was mainly the rural chora that was affected by the reforms of the newly founded regime. With their inclusion in demoi, the various villages distant from one another, the country towns, and the different settlements were unified administratively and turned into parts of the organization of the city-state, of equal standing to the demoi of the asty.[289] However, in terms of spatial organization, there was no change either in the countryside or in Athens, where the layout of spaces around the Acropolis favored a denser and more coherent form of habitation.

The creation of the urban demoi was no more than an administrative regulation, but within an environment

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that had already begun to take the shape of an asty. By the end of the Archaic period, Athens was a mesh of residential, craft-industrial, political, and religious spaces, on the margins of which the cemeteries were arranged and through which ran a network of streets. The form of the city was not altered by the division of its geographical territory into demoi. Simply, habitation in areas where it had developed already by the end of the sixth century BC, with different communities of people, was officially recognized and ratified. The particularities among these communities at the level of origin, heroic ancestors, and cults were instituted, while at the same time all were equalized and united together politically, enjoying equal rights and responsibilities vis-à-vis the city-state of which they were the components.[290]

The city that developed under these conditions remains unknown to research. Its destruction by the Persians (480/479 BC), the rebuilding of it from the foundations by the Athenians during the decade that followed, and habitation over the millennia have erased the greater part of the archaeological imprint. The Archaic city is a ghost city. Only a few indications from its cemeteries have survived, and very few remains of buildings in the settlement, all of them found to the south of the Acropolis. These show that in the years when Thucydides was living and writing, "what is now the city," the main settlement, was already established in the southern sector, in the place where he states that the very old part "toward the south" was located, and it began gradually to develop also to the northwest of the Acropolis.[291]

The Quest for the Settlement and the Issue of the Archaic Fortification Wall of the City

Any discussion on the areas of habitation in the Archaic period is related to the totality of major topographical problems of Athens in these years, but mainly it comes up literally against a wall, and indeed a big one: the still sought-for Archaic fortification wall of the city. The difficulty in defining its extent lies in the fact that to date, no trace of a pre-Themistoclean fortification has been found, despite the existence of three references in the ancient literary corpus, from which the existence of a wall around the lower city before the Persian Wars is deduced.[292] The debate between researchers on this issue started in the early twentieth century, with Judeich and Dörpfeld as protagonists, the first as champion of a fortification wall and the second as negator. The issue of the location of the early burials in the city was involved too. On the basis of a discussion about an Athenian law referred to by Cicero (*Ad Familiares*, IV. 12. 3), according to which burials inside the bounds of the city (therefore its circuit wall) were prohibited (although when it was introduced is not known), Dörpfeld summoned the Geometric burials of the ninth century BC, which he had found, to prove that such a law was in force already from the ninth century BC, when it is certain that no fortification wall yet existed.[293] Judeich linked this legislation with the purification of the city by Epimenides the Cretan (or Knossian) after the Kylonian coup (632 BC) at the end of the seventh century BC[294] and therefore presupposed the existence of a fortification wall already by then.[295] The discovery in 1951 of the Archaic cemetery near the Agora, which according to Thompson had already started to function as the political space of the city, complicated matters, as these burials could mean only two things: either that until the end of the sixth century BC there was no Agora, or that there was no law prohibiting intra muros burials, and therefore no fortification wall. A compromise solution was the interpretation of the cemetery as a burial ground for eminent personages, perhaps none other than the Peisistratids, to whom the privilege of intra muros burial had been granted.[296]

Travlos, who considered it impossible that Athens would have been unwalled in the same period as Eleusis (in his view annexed to Athens already from the end of the seventh century BC) acquired very mighty walls, tried in his 1955 doctoral dissertation to reconstruct the Archaic enceinte of the city, drawing on the sources as well as on geomorphology and topography.[297] The plan he published in 1960, in *Πολεοδομική εξέλιξη των Αθηνών* (Urban-planning Development of Athens), is reproduced to this day in the bibliography, despite the fact that the existence of the fortification wall remains unresolved, without anyone managing to shed light on the thorny problem of the extent of settlement and the spatial layout of the city.[298]

The course of the putative fortification wall to the south of the Acropolis, as charted by Travlos, between the sanctuary of Nymphe and modern Dionysiou Areopagitou Street, in combination with Miliadis's excavations in the same spaces in the late 1950s, where all that was found was a little pottery of the Orientalizing period, led to the positing of a new theory. According to this, during the seventh century BC, the specific area had fewer inhabitants than before, a view that was gradually generalized for the whole city, which was said to have shrunk.[299] However, it is important to stress that in order to approach issues pertaining to the growth or shrinking of Archaic Athens, we must not only define initially the locations of habitation (that is, the settlements) in Geometric times and their development in Archaic times but also compare archaeological data of the same kind. The dearth of Archaic pottery

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from graves in the southern sector of the city, which during the Late Geometric period was full of large and smaller burial grounds, does not entail the shrinking of the city, provided we stop looking for contemporary houses near the graves, as was the tendency of earlier researchers. The lack of pottery from graves of the seventh century BC indicates no more than the cessation of mortuary activity in the space, and this does not mean shrinking of habitation but exactly the opposite. The space ceased to be used for burials because there was a need for growth of habitation.

The progress of research and the results of excavations conducted over the last 50 years have led modern scholars to broader approaches to the Archaic city, through its street network, the sites of its sanctuaries, the Archaic Agora, and the actual geographical landscape (mountains, rivers, harbors). These approaches are examined below, on the basis of the totality of Archaic remains from cemeteries and settlements.

Relationship between Settlement and Cemeteries: Formation of the Archaic City and Rearrangement of the Cemeteries

Even though at the end of the eighth century BC mortuary habits changed once again and cremation returned, the locations of the cemeteries were not affected (fig. 4.19).[300] This means that the locations of the settlements that used the cemeteries had also been consolidated and the settlement areas had already developed. However, for some settlements, the continuing use of the same cemeteries was an obstacle to their development, as the space had already been covered by burials and there was no other space free for habitation to spread.[301] It is possible that at the end of the eighth/beginning of the seventh century BC, settlements and cemeteries, in the past close to each other but in separate sites, had come so close together, due to their simultaneous development, that there was no longer any intervening space differentiating the one land use from the other. In areas such as the south part of the city, where the Ilissos was a natural boundary to its expansion, the cemeteries that took over the space from as early as the Late Geometric period created a strangulating cordon around the places of habitation.

This problem of spatial layout enhanced the need to set up large cemeteries on the periphery of settlement loci, so that the city could find sufficient space to grow.[302] The first instances of the problem appeared where it was most acute, south of the Acropolis, and for the first time in the city's history the structure and organization of this area began to change. Athens began to develop northward too. This change could not have been sudden. We do not know whether there was a relevant legislative regulation, although this seems very likely. In the absence of other data, it is imprudent to rely only on the information preserved by Cicero and to consider it as relating to the continuation of an ancient funerary law banning burials inside the city. But if indeed there was a law, the graves of the seventh and sixth centuries BC in the south and northwest parts of the city attest that either it was not applied normally or that originally it concerned only the South Slope of the Acropolis to present Dionysiou Areopagitou Street, where the abolition of graves once and for all started. Perhaps the founding of the sanctuary of Nymphe also had precisely this purpose, to secure the change in use of the space in an area into which the population needed to spread.

For this reason, the law on modification of land use, which the state wished to apply, perhaps needed to be reinforced by an official religious measure, expressed through a ritual for the entire city and imposed henceforth after this: the purification of Athens by Epimenides the Cretan (or Knossian).[303]

From the entire city and from all the places where Archaic remains have survived, the change in the use of space from burial to habitational is imprinted most clearly in the south part (fig. 4.20).[304] The change commenced from the South Slope and followed a course from north to south. In the early years of the period, habitation spread at the same rate as the small Late Geometric roadside burial grounds were abandoned, and progressing temporally into the period and topographically toward the river, the southernmost houses are later than the northernmost. This shows the gradual increase in the radius of habitation, which, beginning from the South Slope and with its center the Acropolis — the nucleus of the Geometric city — descended toward the banks of the Ilissos until the Early Classical period.[305]

The abandonment of the South Slope cemetery, at latest in the first quarter of the seventh century BC, was followed by the conversion of part of the space into a sanctuary circa 625 BC. The absence of early pottery and related architectural remains probably indicates that the old Geometric burial grounds were not inhabited immediately after the termination of their mortuary function. By reverse argument, it demonstrates that when they were operational, they were not located within a settlement area from the outset. By 600 BC the space had been freed entirely and construction of the infrastructure to support settlement — removal of earth and construction of terraces — had commenced. After the sixth century BC, when the last burial was made (Dionysiou Areopagitou and Propylaion: X. 12), habitation spread to the south of the Geometric

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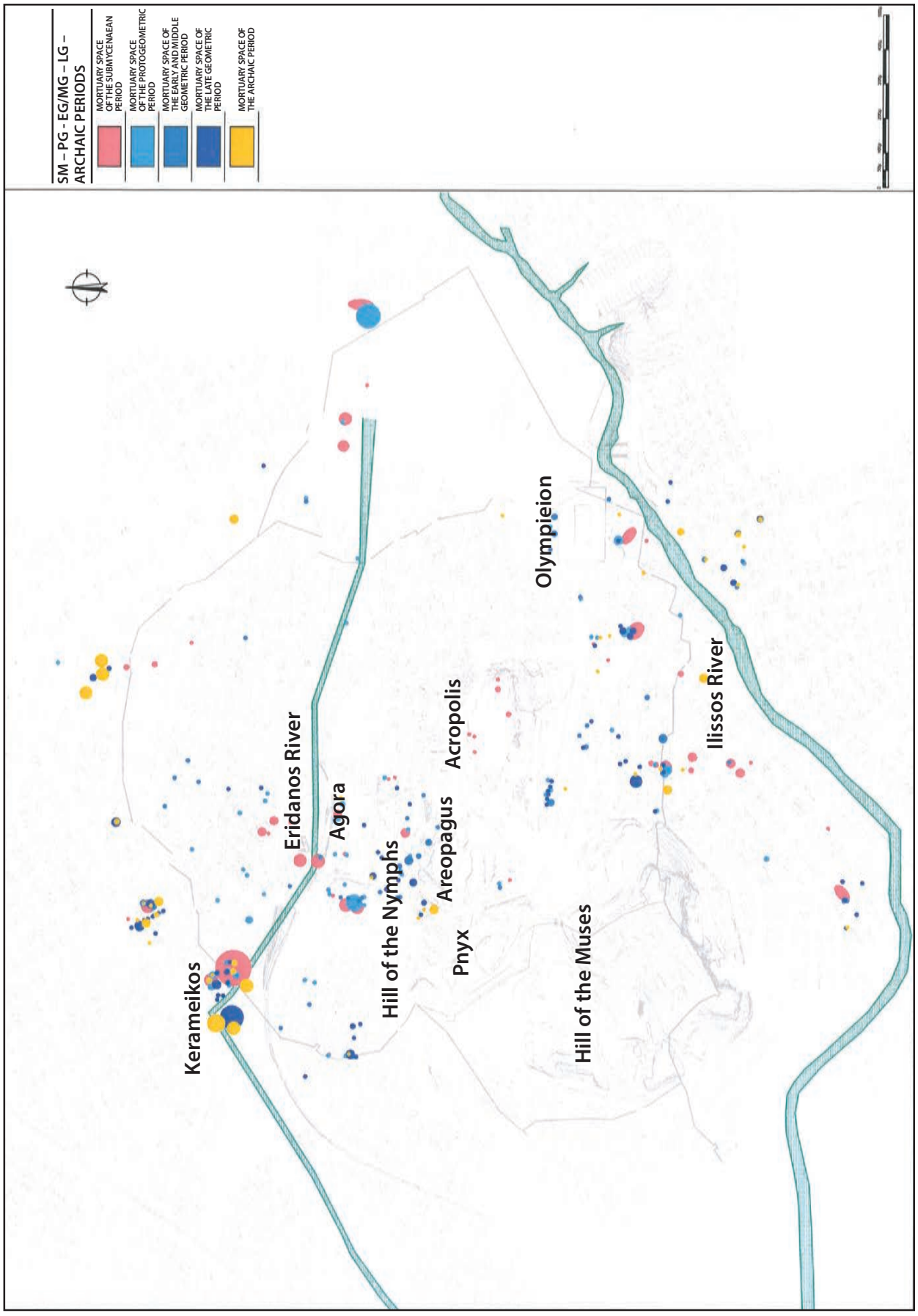

Figure 4.19. Athens. Sites of the Submycenaean, Geometric (PG, EG/MG, LG), and Archaic cemeteries. This map can be viewed in detail online at www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/4.19.

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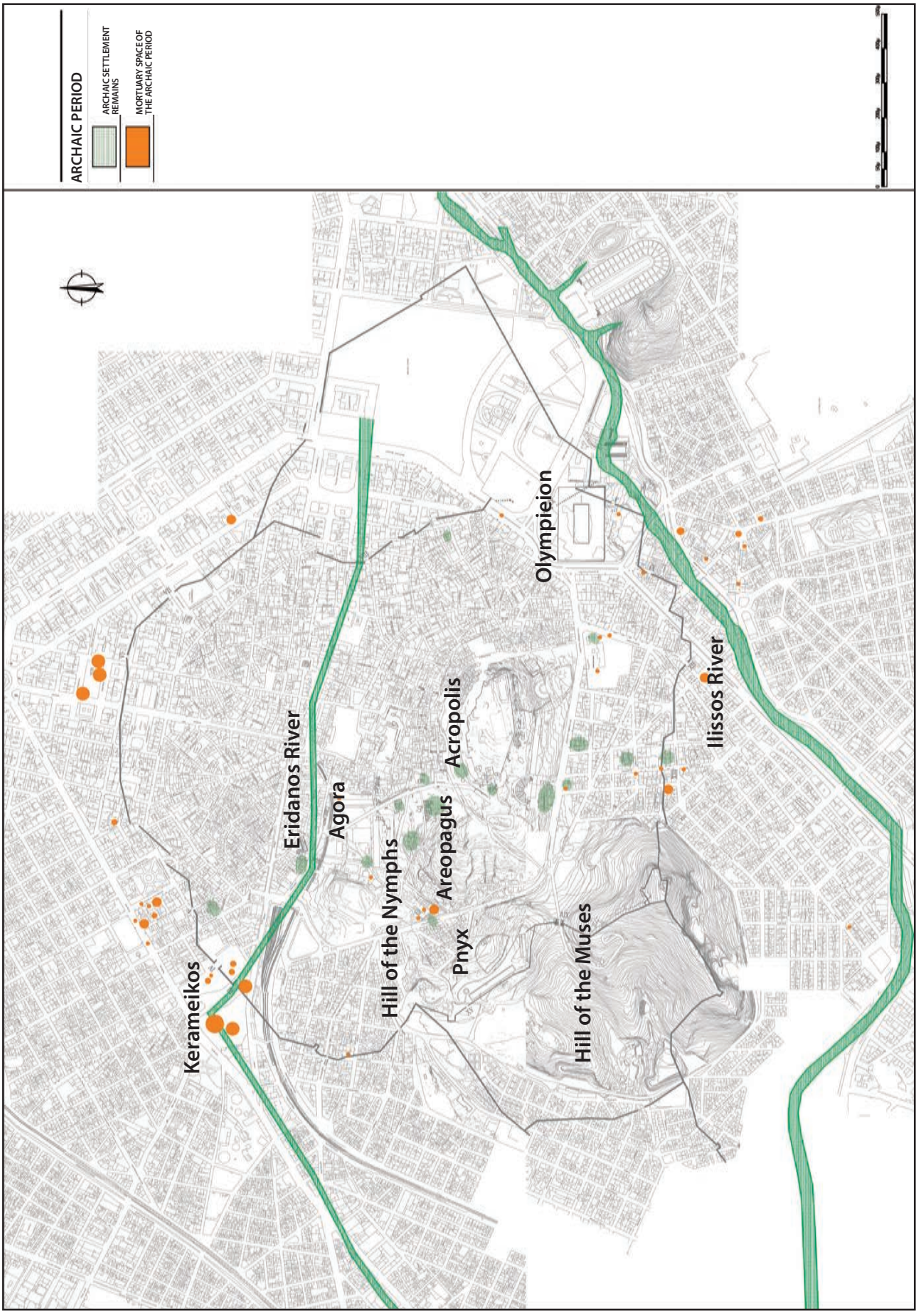

Figure 4.20. Athens. Sites of Archaic cemeteries and habitation areas. This map can be viewed in detail online at www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/4.20.

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cemetery, where terraces were also built. Toward the end of the century, it had proceeded even farther south (Promachou 5: X. 40), close to the cemetery in Kavalloti Street (X. 24), which was still functioning but only just. By 480 BC, when the intermediate burial grounds had been abolished, habitation had spread to the point through which the Classical fortification wall was to pass (Erechtheiou 20: X. 15). The Erechtheiou Street cemetery continued to receive burials until at least 520 BC, and at the end of the period a new cemetery was founded to the west of it (perhaps due to lack of space in the old one). It continued in use during the Classical period too (Propylaion 34: X. 41). Both cemeteries define the south border between the asty, which spread northward as far as the Acropolis, and the chora, which encompassed the land as far as the river, this too arranged in terraces.

This kind of formation is typical of the entire southern sector and was imposed by both the furrowed terrain of the South Slope with the steep inclines and the north bank of the Ilissos. The closer we come to the fifth century BC, and particularly after 480 BC, a widening of the terraces is observed and an increase in the number and area of the plots of the houses constructed on them. The development of building plots and houses presupposes the existence of free space around the initial terrace, where the later one could expand without trespassing on the borders of the neighboring property. Consequently, habitation must have been sparse and there must have been gardens and orchards around the houses: "and on the land there are trees planted, vines and figs," among which there were also "old tombs" of the defunct Submycenaean and Geometric burial grounds (Demosthenes, *Against Callicles*, 13–15).[306]

The picture must have been much the same farther east. In contrast to the west sector, the configuration of the ground there was smoother, and habitation is indicated also by wells that had been sunk (Makrygiannis plot: X. 35). Due to the lack of evidence from burials and the very few architectural remains in the Makrygiannis plot, it is not clear when the roadside cemetery there stopped being used, although by 480 BC habitation had reached as far as the northwest corner of the plot.

The retaining walls of the South Slope and in the area south of Dionysiou Areopagitou Street are related to remains of houses, whereas those closer to the Ilissos are not related to architectural remains. This shows that in the north half, the terraces were associated with land for construction; in the south with land for cultivation. The same phenomenon is observed in the area of the north bank of the Ilissos, opposite the Kynosarges cemetery (Iosiph ton Rogon 6: X. 20, Syngrou Avenue nos. 40–42: X. 24). This fact perhaps indicates that there was a buffer zone between the settlement and the river, which — until it was covered over completely a few decades back (after 1970) — frequently flooded, causing not only damage but deaths by drowning.[307]

Consequently, the limits of human activity during the Archaic period reached to the southern sector of the city close to the Ilissos. However, this was not the case with the limits of habitation, the southernmost of which stopped at the level of Gate XIII. This can be seen also from the burials in the Erechtheiou Street cemetery, which until 520 BC were made at this point and were now made farther south, even beyond the gate and on the sides of the road to Phaleron (Erechtheiou 13–15: XII. 12). Mortuary activity is observed also at Gates XII (Petmezas shaft: X. 20) and XI (Iosiph ton Rogon 6: XII. 18), which linked, respectively, the city with the harbor, which until the Persian Wars was at Phaleron (it was transferred to the Piraeus after the hostilities), and with the Saronic Gulf, where from the seventh century BC there was trade through Aegina (fig. 4.21).[308] From this point southward, the space belonged to the dead and to crops. The concentration of graves at the gates and therefore on the sides of the basic road arteries is observed throughout the city and is related to the linking of Athens with the demoi of Attica and maritime trade.

The erecting of aristocratic tombs, which are determined by the finding of kouroi, must have been a characteristic of the period. It was not confined to only the Kerameikos and the roads connecting the city with Eleusis, the Academy, and the Piraeus.[309] Kouroi, inscribed pedestals, and tomb monuments of high art have been found at the Acharnai Gate (Gate VI) to the north (Kotzias Square); the Diomeiai Gate (Gate X; Voulis and Apollonos) to the east; Gate XI (Iosiph ton Rogon 6), Gate XII (Makrygiannis plot), and Gate XIII of Erechtheiou Street (Erechtheiou 25) to the south; and the Piraeus Gate (Gate II) (Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos) to the west (fig. 4.22).

This habit was associated with the then current aristocratic belief in the glory of the dead. The Archaic tomb stelai acquired human form, came down from the top of the tumuli where the Geometric tomb markers were placed, stood beside them near the road, and addressed those passing by, exalting the virtues of the μάλ' ἀώρως θανόντος — the untimely deceased. The groups of such tombs at all the entrances/exits of the city created a single tomb (Σήμα) of reinforced magnitude and impact and semeiologically expressed the aristocratic character of the city. This was so until 508/507 BC, when isonomy was applied without exception to living and dead, and the large public cemeteries of the city were organized.

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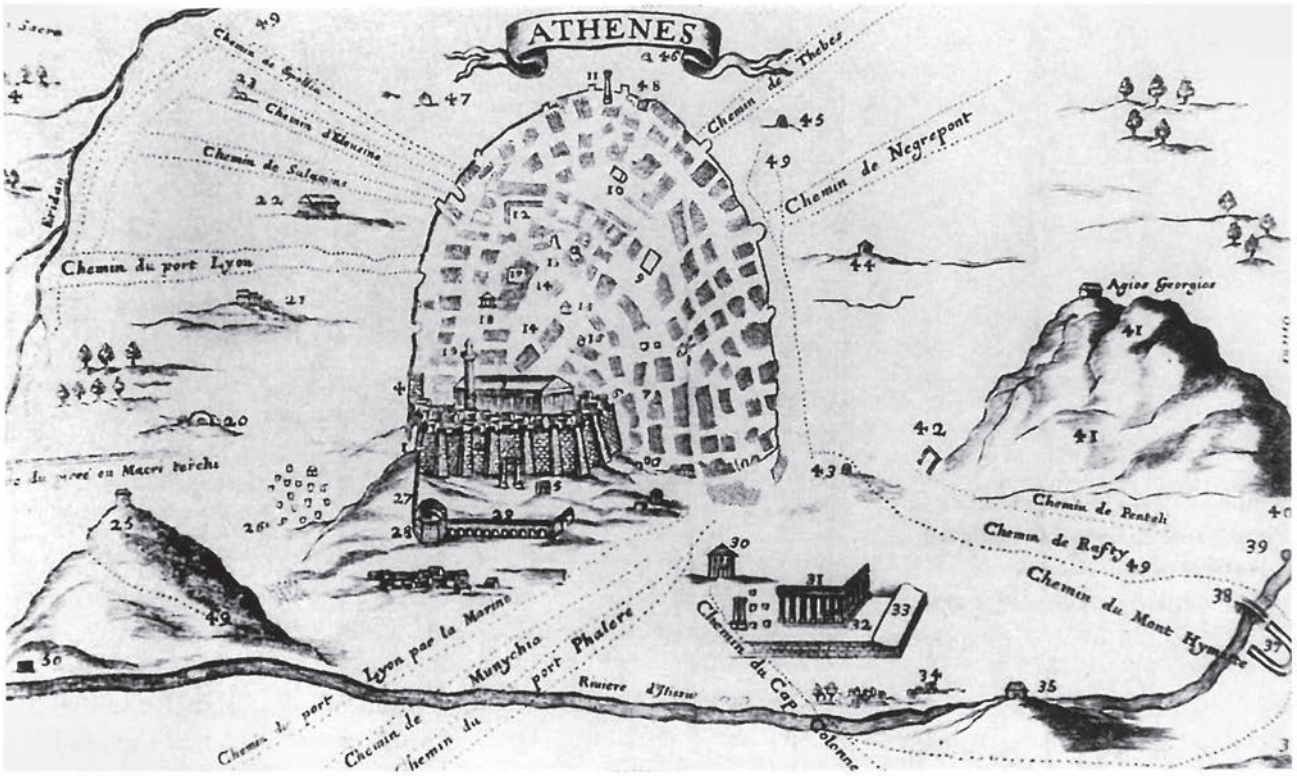

Figure 4.21. Athens. General map of Athens with the basic road arteries to and from the city. J. Spon, 1676. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 288, fig. 5.6. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Even so, the habit of roadside cemeteries continued into the Classical period, when the cemeteries alongside the road to Phaleron developed in the southernmost sector of the city. The beginning of this extensive development from the space immediately outside the Halade Gate (XII) was defined by the founding of the Petmezas Street cemetery at the end of the Archaic period. The road to the natural harbor of Phaleron was the main commercial route of the city from prehistoric times until after the Persian Wars, when the Piraeus became the outport of Athens.[310] The use of the sides of this road for burials was just as old. However, with the exception of the area of the Dimitrakopoulou Street cemetery, the continuous use of which pointed already from the Mycenaean period to the existence of a nearby settlement that it served, there are no traces of habitation in the road's remaining part as far as Gate XII. The area north of the Ilissos and the Phalerike Hodos was not used in the Archaic period either. It too was arranged in terraces, like the areas on the south fringes of the Acropolis, due to the steep slope of the north bank of the Ilissos (Drakou 19: XII. 10). However, it was a long way from the main settlements and was free of any other kind of buildings, except the retaining walls — dry-stone walls (αίμασιαί) that bounded the fields.[311] It was part of the rural chora, in which the areas of arable land were interrupted only by burial grounds, the commercial highway, and the riverbed of the Ilissos.

Close to the hill of the Olympieion and the Kallirrhoe spring, in the southeast part of the city, the changes in the identity and aspect of the area were spectacular on both sides. The only stable feature in the space was the Geometric cemetery of Kynosarges, which continued to operate normally in Archaic times too. The ancient cemetery on the Olympieion hillock was abolished, the knoll was leveled, and a large terrace was created; upon this the sanctuary of Zeus was founded. The exact date of the modification has not been detected in the archaeological record. Building of the monumental temple was begun by the Peisistratids in the late sixth century BC, on the site of a temple built on the same spot several decades earlier. In this case, the conversion of the space from cemetery to sanctuary would have begun earlier, and the wells to the south of the space, which were found sealed with Protoattic pottery from the final graves, were associated with this change. Together with the beautification of the hill, some of the riverside sanctuaries were founded on the banks of the Ilissos, close to the ones already existing. (See Protogeometric sanctuary of Kronos and Rhea.)

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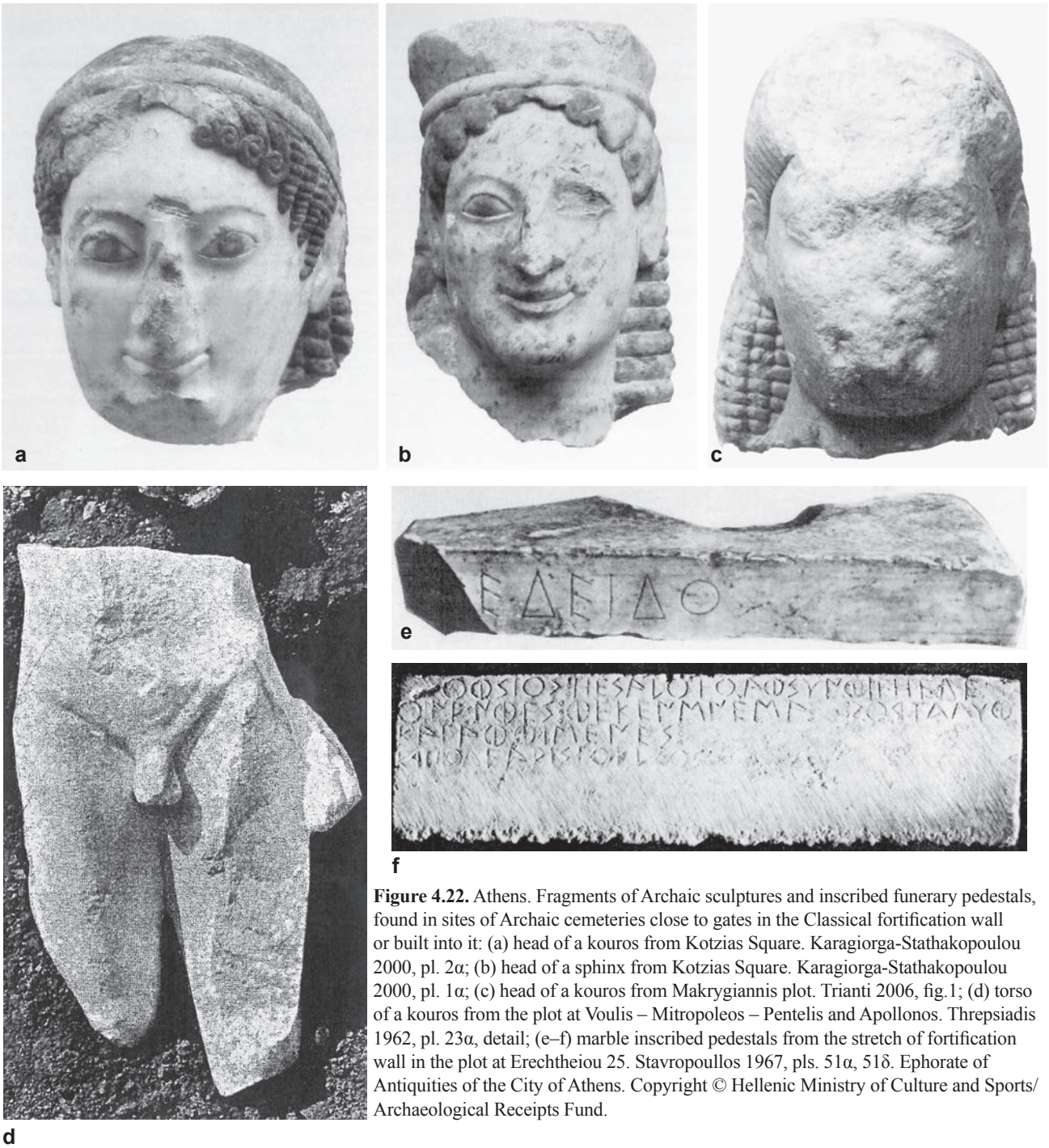

Figure 4.22. Athens. Fragments of Archaic sculptures and inscribed funerary pedestals, found in sites of Archaic cemeteries close to gates in the Classical fortification wall or built into it: (a) head of a kouros from Kotzias Square. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2000, pl. 2α; (b) head of a sphinx from Kotzias Square. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2000, pl. 1α; (c) head of a kouros from Makrygiannis plot. Trianti 2006, fig.1; (d) torso of a kouros from the plot at Voulis – Mitropoleos – Pentelis and Apollonos. Threpsiadis 1962, pl. 23α, detail; (e–f) marble inscribed pedestals from the stretch of fortification wall in the plot at Erechtheiou 25. Stavropoullos 1967, pls. 51α, 51δ. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Habitation on the south bank of the Ilissos, which is not ascertained archaeologically today but is deduced from the Kynosarges cemetery, is known from the sources to have increased before the Persian Wars. A group of citizens relocated from the demos of Melite to this area during the sixth century BC, and in this same century, one of the city's three gymnasia, the Kynosarges Gymnasium, was founded outside Classical Gate X, southeast of the Olympieion and close to a sanctuary of Herakles.[312] It has been suggested that both the founding of the sanctuary, which means transfer of cult from the first place of installation to the new settlement, and the founding of the gymnasium are related to the new settlement. The real reasons for the relocation are not mentioned by Plutarch, who preserves the information. However, handed down was the etiological religious interpretation given later (*On Exile*,

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6), in which the development of the area, the changes in place-names, and its extent can be detected.[313]

According to this myth, Diomos, son of Kollytos, eponymous hero of the homonymous demos and friend of Herakles, to whom there was a sanctuary in the area, in the course of a sacrifice to his friend received a sign from him. A white bitch snatched the sacrificial offering from the altar. At the point where the dog dropped it, a new sanctuary of Herakles was founded and the place was named Kynosarges, compound of the noun κύων ("dog") and the adjective αργός ("white"). A band of citizens headed by Diomos left their old neighborhood and moved to the vicinity of the new sanctuary, augmenting numerically and topographically the already existing settlement, which was named Diomeia.[314] The information that can be extracted is invaluable with respect to the rearrangement of the city, as it becomes clear that during its remodeling, everything was in flux: not only were the cemeteries relocated but also whole settlements together with their local cults and sanctuaries.[315] The instituting of the Metageitnia festival in late summer (when the "Herakleia in Kynosarges" were celebrated too) and the naming of one autumn month of the Attic calendar (Metageitnion) in memory of this process express the importance of all these changes for the city and the attempt to link everything to religion. Furthermore, revealed too are the antiquity of the name of the area, which is kept to this day, the relationship of Herakles and of the new settlement to the gymnasium founded in those years, and something more: the demoi of Kollytos and Melite are reckoned to have been located to the northwest of the Acropolis, near the Agoraios Kolonos and the Areopagus. The relocation, the demos of Diomeia, and the settlement development of the city toward the southeast could be correlated with the state takeover of the space of the Agora, the removal of the private houses, and the expropriations that are assumed to have taken place in the same period. The old inhabitants of the area west of the Agora were compensated by the state with new land allotments so that they could live in an upgraded area on the banks of the Ilissos, near the old Agora, in the shadow of the new temple of Zeus that was under construction, and next to the gymnasium of the city, likewise being built.

The east part of the city remains the most enigmatic, although after the discovery of the inscription of Timokrite, it became clear that the neighborhoods of Plaka and the Anaphiotika cover the core of early Athens, its first Agora, and the settlement that was to grow up around it, as happened later in the Classical Agora (fig. 4.23).[316] As the heart of the early city, it must have been destroyed in 480/479 BC, suffering analogous devastation to the summit of the Acropolis. If, on the basis of the hypotheses about its site, this developed from the east foot of the Rock below the

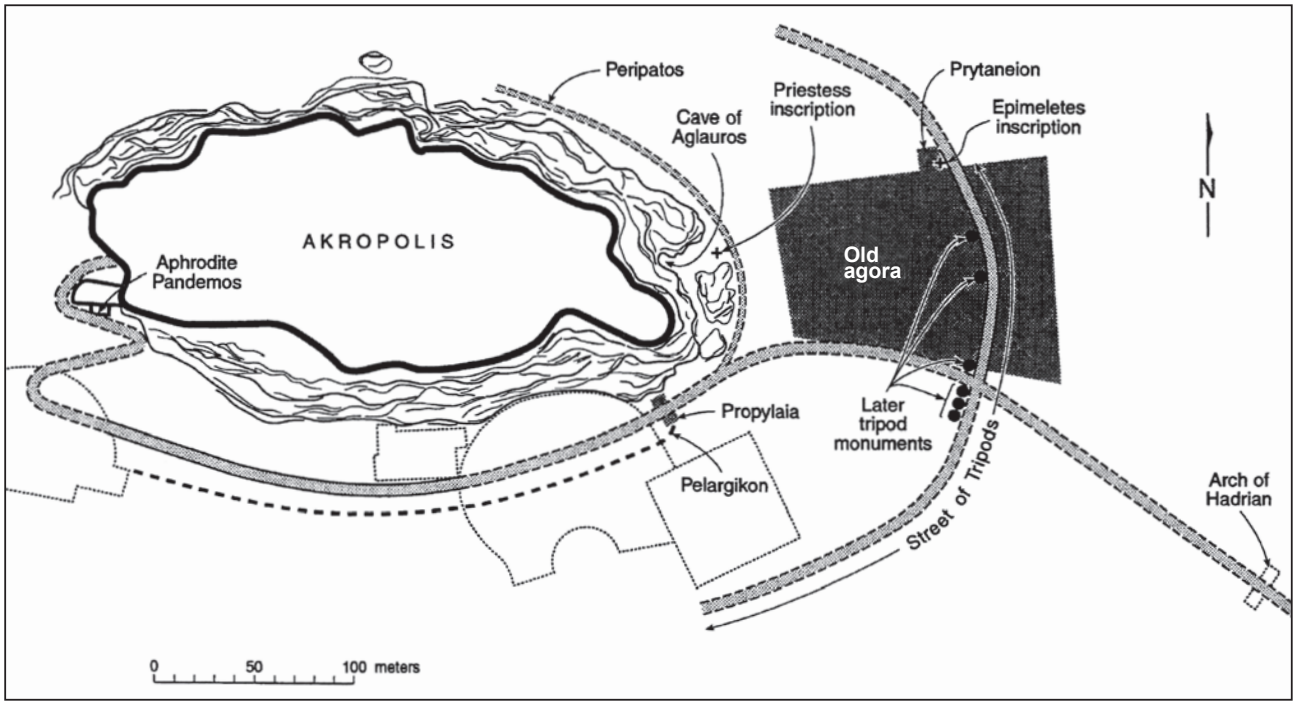

Figure 4.23. Athens. Site of the Archaic Agora to the east of the cave of Aglauros in relation to the Street of the Tripods and the street toward the summit of the Acropolis. Robertson 1998, p. 285, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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cave of Aglauros as far as the area around Agia Aikaterini Square, where the street of the Tripods passed and at least another six streets terminate in radial arrangement, then habitation to the south would have occupied the remaining space as far as the Olympieion and the north edge of the Makrygianni neighborhood.[317] To the east it reached at least as far as Kodros Street, where the sole house remains, which were not necessarily the northernmost, were uncovered in the plot at no. 15 (VI. 4). So habitation possibly came close to the south bank of the Eridanos and the road linking the city with the demoi of the Mesogaia and the east coasts of Attica, on the sides of which a large cemetery had been founded in the Submycenaean period. The course of the Classical enceinte, which was not extended farther east toward the National Garden, although for us today there is no apparent reason why it was limited westward, perhaps attests that Archaic habitation did not spread much farther east than the then hilly southwest area of the Zappeion.[318] This seems to be confirmed also by the site of the Archaic tomb on Amalias Avenue (opposite no. 34: VII. 5). Although it cannot be considered part of a cemetery, it nonetheless would not have been inside the settlement area and therefore is an indication, however paltry, of the boundaries of the city.

The rearrangement of the spaces of the city and the changes in the use of them are more pronounced in the southern and eastern sectors, due to the continuous use of these areas from the Late Neolithic period, but they are not confined only to this particular part. They took place everywhere around the perimeter of the Rock of the Acropolis and on its summit, and they are indicative of a major process of remodeling the available space during the seventh century BC, in the framework of an expanding and evolving community.

The changes to the north and west of the city are less obvious than those to the south, because the Eridanos passed at a much greater distance from the Acropolis than did the Ilissos to the south, and use of the space was different. In the space of the Agora, which from a Mycenaean necropolis was changed in Geometric times into a mainly craft-industrial area, the workshops had begun early on to develop at sites of earlier burial grounds no longer functioning. This use of the space is justified, as pottery workshops, on account of smoke from the kilns, were usually established some distance from the settlement of ancient cities and formed whole areas near sources of their raw materials — in the case of Athens on the banks of the Eridanos — and busy thoroughfares.[319] From this standpoint too, the roads to the northwest of the space, which linked Athens with Eleusis and the Academy, served the pottery trade. Even though, because of the activity of potters in the space, it could be argued that it was inhabited by them from the Early Iron Age, the area cannot be characterized as a settlement in that period, and much less as the settlement nucleus of the city, which earlier scholars considered it to be.[320]

Even so, the removal of the last graves from the central space by the end of the Late Geometric period, the abandonment of the north and northeast slopes of the Areopagus as a place of burial, and the restriction of mortuary activity between its northwest and west slopes and the east fringes of the Hill of the Nymphs seem to have favored the onset of building houses. From the mid-seventh century BC, when the gradual removal of the workshops began, this time from the central space, the north slope of the Areopagus too shows signs of settlement. The preparation for habitation of the wider area, which until then had remained unexploited, is denoted also by the founding in the same century of the Eleusinion at the north foot of the Acropolis, exactly as happened with the sanctuary of Nymphe on the other side of the Rock.

As the central space and its periphery passed at accelerated pace in the sixth century BC from a status of private ownership into the hands of the state, shops and houses were set up in the wider area around the now public square. The northwest part of the city slowly but surely came to be residential and commercial in character, triggering the development of Athens from the east to the northwest. From this side too, the urban tissue began to embrace the Rock of the Acropolis. The north slope of the Areopagus was by now an organized settlement, with streets leading to the square and a sewerage-drainage network (House of Thamneos: II. 12, Late Archaic building insula: II. 12, Late Archaic house under House Ω: II. 13). The houses reached as far as the north foot of the Acropolis and the Archaic precinct (peribolos) of the Eleusinion (II. 18). However, public or religious interest in the service of the state prevailed over the urban tissue. In the middle years of the century, the doubling in area of the Eleusinion temenos, which was expanded to the south, meant the eradication of this neighborhood, in place of which the temple of Triptolemos was built around the second quarter of the sixth century BC. The same fate was in store for the neighboring buildings (houses and/or workshops) in the southeast corner of the Agora (II. 19). As a result, the houses on the Areopagus were the closest to the newly formed part of the city and were therefore the most advantaged.

Toward the end of the seventh century BC, the Industrial District (II. 4) began to be inhabited too, laying the foundations for its concurrent use for workshops and settlement.

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The only stumbling blocks to understanding the change of use of the space are the continuing operation of the Archaic cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus and the presence of graves outside its enclosure until the end of the sixth century BC. This is the last burial enclave within the bounds of the Archaic city, irrespective of whether or not a restrictive funerary law existed. To date, no graves later than the end of the sixth century BC have been found in the Agora. Consequently, if the dual hypothesis that the city had an Archaic fortification wall and that the Agora lay within its compass holds, then even if there were such a law, it would not have been introduced before 500 BC. However, perhaps this particular cemetery is some kind of exception, as at no other place in the city have such late burials come to light.

Otherwise, in this part of the city too (the northwest), burials were clearly concentrated in the old Submycenaean and Geometric cemeteries, which continued in use without interruption. On the west side of the city, indications from the cemetery of the Piraeus Gate are negligible and indirect. The use of the space and the erecting of luxurious tombs are attested by the destroyed sculptures that had been set up on tombs, which were used as spolia built into the Classical fortification wall. However, it may well be that there was no particular habitation activity in the area at that time, as the Piraeus had not yet become the basic harbor of Athens. Judging by the founding of two small roadside sanctuaries northeast of the gate, which were destroyed by the Persians (Vasilis 18–20: XIII. 5, Poulopoulou 20: XIII. 15), development of the area perhaps got under way shortly before the Persian Wars — that is, in the same period when Themistocles for the first time raised the issue of moving the harbor from Phaleron to the Piraeus. The western sector of the city developed after the Persian Wars, when the Piraeus began to be used as the main harbor. Then the road linking it with Athens through Gate II became one of the busiest, and the area that fell within the boundaries of the demos of Melite became commercial in character. We know from the sources that Themistocles lived there, close to the sanctuary he founded for Artemis Aristoboule.[321] The sanctuary has been found and identified, at the junction of Irakleidon and Nileos Streets.[322] Even if Themistocles's house were to be found, it is unlikely that it would be identified, as Demosthenes informs us about the unpretentious houses of other illustrious men (*Against Aristocrates* 207, *Third Olynthiac* 25, 29).

Farther north, burials continued to be made in the old cemeteries of the Kerameikos and Gate V, which during Classical times were established among the official cemeteries of the city; paramount was the Kerameikos.[323] The Archaic house in the plot at Agion Asomaton and Tournavitou 1 (III. 2), in the area between these cemeteries, is irrefutable testimony of habitation here, but as it is the only house found so far, it is not possible to ascertain the density of this habitation. With the diversion of the bed of the Eridanos and the arranging of the northwest corner of the Agora in the early fifth century BC, the spread of habitation breached the natural barrier of the steep valley of the Eridanos and passed to the north bank. However, because this area has not been excavated, except in the part between Adrianou and Astingos Streets at the height of the archaeological site of the Agora, where the Archaic house west of the Stoa Poikile (Well J 2:4) was revealed, there is no evidence to determine its northward extension (II. 10). What has become clear from the rescue excavations in the area of Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square is that, as in the south part of the city, all the small roadside Geometric cemeteries, which during the preceding period were scattered in the northwest sector of the city, were abandoned. Mortuary needs were covered by the cemetery at Gate V and in Sapphous Street.

The same picture dominates in the northeast part of the city, although there is no notable density of Late Geometric graves there, in the area inside the Classical fortification wall. During the Archaic period, even this minimal use of the sides of the road that crossed the city almost vertically and linked the Acharnai Gate (Gate VI) with the Halade Gate (Gate XII) stopped, and burial activity was concentrated in the Kotzias Square cemetery (IV. 5). The intensive development of this cemetery in the Late Archaic period probably points to increase of habitation in these years. Even so, habitation is not ascertained in the archaeological record for this period, but it is ascertained in the Early Classical period, after the Persian Wars, in Aristeidou Street.[324] However, the mainly northward development of the Classical circuit wall of the city indicates that there was open land in that direction, into which the urban tissue could expand easily in the future, and with this prospect it was included in the walled space of the asty. It should be assumed that in the Archaic period this land consisted for the most part of unexploited tracts, cultivated or not, the έρημα της πόλεως ("empty spaces of the city"), which continued to exist in the Classical period too, within the settlement space intra muros.[325]

Last, it is possible that in these years the initial nuclei of burial grounds in the northeast part of the city were formed (Stadiou and Omirou: V. 6). During the Classical period, these were to develop into its large cemeteries. This fact too is an indication of state planning for the future development of the city north of the Eridanos. Nonetheless, on the basis of the archaeological remains from the entire northern

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sector of the city, only the trend is ascertained and not yet the growth of the Archaic city beyond the north bank of the river. Archaic Athens, notwithstanding its great leap to the north that resulted from the transfer of its political and administrative heart from the east of the Acropolis to the newly-founded Agora to the northwest of it, remained inside the two natural boundaries set from north to south, the Eridanos and the Ilissos; it was a "riverine settlement" from the Late Bronze Age into the early years of the fifth century BC.[326] The settling of its first populations to the south and east of the Acropolis, with basic criterion the water supply from the two rivers that converge at this point, seems absolutely logical, "[s]ince the country was not supplied with water by ever-flowing rivers, or lakes, or copious springs" (Plutarch, *Solon*, 23. 5).

Settlement Development of the Archaic City through Rearrangement of Public Spaces: General Principles of Organization and Implementation

By the end of the Archaic period, Athens had acquired the basic form it was to keep and develop during Classical times (roads, cemeteries, settlement areas, and free spaces for growth) and that was to be secured by constructing the fortification wall in 479 BC. This was the endpoint of a long and gradual process spanning at least two centuries, during which continual changes in land use had transformed the city. This transformation started from the Acropolis itself, which slowly but surely, with the founding of the sanctuary of Athena, was turned into a locus sanctus/religious center, after the final abolition of all settlement and mortuary activity, traces of which survived on the flat summit until Late Geometric times.

We assume that it was in these years that the first transfer of the administration took place, from the polis — in actual fact the Acropolis, where it had been ensconced since Mycenaean times — to the asty, that is, below the East Slope of the Rock. It was there that the Archaic Agora of the city, venue of all public functions and everyday transactions, began to develop. The space on the summit of the Acropolis was left free for the sanctuary, while concurrently keeping its character as a stronghold. In the collective consciousness it remained the nucleus of the city, within and around which major historical and political events took place (the Kylonian Conspiracy; capture by Peisistratos; Isagoras).[327] Conventionally, this can be considered chronologically the first change related to the rearrangement of the entire city during the Archaic period. In terms of the organization, function, and topography of Athens, it marked the start of the transition from the Mycenaean form it had kept until then to that of the Early Classical period, and this transition was launched from the most ancient core of the settlement, the Mycenaean citadel, the Acropolis.

Between the seventh century BC and the Persian Wars, the city was in flux; transformations that resulted from the state's relations at home with Athenian society and its relations abroad with other cities, were manifested at all levels. Since all these changes in the urban landscape were interconnected and had reciprocal effects upon it, a network of ties was created. The slightest change in any one of them triggered a reaction throughout the web. That is why the splitting up by modern research of the city's development into individual actions, works and spaces, which are attributed to the political authority in power each time, obscures the bigger picture. Although methodologically it may help our understanding of the succession of events in different periods, it fails to enhance the decisive importance of the highly complex planning and political influence demanded of a series of Athenian leaders over many years.[328] It would be misguided to imagine that the principles and ideals running through the aristocratic regimes are imprinted in the public aspect of the city in the same way as those of the democratic system of governance. Indeed, these differences are very often detected in the archaeological record, through observation of changes, eliminations, and even destructions in spaces and structures. However, the continually evolving optimizing course of Athens during the Archaic period, notwithstanding the continuous political changes that in a span of 200 years took it from the aristocracy to the tyranny, the oligarchy, and finally the democracy, indicates that despite the basic differences in the political systems, the overriding guideline was the idea of the city as a load-bearing structure for its inhabitants/citizens.

The overall observation of the processes through which the topographical rearrangement of the city was realized during the Archaic period reveals to a large degree the basic principles with which it was materialized at various times: the priorities of the state, the ranking of interests in cases where these conflicted, the exploitation of the Athenians' piety, and the internal connections between actions that happened simultaneously or were repeated. The city evolved from its Mycenaean to its Archaic form through the ongoing interaction between public, sacred, mortuary, and settlement space. The last seems to have developed on the basis of the previous layout of public and sacred space, and through competition with mortuary space. This is why areas in which the habitation of the city is located at various times are never absolutely stable and clear-cut, as for example the city's Agora. They

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are constantly changing, readapting to the transformations caused by their development itself, but mainly by the way in which the space of the city was managed by the state and the religion.

By using specific examples from analysis of the developmental course of Athens and its settlement during the seventh and sixth centuries BC, we could end up at certain general principles by which this course was organized and expressed. The observed sequence of the first major changes signifies also the hierarchical evaluation of their importance. For example, the sanctification of the summit of the Acropolis and the monumentalization of the sanctuary of Athena preceded the transfer of the mortuary spaces to the outskirts of the city. The changes took place from inside the city (the Acropolis) toward the periphery and from above (the summit of the Acropolis) to below, around the foot of the Rock. The change in use of the Rock is observed already from the beginning of the seventh century BC, while the upgrading of the sanctuary is associated with the tyrants and less with the aristocracy, which preferred to dedicate ex-votos in nonurban sanctuaries.[329]

The next evaluation that was made was the founding of a free public space to the northwest of the Acropolis. Here the picture is hazy, as the transformation of the locus of Athens's pottery production began to be manifested by the first removals of the wells from its center, already from the middle years of the socially and politically turbulent seventh century BC — that is, before Solon, before the introduction of the concept of "public," and while the Archaic Agora of Theseus was functioning normally.[330] Although we do not know when the idea of using the space to the northwest of the Acropolis for installing the city's new Agora was conceived, the removal of the preexisting potters' workshops and houses is observed from the mid-sixth century BC and was completed by the beginning of the fifth century BC. This change of use and ownership status, which bespeaks the disposition to free the space of all the activities it hosted, was perhaps due initially to the difficulty of expanding the city southward. Until Archaic times, the city continued to grow toward the southeast. The Peisistratids elected to build the largest temple at that time there, on the hill of the Olympieion, next to the Ilissos and adjacent to the space of the Archaic Agora.[331] However, the founding of the Agora of Classical times is also inscribed within this frame of expansion of the city during later years.

In parallel, a sudden upsurge in the founding of sanctuaries is observed. This phenomenon had been expressed during the seventh century BC in the countryside, in uninhabited areas and mainly on mountaintops. The aristocrats made their dedications there, outside the city and away from society, not on the Acropolis.[332] Observed during the seventh and then the sixth century BC, is the founding of sanctuaries inside the city too, which had symbolic political ramifications (transfer of local cults of Attica or of areas that were annexed: the Eleusinion, the sanctuary of Dionysios Eleuthereus). These set their seal on the birth of the polis and put the community as its core.[333] It has been observed most perspicaciously that the founding of these sanctuaries was related to the formation and definition of urban space in the sixth century BC, as well as to subsequent changes associated with the reforms of Kleisthenes and the new demoi.[334] This view is confirmed by the present study, through a new observation concerning the locations in which these sanctuaries were founded. These were places that were still free of settlement, either with no earlier use (e.g., the Eleusinion) or near or in old cemeteries (triangular sanctuary of the Agora to its southwest, sanctuary near the northeast corner of the temple of Ares, sanctuary of Nymphe on the South Slope, sanctuary in the Dörpfeld area, sanctuary at Vasilis 18–20 and Poulopoulou 29 in Theseion, Olympieion). For those sanctuaries located in the Agora, it has been argued that the inhabitants of the city, having accidentally disturbed the world of the dead, sought to appease them.[335] For the other sanctuaries, however, those outside the Agora, no such claim can be made because a few years after their founding, the space around them was inhabited. Consequently, it seems as if the sanctuaries functioned as precursors of habitation, marking the areas in which this could develop and ridding them of their mortuary character, securing with their sacred presence the transformation of the surrounding space into terra sancta. Until this happened, the space would not have been intruded upon by other activities and especially by new burials, of which the city was trying to purge itself.

The last topographical regulation in the series seems to have been the shifting of the cemeteries to outside the city, not only for practical reasons but also for political ones. The closure of the old burial grounds, the filling in of them with earth, or the disinterment of the bones of those who had been buried there was an impious act that was an affront to both the dead and their living relatives. Indeed, if these were members of old aristocratic clans of the city, then these actions acquired political meaning too. It is only natural that this regulation was imposed last of all, when all other feasible measures had already been taken. It possibly required the collaboration of religion to be sanctified, to be divested formally of hubris, and to allay reactions as much as possible.

Apart from these general principles of organization and expression in the transformation of the city, we can detect

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others that concern the realization of the changes, the way in which they were implemented on a large scale. The most important of these principles is the public interest or the city's interest. It was this that was served each time, even to the detriment of individual interest many times, since ultimately the citizens would benefit from the first. The most characteristic example is the transformation of the space of the later Classical Agora from private ownership, with individual properties, into a single state-owned area and the construction of public buildings and sanctuaries in the place of workshops and houses. For its application, the regulation of expropriations would have been essential, even though this is not ascertained archaeologically. However, it appears that "relocations" were favored too, such as that which led to the founding of the demos of Diomeia at Kynosarges. The same is detected also on the Northwest and West Slopes of the Acropolis, where individual private interest clashed with the concept of beautifying and monumentalizing the environs of the Rock (sanctuaries and entrance), and lost (VIII. 2, VIII. 3). Settlements were abolished to the advantage of religious sentiment. But habitation was defeated also by the sacred places, the temene and the temples, when these wanted to take its place. The case of the neighborhood that was demolished on the middle terrace of the Eleusinion circa 550 BC to build the temple of Triptolemos is a typical example, as is the Northwest Slope of the Acropolis.

Last, since all the changes in the city constitute a totality, as stated previously, strong correlations between the processes are also observed. For example, the founding of many sanctuaries together at different points in the city signifies its development in the direction of these places. The change in the ownership status of the area of the Agora caused movement of the population living in this southeast area of the city and parallel gradual growth of the city toward the northwest. This movement is related to the transfer of the cult of Herakles. The installation at Kynosarges and the founding of the riverside sanctuaries of the Ilissos, the magnificent temple of Zeus, and the gymnasium brought expansion of the city to the southeast, beyond the south bank of the Ilissos. At the same time, the formation of the northwest corner of the Agora encouraged the extension of habitation beyond the north bank of the Eridanos. The reorganization of the Panathenaia in 566 BC is associated with the reorganization of the Acropolis and the demolition of houses in the southeast corner of the Agora, and so on and so forth.

In Archaic times, gradual, nonstandardized changes began to make their mark on the urban map. These changes heralded major ones that were to take place in the city after the Persian Wars (ambitious building programs on the Acropolis and in the Agora, development of the city intra muros of the Themistoclean enceinte, transfer of the harbor to the Piraeus). None of these changes seem to have been planned from the outset with the aim of serving habitation. This is a modern urban-planning model and a modern way of thinking about it. The Archaic settlement of Athens developed haphazardly between the public, unbuilt, and sacred spaces, and in the gaps left by the old cemeteries when they retreated from inside the city. The last and indeed organized extension of it took place in the late sixth century BC toward the southeast, the direction to which the city was always turned. The areas in which the spread of the Late Archaic city can be detected directly or indirectly are identified with parts of the wider region of many of the urban and some of the neighboring suburban demoi of the Classical period (fig. 4.24), the precise boundaries of which remain unclear to research.[336]

Of the areas in which the five urban demoi of the city developed — that is, those intra muros — for only one, Koile, are there no indications that the area was inhabited from early times.[337] This is possibly due to the fact that the Hill of the Muses has not been excavated systematically, although neither are there indications of land use from the recently investigated "road which is called the way through Coile" in the valley between the Hill of Philopappos and the Pnyx, which linked Athens with the Piraeus.[338]

It is most likely that habitation was established in the area after 479 BC, when the fortification wall included it within the city and the harbors of the Piraeus (Kantharos, Zea, and Mounychia) had replaced Phaleron for both mercantile and military use.[339]

However, as far as the other four demoi are concerned, they are located in areas that not only were inhabited in Archaic times but also were used from much earlier. The demos of Skambonidai, in the part of the city north of the Acropolis, occupied the area north of the Eridanos, where settlement remains of the Archaic period have been found near the Eriai Gate and along the north bank of the river. The demos of Kydathenaion — one of the largest urban demoi, which from antiquity was considered as covering the center of the asty, from the Acropolis as far as the Ilissos — was in the eastern sector of the city, where, tradition had it, the Athenians had vanquished the Amazons and where the early Agora was founded. Its mythological charge, which is boosted by archaeological indications, is confirmed by the fact that the center of early Athens lay to the east of the Acropolis (fig. 16).[340]

The demos of Kollytos covered the part of the city "toward the south," from where most of the settlement

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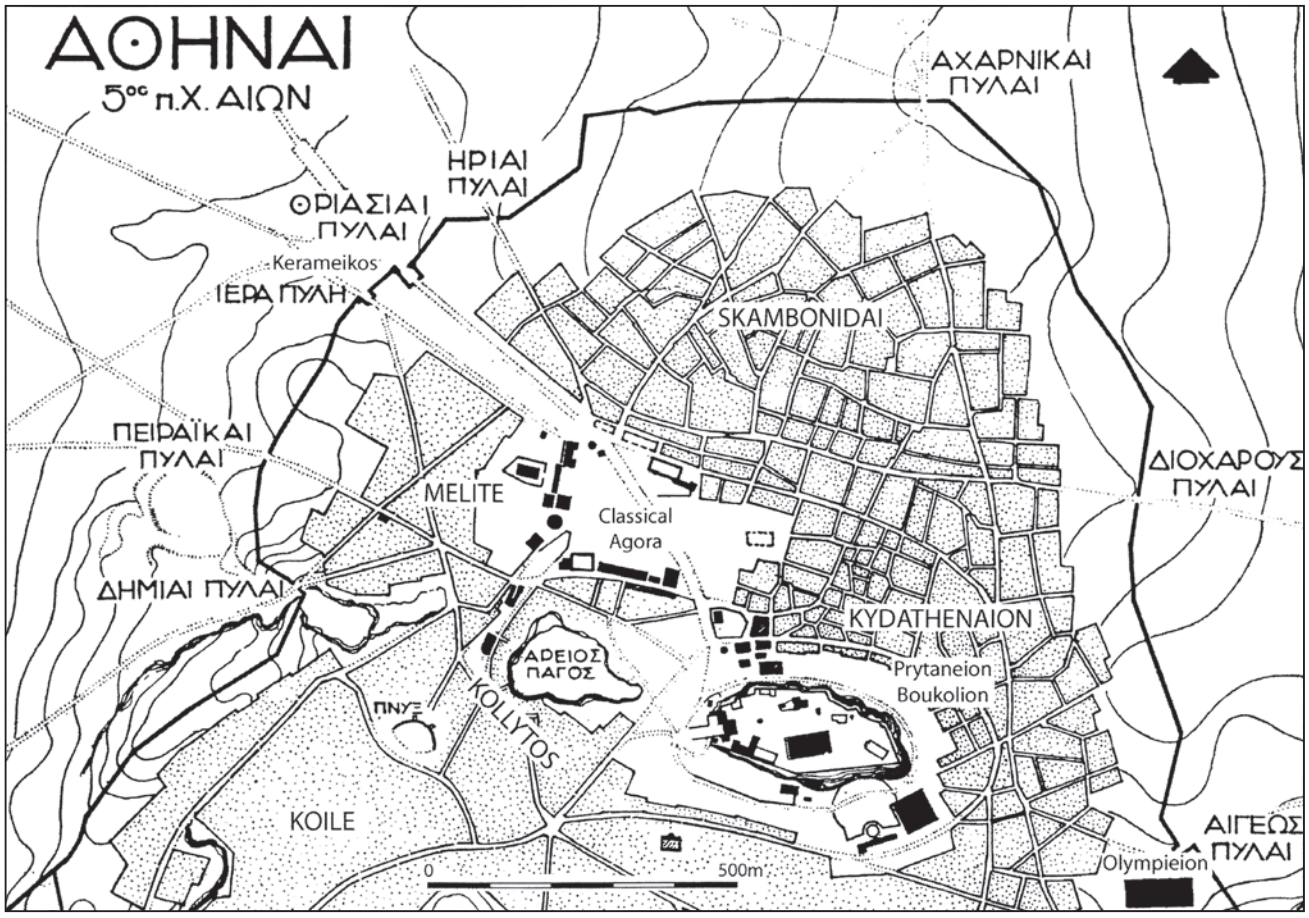

Figure 4.24. Athens. The Classical city after the building of the Themistoclean enceinte (479 BC) and the approximate locations of the five urban demoi. Osborne 2007, p. 197, fig. 20.1. Courtesy of R. Osborne.

remains have also survived.[341] Last, the demos considered the most aristocratic of all, Melite, one of the most populous demoi and the place of residence of such eminent figures as Themistocles (Plutarch, *Themistocles* 22), General Phokion (Plutarch, *Phocion* 17), Epicurus (Diogenes Laertius 10. 17), and Kallias (Schol. Aristophanes, *Frogs*, 504), included the west part of the city and possibly also the Agora itself, whose space, however, was claimed also by the demos of Kerameis.[342]

Of the neighboring suburban demoi of the city, the demos of Diomeia is that with the earliest habitation, which is related to the rich Geometric cemetery of Kynosarges and the contemporary settlement that it served, near the banks of the Ilissos. As for the demos of Keiriadai, which is located in the area between the Sacred Gate and the Demiai (or Melitidai) Gate, it perhaps included within its bounds the area of the settlement that had founded the likewise rich cemetery of the Piraeus Gate.[343] From the above observations, it emerges that the early pre-Classical areas of habitation and the settlements that developed in them constituted the nuclei of the Kleisthenian demoi, which lay a short distance from the Acropolis. Indeed, it is possible that this relation to the city's past was why old, pre-Classical toponyms continued in use, as according to one view the new demoi have names of settlements, towns, or wider areas incorporated within them.[344]

The urban tissue made up of the above demoi was destroyed by the Persians in 480/479 BC, but this event was not taken as an opportunity to remodel it on the basis of a better planned layout.[345] After the Persian Wars and on account of the rapid development of the new Agora, habitation turned to the northeast and the north, where it was to spread beyond the Eridanos, about as far as the old Submycenaean cemeteries. In one sense, the Persian invasion could be considered as having cut short the settlement development of the Archaic city. In another sense, perhaps it speeded up its development in area. The city was rebuilt very quickly in the same as well as in new areas of habitation, wherever the circuit wall "extended in every direction" (Thucydides 1. 93. 2) permitted.

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Notes

1 Osborne 1989, pp. 313–314, 321; Hurwit 1999, p. 94; Scholl 2009, p. 80.

2 Shapiro 1989, p. 1.

3 Dontas 1983. The identification of the east cave of the Acropolis as the Aglaureion is now accepted, despite the objections initially aired. See Kavvadias 2005, with relevant bibliography and synopsis of the views expressed concerning the site of the Aglaureion, the Prytaneion, and the Archaic Agora after the discovery of the stela of Timokrite. For a reexamination of the issues of early Athenian topography, on the basis of a different reading of Pausanias and the earliest ancient sources, see Robertson 1998, as well as Harris-Cline 1999, with all the earlier relevant bibliography. With regard to whether Pausanias refers to the Archaic or the Roman Agora of Athens, see Dickenson 2015.

4 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 65; Osborne 1989, pp. 299–309, 314, for the development and demography of Athens and Attica, as well as the sites of the settlements and cemeteries of the period.

5 Digital maps: Archaic period, VIII Area: Acropolis; henceforth Digital Map VIII Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VIII-Arch.

6 Gazetteer: Area VIII: Acropolis, 1. Terrace.

7 Other scholars date the Archaios Neos with the Gigantomachy pediment, circa 520 BC, and attribute it to the Peisistratids, while the most recent theories date it after 510 BC and associate it with Kleisthenes and the early years of the Athenian democracy. Childs 1994; Hurwit 1999, p. 121; Korres 2000, pp. 7–8; Schneider and Höcker 2001, pp. 88–101; Vlassopoulou 2004, p. 2; Vlassopoulou 2006, p. 22; Valavanis 2017, pp. 52–53; Scholl 2009, pp. 74–76.

8 Chapter 3, "Ancient Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki."

9 Miliadis 1965, p. 5.

10 Digital Map II Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-Arch.

11 For the buildings in the area of the Tholos (Buildings B, C, D, E, F, H), see Thompson 1940. For the "Persian destruction" deposits, see Shear Jr. 1993. For their importance, see Lynch 2009, 2011, pp. 20–21, with all relevant bibliography.

12 For the structure and function of pottery kilns and for settling tanks as criteria for identifying pottery workshops, see Hasaki 2002, pp. 77–111, 259–261.

13 Thompson 1940, pp. 5–7. *Agora* XIV, pp. 186.

14 Young 1939, pp. 139–140.

15 For the pierced clay disks, see Young 1939, pp. 191–192, C166–173. For the misshapen Subgeometric skyphos C85, see Young 1939, pp. 165–166, fig. 117. For the loom-weights and the spindle-whorls found in large quantity, see Young 1939, pp. 140, 194, C181–187. For the fragments of terracotta figurines, see Young 1939, pp. 224–225. For draw-pieces from some of the studied early wells of the Agora, see Papadopoulos 2003, p. 29, drawing 2.3, pp. 39–40, figs. 1–2, p. 43, drawing 2.9., et al.

16 For the existence of wells of the second quarter of the sixth century BC at the foot of the Hill of the Nymphs, see Thompson 1948, pp. 174, 184.

17 Brann 1961, pp. 306–307.

18 Burr 1933. For the rejection of the theory concerning a Geometric house and the redefinition of the remains as belonging to a temenos-heroon, see Thompson 1968, pp. 58–60 and Thompson 1978.

19 In the same period, the third quarter of the seventh century BC, the fourth well in the central space of the *Agora* (K 9:1) was abolished too. *Agora* VIII, p. 129.

20 Brann 1961b, p. 375; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 186–187.

21 However, Papadopoulos dates S 17:2 earlier than Brann, in the Subgeometric period. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 145.

22 Brann 1961b, p. 375.

23 We do not refer to all the Agora wells that ceased to function in 480 BC. For these and for the study of the pottery inside them, see Shear Jr. 1993. The total of these wells and deposits is presented in fig. 10, while in fig. 3 only those referred to in the present text are shown.

24 For the identification of Building C as the Solonian Boule of the Four Hundred, see Thompson 1940, pp. 8–15. For the rejection of this theory, with persuasive arguments and excavation data, see Shear Jr. 1994, p. 229. See also "Ancient Agora: The Transformation of Private into Public Space," below.

25 Shear Jr. 1994, p. 229, note 31.

26 Thompson 1937, pp. 81–84. For Building F and the bibliography relating to it until 2003, see Papadopoulos 2003, p. 296, note 142.

27 For the significance of stored clay as criterion for identifying the remains of a potter's workshop, see Hasaki 2002, pp. 259–261.

28 Hasaki 2002, p. 258.

29 Rotroff and Oakley 1992, p. 3.

30 Young 1951, p. 177.

31 Lining of the shaft with stones is encountered in very few Archaic wells of the Agora. See Camp 1977, p. 177; Lynch 2011, p. 5.

32 Lynch 2011, pp. 29–30, fig. 9, p. 32. For the excavation of this well, see Camp 1996b, pp. 242–252; Camp 1999b, p. 25; Lynch 1999, p. 298; Camp 2000, pp. 27–28.

33 Lynch 2011, pp. 10–20, 25.

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34 Well J 2:4 is one of the more than 20 debris pits in the Agora related to the clearing operations carried out in this space after the Persian destruction (Shear Jr. 1993). We do not know to what extent the well's destruction was an intentional act of war related to the retreat of the Athenians or the sack by the Persians. See Camp 1996b, p. 245; Lynch 2011, pp. 26–28.

35 For the Archaic house to which Well J 2:4 belonged, see Lynch 2011, pp. 29–35.

36 Lynch 2011, pp. 40–41.

37 For wells of the sixth century BC in the area that are not further specified, see Shear 1940, p. 272.

38 The existence of a sewerage system collecting and channeling effluents through pipes cannot be taken for granted in this period; Tomlinson 2005, p. 66. For the cesspits located on the north slope of the Areopagus, see Costaki 2006, pp. 94–95.

39 This house is not mentioned by Lang 1996.

40 *Agora* XXVII, p. 100.

41 Thompson 1954, pp. 51–53.

42 Digital Map III Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/III-Arch.

43 Alexandri 1969, p. 43.

44 Digital Map IV Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IV-Arch.

45 Alexandri 1969, pp. 69–71.

46 Digital Map VI Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VI-Arch.

47 Digital Map IX Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IX-Arch.

48 Dunbabin 1944, p. 81.

49 Digital Map X Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/X-Arch.

50 See "Evidence of Cemeteries and Roads," below.

51 Alexandri 1970, p. 35.

52 Alexandri 1970, pp. 32–37.

53 The above data and the topographical plan of the excavation, on which their positions are marked, were kindly provided by the archaeologist in charge of the excavation in the Makrygiannis plot (former First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities; present Ephorate of Antiquities of Athens), with the proviso that they are not final results based on thorough study but preliminary observations of the material, which has not yet been published.

54 Kalligas 2000, p. 32.

55 *Agora* IV, Types 19B and 2B.

56 Alexandri 1968, pp. 76–78

57 Alexandri 1979, pp. 87–90

58 Digital Map XII Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XII-Arch.

59 Digital Map I Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/I-Arch.

60 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], pp. 65–66.

61 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], pp. 66–75.

62 Knigge 1991, pp. 26–28. The large early seventh-century BC tumulus has been identified on the basis of Pausanias's testimony (I. 36. 3) as the burial plot of the Kerykoi clan. This ancient Attic clan was descended from Keryx, son of Hermes, and had as its emblem the attribute of the god, the kerykeion. Its members held the homonymous office of kerykes (heralds) at celebrations of the Eleusinian Mysteries. The graves found inside it were richly furnished with offerings and are dated from the seventh to the fifth century BC. Knigge 1991, pp. 96–97.

63 A characteristic example is the so-called South Hill, a tumulus approximately 30 m in diameter and 5 m high, which was raised in the third quarter of the sixth century BC on top of many early monuments. In the late sixth century BC it disappeared under huge amounts of fill, in the framework of rearranging the cemetery for the burial of ordinary citizens. See Knigge 1991, pp. 101–102.

64 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 76.

65 This tumulus, known in the bibliography also as the South Hill, was constructed in the third quarter of the sixth century BC. It covered two cist graves — one of them found undisturbed and containing the skeleton of an adult male, some 2 m tall; an opulent funerary bier decorated with amber and ivory; and abundant grave goods from eastern Ionia. These data led to the hypothesis that the dead was not an Athenian, and due to the stelai of the ambassadors found later on the north verge of the hill, the tumulus was considered a burial plot reserved for ambassadors already from the time of Peisistratos. Knigge 1991, pp. 101–102.

66 The tumulus was constructed shortly before the mid-seventh century BC. Many graves in circular arrangement, dated to the sixth and fifth centuries BC, intruded into this, but it covered also a series of even earlier tombs and enclosures of the eighth to the sixth century BC. Among them was a so far unique tomb building of mud brick with a flat roof and red-painted outside walls. The fill of the tumulus yielded a large quantity of Protogeometric and Geometric pottery, obviously deriving from the destruction of some nearby graves. Because the desecration of graves was considered an act of hubris in those times, it is thought that expiatory moves were made, expressed by the founding of the Tritopatreion in the same period as the tumulus was raised. Knigge 1991, pp. 104–106; Knigge 2006, pp. 159–163; Robertson 2010, pp. 155–184.

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67 Knigge 1991, p. 32, 102; Kavvadias 2010.

68 Digital Map II Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/II-Arch.

69 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 66. Some Archaic ritual pyres that initially were considered child burials and those located on the north slope of the Areopagus are still being studied. For the latter, see note 73 below.

70 The original number is believed to have been larger. Enchytrismoi are easily destroyed and indeed without trace, as they are deposited at shallow depth.

71 Thompson 1948, p. 166.

72 "Just north of the west end of the road a grave dating from the end of the sixth century was uncovered; it still held some undisturbed deposit, including two black-figured lekythoi. This was presumably a burial made beneath a house floor." Shear 1939, p. 215.

73 For Young's theory on the existence of child burials under the floors of contemporary houses, and on intramural burials, see Young 1948, 1951, pp. 67–134; Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 67. This theory opened the way for an overall impression on funerary habits of this kind, which was expressed even for earlier periods by Morris in his theory on the existence of child burials inside houses of settlements from the Early Iron Age in Athens. (See chapter 3, "Child Graves of Geometric Times," where this theory is challenged on the basis of examination of the location of Submycenaean and Geometric child burials in Athens.) For the interpretation and recent restoration of assemblages of this kind from the Agora, see Rotroff 2013, where, however, the burial N 20:8 is not included.

74 *Agora* XXX, p. 334, nos. 850, 861.

75 It is first mentioned by Sparkes and Talcott, occasioned by publication of the black-glaze pithos and two of the four miniature vases it contained (one "salt cellar" and one plate with ring base). Also referred to there are bones of a young child. *Agora* XII, p. 303, no. 951, p. 307, no. 1006, p. 343, no. 1520, p. 395. The burial was referred to once again by Moore and Philippides when they published the other two vases from the assemblage (a lekythos and a skyphos). *Agora* XXIII, p. 333, nos. 805 and 1626.

76 This particular vase type is encountered in Attic vase painting from 600 BC to circa 550 BC. Although it was a widely traded product, it was linked mainly with burial practices (grave goods, cinerary vases, or even tomb markers). For these vases and proposed interpretations of the horse representation on them, see Picozzi 1973; Marangou 1995, pp. 54–57.

77 Digital Map III Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/III-Arch.

78 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 69.

79 Digital Map IV Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IV-Arch.

80 *CVA British Museum* 1 III H e Pl. 1, 1. One of the rare instances of secondary cremation in Archaic times. See Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], pp. 66, 71.

81 They were found on the west side of Aiolou Street, 18 m from the north corner of Kratinou Street. See Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2000.

82 Digital Map V Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/V-Arch.

83 Amandry 1948, p. 387.

84 Digital Map VI Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/VI-Arch.

85 Digital Map IX Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/IX-Arch.

86 According to Brann, the finding of these important fragments confirms what we know from the finds from the Kerameikos and Vari — namely that the production of high-quality vases in this period was the prerogative of a handful of potters and painters, who supplied Athens and the whole of Attica. Brann 1959.

87 Digital Map X Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/X-Arch.

88 Trianti 2006, pp. 127–135. This is a product of an early Attic workshop and is dated to 570–560 BC. Height: 32 cm. The Parian marble head is similar to the head of a Sphinx from Orpheos Street (collection of the Third Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, inventory no. M 1078), west of the Piraeus Gate. See Alexandri 1971, 1972, p. 611, Alexandri 1976, p. 71.

89 Digital Map XI Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XI-Arch.

90 Coldstream 2003; Smith 2003.

91 On the basis of the conventional boundaries set for methodological reasons in the present study, this site falls within the area of the Olympieion. However, it is examined together with sites in the area of Kynosarges because it is a continuation of the ancient cemetery.

92 Coldstream 2003, p. 333, note 20.

93 Digital Map XII Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XII-Arch.

94 Digital Map XIII Arch. www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/XIII-Arch.

95 For the city sanctuaries, their location on streets leading to gates in the fortification wall, and their relation to the formation and definition of the urban space in the sixth century BC, see Costaki 2008.

96 Parlama 1996, p. 50.

97 See "Acropolis: Habitation on the Slopes," "Northwest and West Slopes of the Acropolis," and "Development of

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the Old Geometric Cemeteries during the Archaic Period," below.

98 See "Acropolis: Habitation on the Slopes" and "South Slope of the Acropolis – Area South of the Herodeion," below.

99 Since 1972 many theories have been posited: in the time of Solon, early sixth century BC (Travlos 1971, p. 158; *Agora* XIV, pp. 25–27); the time of Peisistratos and his sons, second to fourth quarter of the sixth century BC (Shear Jr. 1978, pp. 4, 8; Shapiro 1989, pp. 5–6), or only the time of the sons (Camp 1986, pp. 38–40; Camp 1994, pp. 9–12; Camp 2005b, p. 202); the time of Kleisthenes, 508/507 BC (Shear Jr. 1994, pp. 228–245); 500 BC or even later (Robertson 1998, p. 283); and the years after the Persian destruction (Francis and Vickers 1988; Miller 1995, pp. 202, 224; Papadopoulos 1996; 2003, pp. 289–297; Paga 2015; Scholl 2006, pp. 18–27), specifically after the naval battle of Salamis (Martin-McAuliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, pp. 344, 348).

100 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 297.

101 Schneider and Höcker 2001, pp. 88–98; Scholl 2009, pp. 80–84.

102 Etienne 2004, p. 33

103 Shapiro 1989, pp. 21–24. For the association of two poros column bases found in the foundations of the Erechtheion with an early temple, see Mazarakis Ainian 1997, p. 244; Hurwit 1999, pp. 95–98. For the bronze ex-votos of this period on the Acropolis and the possibilities of the existence of a temple, see Holtzmann 2003, pp. 39–42. The same scholar argues (p. 41) that we should perhaps also assume the presence of some kind of garrison here, essential for every fortress, but not after the end of the sixth century BC. Otherwise it is difficult to explain the four captures of the Rock in the sixth century BC, during the period of the tyranny of the Peisistratids (561 BC, 557/556 BC, 511/510 BC inside the Pelargikon, 508/507 BC). For the ex-votos of the early seventh century BC on the Acropolis and their historical interpretation, see Scholl 2006, pp. 90–126.

104 Herodotus 5. 70–72; Thucydides 1. 126; Plutarch, *Solon*, 12. For the strategic character the Rock maintained, see Hurwit (1999, p. 98) and Holtzmann (2003, p. 41), who argues for the continuity of habitation in the area intra muros of the Mycenaean fortifications, perhaps in the east, since the garrison of the Acropolis should be placed in the west, where the entrances are located. For the dual character of the Rock, see also Papadopoulos 2003, p. 313.

105 The dating of the incident is based on the Olympic Games of 640/639 BC, at which Kylon was victor in the diaulos foot race. For the proposed dates of his political venture, see Jeffery 1976, p. 87, and Stahl and Walter, pp. 139–141, where the sociopolitical dimension of Kylon's coup and the consequences of the murder of his companions in the locus sanctus of the Acropolis are discussed. Regarding the topographical information on the early city gleaned from the sources that recorded the incident, their evaluation and credibility, and reservations expressed on the historicity of the Kylonian Conspiracy, see Harris-Cline 1999.

106 Camp 1977, p. 33. Lambrinoudakis 1986, pp. 61–62.

107 In reality these are seven wells, as the eighth shaft, also intended for a well, was not completed due to the hardness of the ground. For this reason it was used, most probably from the outset, as a domestic refuse pit by the nearby houses. See VIII. 2.

108 Shear 1939, p. 223; *Agora* XII, p. 399; Tsakirgis 2001, pp. 173–175.

109 Parsons 1943, p. 207.

110 For the finds typical of the fill of such a well, see Lynch 2011, p. 23.

111 Parsons dates construction of the Klepsydra and the paved court around it to the years immediately after the Persian Wars (second quarter of the fifth century BC) and includes it in the wider building program of Kimon. Parsons 1943, pp. 229–231.

112 *Agora* XII and *Agora* XXIII.

113 Wells T 24: 3, U 23:2, V 23:1. *Agora* XII, p. 399.

114 Wells U 24:1, V 24:2. *Agora* XII, p. 399.

115 Well V 23:1, unfinished well/refuse pit U 25:2. *Agora* XII, p. 399.

116 Camp 1977, p. 45.

117 Herodotus 1. 59; Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 14.1.

118 Camp 1977, p. 45

119 Herodotus 5. 64–65; Aristotle *Athenian Constitution* 19. 5–6.

120 Camp 1977, pp. 46–47.

121 Camp 1977, p. 42, with discussion of other opinions (e.g., of Iakovidis). Camp 1984, p. 41; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 302–303, with the basic relevant bibliography on the issue.

122 Camp 1977, p. 47, note 23.

123 This settlement practice, which is observed from the fifth century BC onward and gradually becomes the norm, does not seem to have yet started in this period. For urban populations, obtaining water was still difficult, and drinking water was carried to the houses in pots. This is why a priority for the tyrants of Athens was the city's water supply, with construction of an aqueduct and the first public fountains. This is borne out, moreover, by the first laws of Solon, which although referring mainly to the rural territory legislate the citizen's right to draw a specific quantity of water from his neighbor's well (probably in a field) if he does not have a well on his own property (Plutarch, *Solon*, 23).

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124 Parsons 1943, p. 207.

125 For the founding of the cult of Pan in Athens and Attica after the Battle of Marathon, see Parker 1996, pp. 163–168.

126 *Agora* XXXI, pp. 12–14, Plan 3.

127 The southward extension of workshop/settlement activity, detected in the southeast corner of the later Agora and on the middle terrace of the Eleusinion, would be less expected because of its partial eradication at the point where the temple of Triptolemos was built in the late sixth century BC.

128 *Agora* XXXI, p. 15.

129 Iakovidis 1962, p. 190, Plan 36, p. 196; Snodgrass 1980, p. 31. See Papadopoulos 2003, p. 303, for Glowacki's view, as expressed in a personal communication with the author.

130 Vanderpool 1974, p. 159. According to Holtzmann (2003, pp. 41, 46), this is perhaps indicated also by the fact that in 511/510 BC, Hippias had entrenched himself behind the Pelargikon during the siege by the Spartans under Kleomenes (Herodotus 5. 64). Hurwit (1999, p. 98) disagrees and argues that the Acropolis never had just one role (either citadel or sanctuary) and that it never ceased to have its dual role even when the greater part of it was filled with temples, at least not until 1833 when the Ottoman garrison left.

131 Eiteljorg 1993, p. 85.

132 Keramopoullos 1934–1935, pp. 88–89; Platon 1968, p. 42. The finding of a filling of fieldstones and earth behind its south front, which was formed by a ramp about 12 m wide, is consistent with the interpretation of the wall as a retaining wall, Vanderpool 1974, pp. 157–159. For the graphic reconstruction of the said ramp, see Korres 1994, pp. 49, 107, pl. 18.

133 Camp 1984, p. 41; Papadopoulos 2008, p. 39.

134 We have no information on the circumstances in which whole sectors of the settlement tissue were abandoned or destroyed. We know of the existence of procedures for expropriating private property on behalf of the public interest in ancient Greek cities, but nothing further is known about the case of Athens. See "Ancient Agora: The Transformation of Private into Public Space," below.

135 Brouskari 2004, p. 44; Dontas 1963, p. 87.

136 According to Papadopoulos, this happened at the end of the Late Geometric period, which means that by the beginning of the Archaic period, the mortuary use of the space had ceased completely. Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002, p. 185.

137 Brouskari 2004, p. 31.

138 Brouskari 2004, p. 38, note 46, p. 43.

139 Charitonidis 1975, p. 44. See chapter 3, "Acropolis," Late Geometric period.

140 Habitation on the island of Telos was located on a hill with precipitous downward slopes. The houses were tower-like and built upon terraces, with cisterns inside. This particular manner of habitation started in the Archaic period and continued into the third century BC. Hoepfner 1999, pp. 170–189.

141 At Xobourgo on the island of Tenos, habitation on terraces began in the Late Geometric period. The houses were arranged in line (linear settlement type) on terraces not built for each house separately, as on Telos, but for several houses. Indeed, it is possible that the terraces were constructed considerably earlier. For the excavations at Xobourgo on Tenos, see Kourou 1996, 1999, 2001, 2002; Hoepfner 1999, pp. 190–193.

142 At Emporio on Chios, the fortification wall encloses 2.4 ha of uninhabited land configured in terraces, while it leaves 4.0 ha extra muros. Boardman 1976; Frederiksen 2011, pp. 8–9.

143 For the use of terraces and retaining walls also for fortification purposes, and for the differentiation of remains of retaining walls and remains of fortification in the period 900–480 BC, see Frederiksen 2011, pp. 57–61.

144 Brouskari 2004, p. 43.

145 The point from which the fill had been transferred is located through the Geometric pottery in it, remains from the cemetery to the south of the Herodeion, from the eleventh to the eighth century BC.

146 In a lecture relating to this house, M. Kyrkou proposed the dual hypothesis that it perhaps included another room that had not survived and that it may not have been a private residence. However, because this theory was never put in writing, the data documenting it elude us. See Brouskari 2004, p. 45.

147 Brouskari 2004, p. 44.

148 Kistler 1998, pp. 168–169.

149 See chapter 3, "Development of the Wells on the Site of the Later Agora during the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods in Relation to the Contemporary Graves."

150 The wells are N 11:1, N 11:3, N 11:4, N 11:5, N 11:6, Q 8:9, P 7:3, R 9:2, and S 18:1. The unpublished ones are R 10:5 and R 12:2. These are 11 of the 16 Late Geometric wells. The remaining five had been sealed a little earlier. See *Agora* VIII, p. 108; Camp 1977, p. 50.

151 The difficulty in dating this war is apparent from the disagreement among researchers who have tried to do so. Dunbabin (1936–1937, pp. 83–91) puts it circa 700 BC, while Coldstream (1968, p. 361, note 10) puts it in the mid-eighth century BC. Bohen too dates the war with Aegina to the same years and during the kingship of Alkmaion. She attributes to these hostilities the scenes of battles on land and sea represented on tomb kraters of the second half of the eighth century BC from the cemetery

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of the Eriai Gate/Dipylon. Bohen 2017, pp. 14, 19, and mainly 87–95.

152 Camp 1977, pp. 50–51; Camp 1979, pp. 397–398.

153 Camp 1977, pp. 51, 57-58; Camp 1979.

154 Morris 1987, pp. 160–161. Also opposed to the drought theory is D' Onofrio 1997, p. 67, with bibliography. The abolition of the wells as indicative of expansion of Late Geometric habitation is also rejected by Whitley 1986, p. 110.

155 Étienne 2004, p. 31.

156 For the placing of kilns on hillsides and the possibility that two workshops used the same kiln, see Hasaki 2002, pp. 73, 263.

157 Hoepfner 1999, pp. 596–597, with relevant ancient sources. Hasaki 2002, pp. 253–255; Ault 2005, p. 144.

158 Thompson 1978, p. 99.

159 See note 156 above.

160 Brann 1961, p. 306; Kistler 1998, p. 171.

161 Shear Jr. 1978, 1994; Camp 1994, 2001, p. 32; Camp 2005b, p. 202; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 27–76. For theories concerning the date of the founding of the Agora, see note 99 above.

162 For the earliest appearance of the word δημόσιος, see Lewis 1990, p. 245.

163 Economic recession and decline in maritime trade; power in the hands of the Eupatrids; institution of three archons and the council of the Areopagus; attempted seizure of power by Kylon (στάσις means "conspiracy") and consequent Άγος ("curse"), outbreak of riots in the city; legislation of Drako; beginning of the crisis that led to the choice of Solon as διαλλάκτης ("mediator" or "reconciler"). For the historical context of the seventh century BC in Athens, see Jeffery 1976, pp. 85–89; Stahl and Walter 2009, pp. 138–145.

164 *Agora* XXXI, p. 22.

165 *Agora* XXXI, pp. 17–18. For the setting up of pottery workshops at points ensuring direct distribution of their products, see Hasaki 2002, pp. 288–289.

166 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 145.

167 *Agora* XXXI, pp. 14–15.

168 According to Travlos, the union of Athens and Eleusis had not taken place by the end of the seventh century BC. See Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 33. According to others, this may have already happened by the early seventh century BC, if not much earlier. See *Agora* XXXI, p. 21, note 32, with all the relevant bibliography. D' Onofrio 1997, p. 71; Hurwit 1999, p. 106.

169 *Agora* XXXI, p. 23.

170 Section II was never utilized by the sanctuary. When in the ensuing years the need to expand the sacred space arose, this was done northward, approaching the Agora and abolishing part of the settlement. It was first built on in the Hellenistic period (circular building). Later, in Byzantine times, it was covered by houses. *Agora* XXXI, pp. 13–14.

171 For the unsuitability of the space for habitation from the level of today's Theorias Street and northward, see "Acropolis: Habitation on the Slopes," above.

172 Shear Jr. 1978, p. 11; Shear Jr. 1994, p. 229. For the southeast fountain, see Thompson 1953, pp. 29–35; Camp, 1986, pp. 42–44. For the most recent and most coherent attempt to date the southeast fountain to circa 480 BC and its association with the beginning of the use of the space as the Classical Agora, see Paga 2015.

173 For the existence of public space already by the early sixth century BC and the number of abolished wells, see Shear Jr. 1978, p. 4. For reasons why the central part was not built on in the sixth century BC, see Tsakirgis 2009, p. 48.

174 Thompson interpreted Buildings C and D as public and identified them as the Solonian Boule of the Four Hundred on the criterion of their dating to around the years of Solon, but mainly because from 500 BC on, this was the site of the Boule and the public archives of the city. See Thompson 1937, pp. 117–135; Thompson 1940, pp. 8–14. His view was widely accepted and established in the international bibliography. See *Agora* XIV, pp. 25–29; Boersma 1970, p. 15; Travlos 1971, pp. 191–193. See Shear Jr. 1978, p. 4, where he raises no objections to the interpretation of Buildings C and D and cites the relevant bibliography. However,16 years later, he expresses his opposition to this view. Shear Jr. 1994, p. 229. Researchers refer to this theory even today, although some now have reservations about its validity. See Camp 1986, p. 39; D' Onofrio 1997, p. 67.

175 Shear Jr. 1994, p. 229.

176 Shear Jr. 1994, p. 229, where he notes inter alia that the only relation of this building to the public sector is the fact that the building erected on top of it was public and that if this had not been demolished to be replaced by the Old Bouleuterion, no one would have treated it any differently from a usual residential structure with a normal well.

177 See "Settlement Development of the Archaic City through the Rearrangement of Public Spaces," below.

178 *Agora* XXVIII, p. 100, with data also for dating the Aiakeion. For the same issue, see Stroud 1998, p. 102.

179 Shear Jr. 1978, pp. 4–5; Shear Jr. 1994, p. 229.

180 This leveling also abolished one of the last wells existing within the bounds of the public space (I 10:1). This well was found below the west side of the enclosure of the monument of the Eponymous Heroes. Thompson 1968, p. 68; Shear Jr. 1978, p. 6.

181 Shear Jr. 1978, pp. 5, 7.

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182 Initially, Thompson (1940, pp. 42–43) considered Building F to be the seat of the Prytaneis. Subsequently, the same scholar expressed the view that perhaps it was built by Peisistratos as the seat of the tyrants. This theory was adopted by Boersma (1970, pp. 16–17) and others. For the rebuttal of the first theory with convincing arguments, see Shear Jr. 1978, pp. 6–7, where he advocates its interpretation as a public building, at least during the final phase of its function, and Shear Jr. 1994, pp. 230–231. For a different interpretation by Papadopoulos, see the following note. For the theory that Peisistratos's seat was on the Acropolis, see Holtzmann 2003, p. 48, with relevant bibliography.

183 Papadopoulos recently doubted the reliability of the restoration of Building F, relying on information in the daybooks and photographs of the excavation. Starting from the premise that Building F was not necessarily public simply because the Tholos succeeded it many years later on the same site, he notes that the peristyle court as a feature of settlement architecture is not found in any private or public building before the Late Classical and Hellenistic periods (see also Walter-Karydi 1996, pp. 5–32; Tsakirgis 2005, pp. 69, 77). He considers that the supports upheld some kind of shelter and not a regular portico. Last, combining the existence of roofed and open spaces with workshop activity in the southwest corner, established by the kiln of Building A, which operated as much as a century earlier, and Space H, which Thompson has characterized as an oven, he proposes that Building F was a pottery workshop. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 296, note 142, with all the relevant bibliography. This proposal has not yet been put to the test, and the way in which it is formulated is more of an open challenge to an in-depth reexamination of the building than the positing of a new theory. Although at first glance the proximity of a pottery workshop to the Old Bouleuterion seems to pose problems, these are dismissed if we bear in mind that pottery workshops were often set up on major work sites to produce the tiles and other terracotta elements of the roof of the building under construction. See Hasaki 2002, p. 294. A version such as this may well explain why Building F was not abolished when construction of the Old Bouleuterion started and why only its north wing, which fell within the bounds of the new edifice, was demolished. Furthermore, this perhaps explains the construction of Building J to the south, which comprises an open distyle portico and a row of small rooms (individual spaces of workshops?). For the contemporaneity in the formation of Building F, the construction of Building J, and the building of the Old Bouleuterion, see Shear Jr. 1994, p. 236.

184 For the last dating of Building D, on the basis of the latest pottery from Well H 10:12, see Shear Jr. 1994, pp. 229–230.

185 Camp 1994, pp. 10–11. For the holding of the Panathenaic Games in the space, before its function as administrative center of the city, see D' Onofrio 1997, p. 67.

186 For the criteria of selecting a site for setting up a workshop, see Hasaki 2002, pp. 286, 294.

187 After their destruction by the Persians, they were repaired. The finds from their floors show that in later years they housed workshops/shops of sculptors and blacksmiths and that they continued to exist at that nodal point until the next major destruction of the city by Sulla (86 BC). Shear Jr. 1973, p. 138. We know of the existence of such a neighborhood near the Agora of Athens in the fourth quarter of the fifth century BC from Aelian (*Poikile Historia*, 13. 12). It belonged to the astronomer Meton and was situated behind the Stoa Poikile (therefore in the northwest of the space), in an area considered central in the city. So far, it has not been found.

188 Shear Jr. 1973, p. 138.

189 Lynch 2009, pp. 72–73, fig. 72.

190 *Agora* XXXI, p. 28.

191 Camp 1986, p. 40.

192 An exception from the Geometric period is the settlement in the area of Kynosarges, which, however, was not encompassed by the Themistoclean enceinte and thus was not in the area of the city intra muros.

193 Camp 1996b, p. 242; Camp 1999b, p. 25.

194 Ammerman 1996. Research included excavating trenches down to bedrock and taking geological samples.

195 The percentages are calculated from the data given by Ammerman (1996, p. 708).

196 Thompson 1984, p. 8.

197 Ammerman 1996, p. 712; Costaki 2006, p. 83.

198 For works to level the bedrock of the Agora in the late sixth century BC, on the site of the Middle Stoa, see Thompson 1966, p. 45.

199 Ammerman dates improvement works on the Panathenaic Way to the last quarter of the sixth century BC on the basis of two temporal correlations: the founding of the Altar of the Twelve Gods beside the way in 522/521 BC, by Peisistratos the Younger (terminus ante quem), and the preceding reorganization of the Panathenaia festival by Peisistratos the Elder in 566 BC (terminus post quem), perhaps with new athletic contests that may have included the foot race. With regard to the arrangement of the northwest corner of the Agora, Ammerman suggests that this was either part of the public works carried out during the tyranny of the Peisistratids or was begun by them but completed by Kleisthenes. Ammerman 1996, pp. 713–715; Ammerman 2011, pp. 263–266. For Peisistratos the Younger, see Arnush 1995. For his founding of the Altar of the Twelve

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Gods, see Thucydides 6. 54. For the results of the most recent archaeological investigations at this point, which led to examination of the possibility that the base of the portrait statue of Leagros and perhaps the altar itself had been transferred from elsewhere, see Gadbery 1992. For the founding of the Altar of the Twelve Gods as an act of atonement for covering over the Eridanos, see D' Onofrio 2017.

200 The use of the Panathenaic Way, which runs through the Classical Agora, as the official processional causeway leading from the Dipylon to the temple of Athena on the summit of the Rock should be separated from its use in earlier times when the Agora was still located to the east and the route to the flat summit naturally passed from the south of the Acropolis, in front of the sanctuary of Dionysos, and terminated at the southwest Mycenaean entrance to the Rock. Robertson 1998, p. 285, fig. 1, pp. 290–292.

201 Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, p. 348.

202 For who abolished the wells of the houses and for what reason, see Lynch 2011, p. 26–28.

203 For the double evacuation of the population of Athens before its double capture, see Lynch 2011, pp. 20–21, note 37, with relevant bibliography. For clearing operations after the destruction of the city and how the citizens managed to rebuild and repair their houses, see Lynch 2011, pp. 28, 39.

204 For the Early Classical House of Simon, see Burr-Thompson 1960; Tsakirgis 2005.

205 The pottery workshop opposite, to the west of the Stoa Basileios, had the same fate, but never functioned again (II. 11). For the rebuilding of the Late Archaic house on the north bank of the Eridanos, see Lynch 2011, pp. 26–29.

206 Greco 2010, p. 37.

207 From the development of the city's street plan in Classical times, it emerges that the rebuilding after the total destruction by the Persians was not treated as an opportunity to apply an urban plan. Neither the streets nor the building plots between them were modified to create more rectangulated plans, and as a result the general picture of Athens does not recall that of other well-planned cities (Olynthos, Piraeus). See Tsakirgis 2005, p. 69; Lynch 2011, p. 39.

208 Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 42. The higgledy-piggledy building over centuries was responsible in the end for the overall picture of the city, as characterized in the third century BC: "the streets are narrow and winding, as they were built long ago" (Heraclides Creticus, *On the Cities of Greece*, I. 1).

209 Hoepfner 1999, p. 588.

210 Greco 1999, p. 28 with bibliography. These measures do not seem to have had notable results, judging by the fact that the same issue continued to be of concern even in the fourth century BC, which is why it is part of the duties of the 12 astynomoi of Athens and the Piraeus "and they prevent the construction of buildings encroaching on and balconies overhanging the roads, of overhead conduits with an overflow into the road, and of windows opening outward on to the road" (Aristotle, *Athenian Constitution*, 50. 2).

211 For a different interpretation, according to which the room with central hearth (which is considered a heater) was not an andron but perhaps a workshop space, and that the triangular room directly to the left of the entrance was an andron, see Hoepfner 1999, p. 243. The original interpretation by its excavator, Shear Jr., is espoused by Tsakirgis (2007, pp. 226–227; 2009, p. 50). For the conversion of the court of the Late Archaic phase into a room during the Early Classical phase of the building, as was the case also in the house on the north bank of the Eridanos, see Lynch 2011, p. 39.

212 For the appearance of the andron in the architecture of ancient houses, see Hoepfner (1999, pp. 143–145), who argues that this took place in the first half of the seventh century BC (in Athens and in Smyrna circa 640 BC), and Lang (2005, p. 27), who disagrees and considers the interpretation of rooms of Archaic houses as androns a reduction of features of the typology of Classical houses to those of the Archaic period.

213 Shear Jr. 1973, p. 147.

214 Camp 1996b, p. 242; Lynch 2011, p. 32.

215 Lynch 2011, pp. 36–39.

216 According to another view, the deposits so far considered as resulting from clearing operations after the Persian destruction perhaps result from abandonment of the very last workshops in the space, shortly before commencement of its use as the Agora. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 297.

217 Camp 2005b, p. 203. According to Shear Jr., the transformation of the central triangular space of the Agora had been completed by the early sixth century BC, possibly even before Solon's day. Shear Jr. 1978, p. 4; Korres 2002, p. 6.

218 Camp 1994, pp. 10–11.

219 On the occasion of the decision of Tanagra, consequent upon an oracle, to move the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore from its location extra muros into the city, reference is made to instituted procedures for expropriating private property. The decree states that if the space on which the authorities decided was already occupied by houses or had private tracts within its bounds, then 11 citizens appointed by the citizens' assembly (ekklesia of the demos) would assess the value of the properties to be expropriated and would fix the sum of compensation to be paid to the owners when the compulsory purchase was enforced. Migeotte 1992, pp. 75–81, no. 28; Hoepfner 1999, pp. 590–591.

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220 Stahl and Walter 2009, p. 145.

221 For the role of Kleisthenes in the reform of the Athenian body politic, see Ober 1999, pp. 32–52; Stahl and Walter 2009, pp. 155–160. For a critical approach to the image of Kleisthenes and his achievements, as imprinted in the ancient sources and exploited in different periods by the Athenian state, see Anderson 2003, pp. 44–50.

222 Dontas 1963, p. 87.

223 Kalligas 2000, p. 32; Eleftheratou 2006, p. 14.

224 The thickness of the remnant as well as its position, south of the Acropolis, led the excavators to suggest that it could be part of the Archaic fortification of the city, no part of which has been identified to date. If this is the case, its course will have coincided with that of modern Dionysiou Areopagitou Street, which means that both the burials in the Makrygiannis plot and Well 78, with sherds of the mid-sixth century BC, would have been extra muros. Trianti 2006, p. 133.

225 Eleftheratou 2006, p. 14.

226 There are two building phases, on the basis of which the excavator proposes its dating, but without further definition. The part of the first building phase is constructed with polygonal masonry, while the southward extension of the wall, which is the second building phase, is built according to the irregular trapezoidal system. Polygonal masonry replaced Lesbian masonry in the early fifth century BC and was used throughout the century. Irregular trapezoidal masonry is a transitional stage from the polygonal to the orthogonal system, and it is difficult to define the years when it was applied. It is considered to have been used in the fifth century BC, when it succeeded the Lesbian system together with the polygonal, with which it is very often confused. On the basis of this and the existence of the Archaic grave in its foundations, we suggest that its first part was built in the early fifth century BC, after the Persian Wars, during which the tomb and its statue/marker would have been destroyed, whereas the extension of the retaining wall was made at latest in the fifth century BC. Even so, confirmation of this proposal will come only after study of the pottery associated with the wall and mainly from its foundation trench, since the dating of architectural remains based solely on the manner of construction is not always secure. For the polygonal system, see Orlandos 1959–1960, pp. 212, 214–216, and Scranton 1941, p. 68, pp. 54–55, where he stresses the difficulty in dating it solely on morphological criteria, since imitations of it appear already from the fourth century BC. For the irregular trapezoidal system, see Orlandos 1959–1960, p. 217; Scranton 1941, p. 79.

227 See chapter 3, "The South Part of the City."

228 Plato (*Phaedrus* 229 a–c and 230 b–c) gives an eloquent image of the landscape near the bed of the Ilissos, describing the crystal-clear waters of the river with its verdant banks, tall shady plane trees, fragrant flowering wickers, and a sanctuary of the Nymphs and of Acheloos, with a spring and statues.

229 Dunbabin 1944, p. 81.

230 Liangouras 1979, p. 41.

231 Camp 2003, p. 250–253.

232 For the POU layer of a well and the vases that represent it, see *Agora* XII, p. 44.

233 For a wellhead in the form of the upper part of a pithos, see Lang 1949 (who published 16 wellheads from the ancient Agora); *Agora* VIII, p. 108; and Camp 1977, pp. 179–180, where there is reference to two more early Archaic wells that were first published by Brann (1961, pp. 379 [S 32], 341 (F 55), pl. 83). Of the above wellheads, 15 were Archaic and found inside wells on the North Slope of the Acropolis (area of the Klepsydra), on the north and west slopes of the Areopagus, on the southeast slope of the Agoraios Kolonos, at the southwest entrance of the Agora, and to the west of the Panathenaic Way at the Odeion of Agrippa.

234 *Agora* VIII, p. 108. This is a very old type, as the upper part of pithoi in second use is encountered already from the Geometric period. Until 1977, the earliest known clay wellheads in the form of the upper part of a pithos in second use date from the Protogeometric and the Middle Geometric period; Camp 1977, p. 180. During the first quarter of the fifth century BC, they were replaced by stone and very often marble cylindrical wellheads, which apart from their more aesthetically pleasing form were accompanied (although not always) by an improved system of drawing water, the horizontal wooden beam with pulley, instead of the pot tied with rope. The reason for the disappearance of the wellheads of pithoi form is perhaps that their fixing above the well shaft proved unsatisfactory or even that the greater prosperity of the fifth century BC allowed a more careful construction. The change of the type and material of the wellhead brought changes also in the construction and typology of the wells of the fifth century BC, whose mouths were no longer of small stones incorporated in the shaft, as in wells of the sixth century BC, but were of large stone blocks. These blocks seem to have played the role of a foundation for the system of the winch (when this existed) with stone base, and at the same time they demanded a heavy and imposing stone crowning of the mouth. See Lang 1949, pp. 122–124. However, the cost of constructing a wellhead in the fifth century BC could be reduced by making it of clay instead of stone. Here again, the aesthetics of the period demanded that the shape imitate that of stone cylindrical wellheads and not the earlier clay ones resembling mouths of jars. Lang 1949, p. 124.

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235 Lang 1949, p. 124, where, however, she does not preclude the possibility that this absence is fortuitous. Nonetheless, the recent find of the pithos-shaped wellhead inside the Early Classical Well J 2:14 to the north of the Eridanos, which ceased to function in the mid-fifth century BC, confirms Lang's initial conclusion.

236 Lang 1949, p. 114, where she specifies the criteria on which the upper half of a pithos can be confidently considered a wellhead and not a discard from a workshop or a house.

237 Hoepfner 2005 [1999], pp. 138–139, 243.

238 Morris 1987, p. 94.

239 For counterarguments to Morris's theory, see Snodgrass 1977, p. 12; Snodgrass 1980, p. 21; Papadopoulos 1993, pp. 183–184, with all the relevant bibliography to that date; Polignac 1995, p. 11; Étienne 2004, pp. 21–22. For the identified sites of Archaic settlements in Attica, see Osborne 1989, pp. 303–309.

240 Greco argues that if we ascribe to the "acts of vandalism" of the Persians all the damage attributed to them, then the few months they spent inside the city were not enough for them to perpetrate so many "unheard of evils"; Greco 2010, p. 35. But Athens was by now an enormous city and could easily have suffered the destruction spoken of in the literary sources.

241 VI. 2, X. 20, X. 27. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2000, p. 2, note 6.

242 Morris 1987, p. 67.

243 Digital Plan 5 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan5

244 Morris 1987, p. 66.

245 Morris 1987, p. 66.

246 Knigge 1991, pp. 32–33; Kavvadias 2010.

247 Arrington 2010, p. 507.

248 Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2000, p. 2.

249 Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2000, p. 1, note 3; Theocharaki 2007, pp. 476–477.

250 Costaki 2006, p. 114, where, furthermore, it is pointed out most perceptively that the course of a street leading from inside the city toward the fortification walls should not be considered an indisputable criterion for the existence of an unknown gate or postern gate, given that there was ring road intra muros, along which traffic circulated. Theocharaki 2007, p. 475. For reasons why such a zone existed intra muros, see Tomlinson 2005, p. 66.

251 V. 6. This cemetery is thought to have been organized on the sides of a still unknown road, perhaps a ring road extra muros, that commenced at some other, again unknown, gate or postern gate in the fortification wall. Zachariadou 2000, p. 249; Costaki 2006, p. 136; Theocharaki 2007, pp. 478–479. For the first excavations in the plot defined by Panepistimiou, Amerikis, Stadiou, and Voukourestiou Streets, see Kyparissis 1927; Kyparissis 1930; Amandry 1948.

252 Young 1939, p. 11.

253 It is possible that burials were made at the same point even in Subgeometric times and the seventh century BC. See II. 4.

254 Morris 1987, p. 68. Parker 1983, pp. 38–39.

255 Young 1951, pp. 75–77.

256 The proposal was based on the part of a sarcophagus of Cycladic marble, an expensive material imported to Archaic Athens and intended only for statues, which was found built into the fabric of an adjacent conduit. Schilardi 1984.

257 For the attempted linking of the Grave of the Rich Athenian Lady on the Areopagus with the Medontid dynasty, and of the Kerameikos with the Neleids, see chapter 3, Early and Middle Geometric Period.

258 Morris 1987, p. 68.

259 Eleftheratou 2000; Rotroff 2013. For the terms used in the international bibliography to describe this kind of sacred act, see Rotroff 2013, p. 2, note 5.

260 Pit M 18:7 contained a black-glaze salt cellar, a clay funnel, and a small red-figure lekythos. See *Agora* XII, p. 395, inventory nos. 894, 2008, on the basis of which the pit is dated to 480-440 BC, and *Agora* XXX, p. 365, inventory no. 687, on the basis of which it is dated to the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC.

261 Eleftheratou 2000, p. 115.

262 For the possibility of the existence of a gate in the area of present-day Erysichthonos Street, see Theocharaki 2007, pp. 499–500.

263 VIII. 4. The pottery of the first quarter of the seventh century BC indicates that the last burials must have been made then and had ceased by 675 BC. Morris 1984, p. 10, no. 47; Morris 1987, p. 67. According to another viewpoint, enchytrismoi stopped at the end of the Late Geometric period. This view is based on the dating of the vases, which are precursors of the SOS-type amphorae of the Subgeometric period. Papadopoulos and Smithson 2002, p. 185.

264 Brouskari 2004, p. 31.

265 According to one view, its founding was perhaps related to the sudden appearance of a spring in the site, after Geometric times. Water was possibly taken from this spring in loutrophoroi for the ritual nuptial bath (loutophoria), before it became the custom to take it from the Kallirrhoe. This sanctuary seems to have been one of the most important in the religious life of Athens, as it continued to receive votive offerings until at least the second century BC. It is possible that it was destroyed by Sulla in 86 BC. Brouskari 2004, pp. 36–37.

266 For the conduits, see Miliadis 1957a, pp. 42–43. For the fortification in the area of Gate XIII, see Theocharaki 2007, pp. 495–497, with all the relevant bibliography.

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267 These are the base of a tomb stela with epigram, dated before 520 BC; one other similar stela; and parts of an inscribed plinth of an Archaic statue, possibly of a kouros. Stavropoullos 1967, p. 86.

268 Stavropoullos 1967, p. 79.

269 The foundations of the unfinished Archaic temple are dated by the associated pottery finds to 515 BC. Construction was suspended in 508 BC, after the Peisistratids were toppled and banished in 510 BC, and many of the unfinished poros column drums were used in 480 BC as building material in second use in the Classical fortification wall of the city. Jeffery 1976, p. 97; Shear Jr. 1978, p. 10. An earlier temple, to which the large foundations exposed below the cella of the Late Archaic temple possibly belonged, existed on the same site. Shapiro 1989, pp. 6–7; Parker 1996, p. 68; Korres 2000, p. 7.

270 For the Roman gymnasium at Kynosarges, see Travlos 1970, s.v. Kynosarges; Travlos 1971, p. 340; Eliopoulos 2010, pp. 85–86.

271 Morris 1987, p. 67.

272 Snodgrass 1971.

273 Morris 1987, p. 196.

274 Jeffery 1976, pp. 84–85; Camp 1979; Hurwit 1999, p. 94; Brouskari 2004, p. 31; Holtzmann 2003, p. 45. Whereas Protoattic pottery was limited to Attica and Aegina, from the early sixth century BC it was disseminated through trade to Asia Minor, Samos, Naukrate, Cyrenaica, the Euxine Pontus, Magna Graecia, and the Iberian Peninsula. Alexandridou 2011, pp. 81–110; Bohen 2017, pp. 14, 19, and mainly 87–95.

275 Morris 1989; Houby-Nielsen 2009, p. 199.

276 Osborne 1989; D' rotalics on titles correct here?]rotalics on titles correct here?]rotalics on titles correct here?] Onofrio 1997, p. 64.

277 Hurwit 1999, p. 94; Holtzmann 2003, p. 45; Stahl and Walter 2009, p. 139.

278 Houby-Nielsen 2009, p. 206. For the issue of the synoecism see chapter 2, "Conclusions: The Bronze Age Settlement at the Dawn of the Iron Age."

279 Jeffery 1976, pp. 83–84.

280 Jeffery 1976, pp. 83, 99; Shapiro 1989, pp. 14–15; Parker 1996, pp. 59–63; Stroud 1998, p. 87; Anderson 2003, p. 32; Sourvinou-Inwood 2011, pp. 2–3.

281 Parlama 1996, p. 50.

282 Shapiro 1989, pp. 2–4; Holtzmann 2003, pp. 45–46.

283 Whitley 1986, pp. 106–107; Whitley 1991, pp. 60–61; Shapiro 1989, pp. 5, 13.

284 The transfer of the cult of, for example, Artemis from Brauron is associated with the Philaid clan, which originates from there. See Shapiro 1989, pp. 1–2; Houby-Nielsen 2009, pp. 206–208; Scholl 2009, p. 84.

285 Scholl 2009.

286 Polignac 1995, pp. 13, 18; Parker 1996, pp. 68–69, 75–76; Houby-Nielsen 2009, pp. 206–208.

287 For the political organization of Attica in demoi from the time of the reform (508/507 BC) into the Roman period, see Trail 1975. For the political and social organization of the Attic demoi during the same period, see Whitehead 1986. For the difference of opinion between researchers regarding the extent to which the demoi were geographically defined areas or simply administrative departments with vague boundaries between them, see Lalonde 2006, p. 93, note 31, with all the relevant bibliography. Lalonde contends that the one view does not negate the other and that the existence of borders (which were perhaps dictated by the geomorphology of each particular area, the natural thoroughfares, and the rivers) was essential, at least between urban demoi. In support of his view, he cites the inscription *IG* 3 1055 B, which is discussed in the same article and which he considers a boundary marker (horos) between the demoi of Melite and Kollytos.

288 The settlements on the coasts of Attica, as well as in the hinterland, become denser after the mid-ninth century BC and until the mid-eighth century BC, when decentralization is observed as well as a return of populations from the asty to the rural territory (chora). This phenomenon is also interpreted as an internal colonization of Attica. Coldstream 1977, p. 135; Whitehead 1986, pp. 6–8, 11, 15; Whitley 1986, pp. 100–104; Whitley 1991, pp. 55–59; Morris 2009, p. 68.

289 Osborne 2007, p. 195.

290 Stahl and Walter 2009, pp. 155–156; Lalonde 2006, p. 99.

291 Parlama 1996, p. 52–53.

292 Herodotus, 9. 13: "and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing," Thucydides 1. 89. 3: "and to rebuild the city and the walls; for of the encircling wall only small portions were left standing," and 1. 93. 2: "For the circuit wall of the city was extended in every direction."

293 Festschrift Judeich 1929, p. 1; Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 46; Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 85. In reality, there is no other evidence to demonstrate the existence of an early law such as this. However, even if one did exist, this cannot be argued for on the basis of the centuries-later Roman law of the city preserved by Cicero.

294 The date of Epimenides's visit to Athens is yet another of the many unresolved issues of research into the early historical period of the city. Epimenides is a figure of antiquity poised between myth and history. The ancient authors themselves move the date of his arrival in Athens with the same facility. Plutarch considers him a contemporary of

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Solon, but one who outlived him by many years, and links the purpose of his arrival with the Kylonian Conspiracy, in the late seventh to the early sixth century BC (*Solon* 12. 4–6). Plato transposes him to almost 100 years later, describing his arrival 10 years before the Persian Wars (*Laws* 1. 642 D). Diogenes Laertius (1. 10. 110) also places him at the end of the seventh century BC, and Pausanias merely refers to him as purifier of Athens, disassociating him from Thales (Pausanias 1. 14. 4).The first dating (Plato's) agrees with the results of the ASCSA excavations with regard to the graves of the Archaic cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus, although nowhere is it mentioned that this law was linked with the purification, even though this is very likely. This dating is accepted by Hammond (1940, p. 81), while the second (Plutarch's) is accepted by Raubitschek (1947, p. 262).

295 Judeich 1931, p. 63, note 6, pp. 120–122.

296 Young 1951, pp. 75–77.

297 Travlos 1993 [1960], pp. 33–34, 40–41.

298 Young (1951, p. 133; 1948, p. 378), using the excerpt from Thucydides (6. 57.1) that places the assassination of Hipparchos "outside the walls, in the place called the Cerameicus," attributed its construction to Peisistratos and his sons, and specifically in the interval between the second seizure of power by Peisistratos (546 BC) and the assassination of Hipparchos (514 BC). For a synopsis of the earlier bibliography and theories on the Archaic fortification wall of Athens, see two recent articles on the subject by Weir (1995), who supports its existence, and Papadopoulos (2008), who denies it. See also Parlama (1996, pp. 50–51), who considers that the Archaic circuit wall was in about the same position as the Themistoclean; Korres (2002, pp. 4–6), who maintains that the course of Tripodon Street corresponds to the line of the Archaic fortification wall; and Ficuciello 2008, pp. 210–214. For the Archaic walls of Greek cities, see Frederiksen 2011, where for Athens there are general references to information in the literary sources.

299 Dontas 1963, p. 87; Brouskari 2004, p. 31.

300 Étienne 2004, pp. 22, 29.

301 Digital Plan 6 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan6

302 Digital Plan 11 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan11

303 See "The Quest for the Settlement and the Issue of the Archaic Fortification Wall of the City" and note 295 above.

304 Due to the continuous mortuary activity from the Middle Helladic period to the early fifth century BC, but mainly during the Submycenaean and Geometric periods, the south part of the city has been characterized as a "traditional burial area." Parlama 1996, pp. 52–53. See also chapter 2, "Data from Cemeteries and Roads," and chapter 3, "Evidence of Cemeteries and Roads."

305 Digital Plan 12 www.dig.ucla.edu/early-athens/plan12

306 Gardens or courts with trees and plants were not widespread inside the walled city in the ensuing periods, because the space intra muros was intended only for habitation and was precious. Tomlinson 2005, p. 67. We know from the sources that there were trees and bushes in the Agora, as a result of the water supply and Kimon's revamping of it (Plutarch, *Kimon* 13. 8), and in the sanctuaries, as is verified archaeologically by the garden of the Hephaisteion. Burr-Thompson 1937, p. 396.

307 The area of the Ilissos and its sanctuaries was flooded, as were the sanctuaries at Oropos and Brauron. Houby-Nielsen 2009, p. 204. One of the major floods of the Ilissos, recorded in the late nineteenth century AD, is the highly destructive one in November 1896, which is referred to by Skias (1897, pp. 84–85). It caused serious material damage ("bridges, gardens, houses and embankments"), changed the natural landscape ("buried and detached massive rocks"), and "obliterated completely the few traces of the excavation" that he had conducted in 1893 (Skias 1897).

308 X. 20, XII. 18. On the change of the main harbor and the effects of its transfer from Phaleron to the Piraeus, see Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 284–287. Attica's interest in the Phaleron coast during the Early Iron Age is reflected also in the heyday enjoyed by the sanctuary of Artemis Mounychia (Houby-Nielsen 2009, p. 198), which received a large number of votive offerings during the Early Archaic period. The importance of the location of this sanctuary on the promontory of the homonymous hill is indicated by the epithets of the goddess Limenoskopos (guardian of the harbor) and Limenia (of the harbor). Palaiokrassa 1991, p. 96.

309 Houby-Nielsen 2009, p. 198.

310 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 284–287.

311 Demosthenes, *Against Callicles*, 12, 14, 18, 22, 27.

312 Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 46; Travlos 1970, s.v. Kynosarges; Travlos 1971, p. 340; Eliopoulos 2010, pp. 85–86.

313 See also Pausanias, 1. 19. 3.

314 Papachatzis 1974, pp. 235, 282–283.

315 Harrison (1906, p. 152) considers that this happened after the building of the fortification walls in 479 BC. However, this hypothesis is at variance with the existence of the Kynosarges Gymnasium, at least from the time when Themistocles was studying there (Plutarch, *Themistocles* 1. 2).

316 For identification of the site of the Aglaureion, which was close to the early Agora of Athens, through an inscription found in situ to the southeast of the Acropolis, see Dontas 1983.

317 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 282 with relevant bibliography.

318 Zachariadou 2008, p. 156.

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319 Hasaki 2002, pp. 268, 294.
320 Tsakirgis 2009, p. 48; Desborough 1952, p. 1; Desborough 1995 [1972], p. 69.
321 Plutarch, *Themistocles* 22.
322 Travlos 1971, pp. 121–123.
323 Arrington 2010.
324 In Aristeidou Street Travlos excavated two Classical houses built very close to the fortification walls, revealing not only the expansion of the city toward this point but also the density of habitation. See Vanderpool 1957, pp. 281–282; Threpsiadis 1962, pp. 29–32.
325 Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 71.
326 Houby-Nielsen 2009, p. 200.
327 Hurwit 1999, p. 98; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 313; Holtzmann 2003, p. 41.
328 Kalligas 2000b, p. 24.
329 Osborne 1989, p. 319; D' Onofrio 1997, p. 68.
330 Lewis 1990, p. 245.
331 Houby-Nielsen 2009, p. 206.
332 Osborne 1989, p. 307–309; Polignac 1995, pp. 12–13; Hurwit 1999, p. 94; Houby-Nielsen 2004, p. 206; Scholl 2006, p. 84.
333 Houby-Nielsen 2004, p. 207.
334 Lalonde 2006, pp. 69–71; Costaki 2008, p. 161. It is possible that the transfer of the sanctuary of Herakles from Melite to Kynosarges was related to Kleisthenes's new demoi.
335 Costaki 2008, p. 162.
336 For the five urban demoi of the Classical period, see Whitehead 1986, p. 26; Osborne 2007, p. 197. For the delimiting of them, see Lalonde 2006, p. 98.
337 For the demos of Koile, see Leake 1840, p. 23; Gardner 1902, pp. 66, 74–75; Judeich 1931, p. 181.
338 Herodotus, 6. 103; Thompson and Scranton 1943, pp. 312–313.
339 Travlos 1993 [1960], p. 42.
340 For the mythical past of the demos, see Sourmelis 1962, p. 131. For the area of the demos, see Milchöfer 1892, pp. 17–19; Gardner 1902, p. 91.
341 Milchöfer 1892, pp. 14–16; Judeich 1931, p. 180.
342 For the demos of Melite, see Milchöfer 1892, p. 29. For the theory that the Agora did not fall within the boundaries of any demos, see Whycherley 1957, p. 67; Thompson 1970, p. 67; *Agora* XIV, p. 221; Osborne 2007, p. 199. For the view that the Agora was located in the demos of Kerameikos, see Pausanias I. 3. 1. With regard to whether a demos existed or whether it is simply a toponym, see Leake 1840, p. 21; Milchöfer 1892, pp. 19–27; *Agora* XIV, p. 19. For the size of the demos, see Milchöfer 1892, pp. 19–23.
343 Milchöfer 1892, pp. 31–34.
344 Whitehead 1986, p. 27; Lalonde 2006, p. 99.
345 Tsakirgis 2005, p. 69. For the rarity of planned cities and the reasons that led to their creation, see Tomlinson 2005, p. 64.

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Chapter 5

General Conclusions

The objective of the present study was to examine early Athens through the development of its settlement areas and its cemeteries. Its course is followed in prehistoric and historical times, beginning with the declining minor palatial center of Mycenaean times, continuing through the transitional Submycenaean period to the "Dark Age" of Protogeometric and Geometric times, and ending with the flourishing polis of the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods. This course, which is related directly to the use of the city's geographical territory, is not linear either to the extent or the way in which this territory was exploited at various times. On the contrary, its principal characteristic is the continuous changes in the utilization and abandonment of spaces, and the expansion or contraction of cemeteries and settlement areas, the scale of which is difficult to determine precisely.

The terminus post quem and terminus ante quem of the study are identified with two decisive events in the development of the topography of Athens — two "invasions": (a) the gradual arrival and settlement in its territory of a large number of migrant groups from other Mycenaean centers at the end of LH IIIC, and (b) the double capture and total destruction of the city by the Persians in the autumn of 480 BC and the summer of 479 BC. The first "invasion" transformed Mycenaean Athens, and the second destroyed Archaic Athens. Both radically changed the city's form and can thus be considered the beginning and the end of its early history.[1]

Submycenaean Period 1075–1050/1000 BC

During the years of transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Early Iron Age, the old Mycenaean palatial system of administration collapsed and a new era of realignments and population movements commenced. In Athens there are no visible signs of destruction marking the end of the prehistoric and the beginning of the historical period. The settlement continued to take shape around its age-old nucleus, the Rock of the Acropolis. The Submycenaean settlement is the unbroken continuation of the Mycenaean one, which is why the approach to its organization is based on the observation of its evolution over the eleventh century BC, during which some elements of its Mycenaean past were preserved and others were differentiated.

Its constant features are summarized as: (a) its fortified site, the Mycenaean citadel (later Acropolis), with the palace on the summit and the areas of habitation on the North and South Slopes of the Rock; (b) the necropolis to the northwest, on the site of the subsequent Classical Agora; and (c) the Mycenaean cemeteries to the south.

1 Topographical plans: Submycenaean, Geometric (PG, EG/MG, LG), Archaic periods.

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The differentiations pertain to changes from 1100 BC onward. They are due on the one hand to population groups that migrated from other regions of the old Mycenaean world, inside and outside Attica, and settled in Athens, and on the other hand to the general climate of social transformations in this transitional period. These differentiations are detected only through graves, which are the sole archaeological evidence from these years. Human activity due to the arrival and settlement of these new population groups spread out around the Rock of the Acropolis, bringing changes in the way of life and the customs of the inhabitants, as well as in the very form of the settlement.

The population increase is indicated by the founding of new cemeteries alongside the continuing use of the old Mycenaean mortuary sites to the northwest (Agora), south (Makrygianni, Koukaki), and southeast (Olympieion) of the Rock of the Acropolis, close to preexisting areas of habitation. The new Submycenaean cemeteries were created throughout the north half of the (later) city, from the northwest (Kerameikos, Eriai Gate) to the north (area of Acharnai Gate) and east (National Garden), in hitherto virgin land close to basic road arteries and at a greater distance from the Acropolis than the closer Mycenaean ones.

In our view, the very fact of the founding of these new cemeteries, as well as the locations selected for them and the separations between them, expresses the disposition for new self-definition at the level of families, phratries, or clans, and differentiation at the level of social stratification, both of the autochthonous population and the groups of incomers. The creation of new mortuary spaces, which seem to be organized by families, is an option that expresses the redefining of the indigenes' old identity within the existing settlement and the creation from scratch of a new identity of the newcomers in their new home. The combination of parallel transformations in the consciousness of the two population strands gave momentum to a new settlement and political organization, which in the ensuing centuries led to the integration of Athens as a city-state and the formation of the cultural identity of the Athenian citizen. The newcomers were quickly incorporated into the native population, the settlement, and the collective consciousness, thanks to their shared cultural background, language, and religion. This is reflected in later myths relating to the autochthony of the Athenians and in genealogies of Athenian aristocratic families, whose roots lie beyond the land of Attica.

It is difficult to determine the exact areas of settlement in these early years due to the lack of architectural remains. The clearest indications of use of space for habitation come from the area of the later Klepsydra. The other Submycenaean settlement areas should be sought close to the cemeteries, old and new. The continuing use of the old Mycenaean burial grounds points to the continuity of settlement in the loci where this had developed down to the end of the Late Helladic period, namely the Rock of the Acropolis, its slopes, to the southwest near the Hill of the Muses, toward Phaleron, and to the southeast close to the Ilissos River.

The newly founded Submycenaean cemeteries are a clue to the wider areas in which new settlements seem to have been created. Again, this phenomenon should not be understood as categorization of the areas of habitation. The settlement of the incomers at a greater distance from the Acropolis was dictated by practical reasons, the founding of new nuclei of habitation at points not hitherto utilized, and articulates the dispersed habitation in settlements over the wider area that was in later times occupied by the walled asty.

Consequently, during the Submycenaean period, habitation in Athens continued at the center of the Mycenaean settlement, the Acropolis and its North and South Slopes, close to natural water sources, and expanded toward the northwest, north, and east margins, where new settlements were established. There, in contrast to the probably densely inhabited initial nucleus, habitation was sparse. These settlement areas very possibly developed near the bed of the Eridanos, at two points:

- North and northwest of the Acropolis, in the southernmost parts of the modern neighborhoods of Psyrri, Varvakeios, and Commercial Center
- East of the Acropolis, in the easternmost parts of the modern neighborhoods of Plaka and Makrygianni

North of the Acropolis, the graves found as far as the Kerameikos and the Acharnai Gate indicate that habitation went beyond the natural boundary of the Eridanos, whereas to the south, the absence of graves from the south bank of the Ilissos shows that habitation did not spread beyond the river in those years. By contrast, the use of the old burial grounds (Olympieion and Makrygianni), in combination with the founding of the organized cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street, reveals continuity and increase of habitation in the wider area to the south of the Acropolis and particularly to the southeast, between the Eridanos and Ilissos Rivers. The existence of organized settlement there should be linked with the convergent course of the two rivers and be correlated with settlement on the hill of the Olympieion — that is, the second area in the city, after the Acropolis, where traces of continuous human presence

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from very early times have been verified (Early Helladic, Middle Helladic, and Late Helladic periods).

From this perspective, the continuing use of this particular part of the prehistoric settlement during the Submycenaean period triggered the gradual growth of early Athens in this direction and later, during the Archaic period, the choice of this same site for founding the first Agora.

Geometric Period (PG–EG/MG–LG) 1050/1000–700 BC

There was a gradual increase in the area of habitation during the Geometric period. The spread of the cemeteries in the space around the Acropolis is again the means for the approximate delineation of Athens, while the graves themselves are the starting point of our knowledge of these years, from which architectural remains are scant. The rise in the number of graves and contemporary wells points to an increase in population.

All the old Mycenaean cemeteries that continued in use in Submycenaean times functioned throughout the Geometric period too (Agora, Makrygianni – New Acropolis Museum, Erechtheiou Street, 110 Dimitrakopoulou Street, and Olympieion). Two of these, the site of the later Classical Agora and the cemetery in Makrygianni Street – New Acropolis Museum, gradually acquired also a craft-industrial character, with the founding of pottery workshops in areas no longer used for burials. The later Submycenaean cemeteries continued operating normally, developing and expanding their boundaries during the 300 years and more of the Geometric period (Kerameikos, cemeteries of the Eriai Gate and the Acharnai Gate). The sole exception is the large cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street, which was abandoned in Protogeometric times, though exactly when eludes us.

The continuation of use of the cemeteries founded in the Submycenaean period attests the continuation of habitation in the areas in which it had developed in previous years. The founding of new cemeteries and smaller burial grounds in places hitherto unexploited (southeast: Kynosarges, west: Theseion, north: Sapphous Street), as well as close to existing cemeteries (Agora, Psyrri, Syntagma Square, South Slope, Makrygianni), points to greater density of habitation in already settled areas and the spread of the settlement through the founding of new centers of habitation. It is possible that the new cemeteries were associated with the continuing arrival of population groups from Attica and elsewhere, which swelled the settlement's population, with local shifts in the already inhabited space (e.g., abandonment of the Irodou Attikou Street cemetery) or even with emergent aristocratic clans whose power and wealth were expressed through founding family tomb enclosures within privately owned plots.

The function of the above mortuary sites at various points in Athens, where clusters of graves probably denote the organization of burials by families, shows that the impression of the coexistence of Geometric graves and houses on the site of the Agora, which has prevailed to this day, is erroneous. According to this outmoded view, this was the (one and only) settlement nucleus, consisting of small groups of houses, whose occupants buried their dead relatives adjacent to them. This theory is debunked on the one hand because already from Submycenaean times habitation was not confined to only one part of the city but was in many places that were close to cemeteries, and on the other because the wider space of the Agora continued to be used as a cemetery for the duration of the Geometric period.

Furthermore, the numerous wells in the Agora, which had been interpreted as remains of houses, have been shown to be refuse pits of pottery workshops and shafts filled with their discards. Consequently, on the site where the early settlement was formerly placed, the early Potters' Quarter should perhaps be placed. Of course, it is very possible that in these years no distinction was made between workshop and residential activity and that those working in the area of the Agora also lived there. However, even in this case, the remains found cannot be linked exclusively with settlement activity and the wells cannot be perceived as archaeologically secure remains of this before their content is examined.

Furthermore, the classification of the wells and graves of the Agora by subperiods of the Geometric period demonstrates that graves and wells did not actually coexist; nor were they mixed together within the narrow bounds of the same spaces. The workshops are near mortuary spaces but not among them or the constituent graves. In those parts of the site where burials continued to be made, no wells were sunk, and as the density of workshops in the central space of the later square increased, the graves gradually ceased to exist and those that remained were pushed to the edges. The impression created is that to the northwest of the Agora, not much space remained for organized habitation.

Consequently, during the early years, the pattern of habitation did not change, despite the continuing population migrations. It remained similar to that of Submycenaean times, steadily organized around the perimeter of the Acropolis, which still kept its dual character of fortress and settlement nucleus. As time passed and the population increased, the settlement nuclei increased too, and together with them the size of the areas they occupied.

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Development of the areas of habitation was in tandem with development of the cemeteries close to them. The absence of a fortification wall and urban plan favored the free and haphazard expansion of both areas of habitation and burial, with the result that by the end of the period, they had occupied almost all the space that after 479 BC was to constitute the Classical city intra muros. The earliest — Submycenaean — cemeteries continued to operate. The limits of the later — Geometric — ones expanded and encroached on the settlement areas or other mortuary sites. The free spaces around the Acropolis were gradually fragmented and shrank, and by the late eighth/early seventh century BC, the boundaries between mortuary and habitation areas were blurred.

Specifically, during the Protogeometric period, habitation was sparse and at the same points as in the Submycenaean period:

- To the east and southeast of the Acropolis (east part of Plaka), where the cemeteries of the Olympieion and Makrygianni Street continued in use but the east cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street ceased to function
- To the southwest, where burials continued to be made in the cemetery at Dimitrakopoulou 110
- To the northwest and north, near the bed of the Eridanos, in the cemeteries of the Kerameikos and the Eriai Gate, and between the North Gate (VII) and the Diochares Gate (VIII)

In this period were made the first faltering steps to settle in the west part of Athens (Theseion) and on the south bank of the Ilissos in the area of the Olympieion (Kynosarges). In the southern part (Makrygianni), the burials become denser from the foot of the Acropolis and below, and it seems that the area was sparsely populated, perhaps due to the abrupt gradient of the ground, which is the continuation of the South Slope. To the northwest, in the area of the Agora, pottery workshops started to appear and graves began to be pushed to the edges of the space. We suspect that the Acropolis continued to host habitation both on its flat top and on its slopes, although there is no concrete evidence.

The situation on the flat summit of the Acropolis during the Early Geometric/Middle Geometric period is again not clear. However, around the Rock, the settlement grew and expanded normally, except eastward, where a slight shrinking is observed. This is denoted by the founding of the cemetery in Karagiorgi Servias Street, which probably replaced that of Irodou Attikou Street. There are signs of development in the area of Kynosarges to the southeast, where the cemetery spread, as well as at Theseion, in the west part of Athens. The same phenomenon is observed in the northwest too, in the Kerameikos. In the area of the Agora, workshop activity was intensified and graves withdrew toward the Areopagus, the north slope of which was turned into a large cemetery for members of the aristocratic class. To the south of the Rock (Makrygianni) graves became denser, while to the southwest (Koukaki – Dimitrakopoulou 110) there was no notable change in settlement and cemetery activity.

The settlement reached its greatest extent during the Late Geometric period. So dense was the concentration of graves around the Acropolis that it is extremely difficult to decipher the boundaries between the cemetery and settlement areas. Habitation is confirmed on the Acropolis by indications, on the flat summit, of mortuary activity that perhaps had not been interrupted in the intervening years. The Rock continued to be a fortified citadel, but after the mid-eighth century BC, cultic activity slowly but surely took root in the space. To the east, changes continued with the abandonment of the Karagiorgi Servias Street cemetery, perhaps indicating a northward shift of habitation. This hypothesis is boosted by the beginning of the use of the area along the length of present-day Panepistimiou Street, where the north–northeast cemetery of the city (plot of the Royal Stables) functioned in Archaic times. Habitation in the southeast of Athens continued without interruption, as surmised from the use of the Olympieion cemetery. On the south bank of the Ilissos, the settlement of Kynosarges was prospering, as borne out by the rich grave goods from its cemetery. To the south of the Acropolis, workshops began to be installed in the Makrygianni Street cemetery, as had happened already in the Agora, near the road linking Athens with the harbor of Phaleron. The great development of the Dimitrakopoulou Street cemetery, on either side of the second road leading to Phaleron, perhaps indicates also the turn of the settlement that used it toward the sea. Affluence is observed through grave goods from the cemetery of the Piraeus Gate, both in the west part of the city (Theseion) and in the northeast, in the Kerameikos and the cemetery of the Eriai Gate. The expansion of the latter, in conjunction with the founding of the Sapphous Street cemetery nearby and the increase in burials in the Acharnai Gate cemetery (Kotzias Square), points to the increasing density of habitation in the northeast of the city. In the northwest part, the area of the Agora had been taken over by pottery workshops, with graves confined to the southwest edge of the space.

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By the end of the eighth century BC, Athens was a sprawling settlement consisting of many habitation nuclei with its center the old citadel, where all kinds of human activities were interwoven with one another and the use of spaces was mixed. The south part had by now been taken over by the dead, leaving little leeway for habitation by the living. Farther south, toward the Ilissos, the area was used for the first time for localized cultivation, as indicated by the construction of terraces with no traces of buildings on them (Syngrou 13 and Lembesi, Syngrou 40–42, Veikou 39 and Stratigou Kotouli, Drakou 19). The same was probably happening on the south bank of the Eridanos, which gradually lost its mortuary use and in its east part was turned into arable land (Karagiorgi Servias 3). It is possible that there was also sparse habitation near the bank of the Eridanos, in the north and northeast parts of Athens. The west part (Theseion) was now inhabited. However, the heart of the settlement was still the Rock of the Acropolis and the area southeast of it (east part of Plaka, Olympieion), as far as and beyond the Ilissos (Kynosarges).

Archaic Period 700–480/479 BC

During the Archaic period, Athens changed not so much in area as in its spatial organization. This change was expressed initially through the principle of differentiating mortuary space from settlement space, which was subsequently designated by areas as public, sacred, or private space. The problem of spatial layout caused by the increased density of Geometric burial grounds began to be confronted from the early seventh century BC with the abandonment of all the old scattered burial grounds around the Acropolis and the transfer of mortuary activity to the periphery of the city, to the large cemeteries that functioned already from Submycenaean times close to the basic thoroughfares.

Earlier scholars interpreted the reduced number of mortuary remains in the Archaic period in relation to Geometric times as evidence of the shrinking of the settlement. Indeed, because of the absence of Athens from the first colonization and its delay in establishing tyranny, in comparison with other cities, they were of the impression that during the Archaic period, the city's development was suspended and generally retarded, perhaps as an outcome of some natural, economic, or military disaster around 700 BC. In reality, the gradual reduction in the number of graves, although particularly notable in these years, had essentially begun from the end of the Geometric period, as a consequence of the movement of landowners to the countryside and the coasts of Attica. The fall-off in the number of the graves was part of a wide-scale spatial reorganization around the Acropolis at the beginning of the Archaic period, part of a program of remodeling the entire city, and was likewise linked with the spread of habitation beyond its boundaries to the countryside and coasts of Attica from the end of the Geometric period. The "marginal" course of Athens is no more than the manifestation of a different mode of political development. It defines a period of introspection and political maturing of the polis, in contradistinction to the extrovert policy of other contemporary cities, which was limited to within Attica until the mid-sixth century BC.

Architectural remains (except wells) from this period are few, and the Archaic polis is a ghost city for the archaeologist. The city's destruction by the Persians (480/479 BC), the first in its history, undoubtedly contributed to this situation, as did the subsequent clearing of the ruins by the Athenians themselves prior to rebuilding activity. The lack of indications of an Archaic fortified enceinte is a hindrance to determining the city's area. In this period the cemeteries on the outskirts played this role and their importance was upgraded. Even though they received fewer burials, the mortuary activity of the entire polis was concentrated in these, whereas in the past it had been channeled to the old burial grounds near the Acropolis. These, which had spread in the meantime, due to the haphazard development of the asty, and were preventing the development of habitation, were abandoned.

Rearrangement is most obvious in the south part of the city, particularly where the greatest concentration of graves is observed, covering the whole area between the foot of the Acropolis and the points where the Classical fortification wall later passed. The first burial grounds to be abandoned were those closest to the Acropolis. The space was freed gradually from north to south, as far as the cemetery of the Phaleron Gate (XIII) in Erechtheiou Street, which continued in use. Burials were made in a few new places too, close to the other southern gates (XII, XIII) in the Classical fortification wall. These years saw the development of the Phaleron cemeteries on either side of the roads between Athens and Phaleron and the Saronic Gulf, which serviced maritime trade. The other large cemetery in Makrygianni Street shrank.

To the southeast, the Kynosarges cemetery continued to function, constituting the limit of the city's expansion beyond the Ilissos. The very old cemetery of the Olympieion was abolished after the mid-sixth century BC.

To the east, no old cemetery continued in operation. Perhaps a new burial nucleus was founded to the west of the National Garden (Amalias Avenue, opposite nos. 32–34), although the available evidence is meager. On the

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contrary, there is a strong possibility that the northernmost (Stadiou, Amerikis, and Voukourestiou Streets) of the northeast cemeteries was founded in these years. It was to flourish in the ensuing period.

In the north part of the city, the cemetery in Kotzias Square still received occasional burials, and at the end of the period it was extended, as its use was intensified. Continuity of use is observed also in the Sapphous Street cemetery and the cemetery of the Eriai Gate. Although burials are fewer in comparison with the Geometric period, this cemetery nonetheless retained its aristocratic character, at least during the early phase of the Archaic period. Northwest, some of the aristocratic clans of the city were buried under the tumuli in the Kerameikos until the end of the sixth century BC. After the deposing of the tyrants and the establishment of democracy by Kleisthenes, the cemetery was filled in and the tumuli disappeared, which has been interpreted as application of isonomy even in the cemeteries.

The high-quality art of the Archaic grave stelai, which have been found as spolia built into the fabric of the Classical fortification wall, reveals that in the west part of the city (Theseion neighborhood), the roadside cemetery near the Piraeus Gate (Gate II) was still active. The burial of affluent citizens there was practiced from the preceding phase of its zenith, the Late Geometric period.

The arrangement of the Archaic cemeteries on the perimeter of the Acropolis, near the gates in the Classical fortification wall — in other words on the outskirts of the city — creates the impression that they were organized and ordered around the Rock. The homogeneity in funerary habits and the abandonment of the last burial nuclei close to the old Mycenaean mortuary sites (Agora, Olympieion, Makrygianni neighborhood) express in terms of urban planning the unification of the populations and their observation of common laws and customs.

The change in the city's character and the strengthening of its place in Attica are evident first and foremost on the Acropolis. On the flat summit of the Rock, the sacred character of the space began to take precedence over its role as a stronghold, although this was kept, as is borne out by the fact that some of the most important events in the city's history (revolts, sieges, and captures) were played out there during the Archaic period. Whoever set sights on controlling Athens had first to capture and hold its citadel. The Acropolis changed radically when the Peisistratids were in power. The major building program they implemented on the top of the Rock veritably transformed the locus sanctus of Athena, hitherto humble in relation to the contemporary large sanctuaries. The few bronze votive tripods and the figurines were replaced by marble korai. The significant increase in quantity and gradual improvement in quality of the ex-votos bear witness to the formation of a new central sanctuary, which after the reorganization of the Panathenaia festival in 566 BC was on a par with the great Panhellenic sanctuaries. The strengthening of Athens as a result of the overall organization of the citizens of the whole of Attica was expressed also through the transfer of cults from the countryside, such as of Artemis Brauronia to the top of the Rock, of Demeter and Kore to the Eleusinion, and of Dionysos Eleuthereos to the South Slope.

Concurrently, the settlement nucleus, the asty, became denser and was organized. To the northwest of the Acropolis, the old Mycenaean burial ground, in which the city's first pottery workshops were set up during the Geometric period, changed use once again. Burials had already ceased in the area, except at two points: the cemetery south of the Tholos and that on the west slope of the Areopagus, where burials were made until the early sixth century BC and the end of the sixth century BC, respectively. The positions of the cemeteries complicate the debate on the existence of an Archaic fortification wall, as well as on legislation restricting intramural burials. Even so, through gradual expropriations, the number of craft-industrial installations in the area was progressively reduced, preparing the site for the founding of the Agora there in Classical times. Although these procedures began in the time of Solon, the social reforms and the concern for just laws (eunomy) that he introduced would seem to be at variance with old theories regarding the function of the Agora site from the early sixth century BC. All kinds of installations had been removed from the central space by mid-century, and this process had been completed on its periphery too by the end of the sixth century BC. Improvement works were finished by the early years of the fifth century BC, with the diversion of the bed of the Eridanos in the northwest corner of the space and the subsequent laying of the Panathenaic Way, which acquired the form and use it was to have in Classical times. The reason for the change in the character of the space at the beginning of the sixth century BC during the tyranny — possibly for public athletic and theatrical spectacles, and while the early Agora was functioning normally on the east side — should not be related post hoc to the final form the Agora acquired in the time of the democracy. Each change in use and layout of the space should rather be correlated with the period and the system of governance that introduced it. When exactly the idea of founding a new Agora was conceived, and by whom, is not known. However, whatever

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the case, it seems that due to overcrowding in the south part of Athens, the need to find space for the northward development of the urban tissue quickly became apparent.

The continuous changes and modifications in the use of spaces are reflected also in the places where habitation is observed. At the beginning of the period, the city was basically in the same place as in Late Geometric times, to the east and southeast of the Acropolis, where habitation had been concentrated since Mycenaean times. There was also a settlement on the North Slope, in the area of the Klepsydra, as well as to the northwest, west of the Classical Propylaia.

To the northwest of the Rock, the transformation of the site of the Agora, which was passing piecemeal from private ownership to the state, favored the growth of habitation, although this may well have coexisted sporadically with workshops earlier. Workshops, shops, and houses were gradually established around the central space — houses in particular on its south side. From the sixth century BC, the north slope of the Areopagus was upgraded, and from an aristocratic cemetery of Geometric times it became a popular area of settlement in the Archaic period. Such activity spread in the valley between the hills of the Areopagus and Nymphs, where the nucleus of the Industrial Quarter of Classical times was founded. Work on modeling the northwest corner of the Agora, near the Eridanos, allowed the creation of areas of habitation on the north bank and in the more northerly area between the Dipylon and the Eriai Gate (present neighborhood of Psyrri), which too had been used for burials in the preceding period.

People continued to live in the west part of the city, but this was by no means as developed as it became after the Persian Wars, when the harbor was transferred from Phaleron to the Piraeus.

There were marked differences in the aspect of the area to the south of the Acropolis, from the beginning of the seventh century BC, after removal of the cemeteries. The change in use of space progressed from north to south, starting from the South Slope with the abolition of the cemetery there (south of the Herodeion) and the founding of the sanctuary of Nymphe. At the same rate as the old Geometric burial grounds were abandoned, habitation spread, moving closer and closer to the north bank of the Ilissos over time, but never actually reaching it. Around 600 BC, infrastructure works began on the South Slope, in preparation for habitation. The steep gradient necessitated the construction of retaining walls to underpin terraces on which houses were built. Initially their extent was limited, habitation was sparse, and there were unbuilt areas between houses. However, by the dawn of the fifth century BC and particularly after 480 BC, the terraces were widened, the houses became larger, and habitation became increasingly dense, up to the point where it extended beyond the Classical fortification wall. The land near the river was intended for burials and cultivation, constituting the southward rural territory of the Archaic polis.

An increase in the density of settlement and urban improvement measures is observed to the southeast. The area around the river was transformed. The hill of the Olympieion, which from olden days was a cemetery, was lost under the magnificent temple of Zeus, construction of which commenced in the late sixth century BC on the site of a smaller temple of the early seventh century BC. Sanctuaries were founded beside the river, close to the Kallirrhoe spring, and the area began to take on the idyllic aspect of the banks of the Ilissos, where nymphs, gods, and mythical heroes were worshipped. One of the city's three gymnasia was built near the Kynosarges cemetery. This part of Athens was an extension of the city proper, which from the early years of its history developed to the east of the Acropolis, close to the beds of the two rivers, Eridanos and Ilissos, which converge at this point. The city's Agora, below the east cave of the Acropolis (now identified with Aglauros), was located within the main settlement, which spread as far as the west boundary of the present-day National Garden.

In the early fifth century BC, the areas of habitation differed little from those of the preceding centuries. The newly instituted democracy of Kleisthenes proceeded to reorganize the body politic, with the aim of terminating the old aristocratic relations of power and authority. The foundation stone of these political reforms was the creation of the demoi, which did not affect existing conditions of habitation in the city and was indeed based on existing settlements and spaces where these had been created in the Submycenaean period and had developed during the Geometric and the Archaic.

It is difficult to determine objectively the individual role and respective degree of participation of Drakon, Solon, Peisistratos, his sons, and Kleisthenes in the process of the city's transition from the area, form, and organization of the settlement of the Geometric period to those of the city-state of the early fifth century BC. Already from antiquity, their achievements and personalities were capitalized on according to the political aims the city promoted and the identity it wished to project at various times. However, the sum of changes and developments reflected in the organization and form of Archaic Athens is an outcome of the policy of these historic figures of the sixth century BC. The gradual and

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by no means standardized changes made to the city's urban tissue are the template upon which the major changes were to be mapped after the Persian Wars, on the Acropolis and in the Agora, with the development of the city intra muros of the Themistoclean enceinte.

The destruction of the city by the Persians in 480/479 BC is a turning point in its development. Even so, this disastrous event was not taken as an opportunity for re-modeling Athens on the basis of a new urban plan, and the city rose from the ashes over the next decade, in accordance with its Archaic and old Mycenaean roots. Habitation continued in the same places, but because the Classical enceinte encompassed large areas to the north of the Acropolis, the city developed rapidly beyond the Eridanos, as far as places where the Submycenaean cemeteries had been founded. It was then that the use of spaces intra and extra muros was consolidated. Henceforth, the areas inside the wall were destined for settlement and those outside the wall — that is, the rural chora — were reserved for the city's official cemeteries. Most of these continued to operate in places where the first Submycenaean cemeteries had been founded, and some of the demoi of the asty were to cover areas where the first nuclei of settlement had been established: the demos of Skambonidai, the part of the city north of the Acropolis; the demos of Kydanthenaia, the east part (the old city); the demos of Diomeia, the area south of the Ilissos; the demos of Kollytos, in the south and southwest part; and the most aristocratic demos of all: Melite, to the west. The early "city" of Submycenaean, Geometric, and Archaic times was the basis for the development of Athens of the golden age of the fifth century BC.

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Epilogue

The following finds were brought to light in excavations in Athens over the years 2001–2009 and are published in *Archaiologikon Deltion* 56–59 (2001–2004), B΄1 to 64 (2009), B΄1. These are data published after the summer of 2011, when the present work had been completed as a doctoral dissertation, and until the spring of 2017, when its publication as a monograph was under way. As they fill in the picture of development of the settlement during the periods examined in the study, it is considered expedient to cite them here with brief commentary.

Submycenaean Period

Area VI: Plaka

In the property at 4 Rangava Street, remains of a monumental building of the Mycenaean period, with at least three constructional phases, were uncovered.[1] The walls are 0.70 m thick and a coating is preserved on one of them. The three successive floors revealed covered an area of 20 m^2 and are dated to LH IIIC. Pottery and 25 clay figurines of Psi type were also recovered. The find is of particular importance as this is the first time undisturbed Mycenaean levels have been revealed in the area. This new discovery confirms that the slopes of the Acropolis are where habitation was located during the Late Mycenaean period (see chapter 2, "North Slope of the Acropolis"), and the East Slope is added to those areas from which there is evidence of such an early date.

In a plot at the junction of Thalou 10, Pittakou, and Goura Streets, south of Agia Aikaterini (St. Catherine) Square, LH IIIC pottery was found inside a well (Well 3). The excavators do not rule out the possibility that "some sherds belong also to the Submycenaean phase."[2] These two sites are added to those already known in the south and east of the city, where it is confirmed that the earliest habitation of Athens spread in the area between the Acropolis, the Olympieion, and the Ilissos River.

Area XII: Koukaki

In the plot at Veikou 83, a mortuary site of the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods was uncovered.[3] Four pit graves with ledges and two cist graves lined on two or all four sides were found. Most of the graves were covered with stone slabs or fieldstones. There is reference also to the presence of stones and upright slabs used as markers on some of the graves. Furthermore, it is mentioned that two "burial vases-enchytrismoi" were revealed inside a quadrilateral trench (Funerary Trench 7).[4] We suspect, from the description, that at least one of the vases did not belong to an enchytrismos but to a Protogeometric (?) "trench and hole" cremation. We are not able to say whether the second vase, which had been placed on its side, held an infant burial and was therefore actually an enchytrismos, or whether it was another cremation burial

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in which the cinerary vase had shifted and was half-destroyed. Certainly, instances of Protogeometric/Middle Geometric burials of two cinerary vases inside the same trench are known from other sites in Athens (see Agiou Markou 6–12: V.1 and Holy Metropolis of Athens: VI. 3), but not a cremation burial with enchytrismos. This particular cemetery is located along the curbs of the Phaleron road, where burials were made without interruption from prehistoric times until the Post-Classical period. As far as the mortuary activity in the Submycenaean period is concerned, this site is close to that at Odyssea Androutsou 32 (XII. 1), where a destroyed Submycenaean grave was found halfway between the two large burial nuclei to the north of the ancient road: the cemetery at Drakou 15 (XII. 15), M. Botsari 35 (XII. 15), and M. Botsari 41 and Dimitrakopoulou 47 (XII. 16); and the other very ancient cemetery of Dimitrakopoulou Street (XII. 7, XII. 8).

Area XIII: Theseion

At 40 Herakleidon Street, Mycenaean and Submycenaean sherds were recovered at various points in the plot, but mainly in its north part. These confirm the uninterrupted use of space in the area north of the Piraeus Gate, where sherds of the Mycenaean and Submycenaean periods have also been found (Digital Map SM XIII). Indeed, it seems they are related also to a very ancient thoroughfare corresponding to a natural pass, which over the centuries developed into the road linking Athens with the Piraeus.

Geometric Period

Area II: Ancient Agora – Monastiraki

To the north of the Agora, a Protogeometric/Early Geometric well was found on the north bank of the Eridanos, under the south wall of the Classical Commercial Building (J 3:8).[5] This is an important find because it is the first indication of habitation in this area during these years. After abandonment of the well, the upper part of the shaft was used for the burial of a young male — according to a preliminary anthropological examination by M. Liston — in contracted pose (J 3:9.). The grave is not dated precisely.

Well J 3:8 is indeed the northernmost indication of Protogeometric/Early Geometric habitation at the site being investigated by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, but it is not the northernmost in this part of the city, which seems to be the well in the plot at Karaiskaki 1 and Arionos 2 (III.14), 100 m farther north (Area III: Psyrri).

It is observed that Grave J 3:9 displays similarities to U-V 19:1 of the Eleusinion (II. 18) in position and depth (in the upper layers of fill of a defunct EG well shaft), the aberrant burial habit followed (inhumation instead of cremation), and the pose of the dead (contracted). It is noted that all these traits, which were considered rather strange, led to further investigation of Grave U-V 19:1 and to anthropological examination of its remains. The results are thought to explain the peculiarity of the grave, which is attributed to a social outcast. For the above reasons, it is possible that the new burial on the north bank of the Eridanos merits comparable investigation.

Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square

In the plot at Ivis 23, a row of small and medium-size fieldstones was brought to light on the configured soft limestone bedrock, which perhaps belonged to a destroyed wall of the Geometric period.[6] A Geometric grave, which is not described and is not dated more precisely by the excavator, was also found, as well as pottery of the ninth to seventh centuries BC. This plot neighbors the known site on the same street, Ivis and Lepeniotou (III. 12), where another Geometric burial was revealed. Furthermore, pottery of the same period has been identified in the fill from another nearby plot, at Lepeniotou 27 and Leokoriou 14 (III. 20).

At the west edge of the plot at Ag. Anargyron 7, a Protogeometric cremation burial was uncovered.[7] The cinerary amphora (black-glazed with painted decoration of zones of geometric motifs on the neck and belly) was found upright inside a small trench cut at the east edge of the main trench, which was sealed with earth and fieldstones after the burial.[8] A skyphos had been placed in the mouth of the amphora as a lid. A black-glazed kantharos and a trefoil-mouth oenochoe were recovered from the fill of the grave. Trenches of circular, rectangular, and irregular shape, with fill of clayey soil and pottery of Late Geometric, Archaic, and Classical to Early Roman times, were identified all over the plot, but their use has not been clarified. Those containing Geometric and Archaic pottery had been sealed with small fieldstones, just like the trench of the Protogeometric burial. One of these trenches, which was tentatively characterized as a deposit, contained Protogeometric vases in addition to the pottery. This plot borders to the east with that at Ag. Anargyron 5, where a Late Geometric grave was found (III. 1).[9] It seems that the "indeterminate trenches" should be interpreted as trenches that held other cinerary vases, which have not survived. This hypothesis is strengthened by the presence of intact vases in one of them. It is noted that this was a roadside mortuary space, as it is located between two ancient thoroughfares.[10]

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Area V: Commercial Center

In the plot at Karagiorgi Servias 1, in the course of digging works inside the basement of a listed building, Geometric pottery was found in the deeper levels.[11] The site should be correlated with the existence of a Protogeometric/Middle Geometric cemetery in the space, remains of which came to light in the 1960s, in the plot opposite at Karagiorgi Servias 4 (V. 3).

Area VI: Plaka

In the plot at the junction of Thalou 10, Pittakou, and Goura Streets, south of Agia Aikaterini Square, a cemetery and pottery of the Geometric period (ninth to seventh centuries BC) were found.[12] Specifically, two child burials and many empty cuttings in the bedrock were uncovered. This is an important find because no other Geometric cemetery site was previously known in the east part of the city, where there is known to have been ancient habitation and use of the space, but these are difficult to confirm by excavations because Plaka is a listed neighborhood.

Area VII: National Garden – Syntagma Square

In the plot at Xenophontos 4, south of Syntagma Square, Late Geometric pottery was found in deeper levels of the excavation and in the surface of an ancient street with two phases. In this rescue excavation, the existence of this ancient street was ascertained for the first time.[13]

Area VIII: Acropolis

On the South Slope of the Acropolis, one more cremation burial was found inside a cinerary amphora from the Geometric cemetery to the south of the Herodeion.[14] It was located in the area of the West Roman Cistern, under a polygonal wall of Classical times. The excavator does not date the new burial. However, as four other cremation burials have come to light at the site (XXVI, XXVIII, XXII, and VII), and they are all dated to the transitional years from the Protogeometric to the Early Geometric period, the recent find may well be contemporary with them (VIII. 4).

Area X: Makrygianni

At Erechthiou 41, a wall constructed of rubble masonry (length 1.70–2.10 m; thickness 0.25–0.80 m; height 0.30 m), dated to Geometric times, has come to light.[15] Its use is uncertain. Although one other wall has been uncovered in the nearby plot to the west, at Kavalotti 18 (X. 22), under the ancient road surface, the correlation of the wall at Erechthiou 41 (as an enclosure ?) with the two Late Geometric burials in the neighboring plot at Promachou 5 (X. 39) and the adjacent plot to the east at Promachou 4 (X. 40), where Late Geometric pottery has been recovered from a well shaft, cannot be ruled out.

At another site in the same area, at the junction of Lebesi 5–7 and Porinou Streets, remains of small walls were identified inside a Late Geometric layer, which yielded skyphoi, jugs, amphorae, and a krater.[16] These remains should be examined in the context of the Protogeometric/Late Geometric cemetery in Makrygianni Street, which has been located in the neighboring and adjacent plots to the north, Makrygianni 19–21 and 23–27 (X. 33, X. 34).

Last, in a rescue excavation in the plot at Syngrou Avenue 31, a Geometric grave of the eighth century BC and quadrilateral trenches cut in the soft limestone bedrock or in natural deposits were uncovered. The grave yielded a pyxis and a skyphos.[17] The site is in a place where mortuary activity had already been ascertained some time ago: remains (Protogeometric?) of a cremation burial and a wall have been found in a trench in Syngrou Avenue, near the junction with Spyrou Donta (X. 29), while a half-destroyed Protogeometric grave by the Classical fortification wall was revealed in the plot at Syngrou 25 (X.31). It is possible that a burial ground existed here and its graves survive sporadically because of the course of the Themistoclean rampart that passed over them.

Area XI: Kynosarges

An enchytrismos of a child inside an amphora (T 12), accompanied by two oenochoai and one cup, placed inside the burial jar, was unearthed in the plot at 10 Diamantopoulou Street.[18] It is dated to the Late Geometric period. This is the same burial as referred to as XI. 1 in the gazetteer and in Map Γ2 of Area XI, but as Middle Geometric, on the basis of the initial description by the excavator as a "Geometric amphora burial."[19]

Area XII: Koukaki

In the plot at Tsami Karatasou 6, three child graves of the Geometric period were brought to light.[20] Two were pit graves and contained residues of bones and fragments of handmade Geometric vases, while the third was a cist grave, which was found empty.

This is the first site of mortuary activity in the Geometric period to have been found in this particular street. It is, however, very close to the plot at Parthenonos 12, where remains of a cemetery dated to the end of the Middle/beginning of the Late Geometric period have been found (X. 37).

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Area XIII: Theseion

At 40 Herakleidon Street, part of a Late Geometric cemetery, remains of a Late Geometric apsidal building, and an abundance of painted Geometric pottery were found.[21]

Four Geometric graves cut in the soft limestone bedrock were uncovered in the south part of the plot. Two of them, found undisturbed, were enchytrismoi in amphorae and are dated to the Late Geometric period. The burials were accompanied by small vases (cups, jugs, and oenochoai) placed inside amphorae, while outside each, an oenochoe was found next to the neck. Each of the enchytrismoi was surrounded by two low walls meeting at a right angle. These have been interpreted as parts of enclosures.

Revealed on the edge of the plot and next to the Late Geometric graves was a wall of a Geometric building, 0.70 m thick and standing to a height of two or three courses. Constructed of small and medium-size fieldstones, it was uncovered for a length of 4 m. At its south end, the start of an apse is discerned. This is clearly described despite disturbance by a later wall. Preserved on either side of the wall is part of a floor, in which postholes were identified. The building is dated to the Late Geometric period. Beneath the floor, inside a cutting in the soft limestone bedrock, a pyre of an earlier Geometric phase (Early Geometric?) was uncovered.

In the north part of the plot was a deep ellipsoidal pit in the soft limestone bedrock. Around this was revealed another Geometric floor, which too had postholes. In addition to the architectural remains and the graves, copious painted Geometric pottery was found all over the plot, upon the bedrock, and inside pits and cuttings.

The above graves extend northward the limits of Late Geometric funerary activity, which until recently had only been located, dense and extensive, on either side of Nileos Street (XIII. 2–3, XIII. 9, 11–12). If, as seems likely, the new graves in the plot at Herakleidon 40 fall within the bounds of the same mortuary space, then this emerges as one of the largest Late Geometric cemeteries and attests analogous habitation in the western part of the city during these years.

The correlation of the cemetery of enchytrismoi with the apsidal building has not been verified. Nonetheless, this is an exceptionally important find, as it is the first Geometric apsidal building brought to light in Athens.

Archaic Period

Area II: Ancient Agora — Monastiraki

In the area south of Eleusinion, a well was excavated. Its fill is dated circa 500/480 BC.[22] The shaft was 1.15 m in diameter, 12 m deep, and unlined, sunk in the soft limestone bedrock. Found on the bottom were remains of a wooden vessel for drawing water but almost no objects that could date the period of the well's use. Other objects recovered from the fill included a bronze container for measuring dry goods, numerous dog bones, several loom-weights, vase fragments that could be mended, and a marble rosette from the relief decoration of an altar. The position of the well is not described precisely by the excavator; "south of the Eleusinion" could mean either the area of the upper terrace of the Eleusinion or the precipitous Section II, which to this day has yielded no indications of habitation prior to the Hellenistic period. In the event that the well was located in the space immediately south of the Eleusinion (upper terrace), then it should be linked with use of the space as sacred (see chapter 4, "Acropolis: Habitation on the Slopes," this volume, page 183.)

Area XIII: Theseion

The disturbed fill of the plot at 40 Herakleidon Street yielded Archaic pottery, fragments of figurines, and roof tiles with painted palmettes of the late sixth century BC.[23] These finds can be correlated with the adjacent plot to the north, at 29 Poulopoulou Street, where a small urban sanctuary of Late Archaic times, destroyed by the Persians, has been excavated (XIII. 15).

Notes

1 Spetsieri-Choremi 2011, p. 135.

2 Zachariadou and Papagiannakis 2013, pp. 19–23.

3 Karkani and Charami 2014, pp. 105–106.

4 The excavators speak about "two burial vases-enchytrismoi. . . . Found on the west side of the trench, at depth 1.09 m., was an enchytrismos inside an amphora with a two-handled skyphoid vase placed inside the mouth as the lid. The amphora was placed upright inside a smaller circular cutting, diam. 0.30 m., and stood on a cremation layer. At a depth of 1.27 m., a short distance to the east of it, a second enchytrismos was found, inside a fragmentarily preserved transport amphora (pres. length 0.60 m.), placed horizontally and orientated east-west." Karkani and Charami 2014, p. 106.

5 Camp 2011, p. 194.

6 Kokkoliou 2014, pp. 93–95.

7 Servetopoulou 2014, pp. 91–93.

8 The excavator refers to a vase of an enchytrismos — that is, a burial (usually of a young child) inside a vase, which in this case would have been placed on its side. From the description and illustration 20, it emerges that it is in reality a cremation burial — that is, the familiar type of burial of a cinerary vase inside a hole in an oblong trench, described in the English-language bibliography as "trench and hole."

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9 It should be stressed that the plots at Ag. Anargyron 5 and 7 lie toward the southeast end of the street, near the junction with Kairaiskaki Street, and not at the northwest end, near the junction with Sarri Street, as the excavator erroneously states. Kokkoliou 2014, p. 92, note 30.
10 See III. 1.
11 Zachariadou and Papagiannakis 2013, p. 97.
12 Zachariadou and Papagiannakis 2013, pp. 91–93.
13 Zachariadou et al. 2013, pp. 94–96.
14 Preka and Alexandri 2011, p. 155.
15 Kokkoliou 2013, p. 85–86.
16 Bougia 2013, p. 79–81.
17 Sakka 2014, p. 82–83.
18 Eliopoulos 2011, p. 208–214.
19 Eliopoulos 2010, p. 86.
20 Sakka 2014, pp. 81–82.
21 Eliopoulos 2011, pp. 214–216.
22 Camp 2011a, p. 194. Camp 2011b, p. 197.
23 Eliopoulos 2011, p. 214–216.

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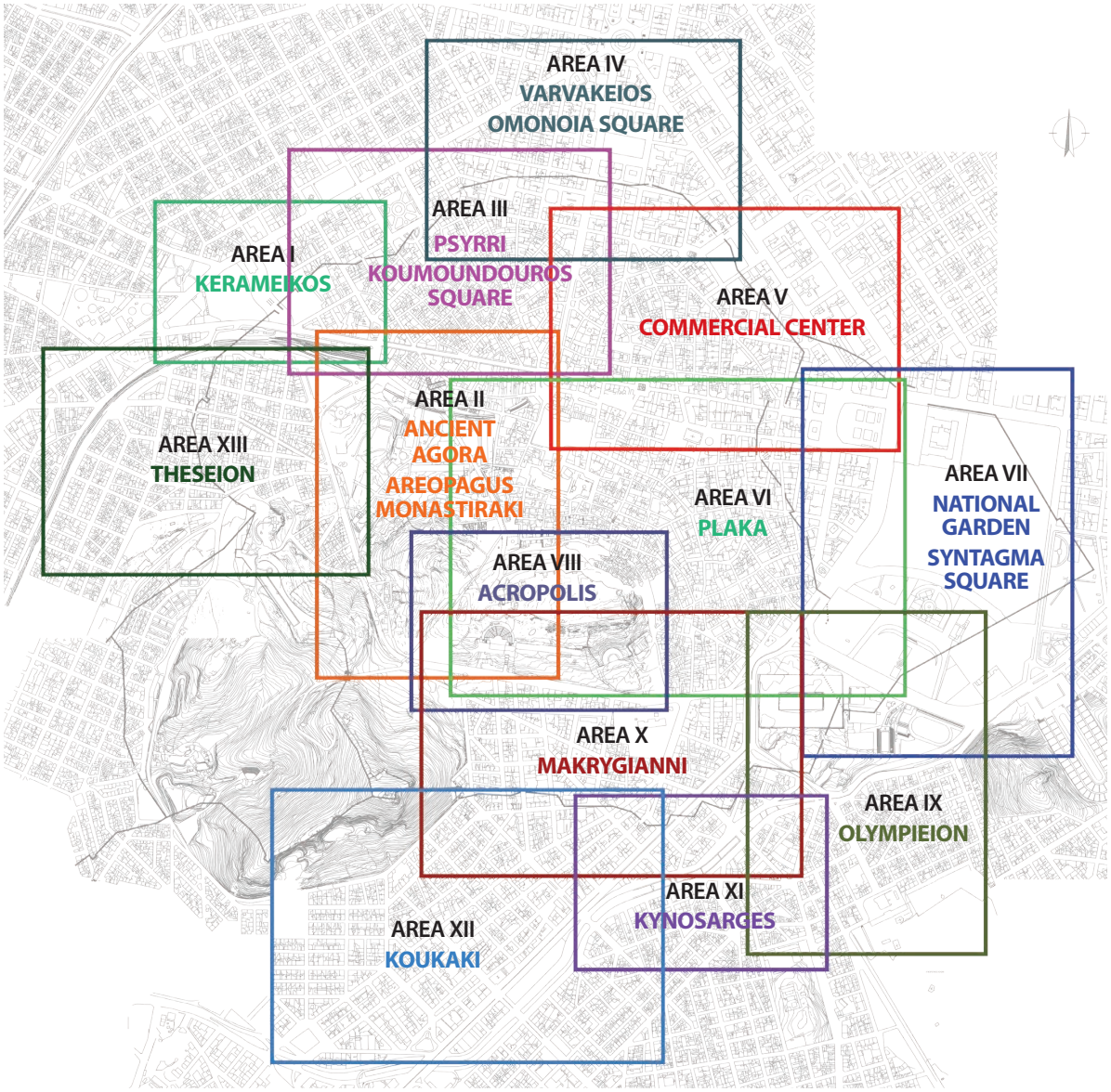

Map Key — Athens Divided by Area

Area I: Kerameikos
Area II: Ancient Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki
Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square
Area IV: Varvakeios – Omonoia Square
Area V: Commercial Center
Area VI: Plaka
Area VII: National Garden – Syntagma Square
Area VIII: Acropolis
Area IX: Olympieion
Area X: Makrygianni
Area XI: Kynosarges
Area XII: Koukaki
Area XIII: Theseion

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Area I
Kerameikos

I. 1. Ermou 128–132

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Bournias 2005, pp. 119–138.
Excavator: L. Bournias
Years of excavation: 2003–2004

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Shallow parallelogram-shaped cavities (graves) with Protogeometric pottery, Roman conduit
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring site in Asomatoi Square, where a Geometric figurine, vases, and pyxides were found inside a shaft, along with traces of a pyre and charcoal.
Comments: Graves cut in the soft limestone bedrock and dated to the Protogeometric and Middle Geometric period have been found in building plots in Leokoriou and Lepeniotou Streets (area of Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square).
Relevant bibliography: No data

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Area II
Ancient Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki

II. 1. Agora, the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Thompson 1954, p. 36; Brann 1961b, pp. 305–379; *Agora* XXVIII, pp. 99–103.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: No data

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Late Geometric well, Archaic wells
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Late Geometric well

Remains	Description
Well	Well J 14:5, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located close to the N foundation of the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion. Depth 5 m, diameter 1.25 m. The upper part is destroyed. Uniform filling with water jars; the layer from the period of its POU cannot be distinguished.[1]

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period, second half of eighth century BC

2. Archaic wells under the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion

Remains	Description
Three wells	Wells J 15:1, I 14:1, and J 14:3 according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[2] Located inside the so-called Heliaia. J 15:1: Its shaft, depth 6.50 m and diameter 1.10–1.20 m, was roughly cut in the soft limestone bedrock.[3] I 14:1: More than 1 m in diameter and 10.45 m deep. Stone lining preserved in places. J 14:3: Present depth 5.30 m. However, because the bedrock was cut away in later years, the well is considered to have been deeper initially.

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Finds
J 15:1: Uniform filling. A few vases and tools originating from household and workshop equipment: Protoattic amphora, kotyle, Subgeometric oenochoe, lid of Geometric (?) vase, Protocorinthian kotyle.
I 14:1: Water jars
J 14:3: A small quantity of pottery near the bottom (L), representing the POU
Comments: According to Brann, Well J 15:1 belonged to a house and/or a workshop, and the material found inside it consists of vases from the POU, together with dumped funerary and cult objects originating from cleanings of the surrounding space.[4] I 14:1 and J 14:3 are possibly associated with the remains of two Archaic walls found close by.
Dates
J 15:1: Turn of the eighth to seventh century BC
I 14:1: Late seventh–early sixth century BC (625–570 BC)[5]
J 14:3: First quarter of sixth century BC (POU)[6]
Relevant bibliography: *Agora* XII, pp. 393–394; Stroud 1998, p. 102.

Notes
1 *Agora* VIII, p. 129.
2 *Agora* VIII, p. *129.*
3 Brann 1961b, pp. 321–322.
4 Brann 1961b, pp. 306–307.
5 *Agora* XII, p. 393.
6 *Agora* XII, p. 394.

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II. 2. Agora, E side

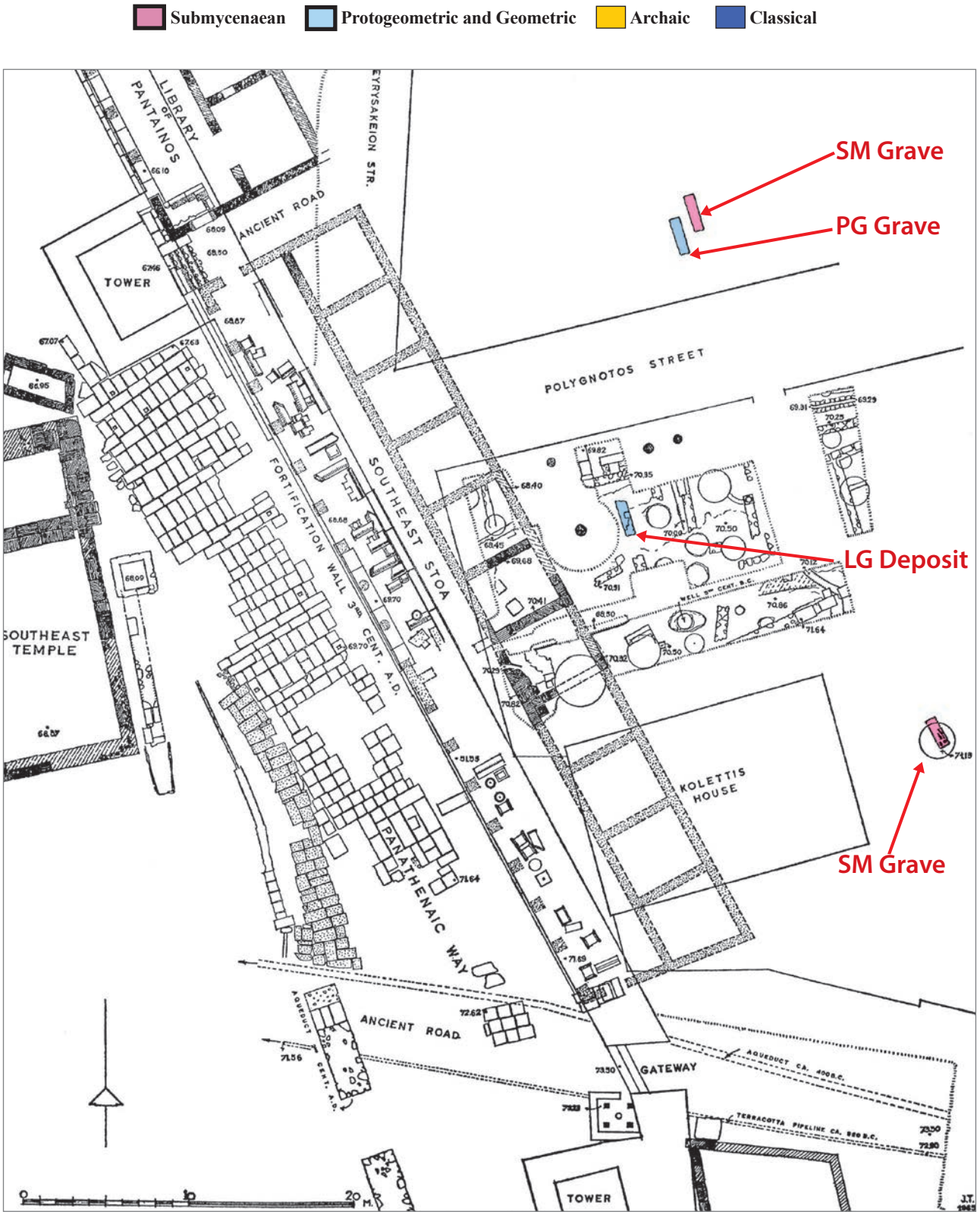

Figure 1. Athens, Agora. East side. Holloway 1966, p. 81, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Bibliography: Shear Jr. 1973, pp. 398–400; Holloway 1966, pp. 83–84.
Excavators: T. L. Shear Jr., R. R. Holloway
Years of excavation: 1965, 1972

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Submycenaean graves on the site of the Library of Pantainos and in the garden of the Kolettis residence. In the same space: a Protogeometric grave and a deposit with Late Geometric sherds.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Late Geometric well

Remains	Description
Well	Well P 14:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located W of the Panathenaic Way at the height of the NW corner of the Library of Pantainos. Depth 4.90 m, diameter 1.40–1.50 m. Tool marks visible inside the shaft. Narrows toward the bottom.[1]

Finds: Uniform fill of fieldstones; possibly includes also finds from the POU.
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period, second/third quarter of eighth century BC

Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave on the site of the Library of Pantainos

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave T 15:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located at the southernmost edge of the area of the Library of Pantainos. A cist grave cut in the soft limestone bedrock and oriented N–S, it contained the skeleton of one female aged about 33 years (anthropological analysis by J. L. Angel). Poorly furnished with grave goods.[2]

Finds: Two vases: a lekythos and an amphora
Comments: Found next to a Protogeometric grave, indicating continuity in mortuary use of the site
Date: Submycenaean period

2. Submycenaean grave at the Kolettis residence (Polygnotou 13)

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave T 16:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located E of the Kolettis residence, in the courtyard. A cist grave containing the skeleton of one male.

Finds: One small lekythos decorated on the shoulder with concentric semicircles painted freehand
Comments: Examined together with the contemporary grave in the Library of Pantainos
Date: The years of the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period

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3. Protogeometric grave on the site of the Library of Pantainos

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave T 15:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located at the southernmost end of the area of the Library of Pantainos, less than 1 m from Submycenaean Grave T 15:2. A cist grave cut in the soft limestone bedrock and oriented N-–S, it contained the skeleton of one female aged about 44 years (anthropological analysis by J. L. Angel).

Finds: Four vases (lekythos, skyphos, oenochoe, cooking pot with traces of fire) and one clay spindle-whorl
Comments: This grave is an exception to the mortuary habits of the Protogeometric period, during which the dead were cremated rather than inhumed.
Date: Early Protogeometric period

4. Late Geometric funerary deposit at the Kolettis residence (Polygnotou 13)

Remains	Description
Deposit	Located near W wall of the Late Roman room (or courtyard) in the garden in front of the Kolettis residence

Finds: Pottery
Comments: Associated with a mortuary use of the site
Date: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Thompson 1966, p. 54.

Notes

1 *Agora* VIII, p. 130.
2 Shear Jr. 1973, pp. 398–400.

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II. 3. Agora, NE corner – Stoa of Attalos

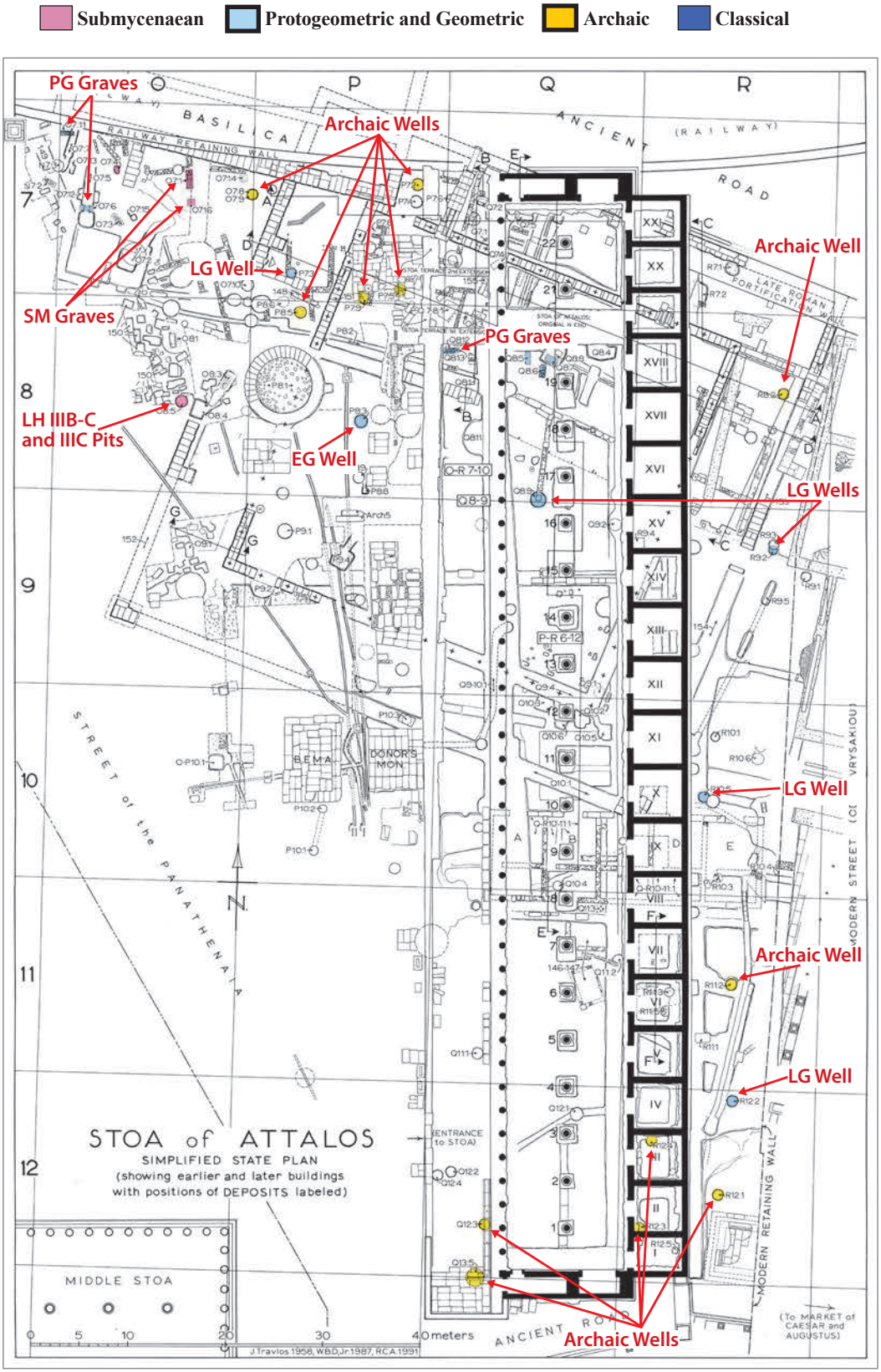

Figure 2. Athens, Agora. East side. Plan showing early settlement and burial remains — actual state. *Agora* XXVII, pl. 61. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Bibliography: *Agora* XIII, pp. 111, 252–253; *Agora* XXVII, pp. 11, 226–227, pl. 62, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 398–481.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: No data

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Submycenaean deposits and two graves NE of the stoa, Protogeometric graves, and Early Geometric and Late Geometric wells under the stoa. Early Archaic well to the E of the N end of the stoa and Archaic wells under and around its W end. Remains of Archaic private and commercial buildings W of the Stoa of Attalos.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: In Mycenaean times, the greatest concentration of graves within the site of the Agora was in the space in which the N half of the Stoa was erected in Hellenistic times and the area NE of it.

Settlement Remains

1. LH IIIB–C and IIIC pits to the NW of the Stoa of Attalos

Remains	Description
Two pits	Deposits O 8:5 and O 7:4, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. The first (O 8:5) was located NE of the Stoa of Attalos, W of the Antonine Monopteros. Its depth reached 5 m. The second (the Kylix Pit, O 7:4) was found a few meters W of Submycenaean Graves O 7:1 and O 7:16 and very close to the dromos of a Late Mycenaean chamber tomb (XIV). An irregular pit, 0.70 x 0.45 m and depth 0.50 m, it was considered initially to be a grave. Its size, too small to hold even a child burial, and the absence of skeletal material, in conjunction with the diversity of objects found inside it, suggest that it was probably a refuse pit.[1]

Finds: Deposit O 7:4: Fragments of bones (not human), stone slabs of small dimensions, 14 or 15 fragmentary kylikes (hence the name Kylix Pit) of poor quality, steatite necklace beads, and a foot of a tripod cooking pot
Comments: O 8:5 is characterized as a deposit because of the lack of clear indication that it is a well. No traces of water were identified in the course of its excavation. This particular deposit, Well H 11:2 in the area of the Tholos, and Well U 26:4 of the Klepsydra are the three earliest Submycenaean deposits found in and around the Agora that have been published.[2] Deposit O 7:4: The presence of so many discarded coarse-ware kylikes is possibly related to the existence of a pottery workshop on the site.
Dates: O 7:4: LH IIIB–C; O 8:5: Later than the previous one

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2. Geometric wells (EG and LG) under the Stoa of Attalos

Remains	Description
Early Geometric period	
Well	P 8:3. Located NE of the Stoa of Attalos, at the height of Column 18, it is the only well E of the Panathenaic Way. An irregular shaft of depth 5.30 m and diameter approximately 1 m.[3]
Late Geometric period	
Five wells	Wells P 7:3, Q 8:9, R 9:2, R 10:5, and R 12:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies[4] P 7:3: Depth 11.65 m. Residues of branches and wood were found on the bottom.[5] It is twice as deep as the average wells of the period, which did not exceed 5.35 m.[6] Q 8:9: Located under the N end of the stoa, E of Column 17. Depth 11.75 m; diameter 1 m. Irregular shaft. It collapsed during the period of use. Uniform fill mainly from the POU.[7] This well too is twice as deep as the average wells of the period, which did not exceed 5.35 m.[8] R 9:2: Found W of the N end of the Stoa of Attalos. Destroyed by the sinking of a well in the Ottoman period (R 9:3). Depth 6 m. Footholds found inside the shaft. R 10:5: Found W of the Stoa of Attalos, at about its midpoint. Depth 5.40 m. At a depth of 4.10 m a small basin was found, possibly a wellhead or lining of the well. R 12:2: Found W of the S end of the stoa. Unfinished, possibly because the aquifer was not found.[9] Depth 2.50 m; diameter 1.10 m. Narrows toward the bottom. Roughly cut shaft with footholds in the N–S and E–W sides.[10]

Finds: Vases

P 8:3: Although no POU layer was identified, several intact and almost intact vases — mainly oenochoai — which could come from this, have been found.

Comments: No graves of this Late Geometric period have been found in the site.

P 8:3: One of the 17 early wells and deposits of the Agora examined by Papadopoulos, on which he bases his theory that since most of them are associated with workshops rather than houses, the site of the subsequent Agora was originally the locus of the city's potters, the Kerameikos, and not the nucleus of settlement. The sole find that could be characterized as a workshop reject is one vase fired to a point of partial vitrification. Found almost intact, it could have been used as a domestic vessel before falling inside the well. Otherwise, it was discarded intact as spoiled. However, if only sherds of it had been found, these would all have been considered wasters.[11]

Dates

P 7:3: Late eighth century BC, on the basis of the level of the period of its use

P 8:3: Early Geometric period

Q 8:9: Late Geometric period, late eighth century BC–740/710 BC[12]

R 9:2: Late Geometric period, second half of eighth century BC–early seventh century BC[13]

R 10:5: Late Geometric period, fourth quarter of eighth century BC[14]

R 12:2: Late Geometric period, fourth quarter of eighth century BC[15]

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3. Early Archaic well to the E of the N end of the Stoa of Attalos

Remains	Description
Well	Well R 8:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[16] It is 10.80 m deep and 0.88 m in diameter at the bottom. Preserved on its walls are eight pairs of footholds, to facilitate descent into its interior. Its fill was not stratified and the upper 4 m consisted of broken bedrock.[17]

Finds: Dumped filling. Vases and tools originating from houses and workshops, including amphora, olpai, cups, trefoil-mouth oenochoe, kalathos, unpainted amphora and hydria, two terracotta figurines, cart wheel, loom-weight, spindle-whorl, early Corinthian alabastron, and lamp. Outstanding are a Protoattic oenochoe with representation of a lion and an amphora with horse protome.
Comments: According to Brann, the well belonged to a house and/or a workshop, and the material found inside it consist of vases from the period when the well was in use and discarded funerary and cult objects deriving from cleanings of the surrounding space.[18]
Date: Second half of the seventh century BC

4. Archaic wells under and around the W end of the Stoa of Attalos

Remains	Description
Five wells	Wells Q 12:3, Q 13:5, R 12:1, R 12:3, and R 12:4 according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies[19] Q 12:3: Known in the bibliography as the Stoa Gutter Well. Found under the W end of the stoa. Depth 9.70 m. Used for a short time and then sealed. Q 13:5: Well of large dimensions, carefully cut. Diameter 1.50 m, with two rows of footholds on the S and E sides to facilitate descent into its interior. Investigated to a depth of 5.30 m, although it must have been 1–2 m deeper. Possibly never finished because of the particularly hard subsoil. Sealed with a single dump of uniform filling. R 12:1: Located E of the stoa. Depth 10.80 m. R 12:3: Found under the second shop (from the S) of the stoa. Diameter 1.20 m and depth 12.30 m below the shop floor, but it should be taken into account that the first 1.50–2.00 m of the shaft must have been removed during the cutting down of the bedrock prior to construction of the stoa. Inside the shaft there was a series of footholds to facilitate descent into its interior. The fill, with which it was abandoned, is not stratified but uniform. R 12:4: Located in the N part of the third shop (from the S) of the stoa. Depth 13.25 m, but it must have been deeper initially. The shaft, of diameter 1.20 m, has two rows of footholds inside. Used for about 25 years and then abandoned.

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Finds

Q 12:3: Very large quantity of high-quality pottery dumped from an adjacent workshop. A few intact vases from the POU. Recovered from its interior were 250 lekythoi, large oenochoai, numerous black-glaze vases, cooking vessels and other vases with black-figure and red-figure decoration ("bilingual" vases"), one column krater (the sole black-figure vase) with representation of the First Labor of Herakles, red-figure skyphoi (four of them inscribed).

Q 13:5: No whole water jars have been found from the level of the POU. Yielded a large quantity of unpainted and fine pottery (including column krater in the manner of the Lydos workshop, amphora with representation of a male marine deity, small globular oenochoe decorated with Satyr head, trefoil-mouth oenochoe with representation of horseman and hoplite, black-glaze skyphoi of Corinthian type, and kylikes), six or eight terracotta domed ovens,[20] and two wooden combs.

R 12:1: Clay oenochoe with cork stopper preserved in situ

R 12:3: A few intact vases for drawing water from the POU. The rest of the fill is uniform and consists mainly of many discarded lumps of clay, which came from a pottery workshop.[21] Two black-glaze kylikes and two oenochoai were also found.

R 12:4: Intact vases/water pots (oenochoai, amphorae, and one signed hydria) and some black-figure vases representing the period of use. The rest of the fill, of about the same period, is uniform and consists of fieldstones, soil, and very little pottery. Noteworthy among this are a sherd of an oenochoe by the Amasis Painter, with a symposium scene; one small amphora of Panathenaic type; and three amphorae, one of Fikelloura type imported from Rhodes.

Comments

Q 12:3: The dump fill is considered to come from the cleaning of the workshop in which it was produced and that had been destroyed by the Persians.

Q 13:5: It must never have been used as a well and consequently was turned right away into a refuse pit with a uniform fill.

R 12:3: It served the needs of an adjacent pottery workshop.

Dates

Q 12:3: ca. 520–490 BC

Q 13:5: ca. second/third quarter of sixth century BC

R 12:1: ca. 520–480 BC

R 12:3: ca. fourth quarter of sixth century BC

R 12:4: ca. 525–480 BC

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5. Remains of Archaic buildings (shops?) NW of the Stoa of Attalos[22]

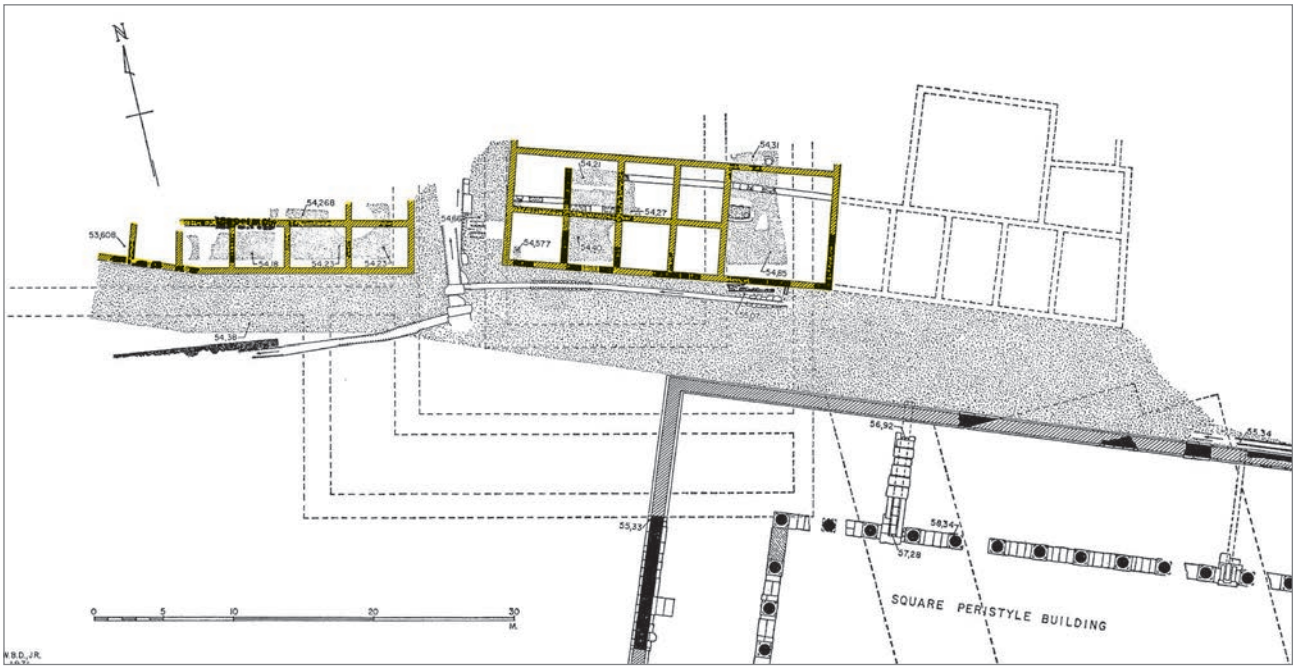

Figure 3. Athens, Agora. Plan of the Classical buildings northwest of the Stoa of Attalos, showing the preserved remains with restorations. Shear Jr. 1973, p. 139, fig. 3. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Remains	Description
	Located NW of the Stoa of Attalos and under the Roman basilica on the site. It comprises two buildings of oblong plan, on two sides of a junction of two principal thoroughfares, one oriented E–W that skirts the Agora from the N and one that led beyond it northward.
West building	From the West building, a row of four rooms, width approximately 3.50–4.00 m, has been revealed. They are aligned next to each other but with no interconnection. Their entrance is on the street passing in front, which was the northern limit of the Agora. The building continued northward, where there was a second row of spaces.
East building	From the east building, length 23–24 m, two rows of rooms have been revealed. Of these, only the second from the SW has been investigated. Measuring 3.30 x 3.40 m, it has one entrance on the S side, onto the street, and another on the W, through which it connected with the room to the W. At the E end of the building there was a space measuring 7.30 x 7.70 m, which seems to have been an open courtyard. The toichobates of the building are constructed of yellow poros stone in the polygonal system of masonry and were 0.65 m high. They supported a mud-brick superstructure.

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Finds: No data

Comments

West building: The earliest architectural remains belong to the first phase of the building and are dated to the second half of the sixth century BC. The main remains belong to the second phase and are dated immediately after the Persian destruction of 480 BC. The building continued in use into the Hellenistic period, with extensive renovations, and was destroyed in 86 BC during the capture of Athens by Roman troops under Sulla.

East building: Of private and commercial character, like its neighbor, it had a layout that was suited to accommodating shops. Objects found on the Hellenistic and Roman floors of the individual spaces reveal the existence of marble workers and ironmongers. However, there are no indications of activity in the Classical period. This building too was in use during the Hellenistic period.

Date: Archaic period

West building: First building phase, second half of sixth century BC. Second building phase, early fifth century BC, immediately after the Persian Wars.

East building**:** First building phase, late sixth century BC. Second building phase, early fifth century BC, immediately after the Persian Wars.

Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves NW of the Stoa of Attalos

Remains	Description
Two graves	Graves O 7:1 and O 7:16, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical studies. Located NW of the Stoa of Attalos. The second grave contained a child burial.

Finds: No data

Comments: No data

Date: Submycenaean period

2. Protogeometric graves W of the Stoa of Attalos and under its N end

Remains	Description
Six graves	Graves O 7:6, O 7:11, Q 8:5, Q 8:6, Q 8:7, and Q 8:12, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies[23] O 7:6: Enchytrismos. Found W of the NE end of the Stoa, on top of a Mycenaean rock-cut grave.[24] O 7:11: Child burial W of the Stoa and almost in contact with the contemporary retaining wall that separates the archaeological site from the tracks of the electric railway[25] Q 8:5, Q 8:6, Q 8:7: Found under the N end of the Stoa, NW of Column 19. One grave was opened on top of a Mycenaean chamber tomb of LH IIIA–B whose roof had collapsed. Two of the graves were lined inside with stone slabs. The third was simply cut in the bedrock. The best-preserved skeleton was of a child, probably a girl.[26]

Finds: Miniature vases, as is usual in child burials: cups with conical base, oenochoe, tall pyxis with lid in the form of mastoi, handmade cup with incised decoration

Q 8:5, Q 8:6, or 8:7:[1] Two pins, one bracelet on each arm, one bronze finger ring, three small lekythoi, and one larger lekythos

1 Unpublished. The information in Thompson 1954, p. 58, and *Agora* XXVII, p. 229, is insufficient for identification.

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Comments: No data
Date: Protogeometric period, tenth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Smithson 1977, pp. 78–79; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 47–48, 52–53.
Lang 1996, p. 157.

Notes

1 *Agora* XIII, pp. 252–253.
2 Smithson 1977, p. 78.
3 *Agora* XXVII, pp. 12, 228.
4 *Agora* XXVII, pp. 11, 227.
5 *Agora* VIII, p. 130. See Well K in Brann 1961, pp. 115–117.
6 Camp 1979, p. 398, drop in the water table/drought theory.
7 *Agora* VIII, p. 130; Agora XXVII, p. 229. *See Well N in Brann* 1961, pp. 128–131.
8 Camp 1979, p. 398, drop in the water table/drought theory.
9 *Agora* XXVII, pp. 12, 232.
10 *Agora* VIII, p. 130.
11 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 97–98.
12 Brann 1961, p. 97.
13 *Agora* VIII, p. 131. See Well P in Brann 1961, pp. 136–141.
14 *Agora* VIII, p. 131.
15 *Agora* VIII, p. 131.
16 *Agora* VIII, p. 130; A*gora* XII, p. 398; Agora XXI*II,* p. 335.
17 Thompson 1953, p. 48; Brann 1961b, pp. 346–358.
18 Brann 1961b, pp. 306–307.
19 *Agora* VIII, pp. 130–131; Thompson 1956, pp. 57–64; *Agora* XII, pp. 397–398.
20 For clay portable ovens like those found in Well Q 13:5 under the W end of the Stoa of Attalos, see Kourouniotis 1896, pls. 11–12 and Tsakirgis 2007.
21 *Agora* XII, p. 398.
22 Shear Jr. 1971, pp. 265–266; Shear Jr. 1973, pp. 138–141.
23 *Agora* XXVII, pp. 11, *229.*
24 Thompson 1952, p. 105, fig. 4; Agora XXVII, p. 226.
25 *Agora* XXVII, p *226.*
26 Thompson 1954, p. 58, pls. 16a, 16c.

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II. 4. Agora, Industrial District

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

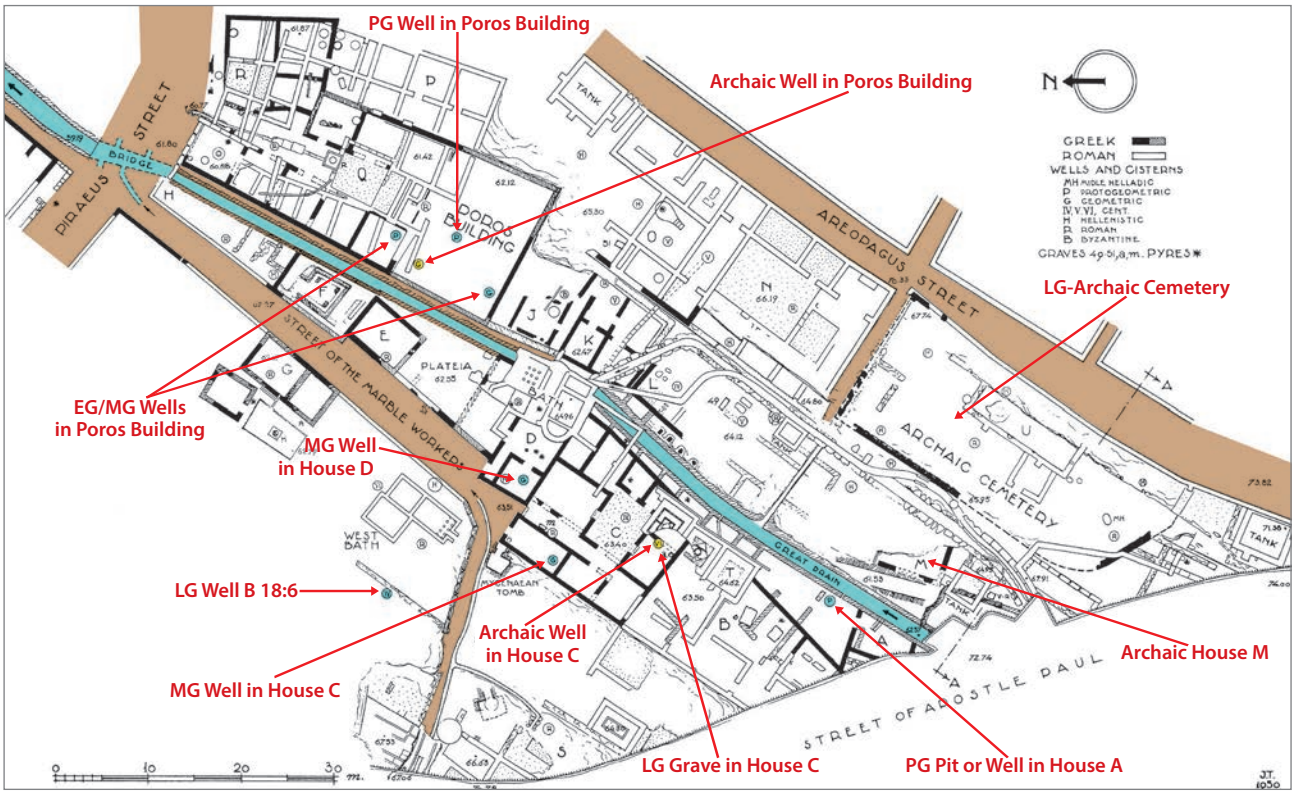

Figure 4. Athens, Agora. Industrial District. Plan of the area — actual state. Young 1951, p. 136, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Bibliography: Young 1951, pp. 67–134.
Excavator: R. S. Young
Year of excavation: 1948

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Protogeometric wells in House A and in the Poros Building, Middle Geometric wells in Houses C and D and in the Poros Building, Late Geometric well on the S edge of the Agoraios Kolonos, Archaic well in the Poros Building, Late Geometric grave in House C and Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Settlement Remains

1. Protogeometric pit or well N in House A

Remains	Description
Pit or well	Pit or Well A 20:5, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located at the bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, to the N of Classical House A.[1] An oblong pit cut in the bedrock (2.70–3.50 m) on the surface of the soft limestone. Maximum present depth 3.50 m.

Finds: Contained material considered to come from cleaning after the Persian destruction and a few Protogeometric sherds. Among them were six test pieces and 11 fragments, some certainly and others quite probably test pieces too.[2]
Comments: One of the 17 early Agora deposits and wells that Papadopoulos examined, and on which he bases his theory that most are associated with workshops, not houses. Young referred to it as a pit. However, the existence of water inside it led him to suspect that in Protogeometric times it was used as a well.
Date: Protogeometric period

2. Protogeometric well in the Poros Building

Remains	Description
Well	Located under the S large room/court of the Poros Building, specifically in its N part[3]

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Protogeometric period

3. Middle Geometric wells in the Poros Building

Remains	Description
Well A	Located in the S large room/court of the Poros Building, 8 m S of the preceding Protogeometric one
Well B	Found a short distance from the other two wells in the Poros Building, in the SW room to the N of the court

Finds: Well B mentioned as yielding only one vase, which is not commented on further.[4]
Comments: Well A in all probability succeeded the Protogeometric well that existed on the site. According to Young, their topographical and chronological proximity is indicative of continuous habitation at this point.[5]
Date: Well A, Early Geometric period. Well B, Geometric period (generally).

4. Middle Geometric well in House C

Remains	Description
Well	Located near the S wall of the NW room of House C[6]

Finds: No data
Comments: Young links the well to the existence of a house in the area, and graves too (Grave A and nearby cutting in the rock; see below).[7]
Date: Middle Geometric period

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5. Middle Geometric well in House D

Remains	Description
Well	Found under the W room of House D[8]

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Middle Geometric period

6. Late Geometric well at the S foot of Agoraios Kolonos

Remains	Description
Well	Well B 18:6, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located at the S foot of Agoraios Kolonos, in the W sector of the Industrial District. An irregular shaft cut in the soft limestone bedrock; depth 5.50 m; diameter 1.20 m. No layer from its POU.[9]

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period, third quarter of eighth century BC

7. Archaic well in the Poros Building[10]

Remains	Description
Well	Well C 18:8, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located in the NW corner of the court of the Poros Building. The shaft is 8 m deep and 0.70 m in diameter and was lined with stones down to the bottom.

Finds: Black-glaze pottery from level of the POU
Comments: No data
Date: POU estimated to have been around the second quarter of the sixth century BC (575–550 BC).

8. Archaic well in House C[11]

Remains	Description
Well	Well B 19:10, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located in Room 9 of House C. It was 8.60 m deep and had been sealed off long before the design and construction of the house.

Finds: Black-glaze pottery
Comments: No data
Date: Dated by its dumped filling to ca. 500–480 BC

9. Remains of Archaic House M[12]

Remains	Description
Walls	Lies opposite and E of House A. The remains of its walls are parallel to it. These are the W, N, and S walls of a room 7.70 m in length. The last two walls abut the rocky slope of the Areopagus. Nothing else has survived from this building.

Finds: Pottery from the fill behind the W wall
Comments: No data
Date: Late Archaic period, late sixth/early fifth century BC

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Other Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric graves in House C

Remains	Description
Grave A and cutting	Enchytrismos of a child, found in the SE room of House C, N of the party wall with House B and under the Roman mosaic floor.[13] Next to it was one other cutting, which might be an empty grave.

Finds: Burial amphora
Comments: It had been disturbed by the foundation of the S wall.
Date: Late Geometric period, mid-eighth century BC

2. Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus

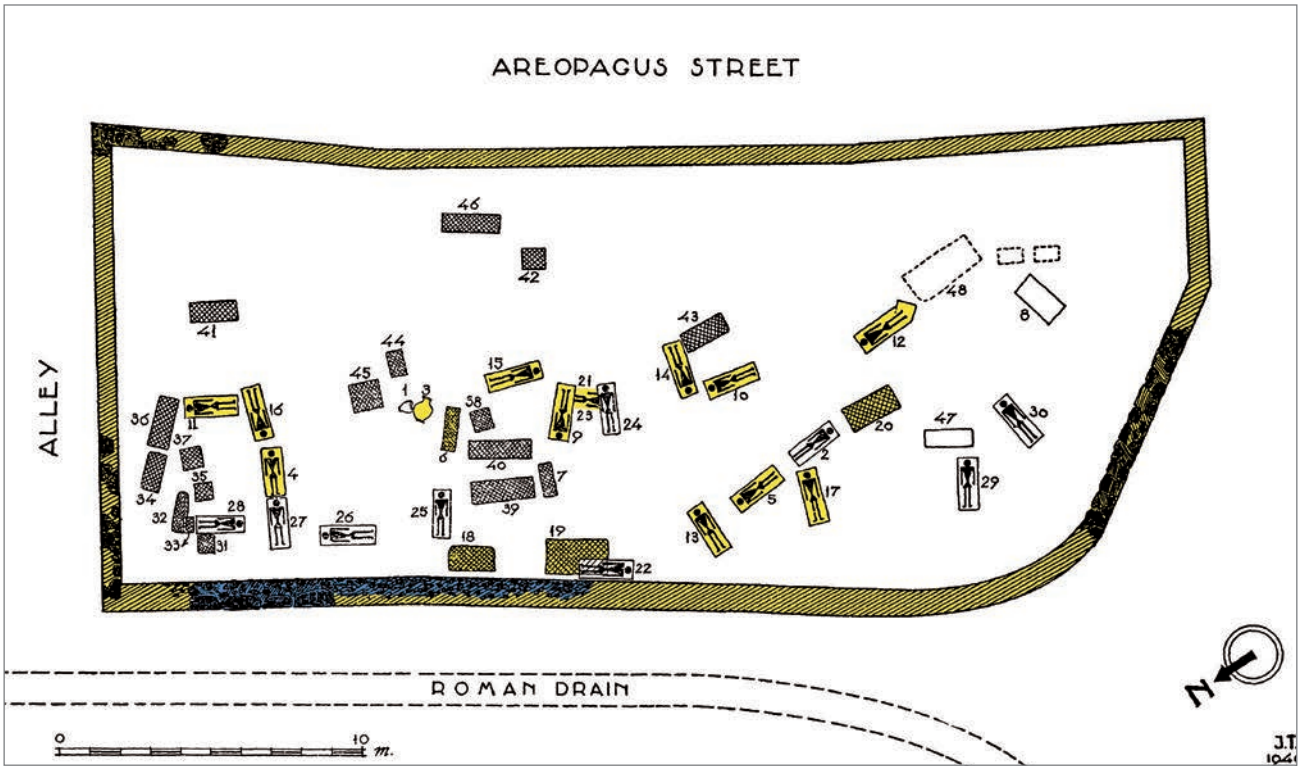

Figure 5. Athens, Agora. Schematic plan of graves in the Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery. Young 1951, p. 71, fig. 2 Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Remains	Description
Late Geometric Phase of the Cemetery	
Grave 1	Grave B 21:10, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Enchytrismos of an infant aged about 18 months, inside a Late Geometric vase (anthropological analysis by J. L. Angel).[14] Disturbed to the S by another enchytrismos of the Archaic period (first half of sixth century BC) as well as from above in Hellenistic times.
Grave 2	Grave B 21:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. It contained an adult inhumation. The grave was disturbed in the Hellenistic period.[15]
Disturbed burial	Grave B 20:5, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. The excavator suspects that it was in the position of the later Grave 4 (inhumation of a child, second quarter of sixth century BC) because a skull found in the upper layer of the fill does not belong to the skeleton in the grave. This was found intact, together with sherds of a Late Geometric funerary vase.[16]
Disturbed burial	Grave B 21:23, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Found in the upper layer of the fill of Grave 18 were sherds of Late Geometric vases without traces of incineration.[17] Located a few meters farther S is Grave 22, in which only the skull and the scapulae of the dead were found. The excavator suspects that the vases found in Grave 18 possibly originate from the destroyed Grave 22.
Destroyed grave (Grave 31.1)	In the fill of Grave 31, a cremation burial without grave goods, which cannot be dated, Geometric sherds were found. Pottery was found also around the cutting, which led the excavator to suspect the existence of an earlier grave at this point.[18]
Destroyed grave (Grave 35.1)	The fill of Grave 35, which held an unfurnished and therefore undated cremation, yielded many sherds of Geometric vases and one skull, which obviously come from another destroyed grave at this point.
Archaic Phase of the Cemetery	
18 graves	These are graves that can be dated to the Archaic period on the basis of the pottery they contained. The burials in 12 of them were inhumations (Graves 4–5, 9–17, 21). Five were cremations (Graves 6–7, 18–20), and one was an enchytrismos (Grave 3).
Grave enclosure	Nothing survives of the ensemble of the original enclosure except for a few foundation blocks of limestone at the N end of the E wall in the NE corner of the cemetery. The N wall was dilapidated after the Persian Wars, and its building material was used in reconstruction of the houses in the area. The remains of the W wall date to the phase of a repair to the enclosure, after the Persian Wars and before the mid-fifth century BC.[19]
Undated Graves	
27 graves	These are graves that were found unfurnished (due to disturbance?) and consequently remained undated. Of these, eight held inhumations (nos. 22–29), 16 cremations (nos. 31–46), and three burials of indeterminate type (nos. 8, 47–48).

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Finds

Geometric Phase of the Cemetery

These are humble and limited almost exclusively to pottery, and indeed of the usual type.

Grave 1/B 21:10: Burial amphora

Grave B 20:5: A funerary amphora, height 0.737 m, was mended from the sherds.

Grave 2/B 21:2: olpe, skyphos, one-handled cup

Grave B 21:23: An assemblage of nine vases (skyphos, shallow cup, pyxides — one with a horse figurine modeled on the lid — and a small handmade oenochoe) were mended from the fragments. These seem to have been the grave goods from the destroyed grave.

Archaic Phase of the Cemetery

Subgeometric and Archaic pottery of the seventh century BC was found dispersed all over the cemetery area, as well as in the fill of graves of the sixth century BC It can be related to destroyed graves and their grave goods. The majority of the Archaic graves contained one or two vases as grave goods (tripod pyxides, lekythoi, aryballoi, skyphoi, plemochoai). Exceptions are two graves (nos. 10 and 12) and one cremation burial (no. 19), each of which was furnished with seven vases.

Comments: Situated in the corner of the junction of two ancient streets. Its W side borders the street that started from the SW corner of the Agora and, circumventing the W slope of the Areopagus, ended at the Kollytos alley. Its N side borders a smaller street.[20] Dimensions of the space: 16 x 36 m. Total of 48 burials, of which 22 were inhumations, 21 cremations, two enchytrismoi of children, and three of indeterminate type. Six burials are dated to the eighth century BC and the rest to the sixth century BC. The enclosure was constructed in the sixth century BC.[21] Due to the different gradients of the ground (from E to W, from N to NW, and from S to SW), no organization is observed in the arrangement and the orientation of the graves, or in their development in the space over time. The same reason explains the density of graves in the W, where, with the help of the W wall of the enclosure, which functions also as a retaining wall, a terrace is created, with fill deeper than that in the E near the street (0.80 m). There must have been more graves in the S and SW part of the cemetery, but it is suspected that these were washed away by rain in Late Hellenistic times.[22]

From its location near the city center, it is suspected that it belonged to a powerful family. The finding of a Late Archaic sarcophagus of island marble, built into the side of the Great Drain, close to the cemetery, prompted the idea that it perhaps belonged to Peisistratos himself, because of the cost of the material and the high quality of the art, which is not consistent with Archaic Athens.[23]

Dates

Late Geometric phase: Second half of eighth century BC

Grave 1/B 21:10: Late Geometric period, second half of eighth century BC[24]

Grave 2/B 21:2: Late Geometric period, late eighth century BC[25]

Grave B 20:5: Late Geometric period, third quarter of eighth century BC[26]

Grave B 21:23: Late Geometric period, third quarter of eighth century BC[27]

Archaic phase: Second to fourth quarter of sixth century BC. According to the excavator, some of the 27 unfurnished graves found were earlier than those that can be dated and therefore could be Geometric or of the seventh century BC.[28]

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3. Late Archaic graves[29]

Remains	Description
Grave 49 and three empty pits	Inhumation with one vase as grave good. Located approximately 15 m NW of the NW corner of the Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery, at the far end of the valley between the Great Drain and the later Roman one. To the S and SE of it, three other empty pits were found. They presumably belonged to destroyed graves.
Grave 50	Grave A 18:2 according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[30] Cremation burial. Located in the W of the area, S of the Street of the Marble-Workers, at the foot of the Hill of the Nymphs.
Grave 51	Grave B 19:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[31] Enchytrismos in a pithos. Located on the edge of the Areopagus, under the Roman House O.

Finds

Grave 49: One black-figure lekythos. Sherds of other black-figure lekythoi were found around the cuttings in the bedrock.

Grave 50: Residues of carbonized bones and three broken black-figure lekythoi

Grave 51: Unfurnished

Comments: These are not related to the graves of the Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery, since they were found in different parts of the Industrial District and each one separate from the other. Their finding confirms the fact that burials continued in the area and outside the aforementioned cemetery throughout the sixth century BC. Grave 49 and the empty pits around it are probably part of another burial ground in the area.[32]

Dates

Grave 49: Third quarter of sixth century BC

Grave 50: early fourth quarter of sixth century BC

Grave 51: Seventh or sixth century BC

Relevant bibliography: Young 1949, pp. 275–297; *Agora* VIII, p. 125; *Agora* XIV, pp. 10–11.

Notes

1 Young 1951, p. 144.
2 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 77.
3 Young 1951, p. 144.
4 Young 1951, p. 144.
5 Young 1951, p. 144.
6 Young 1951, p. 144.
7 Young 1951, p. 69.
8 Young 1951, p. 144.
9 *Agora* VIII, p. 125; Thompson 1951, pp. 144–145, 218, pl. on p. 189, drawing 7.
10 Young 1951, pp. 170, 174; *Agora* XII, p. 386.
11 Young 1951, p. 209; *Agora* XII, p. 385.
12 Young 1951, p. 250.
13 Thompson 1948, p. 166; Young 1949, p. 276; Young 1951, pp. 69–70.
14 Young 1951, pp. 82–83, 87.
15 Young 1951, pp. 85–86; Agora VIII, p. 125.
16 Young 1951, pp. 83, 88; Agora VIII, p. 125.
17 Young 1951, pp. 83–85, 100, 103; Agora VIII, p. 125.
18 Young 1951, p. 105.
19 Young 1951, pp. 73–74.

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20 Young 1951, p. 72.
21 Young 1951, pp. 74, 77.
22 Young 1951, pp. 79–80.
23 Young 1951, p. 75; *Agora* XIV, p. 12.
24 *Agora* VIII, p. 125.
25 *Agora* VIII, p. 125. Young had placed it in the seventh century BC, which singled it out from the other graves as the only one dated then.
26 *Agora* VIII, p. 125.
27 *Agora* VIII, p. 125.
28 Young 1951, p. 103.
29 Thompson 1948, p. 166; Young 1951, p. 108.
30 Young 1951, pp. 108–109; Agora XXIII, p. 329.
31 Young 1951, p. 108; Agora XXIII, p. 329.
32 Thompson 1948, p. 166.

II. 5. Agora, the Tholos, and its environs

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Young 1939; Thompson 1940, p. 4, pl. 1; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 126–131, 222–224, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 273–397.
Excavators: E. Vanderpool, H. A. Thompson
Years of excavation: 1933–1934, 1937–1938

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Submycenaean well, Late Geometric/Early Archaic kiln deposit, Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery of the Tholos and Late Geometric graves to the SW of it, and the Archaic "houses" A and B
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. LH IIIC well

Remains	Description
Well	Well H 11:2, according to archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Found in the middle of the easternmost room of the Archaic "house," it was approximately 2.30 m in diameter at the surface. The deeper shaft narrows to a diameter of 0.85 m at the depth of 3 m.

Finds: Very few unpainted sherds and one domestic-ware oenochoe
Comments: This particular deposit, one to the NE of the Stoa of Attalos, and Well U 26:4 of the Klepsydra are the three earliest Submycenaean deposits found within and around the Agora to have been published.[1]
Date: Advanced LH IIIC

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2. Early Archaic "house" A (Building A) – Potter's workshop[2]

Remains	Description
	Located SE of the later Tholos, to the E of the Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery, alongside the West Road, the street running N–S defined by the natural valley at the E foot of Agoraios Kolonos. A large building of oblong plan. A complex of rooms and open areas, of overall maximum present length 30.50 m and width 6 m, although the initial width is estimated to have been greater.
Rooms	It was possible to investigate the SW end of the building, which was a parallelogram space of approximate dimensions 5 x 10 m. The SW end was a party wall with the neighboring cemetery of the Late Geometric/ Archaic period (see "Other Examined Remains" no. 1, below). Two other rooms were located to the W. A small kiln was discovered in the second one from the W. In a fourth room to the NE of the previous one, the remains of a clay-lined basin were found.
Walls	A very few parts of the E wall were located, in fragmentary condition, under the foundations of later buildings, as well as below the level of the aquifer at the time of the excavations. The wall was 0.70–0.90 m thick and constructed of large stone blocks. It was very strong because as an external wall, it supported the roof, while its lower part served also as a retaining wall. Preserved too were remains of internal intersecting walls, thickness 0.40 m. Bedded in the soft limestone rock, these were constructed of rough pieces of Acropolis limestone and fieldstones of varying sizes, with plenty of clay mortar.
Courts	Three open spaces/courts were located in the northernmost surviving part of the building. One entrance was also located there.
Floors	The compacted-earth floor of the SW room has survived, as have the floors of the courts, of sand and gravel.
Pottery kiln (H 12:17; see below)	The lower chamber of the kiln (combustion chamber), diameter 1.33 m, was found, as well as the pillar upholding the grate of the firing chamber and the space for feeding the fire.

Finds: In the publication of the building Thompson states that no workshop rejects were found. Six decades later, Papadopoulos identified some such finds and published them (see below).[3]
Comments: A pottery workshop and not a house. Although its excavator, H. Thompson, characterized it initially as a pottery workshop, on account of the kiln and the tank.[4] it is referred to in the bibliography as House A. The kiln and workshop were in use for a short period and were abandoned simultaneously in the mid-seventh century BC.
Date: Late eighth/early seventh century BC

3. Late Geometric/Early Archaic deposit of the Tholos/kiln deposit

Remains	Description
	Deposit H 12:17 (kiln deposit), according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[5] It is the fill of the kiln located in Building A.[6]

Finds

Layer 1: Finds from the clay floor of the kiln and from the fill of the rest of the firing chamber.
Layer 2: it is considered its destruction layer and led Thompson to the conclusion that the kiln was abandoned in the same period as the "house." Initially, one kotyle was found; it is certainly a workshop discard. Recently, during reexamination of the material of the fill, other destroyed and rejected vases, test pieces, and loom-weights were identified. Of these there is reference to a Subgeometric Attic skyphos, an unpainted olpe, and two kotyles. In addition, two fragments of Protoattic-style vases were found; neither can be confidently considered part of a rejected vase. Indeed, Brann has attributed one vase fragment to the Analatos Painter.[7]

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Comments: One of the early deposits (and wells) of the Agora that Papadopoulos examined and on which he bases his theory that most of them were associated with workshops, not houses, and that the site of the subsequent Agora was initially the locus of the city's potters — Kerameikos — and not its settlement nucleus.
Dates: The earliest pottery is dated to the Late Geometric period and the latest to the seventh century BC, which dates the POU of the kiln to the time interval late eighth century BC–mid-seventh century BC.

4. Archaic "house" B (Building B) – Blacksmith's workshop[8]

Remains	Description
Room	Located under the NE corner of Building F, this was a small one-room building of shoddy construction, of which only the NE corner survived. Very few parts of it were preserved.
Hearth	Preserved were the stones forming the hearth and burned earth of reddish color.

Finds: Residues of iron, indicating the building's use, and pottery under the floor, which dates its period of operation.
Comments: No data
Date: Early sixth century BC

Figure 6. Athens, Agora. Plan of the Late Geometric/Archaic cemetery to the south of Tholos. Young 1939, p. 7, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Other Examined Remains

1. Cemetery of the Late Geometric/Archaic period to the S of the Tholos

Remains	Description
20 burials	10 enchytrismoi of infants and 10 inhumations of adults. The enchytrismoi have been found dispersed in the site, among the pit graves and with random orientation. There appears to be some order in the inhumation burials, but not conforming to a rule of orientation.[9]
Late Geometric Phase of the Cemetery	
7 enchytrismoi	Graves G 12:2 (VII), G 12:3 (VIII), G 12:4 (IV), G 12:5 (V), G 12:10 (VI), G 12:14 (IX), G 12:16 (***X***), according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. They belong to infants and young children, who were buried inside amphorae and hydries.
10 inhumations	Graves G 12:7-8 (XIX-X), G 12:9 (XVIII), G 12:11 (XVI), G 12:12 (XIII), G 12:13 (XV), G 12:15 (XIV), G 12:17 (XVII), G 12:19 (XII), G 12:24 (XI), Grave XXI και XXII, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Some of them were found disturbed by later burials or deposits, which were opened on the site.
Archaic Phase of the Cemetery	
Three enchytrismoi	Graves I–III

Finds: Vases of normal size as well as miniature ones were found in the Late Geometric enchytrismoi. In one case (the double enchytrismos, Grave X), one bronze finger ring was found too. Many vases of high artistic quality, iron daggers, terracotta figurines, jewelry, and spindle-whorls were found in the pit graves.
Comments: The Geometric phase of the cemetery spans a period of 60 years — four generations. Grave G 12:12 (XIII) yielded oenochoe with representation of the myth of the Moliones/Aktoriones twins.[10] Grave G 12:15 (XIV) perhaps had a marker, a feature not ascertained for any of the other graves. Grave G 12:17 (XVII), which housed a female burial, is the wealthiest in the cemetery, with two bronze finger rings, one bronze fibula, four smaller iron fibulae, and 22 vases. Grave G 12:7-8 (XIX-X) housed two successive burials, of a male and a female, placed one on top of the other, head to toe.
Date: The Late Geometric enchytrismoi as well as the inhumations are dated to the third and fourth quarters of the eighth century BC Exceptions are graves G 12:5 (V) and G 12:10 (VI), which are transitional and are dated to the late eighth/early seventh century BC.[11] The Archaic enchytrismoi (I–III) are dated to the late seventh/early sixth century BC.

2. Late Geometric graves to the SW of the Tholos cemetery

Remains	Description
Three graves	Graves E 14:4 (XXIII), ***E*** 14:12 (XIV), and ***E*** 14:13 (XV), according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. They were located disturbed, 35 m SW of the peribolos of the Tholos cemetery.[12] All housed inhumations of adults, except Grave E 14:13, which belonged to a young individual.[13]

Finds: E 14:13: Skyphos, pitcher with lid, handmade aryballos and jug
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period, third/fourth quarter of eighth century BC
Relevant bibliography: *Agora* VIII, pp. 127–128; *Agora* XIII, pp. 111, 254–255; *Agora* XIV, p. 10; Smithson 1977, pp. 78–79; Shear Jr. 1994, pp. 228, 230–236.

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Notes

1 Smithson 1977, p. 78.
2 Thompson 1940, pp. 3–8.
3 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 126–131.
4 Thompson 1940, pp. 5–7; *Agora* XIV, p. 186.
5 *Agora* VIII, p. 128.
6 The remains of the kiln no longer exist. Thompson 1940, p. 6; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 126–131.
7 *Agora* VIII, pp. 75–76. For the possibility of linking also the kiln of Archaic "house" A with the vase fragment by the Analatos Painter and its discarding, see Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 222–223.
8 Thompson 1940, p. 8.
9 Young 1939, pp. 21–44; Agora VIII, pp. 127–128.
10 Young 1939, p. 68.
11 The initial dating of the graves by Young, who dates them 25 years later, was revised by Brann. See *Agora* VIII, p. 127.
12 Shear 1936, p. 15, pl. 13.
13 Young 1939, pp. 99–103; *Agora* VIII, p. 26.

II. 6. Agora, Central Square – area of temple of Ares

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Thompson 1953, pp. 41–42, *Agora* XXXVI, p. 35–253.
Excavator: E. L. Smithson
Year of excavation: 1952

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Mycenaean cemetery of the LH IIIA period in the area of the temple of Ares (Chamber Tomb J 7:2 lies under the temple and was in second use in LH IIIC), one Submycenaean and two Protogeometric graves around the temple; one Middle Geometric well N of it
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Middle Geometric well N of the temple of Ares

Remains	Description
Well	Well L 6:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located close to the track of the Athens–Piraeus Electric Railway, approximately 50 m S of the Eridanos River, N of the NE corner of the temple of Ares, and 12 m E of the SE corner of the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Depth 5.50 m.

Finds: Workshop wasters were found throughout the fill, which consisted of two layers, one of the MG I phase and one of MG II. There were numerous vitrified vases and vases stuck together, due to excessive firing, kiln firing supports, and so on. In addition to the vase fragments, two intact vases were found at a depth of 3.50 m — one large oenochoe and one krater (actually a modified hydria). An imported scarab was also recovered.[1]
Comments: One of the 17 early wells and deposits of the Agora that Papadopoulos examined and on which he bases his theory that since most are associated with workshops and not houses, the site of the later Agora was originally the locus of the city's potters, Kerameikos, not its settlement nucleus.[2]
Date: Middle Geometric period

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Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Pit grave. Found S of the SW corner of the temple of Ares.

Finds: Two vases — one small and one large oenochoe
Comments: Found a short distance from a cluster of LH III graves, which because of their proximity to each other have been interpreted as a small family burial ground.
Date: Submycenaean period
Relevant bibliography: *Agora* XIII, pp. 183–196, table 91.

Notes
1 Young 1949, pp. 427–433.
2 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 101–102.

II. 7. Agora, Central Square – Odeion of Agrippa

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Brann 1961a, pp. 93–146; Brann 1961b, pp. 305–379; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 27–76, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 398–481.
Excavators: E. Smithson (O 12:1, M 11:3), Thompson (L 11:1)
Years of excavation: 1950 (L 11:1), 1952 (O 12:1)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: LH IIIA–B graves between the Middle Stoa and the Odeion of Agrippa, three wells inside the odeion (one Protogeometric, one Late Geometric, and one Archaic), two to the E of the odeion (one LG and one Archaic), and one Late Geometric grave partly opened in the upper levels of its fill
Relation to adjacent areas: There is a second well close by.
Comments: Many early wells have been found in the area — four Geometric and two of the seventh century BC. Located here too was the Protogeometric Well L 11:1, which was examined among others by J. Papadopoulos, who concluded that it had been filled with workshop rejects and not domestic debris.[1]

Settlement Remains

1. Protogeometric well or deposit inside the area of the odeion

Remains	Description
Well or deposit	Unfinished Well L 11:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. In Papadopoulos's opinion, it was never a well but a rubbish pit.[2] It was found at the center of the Agora square (Sector ΩΔ), inside the site of the later Roman Odeion of Agrippa. Sunk in the soft limestone bedrock, it was 1.55 m in diameter and only 3.10 m deep at most. In its interior, two rows of diametrically opposite concavities (footholds) had been cut vertically to facilitate descent into the shaft.[3]

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Finds: The fill yielded 1,972 vase fragments; test pieces; damaged, unfinished, and unpainted vases; at least one kiln support for firing vases; very few animal bones; fragments of stone blocks; and one fragment of a clay revetment (most probably from the superstructure of a pottery kiln). According to Papadopoulos, these represent a uniform dump fill of a potter's workshop.
Comments: One of the 17 early wells of the Agora that Papadopoulos examined and on which he bases his theory that most are associated with workshops and not houses, and that the site of the later Agora was originally the locus of the city's potters, Kerameikos, not its settlement nucleus. In Papadopoulos's view, secure indications for this identification are the test pieces, the unfinished and kiln-damaged vases, and those vases that are unpainted, and it is very possible that all the material with which the well was sealed is the dump fill of a workshop installation.[4] According to Papadopoulos, similar material has been found in the workshop refuse Pit S 17:2 to the NE of the Eleusinion and in the kiln deposit H 12:17 under the Tholos.[5]
Date: Protogeometric period

2. Late Geometric well or deposit inside the area of the odeion

Remains	Description
Well or deposit	Deposit M 11:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located at almost the center, below the orchestra.[6] Well or refuse pit of irregular shape and stratigraphy (1.80 x 1.50 m). Depth: 0.90 m or 0.40 m.[7]

Finds: Several vases, unfinished or badly fired
Comments: It cannot be said for certain whether these are workshop discards or simply badly fired vases.
Date: End of Late Geometric/early Protoattic period, late eighth/early seventh century BC

3. Late Geometric wells to the E of the odeion

Remains	Description
Four wells	Wells N 11:3, N 11:4, N 11:5, and N 11:6, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. All located to the E of the SE corner of the odeion. N 11:3: Depth 5.05 m; diameter 1 m. The upper part of it had collapsed. Contiguous with N 11:4. Cut in the interior of the shaft are footholds to facilitate descent into it.[8] N 11:4: Depth 7.95 m; diameter 1.10 m. Narrows toward the bottom. Footholds inside the shaft on the E and W sides, at 50 m intervals. Uniform fill.[9] N 11:5: Very soon after it was sealed and in the upper level of its fill, a grave was opened. It was initially considered to be of a girl (N 11:1; see below).[10] Depth 4.50 m.; diameter 0.95 m, narrowing to 0.65 m at the bottom. Uniform fill.[11] N 11:6: Placed at the center of the area where workshop activity is ascertained for centuries. Depth 6.95 m; diameter 1.10 m. Narrows toward the bottom. Its upper part had collapsed. Footholds are preserved on the N and S sides of the shaft, at 0.50 m intervals. Uniform fill.[12]

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Finds

N 11:3, N 11:4: No data

N 11:5: Some of the vases found inside it are identified certainly as workshop rejects, and others were quite possibly such. Characteristic is a skyphos fragment that was initially thought to be normal but that, from the sherds mended with it, was shown to be kiln-damaged and so had been rejected as a waster.[13] Found close to the bottom (POU) were a water jar, a fragment from the neck of a Late Geometric amphora with representation of a horse, and the neck of an amphora of the Dipylon group, among the last produced. Found also were two large bases of funerary amphorae, the holes bored in which reveal that before they were destroyed and discarded as debris, they served as tomb markers. Human bones were found too; they seem to come from disturbed earlier nearby graves.

N 11:6: Its fill was uniform and contained many badly fired vases. Some of these are workshop rejects and others test pieces. However, due to the poor state of preservation, no secure conclusions can be drawn.[14]

Comments

N 11:5: This is one of the many wells that have been excavated in the area of the odeion and the last well sunk here. It marks the turning of the area into public space (Agora).[15]

N 11:6: One of the wells recently studied thoroughly by Papadopoulos and on which he bases his theory that these were associated with pottery workshops and not houses.

Dates

N 11:3: End of Late Geometric period, late eighth century BC

N 11:4: End of Late Geometric period, late eighth century BC

N 11:5: End of Late Geometric period, third quarter of eighth century BC[16]

N 11:6: End of Late Geometric period, late eighth century BC/early seventh century BC

4. Archaic well to the E of the odeion

Remains	Description
Well	Well O 12:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[17] Located E of the subsequent Roman Odeion of Agrippa and not correlated with architectural remains contemporary to it. Found in fill that was neither uniform nor stratified. Opened in the soft limestone bedrock, its shaft was of careful construction, 6.70 m deep and 1.10 m in diameter. Indeed, on one side there was a series of footholds cut in the rock at 0.50 m intervals, which stopped 1 m above the bottom of the shaft.[18]

Finds: Vases and tools originating from the equipment of households and workshops. The well contained a large quantity of pottery and vases of various shapes. In addition to local Attic vases, many Protocorinthian vases were found: Geometric and Protoattic amphorae (intact and in fragments), one of them with a bull protome on both sides; Protoattic oenochoe and sherds of a hydria of the same period; ovoid krater; trefoil-mouth oenochoai; skyphoi; kotylai; one-handled cups; kalathos; spindle-whorls; wheel from a terracotta toy cart; Corinthian alabastron; disk-shaped and pyramidal loom-weights; lamp; and terracotta figurine.

Comments: According to Brann, the well belonged to a house or/and workshop and the material found inside it consists of vases of the period when the well was in use and discarded funerary and cult objects deriving from cleanings of the surrounding space.[19]

Date: Archaic period, third quarter of seventh century BC

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5. Archaic well inside the area of the odeion

Remains	Description
Well	Well M 11:3, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[20] It was located inside the area of the subsequent Roman Odeion of Agrippa and is not correlated with architectural remains contemporary to it. It was found filled with debris, and since it was sealed once and for all, no stratigraphy was observed in its fill. Opened in the soft limestone bedrock, the shaft was 6 m deep and 1.10 m in diameter. The upper part had collapsed, and from the large quantity of fieldstones found inside, it is deduced that it was lined with stones at this point. In the interior were diametrically opposed footholds cut in the rock at 0.40 m intervals, to facilitate descent into the shaft.

Finds: Vases and tools originating from the equipment of households and workshops: fragments of Subgeometric and Protoattic amphorae, olpe, oenochoai, aryballos, kyathos, lekanides, kotylai, pyxis lid, skyphoi, one-handled cups, kalathoi (one miniature), fragment of a kernos, storage amphorae, lamp, fragments of figurines, miniature shields and miniature painted plates, loom-weights, test pieces, and one terracotta wellhead in the form of the upper part of a pithos.[21] Many common domestic vases were drawn up, as well as certain vases of exceptional quality, which may have been votive offerings in a nearby sanctuary, together with the few terracotta figurines, miniature painted plates, and a small number of miniature shields that were found in the well. This assemblage displays similarities to the votive offerings in the Geometric/Archaic temenos-heroon brought to light at the N foot of the Areopagus, which at first had been erroneously considered a Geometric house.[22] It is possible that some of the earth used for the fill of this particular well was brought from the said locus sanctus.[23]
Comments: Very few remains from the level of the POU
Date: Second half of seventh century BC

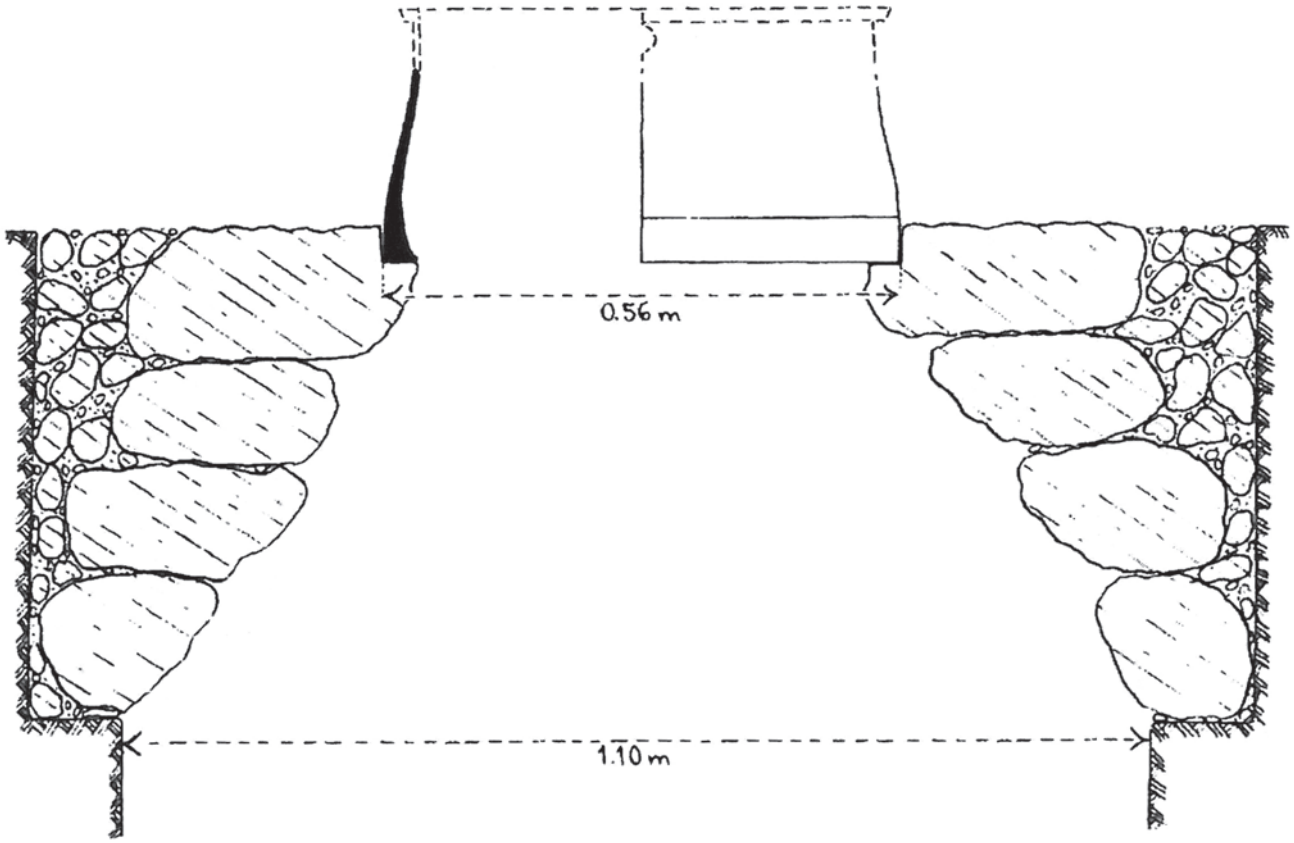

Figure 7. Athens, Agora. Central Square, area of the Odeion of Agrippa. Fragment of a wellhead from Well M 11:3. Brann 1961, pl. 89, H78. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Other Remains Examined

1. Late Geometric grave to the E of the odeion

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave N 11:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. It was found in the upper fill of Well N 11:5, which is very slightly earlier. A cist grave oriented N–S containing the burial of a child aged about 10 years.[24]

Finds: Vases (two three-handled cups, trefoil-mouth oenochoe, and jug)
Comments: No data
Date: End of Late Geometric period/beginning of Early Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Thompson 1947, pp. 202, 210; Thompson 1950, p. 39; Thompson 1953, pp. 39, 48; *Agora* XIII, pp. 239–247, table 91.

Notes

1 Brann 1961b, pp. 306–307.
2 Because no water jar was found on the bottom of the shaft, Papadopoulos suggests that from the outset it had been opened to be used as a deposit and not a well. However, its excavator too had considered it an unfinished well. See Papadopoulos 2003, p. 28, with Thompson's notes from the excavation daybook.
3 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 27; Thompson 1950, p. 37.
4 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 28.
5 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 5.
6 Thompson 1947, p. 202; *Agora* VIII, p. 129. See Well or Pit O in Brann 1961a, pp. 131–136. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 187.
7 Depth: 0.90 m; Brann 1961a, p. 131. Depth: 0.40 m; *Agora* VIII, p. 129.
8 *Agora* VIII, p. 130. See Well J in Brann 1961a, pp. 114–115.
9 Thompson 1953, p. 39.
10 Thompson 1953, p. 39. See Well M in Brann 1961a, pp. 125–127; *Agora* VIII, p. 130; Coldstream 1968, p. 55, no. 68, p. 83; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 112–113.
11 *Agora* VIII, p. 130. See Well M in Brann 1961a, pp. 125–127.
12 Thompson 1953, p. 39; *Agora* VIII, p. 130. See Well R in Brann 1961a, pp. 143–146.
13 See Papadopoulos 2003, p. 121, no. 101 (P 22431, O 1177).
14 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 188.
15 Brann 1960, p. 403.
16 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 112.
17 *Agora* VIII, p. 130; A*gora* XII, p. 396; A*gora XX*III, p. 334.
18 Thompson 1953, p. 39; Brann 1961b, 322; *Agora* VIII, p. 130. See Well Q in Brann 1961a, pp. 141–143.
19 Brann 1961b, pp. 306–307.
20 *Agora* VIII, p. 129; A*gora* XII, p. 394; A*gora XX*III, p. 333.
21 For the typology and dating of the terracotta wellheads in the form of the upper part of pithoi from the Ancient Agora, see Lang 1949, with a sketch of a well (drawing 6, p. 123) with wellhead.
22 Burr 1933. For the rebuttal of the Geometric house theory and the redefining of the remains as belonging to a temenos-heroon, see Thompson 1968, pp. 58–60 and Thompson 1978.
23 Thompson 1947, p. 210. The same has been proposed also for part of the fill of the Archaic well S of the South Stoa (II. 12).
24 Initially it was considered to be of a girl, Thompson 1953, p. 39; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 112, note 44, with bibliography.

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II. 8. Agora, Hill of Agoraios Kolonos

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Shear 1936, pp. 6, 23–24; Smithson 1961, p. 151; Smithson 1968, p. 81; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, p. 26, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 273–397.
Excavator: T. L. Shear
Year of excavation: 1935

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Graves of the Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods and numerous empty pits cut in the bedrock, which have been interpreted as empty early graves.[1] Protogeometric and Middle Geometric pottery was found dispersed all over the area. Graves of the Middle Geometric and Late Geometric period, one Late Geometric well (D 12:3), and one Early Archaic (D 11:5).[2]
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Late Geometric well

Remains	Description
Well	Well D 12:3, according to the archival record of the American School Classical Studies. Located on the E slope of Agoraios Kolonos. Depth 21.15 m; diameter 1.05 m, with uniform fill. No layer from its POU can be distinguished.[3]

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period–second half of eighth century BC

2. Archaic well

Remains	Description
Well	Well D 11:5, according to the archival record of the American School Classical Studies. Located on the E slope of Agoraios Kolonos. Depth 16.95 m; diameter 1.90 m. Round and vertical shaft. Uniform fill.[4]

Finds: Pottery of the Geometric and Subgeometric periods, Protoattic and Protocorinthian, such as fragments of terracotta figurines, mainly of horses; loom-weights; spindle-whorls; and, according to the excavator's description, "clay pierced discs from fragments of vases," which in all probability correspond to draw-pieces of a pottery workshop.
Comments: One of the deepest early wells. Perhaps the water did not percolate easily through the natural rock at the point where it was sunk, because even at the level of the bottom, it was found to a height of only 0.50 m.[5] The well is unpublished, and study of its fill has not progressed beyond that of Young, who published the most characteristic vases and vase fragments The presence of figurines, loom-weights, a large quantity of unpainted pottery, and "clay pierced discs," which were probably draw-pieces, points to its association with a nearby potter's workshop.
Date: Late eighth century BC–first half of seventh century BC

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Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave D 7:1, according to the archival record of the American School Classical Studies.[6] It was found N of the temple of Hephaistos. A pit grave cut in the soft limestone bedrock, it housed the burial of a child.

Finds: One oenochoe and one skyphos
Comments: No data
Date: Submycenaean period

2. Protogeometric cemetery of Agoraios Kolonos

Remains	Description
Graves	Graves C 10:2, C 8:6, C 11:2, and C 11:4, according to the archival record of the American School Classical Studies C 10:2: Enchytrismos. Found to the SW of the temple of Hephaistos. An infant burial inside a handmade two-handled cooking pot.[7] C 8:6: Burial inside a cinerary vase; possibly of a female[8] C 11:2: It probably belonged to a child.[9] C 11:4: Found undisturbed to the S of the temple of Hephaistos. It housed two child burials, placed one on top of the other. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock and oriented NW–SE.[10]

Finds
C 8:6: The cinerary vase, which was a neck amphora, and the ash contained only one iron pin.[11]
C 11:2: Lekythos decorated with concentric semicircles. Found together with five other vases. Its rim became misshapen during firing. The presence of a kiln-damaged vase in a grave shows that these were not excluded from funerary offerings and that vase makers did not reject such vases, which were sold on the market either to unsuspecting clients or at lower prices.
C 11:4: Twelve vases (six lekythoi of various sizes, one skyphos, four one-handled cups, one oenochoe) and pebbles, probably for a game.[12]
Comments: Other cist graves, as well as cremation burials inside cinerary vases, have been found to the SE of the temple of Hephaistos and at the center of the flat hilltop. These housed adults and children. Some of them had rich grave goods. A child burial to the SE of the temple of Hephaistos contained bronze jewelry and many miniature vases, while cinerary vases of cremation burials found on the floor contained iron jewelry and tools. Abundant pottery of the Middle Geometric period was found in the same area.[13]
Dates
C 10:2: Late Protogeometric period, ca. 900 BC
C 8:6: Protogeometric period, tenth century BC
C 11:2: Advanced Protogeometric period
C 11:4: Protogeometric period, tenth century BC

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3. Middle Geometric grave on the S slope of the hill

Remains	Description
Grave	Located W of Sector Γ, on the hillslope. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock and oriented N–S, it was lined with fieldstones.[14]

Finds: Large oenochoe with lid, two-handled skyphos, one-handled cup, and one small aryballos
Comments: No data
Date: Middle Geometric period, ninth/eighth century BC

4. Late Geometric grave at the SE foot of the hill

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave D 16:2, according to the archival record of the American School Classical Studies. Enchytrismos of an infant aged about two months.[15]

Finds: Funerary pithos and eight miniature vases, some of them of Phaleron style
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period, eighth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Styrenius 1967, pp. 21–22; Mountjoy 1995, p. 65; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 273–274, fig. 5.1; Papadopoulos 2006, pp. 96–97.

Notes

1 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 273–274, fig. 5.1.
2 *Agora* XII, p. 387.
3 *Agora* VIII, p. 125. See Well I in Brann 1961, pp. 103–114.
4 *Agora* VIII, p. 125; Young 1939, pp. 139–231.
5 Young 1939, p. 139.
6 Papadopoulos 2006, pp. 96–97.
7 Smithson 1968, p. 81, note 19; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004, p. 26.
8 Smithson 1961, p. 151; Smithson 1974, p. 332.
9 Papadopoulos 2006, p. 99.
10 Shear 1936, pp. 23–24.
11 The neck amphora is usual mainly in male cremation burials, although there are exceptions. According to Smithson, in this particular case, greater value for the gender of the deceased is placed on the presence of the dress pin, as a female grave good, rather than on the type of the cinerary vase. See also parallels in the Early Geometric cemetery at Nea Ionia; Smithson 1961, p. 151. On the use of the neck amphora in female burials, see Smithson 1968, p. 81, note 19.
12 Smithson 1974, p. 343.
13 Shear 1937, pp. 364–368.
14 Shear 1935, p. 365.
15 Thompson 1950, pp. 330–331.

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II. 9. Agora, S side

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Camp 1999a, pp. 255–283; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 4, 25–27, drawing 1.4, Agora XXXVI, pp. 35–253.
Excavators: A. W. Parsons (Submycenaean deposit), J. Camp (Late Geometric wells and grave)
Years of excavation: 1935 (Submycenaean deposit), 1968 (Well I 13:1), 1997 (Wells I 13:1, J 13:1)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Submycenaean well between the Odeion of Agrippa and the Middle Stoa, Late Geometric and Middle Geometric well under the stoa, wells of the Protogeometric and Early Geometric period in the Civic Offices, Late Geometric grave at the W end of the Middle Stoa
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Submycenaean/Early Protogeometric well between the SE corner of the Odeion of Agrippa and the Middle Stoa[1]

Remains	Description
Well	Well N 12:3, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. L located 25 m N of the NE corner of the Middle Stoa. Its shaft was irregular and particularly narrow (diameter 0.85 m at the mouth, decreasing to 0.65 m at the bottom). Its depth reached 5.10 m from the surface of the bedrock.

Finds: Its fill was uniform and contained relatively little pottery in comparison with other wells. Domestic vases from the first 2 m; oenochoai and hydries from the maximum depth, perhaps from the period of use; fragments of bones, belly amphorae, and lekythoi from neighboring destroyed graves; and three test pieces, discards from a nearby potter's workshop.
Comments: Well that served an early house or/and workshop?
Date: Submycenaean/Early Protogeometric period

2. Protogeometric and Early Geometric wells under the porch of the Civic Offices

Remains	Description
Two wells	Wells K 12:1 and K 12:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located under the porch of the Roman Civic Offices, 17.5 m N of the ninth column (from the W) of the Middle Stoa.[2] K 12:1 is one of the two early wells located near the center of the Agora.[3] K 12:2 was found 2 m N of K 12:1.

Finds
K 12:1: A number of intact vases — mainly oenochoai — may well come from the level corresponding to the period when the well was in use. However, because mended parts were found dispersed throughout the fill, it cannot be said for certain whether they do indeed belong to the period of use or whether the whole fill constitutes a single dump from a nearby potter's workshop.[4] At least nine test pieces were recovered from the material.
K 12:2: It contained several poorly fired vases (four oenochoai, two cups, and one skyphos), but none of these could be considered for certain a workshop reject, excepting one one-handled cup.[5]

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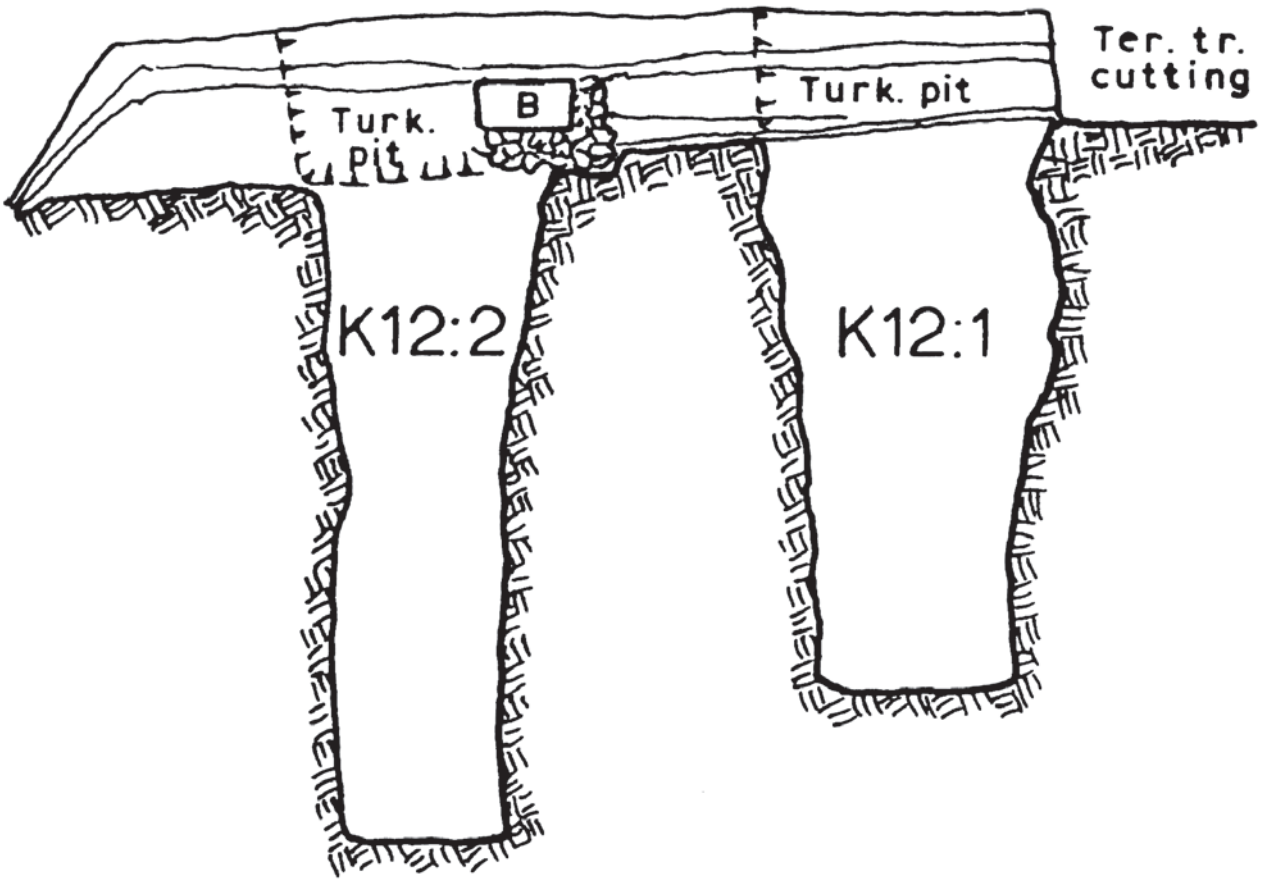

Figure 8. Athens, Agora. Section of Wells K12:1 and K12:2 under the porch of the Civic Offices. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 85, fig. 2.31. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Comments: Two of the 17 early wells of the Agora that were examined by Papadopoulos and on which he bases his theory that since most are related to workshops and not to houses, the site of the subsequent Agora was initially the locus of the city's potters, Kerameikos, not the settlement nucleus.

Dates

K 12:1: Middle Protogeometric period (PG II)

K 12:2: Early Geometric period (EG I)

3. Middle Geometric well under the Middle Stoa

Remains	Description
Well	Well M 13:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located in about the middle of the Middle Stoa, about 3.80 m distant from its S foundation, S of the fourteenth column. The upper part of the well had been cut off during works to level the ground during the early sixth century BC. Depth 6.15 m; diameter of bottom 1 m.[6]

Finds: Workshop rejects and test pieces were retrieved. At a depth of 2.50 m, the skull of an adult female (J. L. Angel) was found, and 0.50 m deeper the skull of a dog. Both would have come from a nearby earlier burial.[7]

Comments: No data

Date: Middle Geometric period (MG II)

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4. Late Geometric wells at the W end of the Middle Stoa

Remains	Description
Three wells	Wells I 13:1, I 13:4, and J 13:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located a few meters E and SE of the NW corner of the Middle Stoa. I 13:1: Found very near I 13:4, just 2 m NW of it, which is why it is thought that they served the same installation. It is 6.15 m deep and 0.90 m in diameter. Cut inside the shaft are footholds at regular intervals, to facilitate descent into its interior.[8] I 13:4: Opened in the bedrock to a depth of 9.25 m. Oval mouth about 1 m wide. No traces of plaster coating or stone lining inside the shaft, but footholds as in I 13:1. The absence of a layer from the POU indicates that the well was used only briefly or not at all, and its fill (of stones, mud, and very little pottery) filled in quickly.[9] J 13:1: Located farther from the above two wells, 15 m NE of I 13:4. Unfinished. Its depth was only 1.30 m, even though the footholds inside the shaft indicate that initially a deeper well was planned. It was evidently abandoned.[10]

Finds

I 13:1: About 33 vase fragments, which are not described, two spindle-whorls, and one wooden comb with incised decoration.

I 13:4: One-handled skyphos, Phaleron style; upper part of an SOS amphora, unpainted situla

J 13:1: Vase imitating a woven basket, two skyphoi, and one pyxis, which probably come from the cleaning of a nearby grave

Comments: Wells I 13:4 and I 13:1 are considered to be associated with one another. The excavator links Well I 13:4 with a private house that has not survived and includes it in the group of 16 other such wells in the Agora, which were abandoned in the eighth century BC It has been suggested that Well I 13:1, which is slightly earlier, served the same house, prior to the sinking of I 13:4.

Dates

I 13:1: Mid-eighth century BC (on the basis of the pottery from its interior)

I 13:4: Opened, abandoned, and sealed ca. 700 BC (on the basis of the pottery from its fill)

J 13:1: Opened, abandoned, and sealed ca. mid-eighth century BC (on the basis of the pottery from its fill)

Other Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave SE of the W end of the Middle Stoa

Remains	Description
Description	Grave I 13: 5, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies, which was an enchytrismos. Found in a crevice in the rock, it had been disturbed in the mid-seventh century BC.[11]

Finds: Fragments of vases, aryballos, kotyle, one-handled cup, and large funerary amphora (approximately 1 m high) with hatched decoration on the body and geometric pattern on the neck

Comments: No data

Date: Late Geometric period

Relevant bibliography: Shear Jr. 1978, pp. 4–5; Camp 1996a, pp. 38–40; Camp 1997, pp. 43–44.

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Notes

1 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 4–5, 25–27, drawing 1.4.
2 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 84, 100.
3 Shear 1935, pp. 362–363.
4 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 84, note 19.
5 Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 100–101, note 80.
6 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 109.
7 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 109, note 37.
8 Camp 1999a, p. 262.
9 Camp 1996, p. 39; Camp 1999a, pp. 260–262; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 189.
10 Camp 1997, p. 43; Camp 1999a, pp. 262–263.
11 Camp 1997, p. 43; Camp 1999a, p. 263.

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II. 10. Agora, area of N Bank of Eridanos – Stoa Poikile

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

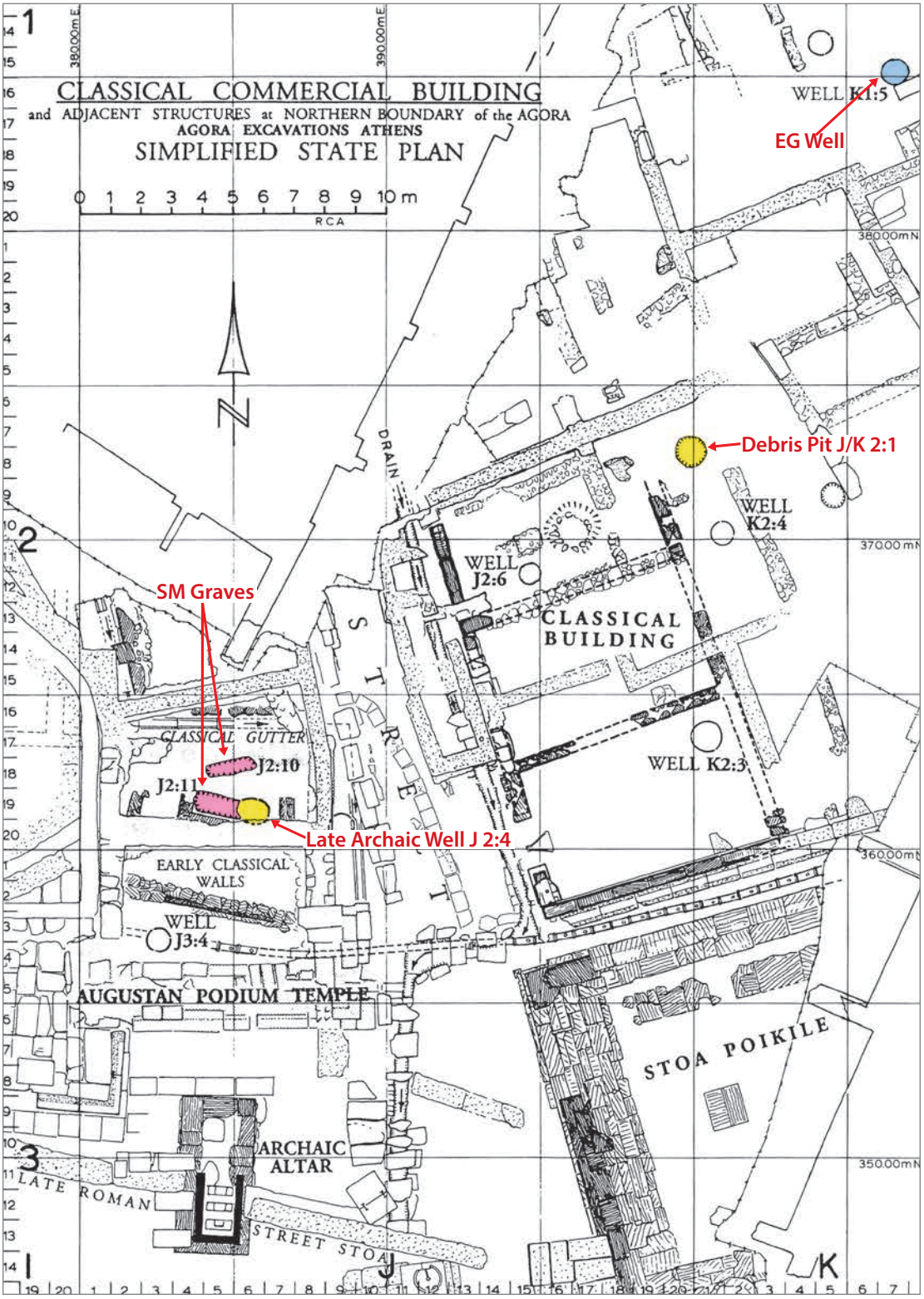

Figure 9. Athens, Agora. Plan of the northwest area of the north bank of the Eridanos. Camp 1999a, p. 264, fig. 13z. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Bibliography: Camp 1996b, pp. 231–261; Shear Jr. 1997, pp. 495–548; Camp 1999a, pp. 255–283; Lynch 2011, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 481–502.
Excavators: T. L. Shear Jr., J. McK. Camp
Years of excavation: 1993, 1994–1995, 1996–1997

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two LH IIB–IIIA τάφοι chamber tombs, three Submycenaean graves, Geometric well, Archaic well, and Early Classical house with workshop
Relation to adjacent areas: This is the continuation of the Agora, N of the bank of the Eridanos and modern Adrianou Street.
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Early Geometric II/Middle Geometric I well NE of the Classical Commercial Building

Remains	Description
Well	Well K 1:5, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located 45 m from the N bank of the Eridanos. The shaft, cut in the soft limestone bedrock, was 0.90 m in diameter and had cuttings (footholds) to facilitate descent into its interior, which was not lined. A part of it had collapsed, and the surviving depth reached 7 m. It still held water.[1]

Finds: Unfinished hydries, black-glaze oenochoai, ground-colored amphorae with reserved black bands, and unpainted domestic vessels were retrieved from the interior, along with 12 biconical spindle-whorls (one decorated with a swastika motif) and a fragment from the rim of a krater or dinos with representation of a bird and horse in a panel, from the upper layers of the fill. The layer from the POU yielded a cooking pot with traces of fire.
Comments: The excavator considered the well the earliest evidence of habitation N of the Eridanos and a clear indication that the area probably had also a use other than funerary during the Iron Age.[2] It is linked with some nearby workshop/settlement installation.
Date: Middle Geometric period (EG II/MG I and slightly later) on the basis of the pottery found at the bottom of the well (POU).[3]

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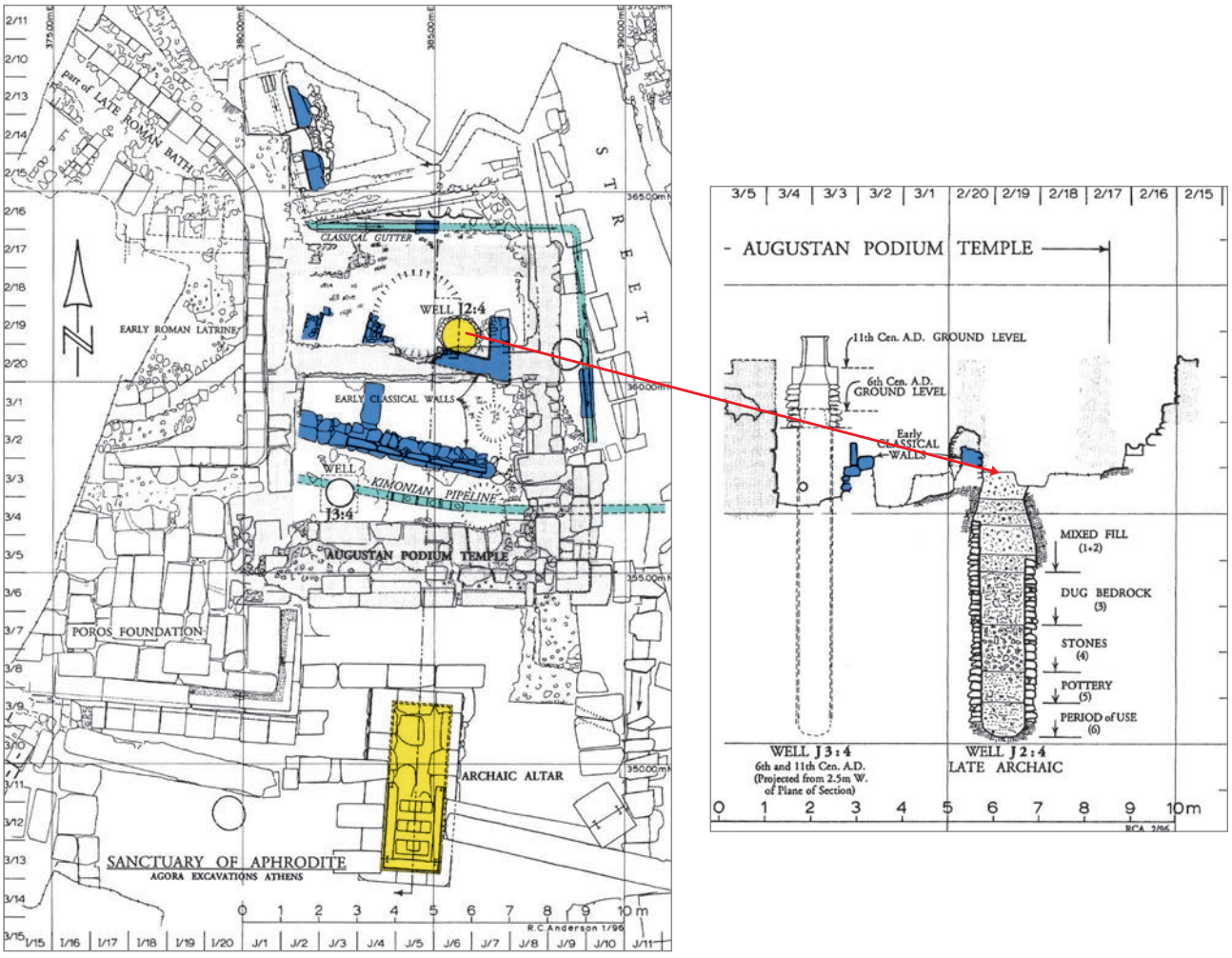

Figure 10. Athens, Agora. Plan and section of Well J 2:4 under the Roman temple in the sanctuary of Aphrodite. Camp 1996b, pp. 243, 244, figs. 5–6. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

2. Remnants of a Late Archaic house under the Roman temple in the sanctuary of Aphrodite[4]

Remains	Description
Well	Well J 2:4, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. This is one of more than 20 deposits in the Agora associated with the Persian destruction.[5] Located under the cella of the Early Roman temple of Aphrodite, 24 m N of the bed of the Eridanos, it was 0.92 m in diameter and 5.80 m deep. The rock-cut shaft was lined down to the bottom with fieldstones, well fitted together. The lining (thickness 0.20 m) had collapsed in the upper 2 m of the shaft, near the surface.
Floors	Destruction layer with traces of fire and three successive floors N of the E part of the Early Classical retaining wall (see no. 4 below). Found under a well-stratified series of floors of the second quarter of the fifth century BC (475–450 BC). Four other floors NE of the Late Archaic well are dated to the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC, with the first of these dated immediately after ca. 525 BC.

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Finds: Six layers can be distinguished in the fill of the well (from the bottom upward). Layer 6 yielded numerous fragments of unpainted water-drawing vases and cooking pots (hydries, amphorae, situlae, oenochoai). Layer 5 contained many unpainted and black-glaze vases, as well as black-figure and red-figure vases (two skyphoi, one of which at least is by the painter Euphronios), suitable for symposia. From the kind of vases found in this layer and the fact that at least 13 were intact, it seems they were part of the equipment of the house to which the well belonged. Several loom-weights and lamps were also found.[6] In Layer 4 were fieldstones, earth, and pottery. Layer 3 consisted of fragments of bedrock. Layers 1 and 2 contained earth, gravel, fieldstones, and clay, all mixed with vase sherds. The destruction layer comprised masses of stones, broken mud bricks, and fragments of roof tiles, all obviously deriving from the superstructure of the building. An unusually large quantity of domestic pottery dated to the first two decades of the fifth century BC was also recovered from the same layer.
Comments: Layer 6 (at the level of the bottom) represents the POU. Layer 5 is the assemblage of intentional disposal of vases for domestic use. Layer 4 resulted from the collapse of the stone lining of the upper 2 m of the shaft of the well, and Layer 3 from the consequent detachment and partial collapse of its natural walls. The uppermost layers, 1 and 2, represent the final fill and abandonment of the well, which was now useless as a deposit. It is noteworthy that although the well was less than 10 m distant from the contemporary altar of Aphrodite, only two objects associated with worship of the goddess were found inside its shaft (a clay plaque with relief representation of the goddess and a Six-style bowl).
Dates: Well J 2:4: Late sixth century BC (on the basis of Layer 6 of its fill)–479 BC (on the basis of the dump layer). Floors were constructed in the fourth quarter of the sixth century BC, immediately after 525 BC. Destruction in 480/479 BC. The same dating applies to the house.

3. Debris pit associated with cleaning after the Persian Wars

Remains	Description
Debris pit	Deposit J/K 2:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. A shallow pit, 1.10 m in diameter and 1.36 m deep, located E of the Commercial Building.[7]

Finds: Black-glaze vases for domestic use (one-handled and two-handled skyphoi), among them a skyphos with the owner's name (ΞENON = Xenon) incised on the base.
Comments: It points to the existence of Late Archaic private houses on the N bank of the Eridanos.
Date: Dated to the years of the Persian invasion of 479 BC

4. Early Classical retaining walls

Remains	Description
Retaining walls	A series of retaining walls located under the Roman temple of Aphrodite. The biggest and best preserved was found under the pronaos, about 10 m N of the Archaic altar. Carefully constructed of Acropolis limestone in the polygonal system of masonry. It underpinned a terrace upon which were remnants of an Early Classical house. Found in front of it was part of a clay water pipe dated to the time of Kimon (second quarter fifth century BC).[8]

Finds: N of the E part of the retaining wall (inside the space that Shear Jr. named SE room), a well-stratified series of floors of the second quarter of the fifth century BC (475–450 BC) was found.
Comments: The walls retained terraces on which are preserved a few remains of Late Archaic (see Well J 2:4 and contemporary floors) and Early Classical houses.[9]
Date: Second quarter of fifth century BC, immediately after the Persian Wars

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5. Early Classical house/workshop on the site of a destroyed Late Archaic one

Remains	Description
Wall	Wall that partly covered the mouth of the sealed Late Archaic Well J 2:4[10]
Floors	Found N of the E part of the retaining wall (inside the space that Shear Jr. named SE room) and to the NE of the Late Archaic well, in the "NE corner of the N room," according to Shear Jr.[11]
N of the retaining wall	Located in the first position was a well-stratified series of floors of the second quarter of the fifth century BC.[12]
NE of the Late Archaic well	Located in the second position was a small piece of successive floors. Their stratigraphy is about the same as that of the previous floors. Although fewer, preserved among them are some dated to the mid-fifth century BC, several of which are dated securely to the second quarter of the century. At this point marble chips were found in the N corner, on one of the floors coated with clay.

Finds: No data
Comments: The clay floors in the N room, upon which the marble chips were found, cannot be dated precisely. Floors of this kind are common in Classical houses, but because they are the simplest form of floor, it is possible that they date to the Late Archaic phase of the building. Whatever the case, the combination of marble-working activity with the existence of Late Archaic and Early Classical habitation in the same space suggests that houses and workshops were accommodated under the same roof.
Date: Early Classical period, immediately after the Persian Wars, in the decade 479–470 BC
Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves under the Roman temple of Aphrodite

Remains	Description
Description	This is the lower half of a Submycenaean amphora, which was located under the SE room of the Early Classical house and contained the bones and ashes of a child.[13]
Graves	Graves J 2:10 and J 2:11, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located 0.75 m from each other, under the N part of the Roman temple of Aphrodite. According to the preliminary anthropological analyses, the first grave held a male burial and the second a young female.

Finds: No grave goods accompanied the cremation burial or the inhumation in Grave J 2:10. Grave J 2:11, with the female burial, contained one bronze dress pin, one bronze finger ring, and two lekythoi, on the basis of which it is dated.
Comments: One other cinerary vase, containing many gold necklace beads, had been found in the area earlier. Moreover, cist graves dated to the eleventh century BC have been found under the Stoa Basileios, which indicates that during the Early Iron Age, both banks of the Eridanos were used as a place of burial.[14] Grave J 2:11 was disturbed in the late sixth century BC, during the opening of Well J 2:4, and part of the skeleton (one leg) fell to the bottom of the well, where it was found in the layer of its POU.[15]
Date: Submycenaean period
Relevant bibliography: Camp 1997, p. 44; Shear Jr. and Camp 1998, pp. 27–30; Camp 1999, pp. 25–26; Camp 2000, pp. 26–28; Camp 2001, pp. 38–40; Camp 2002, pp. 43–44.

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Notes

1 Camp 1999a, pp. 266–267.
2 Camp 1999a, pp. 266–267.
3 The well is dated on the basis of pottery from its period of use to EG II/MG I. It appears in the bibliography with two different datings, one ca. 800 BC (Camp 1997, p. 44) and one in EG II/MG I (Camp 1999a, pp. 266–267). In the present study, the second dating is adopted, on the grounds that it was arrived at after detailed study of the pottery retrieved from the shaft.
4 Lynch 2011, pp. 5–48.
5 Camp 1996b, pp. 242–252; Camp 1999b, p. 25; Lynch 1999, p. 298; Camp 2000, pp. 27–28. For the so-called Persian destruction deposits, see Shear Jr. 1993.
6 Camp 1999b, p. 25.
7 Camp 1999a, p. 274, figs. 22, 23; Camp 2001, p. 39.
8 Shear Jr. 1997, p. 512; Camp 1996b, p. 242.
9 Camp 1999b, p. 242; Camp 1996, p. 25.
10 Camp 2000, p. 28.
11 Shear Jr. 1997, p. 514.
12 Shear Jr. 1997, p. 514.
13 Shear Jr. 1997, p. 514 and note 35. See also Shear Jr. and Camp 1998, p. 29, where, however, the grave is referred to erroneously as Archaic. J. Camp confirmed that this was an error, in a personal communication. Lynch 2011, p. 32 and note 84.
14 Camp 1999a, p. 265 and note 13.
15 Lynch 2011, pp. 9–10.

II. 11. Agora, area of S bank of Eridanos – Stoa Basileios

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Shear Jr. 1975, pp. 331–374; Rotroff and Oakley 1992, p. 3, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 398–481.
Excavator: T. L. Shear Jr.
Years of excavation: 1973–1974

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Nine Submycenaean burials under the N end of the Stoa Basileios. A large quantity of pottery of the Middle Helladic, Protogeometric, and Early Geometric periods was found in the fill of the stoa's foundations.
Relation to adjacent areas: Submycenaean burials have been found farther E on the S bank of the Eridanos, NW of the Stoa of Attalos (II. 3), and on the N bank, NW of the Stoa Poikile (II. 10).
Comments: No data

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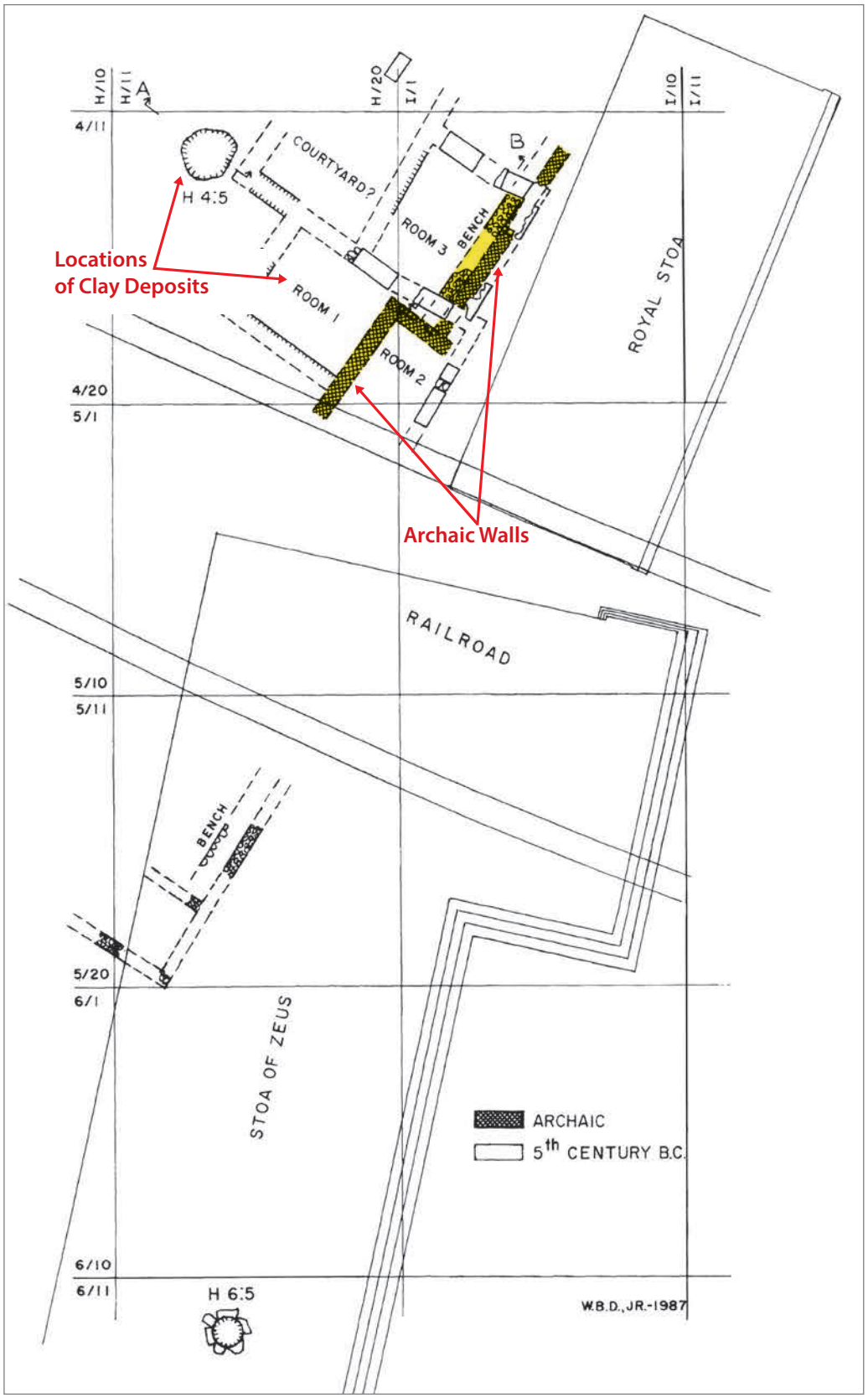

Figure 11. Athens, Agora. Area west of the Stoa Basileios. Remains of a potter's workshop, Late Archaic period. Rotroff and Oakley 1992, pl. 62. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Settlement Remains

1. Late Archaic remains of a potter's workshop to the W of the Stoa Basileios[1]

Remains	Description
Stores of clay	Located S of the so-called Roman Propylon, SW of the Stoa Basileios. These are two stores full of material that the excavators interpreted as clay for making vases. One was a simple pit cut in the bedrock, of diameter 0.90 m. The other consists of a small hollow cut in the soft limestone bedrock, inside which the upper half of an amphora had been placed upside down. Inside this was a broken and badly fired column krater, which according to the excavator was full of solid, clean clay.
Walls	Remains of walls defining rooms, one of polygonal masonry that runs for a length of 2.50 m and another, contiguous with this, of less careful construction and only 0.53 m thick, which is thought to have supported a bench or shelf.

Finds: Pottery
Comments: The assemblage of finds seems to have belonged to a potter's workshop that was destroyed, perhaps during the Persian invasion of the city.[2]
Date: Late Archaic period, on the basis of the krater, which is dated ca. 540–530 BC. The pottery found in the layer above the architectural remains indicates that the installation had been abandoned by the end of the first quarter of the fifth century BC.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves under the N end of the Stoa Basileios and W of it

Remains	Description
Nine graves	Only five of these were excavated. Of the rest, three are under the foundations of the stoa and one had been destroyed in antiquity during the opening of Grave I 5:2. These are Graves I 5:1–I 5:5, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Three belonged to females and the other two to children. All were cist graves except one (I 5:1), which was a pit grave.
Disturbed graves	Located to the W of the N end of the Stoa

Finds: The graves were poorly furnished with one vase in each, except for that of a female (I 5:2), who was accompanied by one bronze dress pin, four fibulae, and 13 finger rings of various types. One grave of a child (I 5:1) had no grave goods. Grave I 5:2 housed one of the richest known Submycenaean burials, including those in the Kerameikos.
Comments: The arrangement of the graves in a line and oriented NE–SW indicates that they were next to an early thoroughfare. The disturbed graves to the W, which were found later than the first ones, are considered to belong to the same grave ensemble.
Date: Submycenaean period. Grave I 5:5 is the earliest of all. Ruppenstein dates it, together with the first graves in the Kerameikos, to the final years of LH IIIC. Grave I 5: 1 is the latest of all. It is dated by the vase fragment covering the dead child to the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period.
Relevant bibliography: Camp 1996b, pp. 231–261; Shear Jr., 1997, pp. 495–548; Shear Jr. and Camp 1998, pp. 27–30; Camp 1999b, pp. 25–26; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 277; *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 240, 256.

Notes

1 Rotroff and Oakley 1992, pp. 3–4; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 279–230.
2 Rotroff and Oakley 1992, p. 3.

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II. 12. Areopagus, N slope

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Shear 1933, pp. 451–474; Shear 1938, pp. 311–362; Young 1938, pp. 412–428; Shear 1940, pp. 270–272; Thompson 1947, pp. 196–197; Young 1949, pp. 275–297; Thompson 1950, pp. 329–331; Blegen 1952, pp. 279–294; Thompson 1956, pp. 48–49; Thompson 1959, pp. 99–102; Smithson 1968, pp. 77–116; Smithson 1974, pp. 325–390; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 92, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 35–253.
Excavators: W. Dörpfeld (part of the Geometric cemetery), D. B. Burr (Sector ΣΤ), H. A. Thompson (two graves from the Geometric cemetery), R. S. Young (Sector Y), E. Vanderpool (Sector Φ and the rest of the Geometric cemetery), G. V. Lalonde (Early Geometric grave), H. Robinson (Sector ΓΓ).
Years of excavation: 1897 (part of the Geometric cemetery), 1932 (two graves of the Geometric cemetery and the Grave of the Rich Athenian Lady), 1937 (Sector Y), 1947 (the last grave of the Geometric cemetery), 1948 (the Booties Grave), 1949 (the Warrior Grave), 1967 (the Early Geometric grave).

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: N slope of the Areopagus
Finds: Mycenaean chamber tombs of the N slope; Protogeometric wells of the N slope.
S of the South Stoa: Submycenaean, Protogeometric, and Middle Geometric burials; one Archaic well; the Archaic Thamneus House
W of the South Stoa: Geometric deposit (pottery from the Protogeometric to the Late Geometric period and the sixth century BC)
SW of the South Stoa: Early Geometric (Grave of the Rich Athenian Lady, Booties Grave, Warrior Grave) cemetery, Middle Geometric cemetery, Early Geometric pottery from destroyed graves, Late Geometric enchytrismos
SW of the Heliaia: Protogeometric and Middle Geometric graves
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: In the area of Sectors ΣΤ, Y, and Φ to the S of the Agora, no ancient architectural remains were preserved because of the depth in the bedrock of the foundations of the cellars of the early twentieth-century houses that covered the site prior to the commencement of the excavations. In Sector Y, apart from a few remains of Byzantine walls, there were eight wells, two cisterns, and one deposit from which were recovered pottery, fragments of sculptures, lamps, one Archaic figurine of a seated figure, and various other objects dating from the seventh century BC into the Ottoman period. Sector Φ, to the NE of Y, was a settlement area in antiquity (when exactly is not made clear).

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Settlement Remains

1. Protogeometric/Early Geometric wells on the N slope

Remains	Description
Three wells	Wells I 18:4, M 17:5, and H 16-17:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. I 18:4: Located on the site of the later Middle Geometric cemetery to the SW of the South Stoa. Part of the Middle Geometric Grave I 18: 1 was opened in its fill. M 17:5: Located inside the cemetery site to the S of the South Stoa. After its abandonment, a grave was opened in its fill.[1] H 16-17:1: Found in the area of the Geometric "house," which is no longer considered a house. When first encountered, it appeared as an irregular shaft in the soft limestone bedrock, of maximum measurements 3.30 x 1.75 m. It was 4.50 m deep. The fill had been disturbed a few centimeters below the surface. No clear stratigraphy was observed, although in the last 2 m of fill, the pottery was less fragmentary. Protogeometric pottery was found from a depth of 0.50 m.[2]

Finds: No data
Comments: On the N slope of the Areopagus, three Protogeometric wells have been found, distributed uniformly in the space. No Early or Middle Geometric wells have been found.[3] Only Well H 16-17:1 is almost at the beginning of the Early Geometric period (see "Date" below).
H 16-17:1: One of the 17 early wells of the Agora that were examined by Papadopoulos and on which he bases his theory that most of them were associated with workshops rather than houses. A few Roman sherds were found, due to surface disturbance of the fill. Large oenochoai and amphorae were recovered from the lowest 2 m of the fill. Four test pieces were also found.
Dates
I 18:4 and M 17, Protogeometric period, tenth century BC
H 16-17:1, end of Protogeometric period/Early Geomeric period[4]

2. Geometric deposit W of the South Stoa

Remains	Description
Deposit	Deposit G 15:5, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Found W of the South Stoa and 50 m S of the Tholos. Depth: 10 cm; approximately 10 m E–W. It was not possible to determine the N–S limits.[5]

Finds: Draw-pieces predominate, but there are rejected vases as well.
Comments: One of the nonmortuary assemblages from the Agora examined by Papadopoulos. Possibly the deposit served nearby workshops operating on the site throughout the Geometric period.
Date: It contained pottery mainly of the Protogeometric period but down to the Late Geometric, as well as sherds of the sixth century BC.

3. Archaic well S of the South Stoa[6]

Remains	Description
Well	Well J 18:8, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Found on the N slope of the Areopagus (Sector Y), S of the South Stoa, it is unfinished. Opened in the soft limestone bedrock, it was 1.15 m in diameter and only 3.10 m deep. Carved in the interior are two rows of diametrically opposed footholds to facilitate descent into the shaft.

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Finds: The well was found filled in with fragments of the soft limestone bedrock, debris from the opening of it, and earth containing pottery of the mid-seventh century BC and votive offerings.
Comments: The well remained unfinished, but it is not possible to ascertain whether works on opening it were interrupted due to the hardness of the ground or for some other reason. The uniform fill attests that it was filled up to the top immediately after works ceased. The similarity of the pottery and the votive offerings found inside the shaft to those from the neighboring Geometric/Archaic sanctuary indicates that the earth for the fill was taken from that point.
Date: Archaic period, third quarter of seventh century BC

4. Archaic Thamneus House[7]

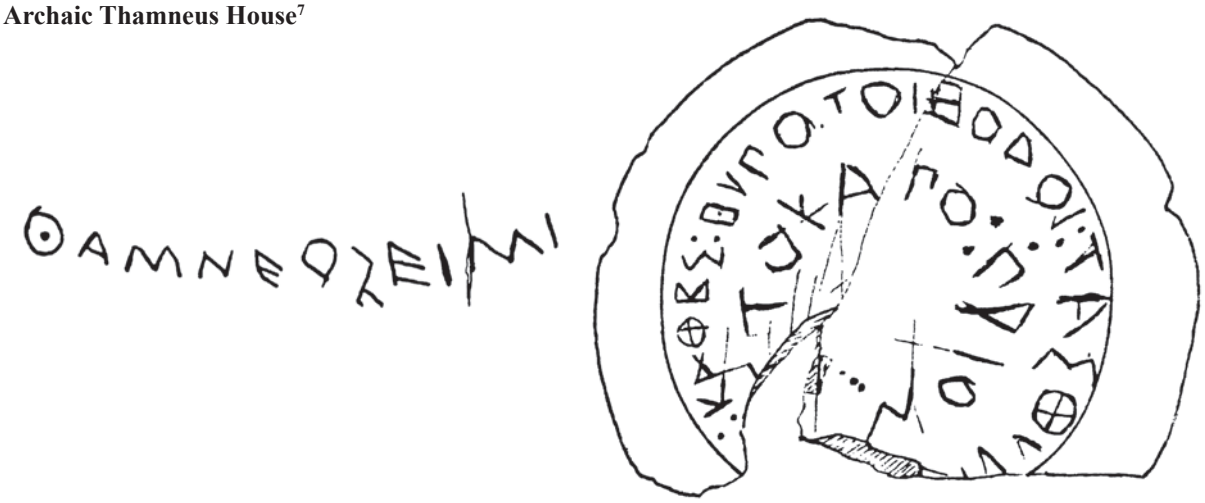

Figure 12. Athens, Agora. North slope of the Areopagus, House of Thamneus: (a) sherd inscribed with the house owner's name (?); (b) Sherd inscribed with a note: "Leave the saw under the garden door." *Agora* XXI, pl. 11, F13, pl. 2, B1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Remains	Description
Remains of a house	Found to the W of the Classical house located S of South Stoa I[8]
Court and floor	The corner of the court survives. It was formed by two walls of rubble masonry. The floor was stone-paved.
Storage pit	Deposit J 18:4, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located in the middle of the court. It was bottle-shaped, of depth 3.80 m with a diameter of 3.50 m at the bottom. From the large chunks of bedrock found there, it is deduced that this was probably an unfinished cistern, which was used in the end as the storage pit of the house.[9]

Finds: Use filling. Vases originating from the equipment of the house, which date it (POU). They included many Attic black-figure (among them a small kotyle with the inscription "ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣ" [Hermogenes]) and two other signed kyathoi, whose maker's name has not survived; several Corinthian (one lebes and two skyphoi decorated with frieze of animals) and Attic black-glaze vases, which are the majority (kyathoi, small oenochoai, amphorae, and so on); and everyday domestic vessels (unpainted hydries, cooking pots, and one portable hearth). On one black-glaze olpe with graffiti and one unpainted oenochoe is the inscription "Θαμνέος εἰμί" ("I am of Thamneus"), most probably revealing the name of not only the owner of the vase but also the owner of the house. Also found was the base of a skyphos with graffiti; the writer, who used Megarian script, asks someone, possibly Thamneus (the name has not survived), to leave the saw under the garden door. The upper layer yielded a small quantity of pottery of the early fifth century BC, which is due either to disturbance or to partial reuse of the deposit in those years.
Comments: Not mentioned by F. Lang
Date: Archaic period, second half of sixth century BC

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5. Remains of a Late Archaic building insula and streets[10]

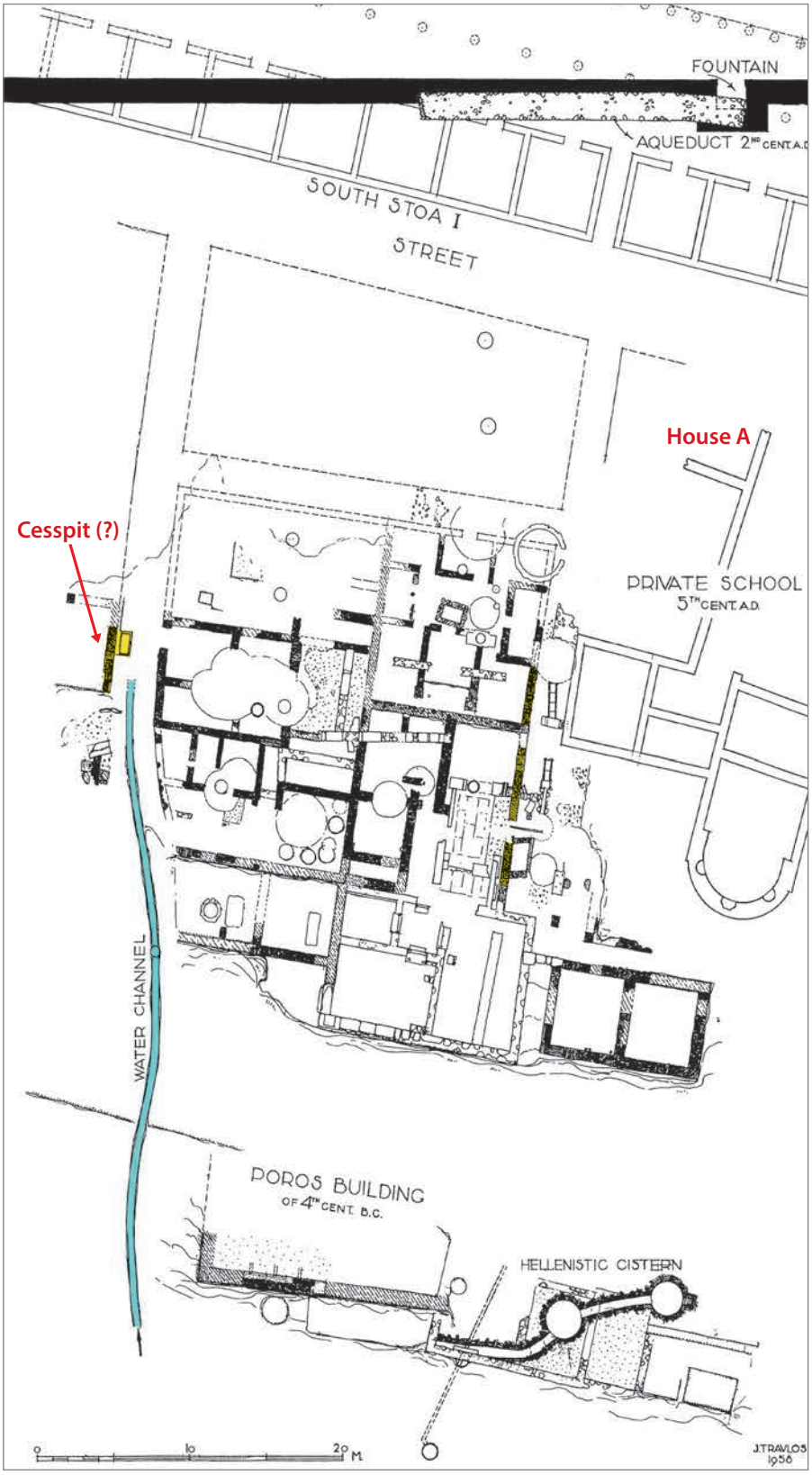

Figure 13. Athens, Agora. North slope of the Areopagus. Remains of Late Archaic and Classical houses. Actual state. Thompson 1959, pl. 16. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Remains	Description
Remains of Late Archaic houses	Located under the complex of six Early Classical houses to the S of South Stoa I
Walls	Foundations of walls have been found mainly in the NE part of the complex
Cesspit (?)	Found W of the street. Its shaft is not lined and measures 0.75 x 1.30 x 0.50 m. Perhaps it is related to a latrine of a house that existed farther W.
Street network	Narrow streets about 3 m wide oriented N–S, which led to the large street (approximately 6 m wide) that defined the S boundary of the Agora. The E street led directly to the Agora. (Part of it was replaced by a small staircase when the South Stoa I was constructed in the late fifth century BC).[11] Clay conduits of various periods were found under the gravel street surface.[12]

Finds: No data
Comments: There are indications of habitation on this site from the seventh century BC. After the Persian destruction, specific houses, such as Omega House, were rebuilt upon the old foundations, which is why they continued to be of small dimensions.
Date: The lowest foundations of the surviving walls are dated to the mid-sixth century BC. The streets are dated to the period before the Persian Wars (on the basis of the dating of the stratigraphy of the road surface of the E one). The cesspit was abandoned ca. 480 BC. The houses were destroyed completely in 480/479 BC and rebuilt in the second quarter of the fifth century BC (475–450 BC).

Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves S of the South Stoa

Remains	Description
Grave 1	Inhumation of an adult
Grave 2	Inhumation of a child
Grave 3	Cremation burial inside a cinerary vase[13]

Finds: Grave 1 contained one vase (oenochoe) as a grave good. Grave 3 contained a cinerary amphora, close to which was one cup.
Comments: Noteworthy is the presence of a cremation burial (Burial 3) in this period, during which the funerary habit of inhumation prevails.
Date: Submycenaean period

2. Early Protogeometric grave(s) to the SW of the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion

Remains	Description
One or two graves	Found at the N foot of the Areopagus (Sector ΣΤ). It is not specified whether these are two separate cremation burials in cinerary vases or a double burial. It is simply mentioned that both vases were found close to one another. One burial is possibly of a female, judging by the type of cinerary belly amphora, and mainly by the accompanying grave goods.[14]

Finds: Two cinerary amphorae. The mouth of one amphora, which was decorated with wavy bands on the belly and concentric semicircles on the shoulder, was sealed by a two-handled cup. The amphora contained a pair of large iron fibulae and a pair of iron pins.
Comments: Found near them were cists containing simple cremations of the Middle Geometric period.
Date: Early Protogeometric period

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3. Protogeometric grave SE of the South Stoa

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave N 16:4, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[15] Cremation burial of an adult male in a cinerary amphora (see grave goods and anthropological analysis). Found under the S side of the surface of the South Street and S of the E end of South Stoa I.

Finds: The cinerary vase contained the ashes of the dead, together with a small iron saw and a dagger. An iron sword, the fragments of an oenochoe, one kantharos, and one pyxis were found outside the amphora.
Comments: No data
Date: End of Protogeometric period

4. Early Geometric grave to the SW of the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion: Warrior Grave

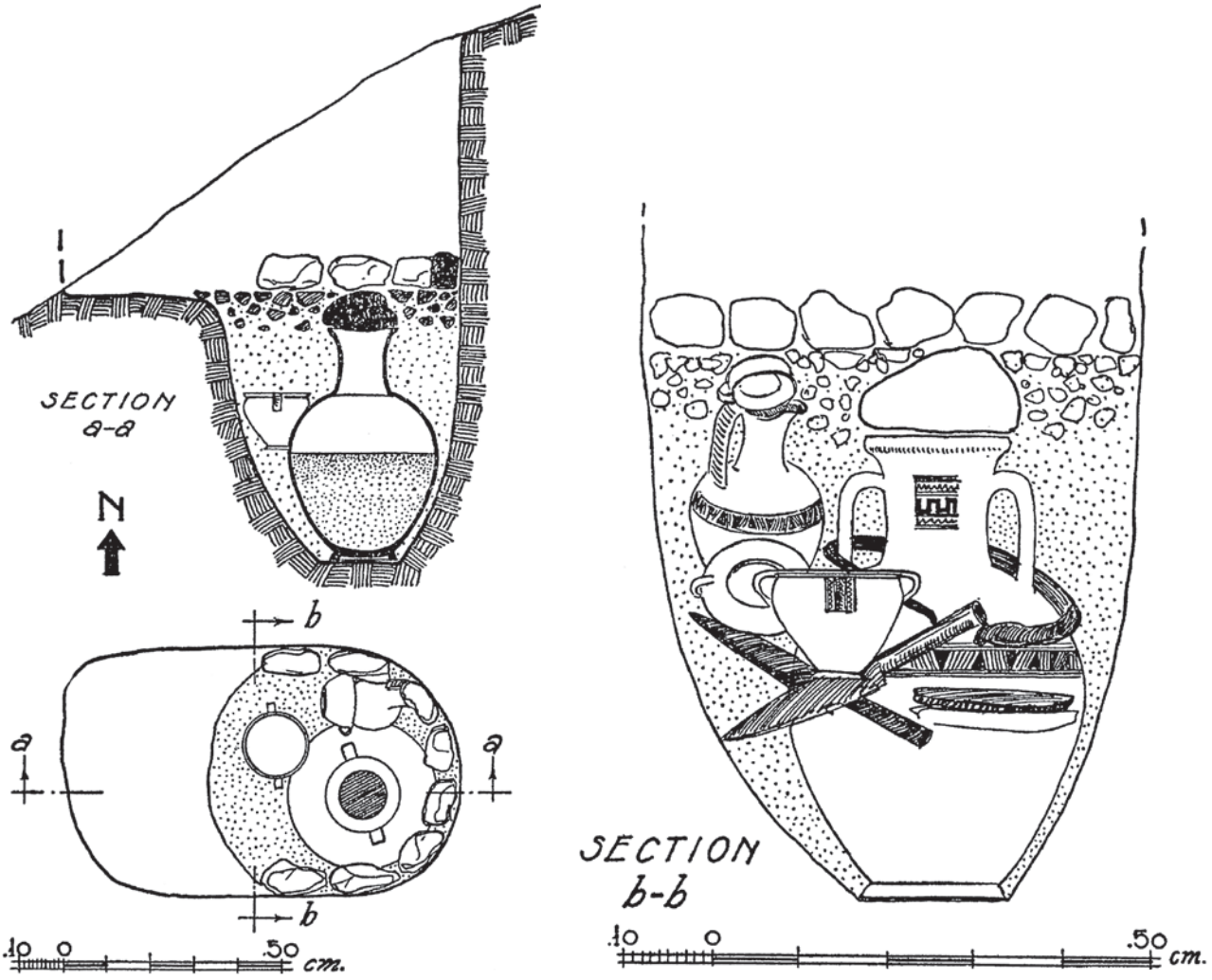

Figure 14. Athens, Agora. North slope of the Areopagus, Warrior Grave. Blegen 1952, p. 280, figs. 1, 2. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Remains	Description
Grave XXVII	Grave D 16:4, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies, which belonged to a male aged about 34 years (anthropological analysis by J. L. Angel). Found 100 m S of the boundary stone (horos) at the SW corner of the Agora and very near the contemporary Grave XXVI (Booties Grave) and Grave D 16:3 (Late Geometric enchytrismos of a child). Cremation burial in a cinerary vase, which was found placed in the usual manner, upright in a cavity under the floor of the rectangular cutting-grave. The mouth of the vase was closed by a fieldstone. Considered to belong to a warrior/cavalryman or even an artisan, on account of the weapons and tools found in it.[16]

Finds: Cinerary neck amphora, which contained not only the ashes of the deceased but also two bone finger rings. Bent around the shoulder of the vase was a long iron sword, while placed around the vase were other artifacts: two spear points, two daggers, one ax (or pick), one pair of reins, one bifurcate link, and one small chisel. Also found were four vases: one cup, one two-handled skyphos, one oenochoe, and one smaller cup.
Comments: Found E of the intersection of two busy streets: the Street of the Marble-Workers and the street that passed S of the Agoraios Kolonos, ran almost parallel to the South Stoa, and then joined the Panathenaic Way or forked and went up the N slope of the Areopagus.
Date: Early Geometric period/EG I, 900 BC

5. Early Geometric grave to the SW of the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion: Booties Grave

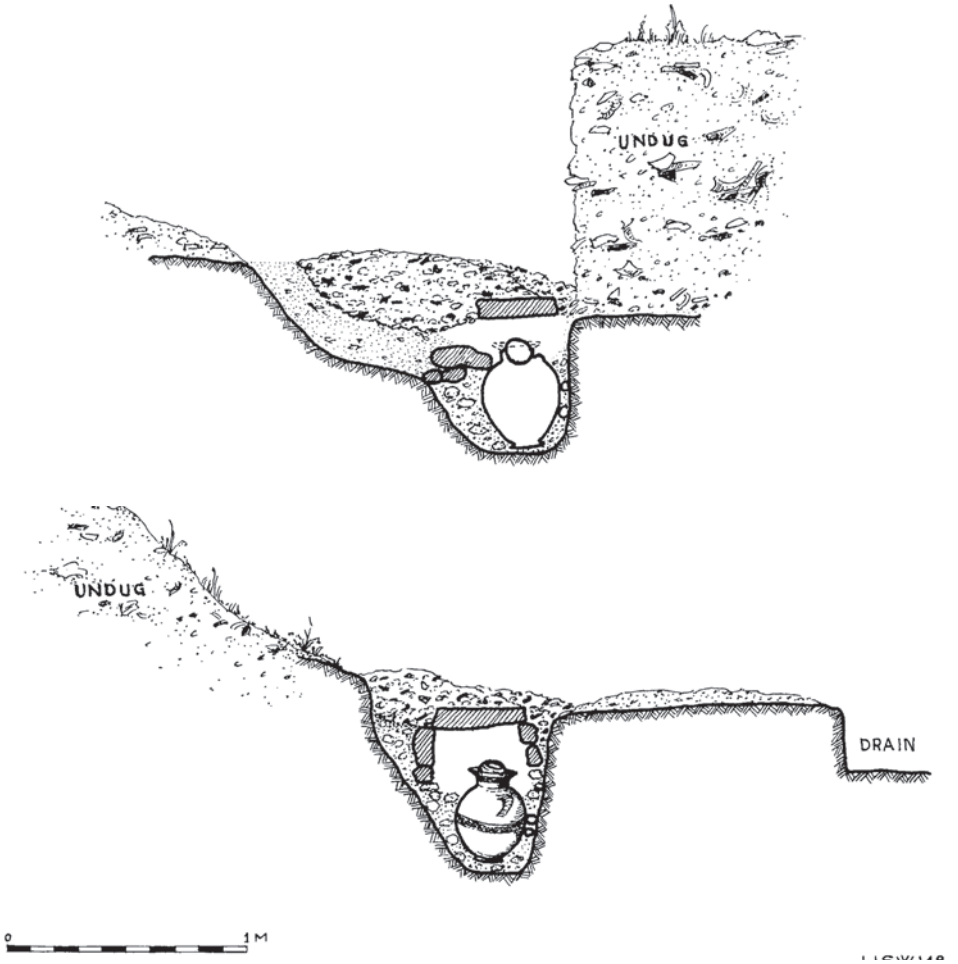

Figure 15. Athens, Agora. North slope of the Areopagus. East–west section through Geometric Grave D 16:4, looking south. Young 1949, p. 281, fig. 2. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Remains	Description
Description	Grave D 16:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Cremation burial in a cinerary vase. No information on the number, gender, and age of the dead, although it has been proposed that there were two, a male and a female. Found approximately 100 m SW of the boundary stone (horos) at the SW corner of the Agora, 3 m W of the contemporary Grave XXVII (Warrior Grave), and near D 16:3 (Late Geometric enchytrismos of a child).[17]

Finds: Cinerary amphora, the mouth closed by a pyxis, two pairs of miniature boots,[18] figs, 21 vases (pyxides, oenochoai, skyphoi, cups, jugs), clay spindle-whorl, jewelry (pair of bronze fibulae, pair of bronze pins, electrum rings, two ivory beads), and one iron knife

Comments: Found to the E of the intersection of two busy streets: the Street of the Marble-Workers and the street that passed S of the Agoraios Kolonos, ran almost parallel to the South Stoa, and then joined the Panathenaic Way or forked and went up the N slope of the Areopagus

Date: Early Geometric period/EG I

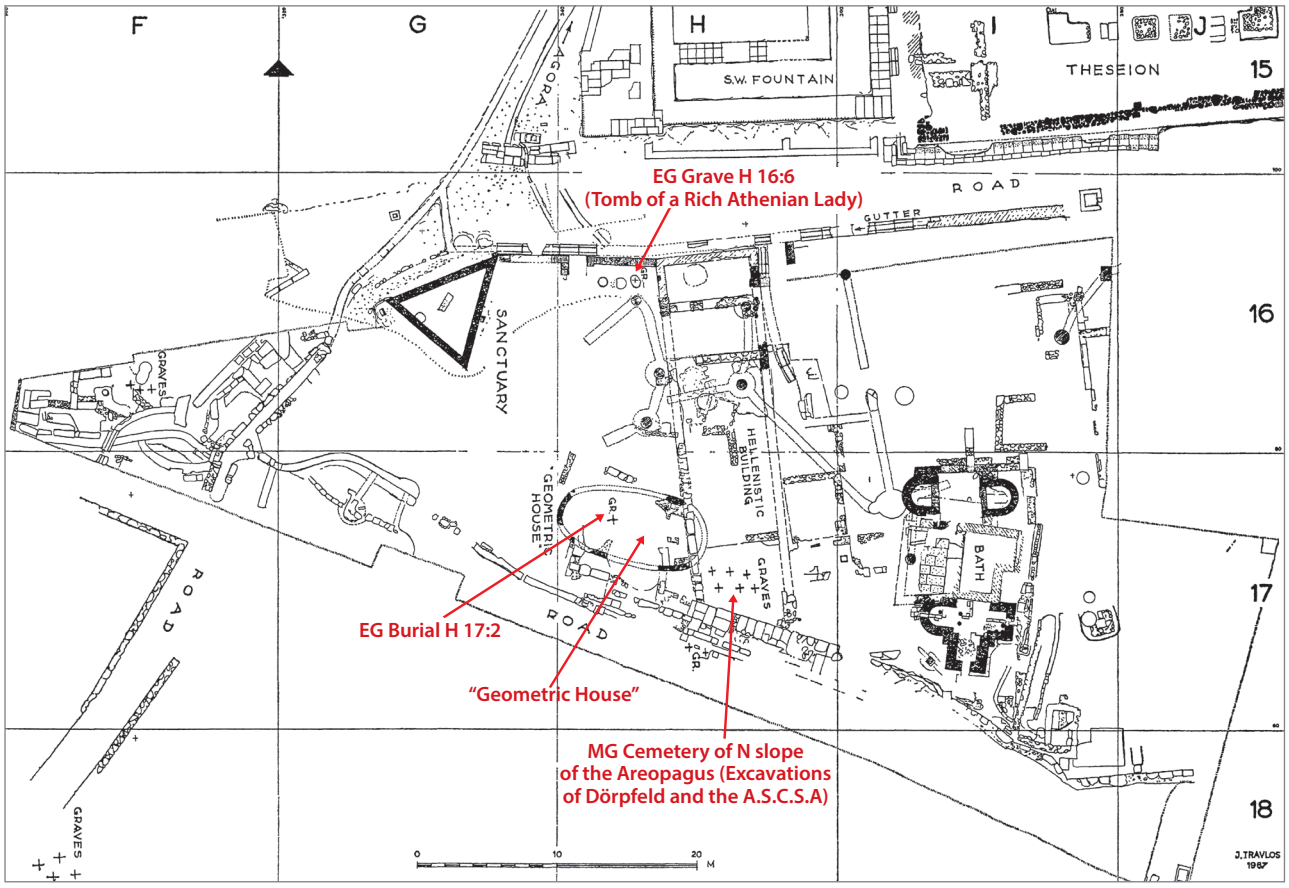

Figure 16. Athens, Agora. Area to the south of the southwest corner of Agora. Thompson 1968, p. 59, fig. 8. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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6. Early Geometric grave to the SW of the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion: Grave of the Rich Athenian Lady

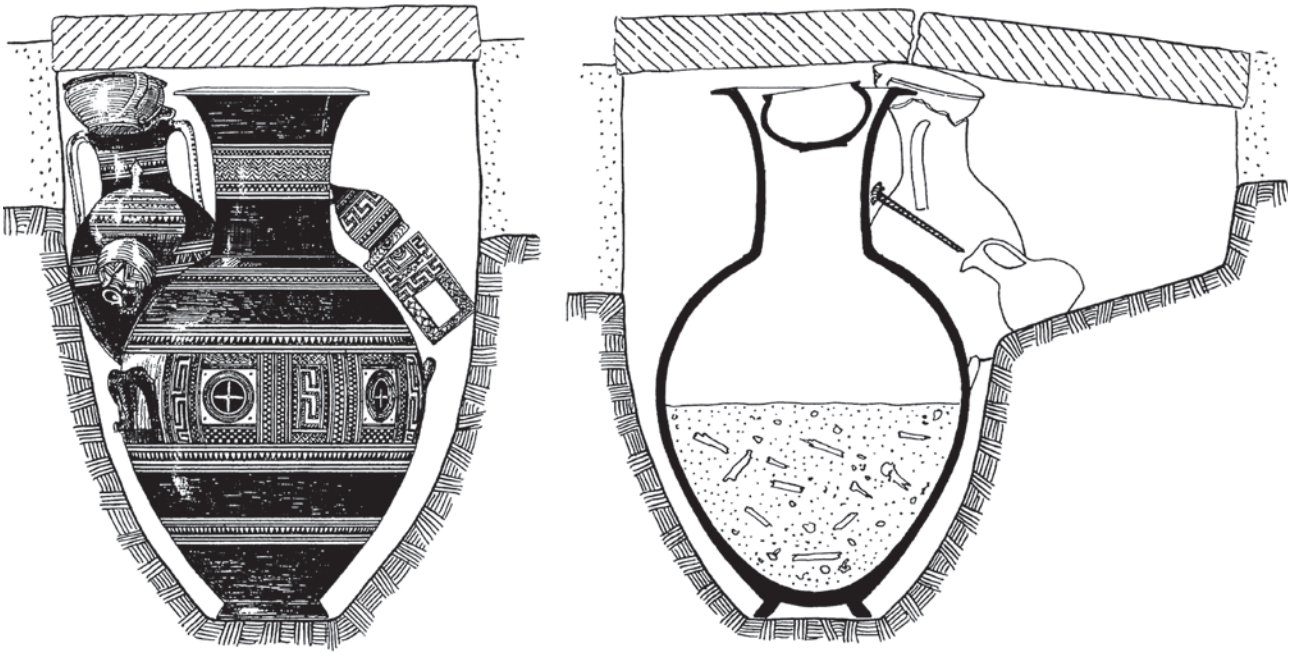

Figure 17. Athens, Agora. North slope of the Areopagus. Grave of the Rich Athenian Lady. Smithson 1968, pl. 18. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Remains	Description
One grave	Grave H 16:6, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Cremation burial inside a cinerary amphora in a pit. It belonged to a female aged about 30 years (anthropological analysis by J. L. Angel) and a fetus (anthropological examination by M. Liston). Found E of the triangular sanctuary of the fourth century BC. Partly disturbed (but without destroying the cinerary vase and the grave goods) by a Hellenistic pear-shaped cistern that was opened at its E end, in the space of the pyre. The earth from the digging out of the cistern was scattered in the surrounding space and some of it 15 m farther S in the area of the Geometric "house."[19]

Finds: The amphora was of the type usually used for female burials (belly-handled amphora), and its mouth was closed by a cup. Inside it, together with the ashes of the dead female, were pieces of jewelry decorated in the techniques of filigree and granulation: three pins, a pair of bronze fibulae, three gold finger rings, a pair of gold earrings, two ivory seals, necklace beads of faience and glass, and one ivory disk-shaped object. Placed around the cinerary amphora were vases that had not been burned: one neck amphora like those used for male cremation burials, with a cup in its mouth, three small oenochoai, eight pyxides, and one other pyxis, on the lid of which are five modeled granaries, kalathoi, and spindle-whorls. A few other pieces of jewelry (one bronze pin, one bronze and one gold finger ring).
Comments: This is the richest burial found after those of the Mycenaean period and the richest of its period known in Athens. The grave goods accompanying it present a picture of imported luxury and technical achievements hitherto unknown for Athens in the mid-ninth century BC.[20]
Date: Early Geometric period/EG II

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7. Early Geometric grave of a child under the Geometric "house"

Remains	Description
	Grave H 17:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. A cist cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Found at a shallow depth under the floor of the Geometric "house." It contained the bones of a child aged four to six years.[21]

Finds: Close to the head were two seashells and miniature vases (oenochoai, kylix, and fragments of other vases that have not survived).
Comments: Found close to the child's skeleton were the bones of a little animal, perhaps a piglet. The fill over the grave was found disturbed. The interpretation of the construction formerly called the Geometric "house" of the Agora as a heroon is based on this grave and the finds/votive offerings found in the same space.
Date: Early Geometric period/EG I

8. Disturbed Early Geometric graves SW of the South Stoa

Remains	Description
Four cuttings	Found S of the Middle Geometric cemetery to the SW of the South Stoa. They belonged to graves that had been disturbed and are dated by the sole surviving vase.[22]

Finds: One-handled cup
Comments: These cuttings, the grave in the dromos of the Mycenaean tomb, the cemetery, and R 20:1 are all located on the sides of the road that followed the N slope of the Areopagus and terminated at the Panathenaic Way.
Date: Early Geometric period

9. Middle Geometric cemetery to the SW of the South Stoa (Dörpfeld & ASCSA)[23]

Remains	Description
Nine graves	Seven of the graves were found by Dörpfeld in 1897. They were located in a trench dug in a plot on the N side of Apollodorou Street that belonged to K. Kalliphronas, then mayor of Athens.[24] One of these graves was a disturbed cremation and one other a violated cremation. The graves are not numbered.[25] AR I: Cremation burial of an individual of indeterminate gender, inside a cinerary vase. Possibly there was a grave marker. AR II: Simple cremation in a pit cut in the soft limestone bedrock. It belonged to a male (see grave goods). AR III/IV: Initially considered to be two burials, but in the end it is one. Simple cremation inside a pit in the soft limestone bedrock. Found 1.40 m S of AR II. It belonged to an adult female or a girl. AR V: Simple cremation inside a pit in the soft limestone bedrock. Found NE of Grave AR I. It belonged to a male (see grave goods). The remaining three graves were found by American excavators in 1932 and 1947. The graves found in the first excavation period were located on either side of Dörpfeld's trench, while the last was to the S, under the street.[26] I 18: 1: Inhumation of a young girl aged 14 years (anthropological examination by J. L. Angel). Part of the grave was opened in the soft limestone bedrock and part in the fill of Protogeometric Well I 18:4. The skeleton and the finds were covered by stone slabs. I 18: 2: Simple cremation inside a pit in the soft limestone bedrock. It belonged to a female. (See grave goods.) I 18: 3: Simple cremation inside a pit in the soft limestone bedrock. It belonged to a female aged 45 to 50 years who suffered from arthritis (anthropological study by J. L. Angel).

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Finds
AR I: Cinerary amphora, the mouth of which was closed by a skyphos, as well as pyxides, skyphoi, kyathos, spindle-whorl with incised decoration. Sherds of a large grave amphora, which in all probability was the grave marker.
AR II: Skyphos with conical base, bronze spearhead, iron sword (obviously from a nearby Late Mycenaean burial)
AR III/IV: Intact pyxis and fragments of other pyxides, fragments of a skyphos, 25 clay beads with incised decoration (from a necklace), a pebble and a shell (toys)
AR V: Wide-mouth oenochoe, fragment of another very large one, fragments of skyphoi, pyxides, and one iron sword
Disturbed cremation (not numbered): "Sherds of large Geometric vases"
I 18: 1: This must have been one of the richest burials of the period. Eighteen vases (lekythoi, small and large, 14 pyxides, two handmade aryballoi), a small sandstone plaque with suspension hole and two pieces of iron, possibly corroded jewelry. The upper half of the grave had been violated in Byzantine times, when a foundation was opened for building a wall. The gold jewelry possibly accompanying the dead female would have been removed then.[27]
I 18: 2: Three pyxides, some intact and others in fragments; fragment of a one-handled handmade domestic vessel
I 18: 3: Six vases, large trefoil-mouth oenochoe with its mouth closed by a smaller one, skyphos, miniature trefoil-mouth oenochoe, pyxides
Comments: The presence of many Protogeometric sherds in the area of Graves AR I and ARII, as well as in the fill of Graves III/IV and V, is considered indicative of the existence of destroyed Protogeometric graves on the site, of which the vase fragments are all that survived.[28]
Dates
AR I: End of Early/beginning of Middle Geometric period (EG II–MG I)
AR II: Early Geometric period (EG I–II)
AR III/IV: Middle Geometric period (MG I)
AR V: End of Early/beginning of Middle Geometric period (EG II–MG I)
I 18: 1: Middle Geometric period (MG I)
I 18: 2: Middle Geometric period (MG I)
I 18: 3: Middle Geometric period (MG I)

10. Middle Geometric grave to the SE of the South Stoa

Remains	Description
Grave	Cremation burial inside a cinerary vase, in all probability of a female (see type of cinerary vase). Found under the S edge of the surface of the South Street and S of the E edge of South Stoa I, near Protogeometric Grave N 16:4, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[29]

Finds: Cinerary shoulder-handled amphora with decoration of meander pattern on the neck
Comments: No data
Date: Middle Geometric period

11. Middle Geometric period graves to the SW of the so-called Heliaia/Aiakeion

Remains	Description
Graves	Located in Sector ΣT, at the N foot of the Areopagus, near the Protogeometric cremation burials. Their number is not specified, and one of them is described as an oblong pit opened in the soft limestone bedrock. In the interior were traces of a pyre and just a few residues of burned bones.[30]

Finds: Ten vases, among them pyxides
Comments: No data
Date: Middle Geometric period

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12. Late Geometric grave next to the Warrior Grave and the Booties Grave

Remains	Description
Grave XXVII	Grave D 16:3, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies, which is an enchytrismos of a child aged about 10 months (anthropological analysis by J. L. Lawrence). Found 100 m S of the boundary stone (horos) at the SW corner of the Agora and very close to Graves XXVI (Booties Grave) and XXVII (Warrior Grave).[31]

Finds: Burial vase: unpainted pithos closed by a stone slab. It contained the bones of the child and eight miniature vases as grave goods, some of them with decoration in the Phaleron style. A wide-mouth unpainted jug was found outside the pithos.

Comments: At the intersection of the Street of the Marble-Workers and the street that passed to the S of Agoraios Kolonos, continued parallel to the South Stoa, and joined the Panathenaic Way or forked and went up the N slope of the Areopagus.

Date: Late Geometric period, third quarter of eighth century BC

Relevant bibliography: *Agora* XIII, pp. 158–178, table 91.
Shear 1938, pp. 324, 343; Thompson 1950, pp. 329–331; Mountjoy 1995, p. 65; Lang 1996, pp. 158; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004; Papadopoulos 2006, p. 99; Greco 2010, p. 37.

Notes

1 Smithson 1974, p. 330, note 12.
2 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 92.
3 Smithson 1974, p. 330.
4 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 92, note 21.
5 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 123.
6 Young 1938, p. 324; Shear 1938, p. 343.
7 Thompson 1948, pp. 159–160; *Agora* XII, p. 394; Lang 1988, p. 8, figs. 18, 19.
8 Thompson 1959, pp. 98–103.
9 Bottle-shaped cisterns are known and widespread in the houses of the Hellenistic period but are not encountered as part of the water-supply system prior to this. In Thompson's view, the presence of such a construction in the court of an Athenian house of the sixth century BC can only be understood as an indication of the owner's relations with other lands. Thompson 1948, p. 159, note 15.
10 Thompson 1959, pp. 99–102.
11 Thompson 1959, p. 99.
12 Given that conduit networks and drainage/sewerage systems of this kind are known in Athens from the late sixth century BC, it cannot be ruled out that some of the clay pipes from the E street are related to the Archaic habitation on the N slope. Kazamiakis 1994, p. 43, note 5.
13 Shear 1938, p. 325.
14 Shear 1933, pp. 468–469.
15 Thompson 1956, pp. 48–49.
16 Blegen 1952, pp. 279–294; D' Onofrio 2011, p. 653.
17 Young 1949, pp. 275–297.
18 Parallels: Eleusis AE 1898, Grave A, pp. 103–104, pl. 4, 4. Agiou Dimitriou, Mitsaion, and Zitrou Streets.
19 Smithson 1968; Coldstream 1995; Mazarakis Ainian 1997, pp. 86–87, 314–315; Lemos 2002, p. 135; Liston and Papadopoulos 2004.
20 Smithson 1968, p. 78.
21 Burr 1933, pp. 552–554.
22 Young 1949, p. 279.

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23 Smithson 1974.
24 Smithson 1974, 330, note 14.
25 Smithson 1974, p. 329.
26 Smithson 1974, p. 330, note 14.
27 Smithson 1974, p. 331.
28 Smithson 1974, p. 341.
29 Thompson 1955, p. 49.
30 Shear 1933, p. 470.
31 Thompson 1950, pp. 330-331; Agora VIII, p. 125.

II. 13. Areopagus, NE slope

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Shear 1940, p. 292, drawing 15; Thompson 1947, pp. 149–196; *Agora* VIII, pp. 129–130; Shear Jr. 1973, pp. 146–150, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 35–253.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: No data

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Late Geometric well, Early Geometric and Late Geometric grave to the W of the Panathenaic Way, Early Geometric graves to the NW of the Mycenaean cemetery, and a Middle Geometric grave in the fill of the dromos of one of the Mycenaean rock-cut tombs. Remains of Late Archaic houses under the Late Roman Omega House.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Late Geometric well

Remains	Description
Well	Well L 18:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located at the NNE foot of the Areopagus. Depth 4.55 m; diameter 1.50 m. Very irregular shaft. The fill contained mainly Geometric pottery, along with a few Roman sherds. The well was possibly partly cleaned and then received deposits from the Roman house constructed on top of it.[1]

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period, third–fourth quarter of eighth century B.C.

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2. Remains of Late Archaic houses under the Late Roman Omega House[2]

Remains	Description
Remains of three Late Archaic houses	Located in the area of the Philosophical Schools, under the Late Roman Omega House. Preserved in very fragmentary condition.
Walls	Constructed according to the polygonal system of masonry
Floors	Of hard-packed earth
Well	Located at the SE corner of the court. The shaft was lined with stones.
Andron of Five couches	The middle room in the E wing of the house, measuring 2.70 x 4.30 m, it held five couches (0.70 x 80 m). Its door leads to the court and is placed slightly off center to the S. The floor was of hard-packed earth, and at the center of the room there was a hearth constructed of mud bricks (0.82 x 0.57 x 0.095 m).

Finds: No data
Comments: One of the very few Late Archaic houses that, along with a few others to the SW on the N slope of the Areopagus, were destroyed by the Persians and rebuilt later upon the original foundations and with the same layouts. This is the only house that acquired an andron when it was rebuilt.[3]
Date: Constructed in the early fifth century BC. Destroyed partly by the Persians in 480/479 BC and rebuilt immediately afterward.

Other Examined Remains

1. Early Geometric grave W of the Panathenaic Way

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave R 20:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Burial inside a cinerary vase. Found by chance W of the Panathenaic Way, at the edge of a deposit of Ottoman times. It belonged to a male. (See type of amphora and grave goods.)[4]

Finds: Cinerary neck amphora, fragments of a two-handled skyphos that possibly served as its lid, and the upper part of a small amphora. An iron sword, an iron dagger, and a fragment of an iron pin were found placed on the amphora.
Comments: No data
Date: Ninth century BC (EG I)

2. Early Geometric graves to the NW of the Mycenaean cemetery

Remains	Description
Five graves	Pit graves, four of which were empty except for pottery sherds in their interior. The fifth is Grave K 20:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. In addition to pottery, preserved inside it were remnants of bones and traces of a cremation.[5]

Finds: Fragments of vases, remnants of bones, pieces of wood charcoal
Comments: No data
Date: Early Geometric period

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3. Middle Geometric grave in the area of the Mycenaean cemetery

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave N 21:6, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Found 0.5 m below the present ground surface and inside the upper layers of fill of the dromos of the Mycenaean tomb N 21-22:1. Tree roots had disturbed the grave, which contained the skeleton of one female.[6]

Finds: Three vases (pyxides). The lid of one is of peculiar shape (with a tiny skyphos upon the knob).
Comments: The excavators considered fortuitous its position in the upper layer of the dromos of a Mycenaean tomb.
Date: Middle Geometric period (MG II)

4. Late Geometric/Early Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave Q 17:6, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[7] Enchytrismos of an infant aged about one month, inside a pithos.

Finds: Four small vases (trefoil-mouth oenochoe, aryballoid jug, skyphos, and one-handled cup)
Comments: Located to the S of the road skirting the N foot of the hill and ending at the Panathenaic Way
Date: End of Late Geometric period/beginning of Early Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Smithson 1974, p. 330, note 13; Lang 1996, p. 158.

Notes

1 *Agora* VIII, p. 129.
2 Shear Jr. 1973, pp. 146–150.
3 Shear Jr. 1973, p. 147.
4 Thompson 1947, pp. 196–197, pl. XLI 1–2.
5 Agora VIII, p. 129.
6 Shear 1940, p. 292.
7 Brann 1960, p. 403; *Agora* VIII, p. 130.

II. 14. Areopagus, NW slope

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Brann 1960, pp. 402–416, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 35–253.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: No data

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public.
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Late Geometric graves
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric burials

Remains	Description
Four graves	Graves E 18:1, E 19:1, E 19:2, and E 19:3, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Located on the NW slope of the Areopagus in sector ΓΓ.[1] E 18:1: Burial of a male (aged about 50 years) inside a cutting E 19:1: Burial of a male (aged about four years) inside a cutting E 19:2: Burial of a child (aged about six years), possibly a girl, inside a cutting E 19:3: Burial of a male (aged about 24 years) inside a cutting[2]

Finds

E 18:1: Contained no finds excepting a few fragments of Late Geometric vases

E 19:1: Two vases (skyphos, kotyle)

E 19:2: Skyphos, two bronze armbands, one iron hinge with remnants of wood (from a casket or coffin), a large glass bead, and a terracotta horse figurine, found next to the grave and probably originating from it

E 19:3: The most richly furnished burial in comparison to the others on the site. In addition to vases (two oenochoai — one of them trefoil-mouthed — two skyphoi, and two kantharoi), grave goods included an iron dagger blade and a blue faience scarab.

Comments: The graves lie on the E side of the road linking the SW corner of the Agora with the area of Dörpfeld's excavations on the SW slope of the Areopagus.

Date: Late Geometric period, third quarter of eighth century BC[3]

Relevant bibliography: Shear 1940, pp. 270–272; Young 1949, p. 277, note 1; *Agora* VIII, p. 126.

Notes

1 Shear 1940, pp. 270–272; Young 1949, p. 277, note 1; Brann 1960, pp. 403–412.

2 Brann 1960, pp. 402–416.

3 *Agora* VIII, p. 126.

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II. 15. Areopagus, W Slope – area of Dörpfeld's excavations

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: *CVA*, Heidelberg 3 [Deutschland 27], pp. 33–36, pls. 101 [1295]:1–8, 102 [1296]:1–9; Smithson 1974, pp. 325–390, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 35–253.
Excavator: W. Dörpfeld
Years of excavation: 1892 (Submycenaean and Heidelberg graves), 1895/1896 (Graves B of the Amyneion)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Submycenaean, one Protogeometric, and two Middle Geometric graves
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: All the graves belonged to children.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Cist grave cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Oriented E–W and found 30 m from the Amyneion and 4 m from the street (Stenopos Kollytos) that passes along the valley between the Pnyx and the West Slope of the Acropolis. It belonged to a girl aged about eight years.

Finds: 2 lekythoi
Comments: Smithson observes similarities between the vases in this grave and those from Heidelberg Grab A.
Date: The transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period

2. Submycenaean grave, Heidelberg Grab A

Remains	Description
One grave	Found at the foot of the W Slope of the Acropolis/SW slope of the Areopagus, in the S part of the area of Dörpfeld's excavations. A cist grave containing the inhumation of a child. Not a jar burial.

Finds: Seven vases (three lekythoi — one of them cylindrical — two skyphoi with conical feet, two miniature oenochoai) and one bronze armband
Comments: One other grave of the Protogeometric period was found to the N of this, near the area of the Amyneion.
Date: Submycenaean period, in the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period, according to Ruppenstein and Mountjoy[1]

3. Protogeometric grave Heidelberg Grab B

Remains	Description
One grave	Found near the Heidelberg Grab A, at the foot of the W Slope of the Acropolis/SW slope of the Areopagus, in the S part of the area of Dörpfeld's excavations and N of the Amyneion. Also a cist grave containing a child burial.

Finds: Six vases (two oenochoai, skyphos with conical foot, one-handled cup, two-handled skyphos, two lekythoi)
Comments: No data
Date: Early Protogeometric period, early tenth century BC

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4. Early/Middle Geometric graves on the West Slope

Remains	Description
Two graves	Found N of the Amyneion, they both housed children. West Slope Grave W. Sl. I: Oriented E–W; contained the bones of a small child and miniature vases. West Slope Grave W. Sl. II: Found a short distance from the first and had the same orientation.

Finds: The contents of these graves have been lost. According to Smithson, the 11 vases that K. Rhomaios attributed to these graves in 1930 and exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum come from the excavations in the plot at Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos plot).[2] The following are referred to in the excavation daybook:
West Slope Grave W. Sl. I: Small oenochoe, two pyxides, and fragments of one other vase
West Slope Grave W. Sl. II: Small pyxis and one other pyxis of normal size
Comments: These are the only child burials known from this period.[3]
Date: End of Early/beginning of Middle Geometric period (EG II/MG I)
Relevant bibliography: *Kerameikos* I, p. 132–133; Styrenius 1967, pp. 52–55; Mountjoy 1995, p. 64; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 2; *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 244–245.

Notes

1 Mountjoy 1995, p. 64; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 245, where "*Grab* Heidelberg B" is written erroneously in the text, whereas in pl. 40b on p. 244, it is referred to correctly as "Heidelberg Gr. A." Dated on the basis of the cylindrical lekythos C 82d.
2 Smithson 1974, p. 372.
3 For theories proposed on the issue of the "absence" of child burials in the interval between the EG II and the MG I period, see Smithson 1974, p. 373

II. 16. Monastiraki, Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos plot)

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Smithson 1974, *Agora* XXXVI, pp. 35–253.
Excavator: W. Dörpfeld
Year of excavation: 1898

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Early/Middle Geometric graves
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Referred to as Dipylongräber in the excavation daybook

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Examined Remains

1. Early/Middle Geometric burials

Remains	Description
Two graves	Found side by side at a depth of 7.5 m below the present ground surface. They were oriented NE–SW, and each contained a cremation burial. Grave Ph. I: A burial inside a cinerary amphora of belly type, from which it is deduced that it was probably of a male. Grave Ph. II: Simple cremation inside a pit, possibly of a female. (See grave goods.)

Finds: Grave Ph. I: Cinerary amphora with high neck and vertical handles, trefoil-mouth oenochoe, two skyphoi (one breasted), and one cup. It is possible that two skyphoi and one miniature oenochoe from the "Rhomaios Vases" belonged to the same grave.
Grave Ph. II: Wide-mouth oenochoe, miniature pyxis, skyphos, spindle-whorl, fragments of a bronze pin. It is possible that a small oenochoe upon a five-fold elevated base, a pyxis with modeled bucranium on the lid, and a pyxis with conical base, all from the Rhomaios Vases, belonged to the same grave. There are other vases that seem to come from the same plot.[1]
Comments: Smithson remarks that because the graves are very close in date and were found very near to each other, the dead were possibly a couple who died within a short time of one another.
Date: Early and Middle Geometric period
Grave Ph. I: EG II/MG I
Grave Ph. II: MG I
Relevant bibliography: No data

Notes

1 Smithson 1974, pp. 383–385.

II.17. Monastiraki, Ermou 93

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1983, pp. 20–21, pl. 22α–β.
Excavator: O. Alexandri.
Year of excavation: 1975 (?)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 16.10 x 13.80 m
Finds: Seven wells (six of which had been used as refuse pits) and one cistern with two POUs, as well as a corner of a Roman building. The fill from the entire area of the plot yielded pottery from the Late Geometric to the Late Roman period. Mended from sherds were Archaic vases (Corinthian oenochoe of the transitional period, oenochoe of the seventh century BC, and unpainted jugs), part of a red-figure krater, skyphoi, black-glaze vases, kantharoi, kyathia, skyphoi, lekanides, and plates. Also found were fragments of sculptures and architectural members (marble Doric column capital, part of the base of an Ionic column, part of an inscribed kioniskos).
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Settlement Remains

1. Well

Remains	Description
Well	Well 7: Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. It had been used as a refuse pit.

Finds: The well contained sherds of vases from the Geometric to the Classical period. Mentioned indicatively is a sherd of a red-figure vase with representation of erotides and females.
Comments: No data
Date: Not dated by the excavator

2. Well

Remains	Description
Well	Well 8: Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. It had been used as a refuse pit.

Finds: It contained sherds from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period.
Comments: No data
Date: Not dated by the excavator

3. Well

Remains	Description
Well	Well 5: Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. It had been used as a refuse pit.

Finds: Sherds dating from Geometric to Classical times were recovered from its interior. From these were mended an incomplete black-figure olpe with representation of two male figures facing each other — one old and one young — part of a red-figure krater with representation of a female, the upper part of an Archaic black-figure amphora with horse protome facing right inside a linear design as a kind of panel, a trefoil-mouth unpainted jug, part of an Archaic lekanis, and a sherd of a Panathenaic amphora with representation of Athena. Pyramidal loom-weights were found too.
Comments: The Archaic amphora with horse metope was widely distributed in the years between 600 and 550 BC and on present evidence was exclusively for funerary use. The loom-weights hint at domestic activity in the surrounding space, but of indeterminate date.
Date: Not dated by the excavator

4. Well

Remains	Description
Well	Well 6: Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. It had been used as a refuse pit.

Finds: It contained many fragments of vases and objects dated to the Archaic and Classical periods. Mentioned indicatively are the conical base of an Archaic krater with mythological scene, an incomplete kalyx krater of the Classical period, the body of a lekythos, parts of small bowls, plates and black-glaze kantharoi, and one fragment of a Panathenaic amphora.
Comments: No data
Date: Not dated by the excavator
Relevant bibliography: Marangou 1995, pp. 54–57.

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II. 18. Eleusinion

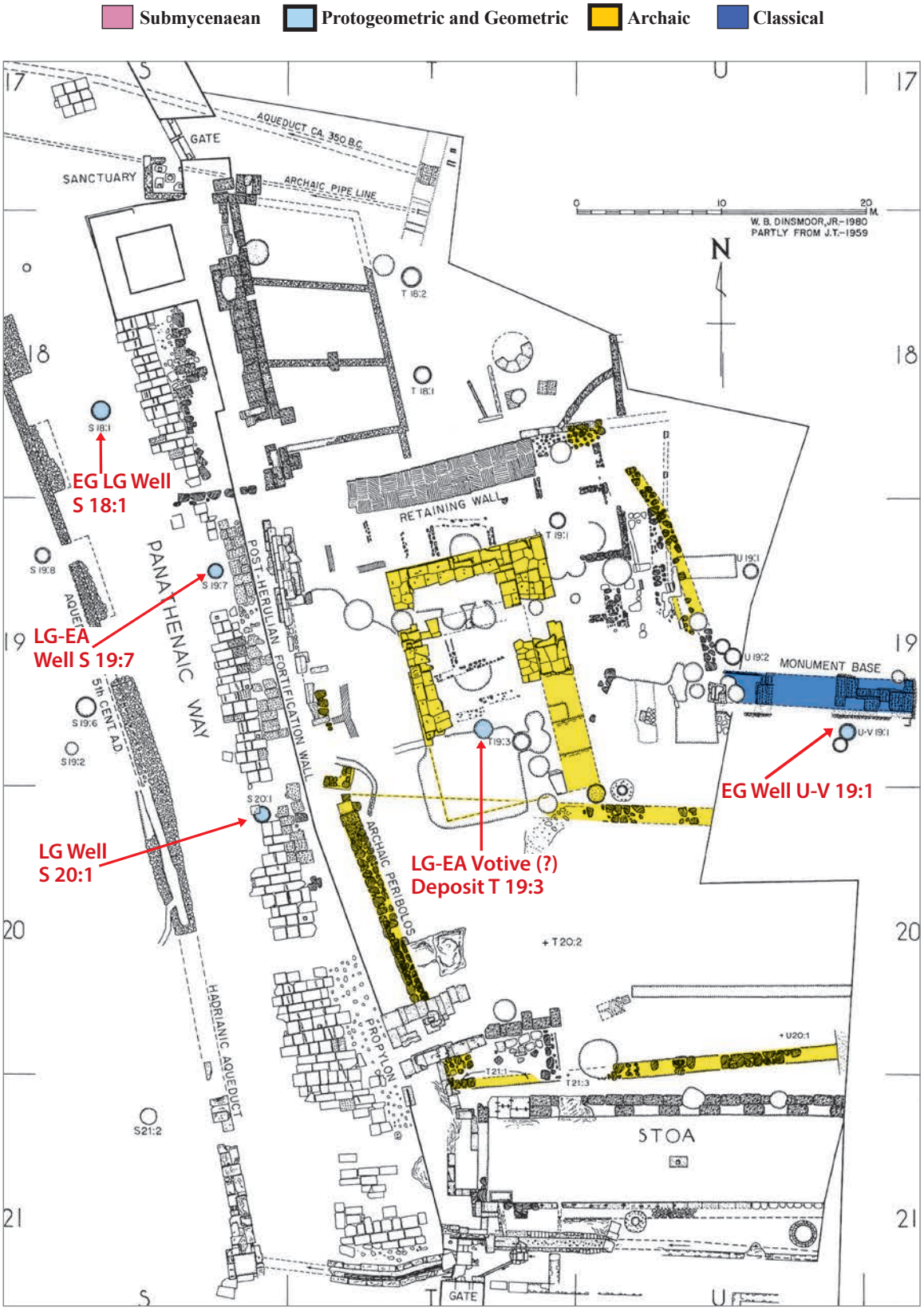

Figure 18. Athens, Agora. Plan of the general area of the city Eleusinion. Little and Papadopoulos 1998, p. 377, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Bibliography: Little and Papadopoulos 1998, pp. 373–404.
Excavator: E. Vanderpool (Sector EΛ, EG well, and MG burial)
Y**ear of excavation:** 1959 (Sector EΛ, EG well, and MG burial)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Early Geometric well with a Middle Geometric burial (EG II) in its fill. Three Late Geometric wells to the NW and W of the Eleusinion. Late Geometric/Early Archaic refuse pit of a workshop N of the Eleusinion and a contemporary well of a workshop N of the Eleusinion. Remains of Archaic houses to the E of the temple of Triptolemos.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Early Geometric well to the E of the temple

Remains	Description
Well	Well U-V 19:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[1] Located inside the site of the subsequent Eleusinion, E of the temple and 1 m S of the poros foundation of a Classical monument. It was not investigated down to the bottom because its N wall had collapsed. Prior to this, investigations had proceeded 1 m deeper than the layer in which the EG II burial was found (at 1.50 m) and where the fill consisted of fieldstones (see below). At this depth, water appeared.

Finds: Very few finds because of the shallow depth of the excavation. Nonetheless, the basic types of domestic vases are represented: cups, skyphoi, amphorae decorated with bands, as well as a few unpainted and domestic vessels.[2] Two adjoining fragments of an EG II cup and 12 fragments, not adjoining, of an oenochoe. More than eight Protogeometric sherds — three Mycenaean and two small MH Minyan — were also found. In the upper part of the fill, a burial of the final years of the Early Geometric period (EG II) was uncovered.[3]
Comments: The excavators considered it to be the well of a house.
Date: Early Geometric period (EG II) on the basis of the latest pottery

2. Late Geometric wells in the NW and W of the Eleusinion

Remains	Description
Three Well	Wells S 18:1, S 19:7, and S 20:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. S 18:1: The well was located to the W of the Panathenaic Way, NW of the NW corner of the Eleusinion. Depth 8.90 m and diameter 1.20 m, decreasing to 0.50 m at the bottom. Circular shaft.[4] S 19:7: Upon the Panathenaic Way, W of the NW corner of the Eleusinion. Depth 10.50 m (the shaft is preserved from 4 m and below). Diameter 0.97 m. The upper part of the shaft, which had collapsed, had been blocked by the slippage of the rock.[5] S 20:1: Upon the Panathenaic Way, in the middle of the Roman paved road, to the W of the Eleusinion. Depth 3.10 m; diameter 1.05 m. Possibly unfinished.[6]

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Finds

S 19:7: The collapse of the well created a pit that was filled in with debris, including an almost intact Submycenaean lekythos.

S 20:1: Contained a large quantity of domestic vases, a few fragments of earlier vases, and a few of Corinthian vases, as well as spindle-whorls, loom-weights, iron artifacts, and stone grinders.[7]

Comments: The excavators considered them all to be wells of houses.

S 18:1: In use until the late eighth century BC

S 19:7: In use from the end of the eighth century BC to the second quarter of the seventh century BC (POU)

S 20:1: Sealed at the end of the eighth century BC in a period of drought

Dates

S 18:1: Late Geometric period

S 19:7: End of Late Geometric/beginning of Early Archaic period

3. Late Geometric – Early Archaic votive (?) deposit inside the Eleusinion

Remains	Description
Votive (?) deposit	Deposit or Well T 19:3, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[8] Found under the S half of the temple of the Eleusinion, inside a pocket in the side of an Ottoman cesspit.[9]

Finds: It contained 10 terracotta figurines and was probably a votive deposit, unless these objects were the discards of a workshop.

Comments: It is correlated perhaps to one other deposit found disturbed to the S (T 20:2).[10]

Date: End of Late Geometric/beginning of Early Archaic period, late eighth century BC/mid-seventh century BC

4. Late Geometric – Early Archaic workshop refuse pit N of the Eleusinion

Remains	Description
Workshop refuse pit	Deposit S 17:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Found N of the Eleusinion on the Panathenaic Way.[11] It had the form of a circular pit of diameter 0.80 m and an irregular cutting, dimensions 1.00 x 1.20 m, to the N of the pit.[12] Opened in the bedrock, the pit was filled with reddish earth and undisturbed pottery. On the surface were small sherds and broken figurines, and farther down were skyphoi, particularly on the E side. The pit was carefully constructed and perhaps intended to hold a pithos. The fill of the cutting was similar to that in the pit, but the vases were stacked and not thrown randomly.

Finds: The fill as a whole consists of wasters: test pieces; intact or almost intact skyphoi, kotyles and cups and fragments of such vases; some 290 fragments of terracotta figurines and other clay objects, such as spindle-whorls, beads, or buttons. Some of the figurine fragments were incompletely fired, none is intact, and not one figurine could be mended from the fragments.[13] Many figurines and other votive objects are similar to those found in the area of the Eleusinion. This workshop must have made several of the figurines and clay objects found in the sanctuary.[14]

Comments: Brann interpreted the deposit as belonging to a house and linked it with Well R 17:5, which he acknowledged as belonging to a workshop.[15] Recently, this was one of the deposits studied thoroughly by Papadopoulos and on which he bases his theory that they belonged to pottery workshops and not to houses. The presence of ocher, test pieces, and of lumps of fired clay indicated that it contained rejects from a pottery workshop that existed in the vicinity. Indeed, perhaps this was the same workshop that used Well R 17:5 as a refuse pit.[16] According to Papadopoulos, the specific deposit as a whole demonstrates that the Potters' Quarter continued to exist on the site of the later Agora in the seventh century BC and that the products of this particular pottery workshop included not only vases and lamps but also figurines and other minor objects, such as loom-weights. That is, the artisan-owner was at once a potter, a coroplast, and a lamp maker.[17]

Date: Second half of seventh century BC (according to Brann), Subgeometric period (according to Papadopoulos)[18]

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5. Subgeometric/Early Archaic well of a workshop to the N of the Eleusinion

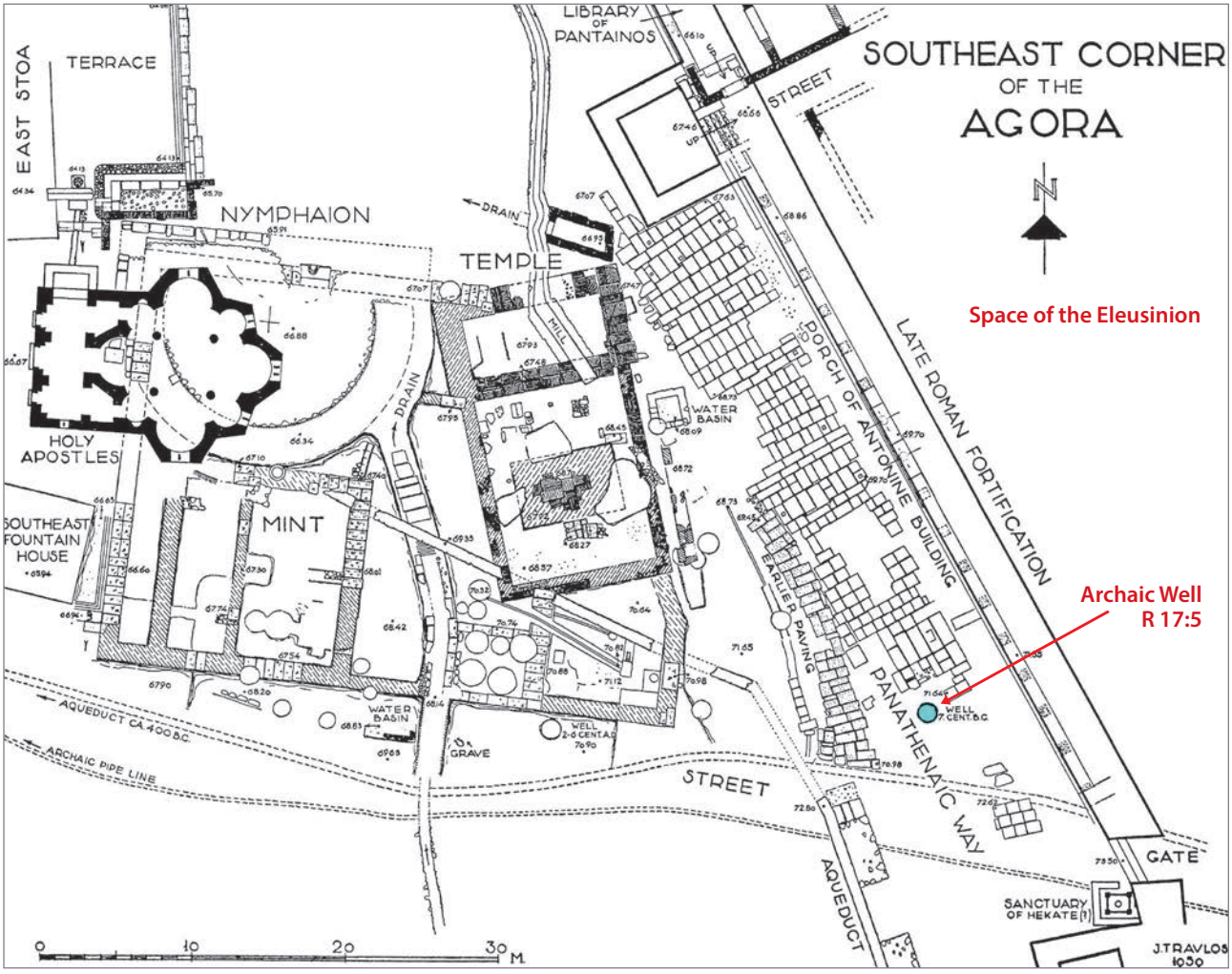

Figure 19. Athens, Agora. Southeast corner of the Agora. Thompson 1960, p. 329, fig. 1. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Remains	Description
Well	Well R 17:5, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Found N of the Eleusinion upon the Panathenaic Way, next to deposit S 17:2. It was 7.55 m deep and 1 m in diameter. Cuttings/footholds on the sides of the shaft facilitated descent into its interior.[19]

Finds: Content very similar to that of the neighboring deposit S 17:2: ocher, grinders, loom-weights, two figurines, and clay beads or buttons in unusually large quantities, which have been interpreted as stock of the workshop's output.[20] Found too were imported pottery from Corinth, Argos, and East Greece, as well as many badly fired vases, which, however, cannot be identified securely as wasters.[21]

Comments: This particular well is considered to have served, together with the deposit, the same craft-industrial installation, a pottery workshop, in which both ocher and grinders were used.[22]

Date: Brann dates the fill to the second quarter of the seventh century BC.[23]

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6. Remains of Archaic houses to the E of the temple of Triptolemos[24]

Remains	Description
Walls	These have been located to the E of the temple and are constructed of fieldstones.
Deposits	Most have been found near the remains of walls, with which they are also correlated.

Finds: From the deposits: domestic pottery, broken fired bricks, and fragments of soft limestone
Comments: Remains of houses that stood on the site prior to the building of the temple of Triptolemos in the mid-sixth century BC
Date: Sixth century BC; destroyed in mid-century

Other Examined Remains

1. Early Geometric burial

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave U-V 19:1a, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Found in the fill of a well of the same number, inside the site of the subsequent Eleusinion (see above). This is the inhumation of an adult in contracted pose, at depth 1.50 m below the present ground surface. The deceased was male and according to the result of the anthropological study (J. L. Angel, L. M. Little) had suffered severe injuries to the skull and spine while alive. These would have resulted in some form of permanent brain incapacity (epilepsy and/or aphasia) and motor disability.[25]

Finds: The sole intact vase — a cup — found near the feet of the skeleton is associated with the burial and interpreted as a grave good.

Comments: The N Slope is an area in which burials have not been found. Probably it had not been used as a cemetery. The type of burial habit (inhumation) and the contracted pose make it an exception to the funerary practices of the period, in which cremation of adults dominates. This fact, in combination with evidence from the cranial bones, led to the hypothesis that this was the burial of a social outcast.

Date: Early Geometric period/EG II
Relevant bibliography: *Agora* VIII, p. 131; *Agora* XXXI, p. 16.

Notes

1 A*gora XX*XI, p. 107.
2 *Agora* XXXI, p. 16.
3 Little and Papadopoulos 1998, pp. 376–381.
4 Shear 1939, p. 219; Agora VIII, p. 131. See Well L in Brann 1961, pp. 97, 117–125; A*gora XX*XI, p. 16.
5 Shear 1939, p. 227; Agora VIII, p. 131; Agora XII. p. 399; A*gora XX*XI, p. 16.
6 *Agora XX*XI, pp. 107–109.
7 *Agora* XXXI, p. 16.
8 *Agora* XII, pp. 399.
9 *Agora* VIII, pp. 131; A*gora* XII, pp. 399; A*gora XX*XI, pp. 110–112.
10 Circular cutting in the soft limestone bedrock. Filled in with mixed pottery, from Minyan to Byzantine, and predominantly terracotta figurines. See *Agora* VIII, p. 131.
11 *Agora* VIII, p. *131.*
12 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 143.
13 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 144.
14 *Agora* XXXI, pp. 17–18.
15 Brann 1961b, p. 375; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 186–187.

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16 *Agora* VIII, p. 131.
17 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 145. The same is observed in the workshop correlated with the kiln of the Tholos. See Papadopoulos 2003, p. 131.
18 *Agora* VIII, pp. 131; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 145.
19 Thompson 1960, pp. 332, drawing 1; Brann 1961b, Well S, pp. 374–379.
20 Brann 1961b, p. 375.
21 Papadopoulos 2003, p. 187.
22 Brann 1961b, p. 375.
23 Brann 1961b, p. 375.
24 *Agora* XXXI, p. 147.
25 Little and Papadopoulos 1998.

II.19. Agora, SE corner – area of the Southeast Fountain

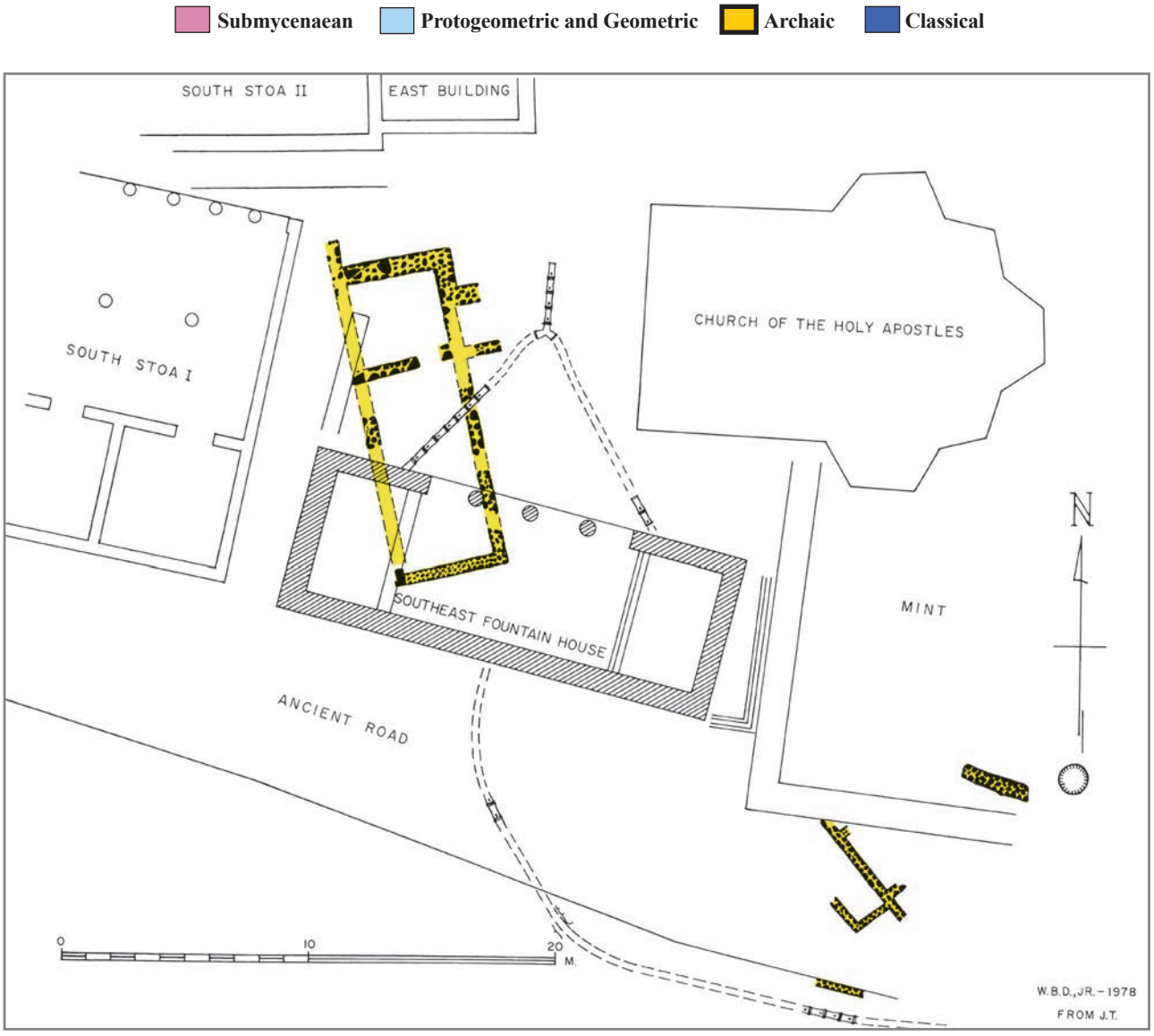

Figure 20. Athens, Agora. Southeast corner. Remains of Archaic houses and/or workshops beneath the southeast fountain. Shear Jr. 1994, p. 230, fig. 3. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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Bibliography: Thompson 1956, pp. 48–49.
Excavator: M. Crosby
Year of excavation: 1955

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public.
Dimensions of plot/area of site: No data
Finds: Architectural remains of a house and/or workshop under the foundations and the water-supply conduit of the SE fountain
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Remains of Archaic houses and/or workshops under the SE fountain

Remains	Description
Rooms	The larger and northernmost of the architectural complexes is located under the W part of the SE fountain. Two rooms measuring 5 x 13 m are preserved, and there seem to have been others around these. The southernmost survives in very fragmentary condition to the SE of this, under the SW corner of the Mint.
Foundations of walls	The lower part of the foundation survives; constructed of fieldstones and mud. This constituted the toichobate for the superstructure of mud bricks, as is deduced from the smoothed upper surface.
Floors	Of hard-packed earth coated with clay

Finds: Pottery under the floors, on the basis of which the remains are dated
Comments: According to Thompson, who dates the founding of the Agora to the time of Solon, these buildings are the earliest architectural remains in the area and belonged to houses that were abolished in the second half of the sixth century BC, in the framework of expanding and organizing the already existing space of the Agora, when the SE fountain was built.
Date: Late seventh/early sixth century BC

2. Retaining wall – terrace of a street

Remains	Description
Retaining wall	Located under the Mint, a short distance N of the remains of the southernmost of the above buildings. It was oriented E–W.

Finds: No data
Comments: The wall separated the space of the property from the street that passed to the NE of it, several meters farther S than it did later.
Date: Late seventh/early sixth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Thompson 1953, pp. 29–35; Camp 1977, p. 61, note 47, pp. 85–86; Shear Jr. 1994, p. 229; Lang 1996, p. 158; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 295, note 141; Paga 2015.

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II. 20. Agora, W side

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Thompson 1937, pp. 81–84.
Excavator: H. A. Thompson
Years of excavation: 1931–1936

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Remains of Archaic buildings and casting pit of an Archaic statue to the S of the Classical temple of Apollo Patroos
Relation to adjacent areas: S of the remains of the Archaic walls lie the contemporary Buildings C and D
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1**. Remnants of Archaic walls N of Buildings C and D**

Remains	Description
Three Walls	Found in the space between Archaic Buildings C and D and the two temples of Apollo Patroos, the surviving Classical one and the underlying apsidal temple of the Archaic period. Length approximately 11 m; thickness of outer walls approximately 0.65 m and of the party wall approximately 0.50 m. Only a few stones of the lowest foundation have survived, set in clay, which played the role of mortar. Their course can be followed from the foundation trenches cut in the bedrock. At this point, the bedrock of the sides of Agoraios Kolonos has been cut away to create a flat terrace. One wall oriented N–S close to the W edge of the terrace, near the hewn bedrock. Its foundation trench can be followed for about 11 m but would have been longer initially, as its N end was destroyed by the Classical temple of Apollo. The S end, which is under the NW corner of the poros temple of the Mother of the Gods, forms a right angle with the second wall, of about the same length and oriented E–W. This wall is not preserved completely either. Its E end was destroyed by later constructions, but at this point an inner wall is preserved. It intersects the previous one perpendicularly. As a partition wall, it is not as thick as the previous one.

Finds: No data

Comments: No data

Date: There are no data for dating the walls. The terminus post quem for their destruction is considered to be the construction of the Archaic temple of Apollo; the terminus ante quem is the establishment of worship of the Mother of the Gods (ca. 500 BC).
Relevant bibliography: *Agora* XIV, pp. 137, 188–190.

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II. 21. Agora, SW corner – area of House of Simon

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

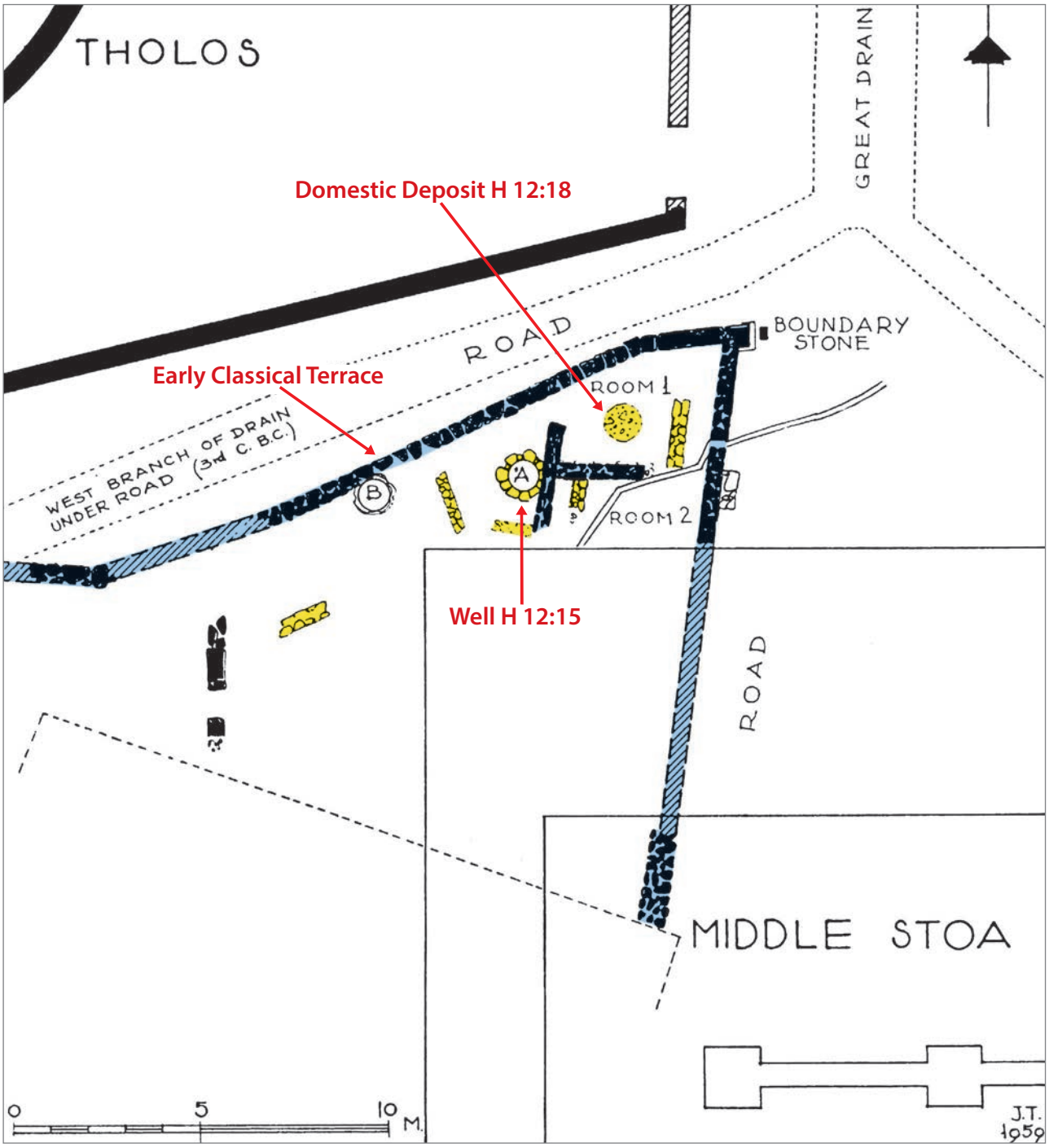

Figure 21. Athens, Agora. Southwest corner. Plan of the House of Simon. Burr-Thompson 1960, p. 236. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Bibliography: Thompson 1954, pp. 52–55; Burr and Thompson 1960, pp. 234–240.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: 1953

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Remains of an Archaic house with a phase of rebuilding after the Persian Wars (house/workshop of Simon, a shoemaker?)
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

Remains	Description
Remains of a house	Located underneath the Classical House of Simon
Walls	Surviving parts create two spaces. One of these was the court of the house.
Court	Recognized through the presence of the well and the Classical deposit in this space. A series of floors has survived. The first belongs to this phase of use of the house. It was located immediately above the level of the bedrock and was used for about 20 years.
Well	Well H 12:15, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies (Well A in the above drawing. Well B belongs to the second building phase of the house).[2]
Domestic deposit (rubbish pit)	Deposit H 12:18, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Of diameter and depth 1.5 m.

Finds
Well H 12:15: Intact hydries, both plain and painted, from the layer of the POU. The rest of the fill yielded roof tiles, fragments of a house oven, hydries, oenochoai, lekanides, grinders, lamps, loom-weights, figurines from the household shrine, and a farming tool (like a dagger). Noteworthy among the vases are a black-figure amphora with representation of quadriga on one side and battle scene on the other, and a black-figure skyphos decorated with a symposium scene. Fragments of red-figure vases were retrieved from the upper layer of the fill.
Rubbish pit: Its fill yielded ostraca from the ostracism ballot of 482 BC. The base of a black-glaze skyphos with the inscription "ΣΙΜΩΝΟΣ" (of Simon), of the late fifth century BC, was found in the same deposit.
Comments: Small house of short duration, which, judging by the Agora boundary stone (horos) next to it, was on the very limit of the public space. It was destroyed by the Persians and rebuilt immediately afterward.
Dates
Well H 12:15: 520–first quarter of fifth century BC (POU); destroyed by the Persians in 480/479 BC
Rubbish pit: In use from the late sixth/early fifth century BC (POU)
Relevant bibliography: No data

Notes
1 Thompson 1954, pp. 52–55; Burr-Thompson 1960, pp. 234–240; *Agora* XII, p. 393.
2 Thompson 1954, pp. 51–52.

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II. 22. Agiou Philippou 5

Submycenaean Protogeometric and Geometric Archaic Classical

Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 52–55, fig. 7, pl. 41β–γ, ε.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1964

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Walls and drains parallel to them, of the fifth/fourth century BC, probably a sanctuary peribolos and a street that intersected with another.
Destruction layer with marked traces of fire, of the fourth century BC. The fill of the plot yielded sherds of vases of the Submycenaean, Geometric, and Byzantine periods; a marble inscribed boundary stone (horos) of a sanctuary of Herakles, which is perhaps associated with the peribolos; and two funerary columellae of Roman times.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

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Area III
Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square

III. 1. Agion Anargyron 5

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, p. 27.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Rescue excavation on open ground between buildings. The rest of the plot is covered by buildings. Consequently, no ancient fill and remains exist.
Finds: Late Geometric grave and two drains, one of which was partly destroyed by the grave. Disturbed fill, which yielded pottery spanning the Archaic into the Late Roman period.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the adjacent plot at Agion Anargyron 7, where mortuary use of the space continued during Protogeometric and Geometric times.[1]
Comments: The grave lies between two ancient streets, one leading NW to the point where it is assumed there was a gate, near modern Sapphous Street, and another ancient road (natural pass, pathway), in use for centuries, the course of which coincides with present Agiou Dimitriou, Karaiskaki, and Agiou Philippou Streets. On its sides other graves and indications of graves of the Geometric period have been found (Agiou Dimitriou 20, Karaiskaki 16–18, Pittaki 11–13).

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Pit grave opened in the soft limestone bedrock and oriented NW–SE. It contained the undisturbed bones of one individual, accompanied by a large number of vases. The grave marker was a limestone slab: 0.56 m high; 0.15 m wide.

Finds: 22 vases, the majority of them intact: six kalathoi, three jugs, four pyxides, two skyphoi, and five miniature vases (two oenochoai, one plate, two jug amphorae)
Comments: No cover of the grave was found.
Date: Late Geometric period, third quarter of eighth century BC
Relevant bibliography: No data

Note
1 Kokkoliou 2014.

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III. 2. Agion Asomaton & Tournavitou 1

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

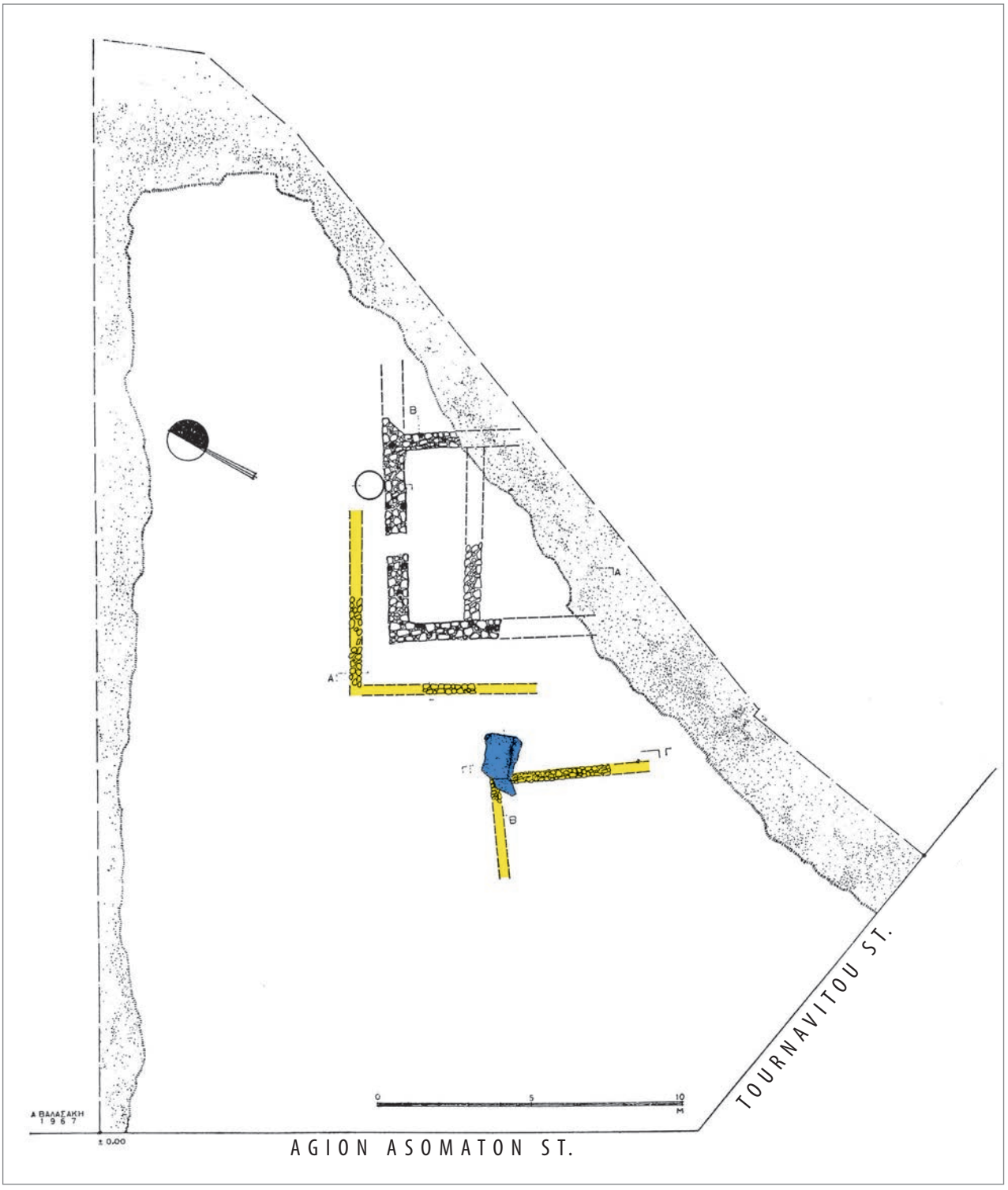

Figure 22. Athens, Psyrri. Plan of Agion Asomaton and Tournavitou plot. Alexandri 1969, p. 44, drawing 8. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 43–44, drawing 8.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 36 x 19.50 x 11.50 x 38 m
Finds: Remains of private houses of the Late Archaic (late sixth century BC), Classical, and Late Roman periods. Pottery mainly of Archaic and Classical times and a few sherds from the Hellenistic and Late Roman periods.
Relation to adjacent areas: The remains of the Classical phase might continue eastward and belong together with those on the building plot at Leokoriou 25–27.
Comments: A point at which continuous settlement from the end of the Archaic into the Classical period is attested. No architectural remnants from the Hellenistic phase have survived. The only evidence is a few sherds and one bronze coin of Eleusis (ca. 229–230 BC). Secure evidence of habitation in later years is dated to late antiquity.

Settlement Remains

1. Archaic house

Remains	Description
Rooms	Remains of two rooms with walls of rubble masonry, 0.30–0.35 m thick and founded in the soft limestone bedrock at a depth of 0.60–0.70 m. below the present ground surface. They are probably not contemporary buildings.

Finds: Fragments of Archaic vases and one Archaic lamp of type 16B (*A*gora IV)
Comments: From the size of the fieldstones used in construction of the two rooms, the excavator deduced that they belong to two different building phases.
Date: Late Archaic period, end of sixth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2002, p. 51.

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III. 3. Agiou Dimitriou 20

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Stravropoullos 1966, pp. 54–55, drawing 4, pls. 50, 51γ–δ.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1963

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Digging out of a basement
Finds: Early Geometric burial with very rich grave goods. Use of the space is denoted also by finds of pottery of the Orientalizing and Archaic periods: fragments of a Protoattic hydria, a loutrophoros with representation of a procession of females, a sherd with depiction of a lion head of the seventh century BC.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the plot to the NW at Aischylou 31, where burials of the Middle Geometric period have come to light, although it cannot be said for certain whether they are located within a single cemetery.
Comments: The burial is on the side of a very ancient road (natural pass, pathway), where other graves or indications of graves of the Geometric period have been found (Agion Anargyron 5, Karaiskaki 16–18, Pittaki 11–13), and that continued in use in the following centuries. Its course coincides with present Agiou Dimitriou and Karaiskaki Streets.

Examined Remains

1. Early Geometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Located under the N party wall of the plot, at a depth of 2.30 m. Its N half, with the head of the deceased, had been destroyed during construction of the adjacent building.

Finds: Burial with rich grave goods. The most notable are two pairs of terracotta boots. Also found were two faience beads and clay beads from necklaces, a small foot model with suspension holes, steatite buttons, bronze bracelets, three pointed-base pyxides, a kyathos, spherical pyxides, and parts of handmade cult figurines.
Comments: In the view of the excavator, the grave was of a young girl. Terracotta boots were found in Grave XXVI of the Agora, in the plot at Mitsaion and Zitrou Streets in the Makrygianni area, and in Grave α at Eleusis.[1]
Date: Early Geometric period. Smithson dates the clay beads to the beginning of EG I.[2]
Relevant bibliography: Skias 1898, p. 104; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 56–60, figs. 9–10, pl. 42α; Smithson 1974, p. 347.

Notes

1 II. 12, X. 36. For Grave α at Eleusis, see Skias 1898, p. 104.
2 Smithson 1974, p. 347.

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III. 4. Agias Theklas 11 & Pittaki

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1984, p. 25; Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, pp. 27–28.
Excavators: O. Alexandri, Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Years of excavation: 1976, 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 14.50 x 16 m/191 m^2
Finds
1976: Submycenaean cist grave, walls of the Hellenistic period, undated well, undated storage jars (pithoi). In the fill: two characteristic LH IIIA1 vases (alabastron, kylix).
1979: LH IIIB pit grave and evidence of use of the space from the end of the eighth century BC (LG period) to the beginning of the fifth century BC.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Geometric phases, the plot is examined together with the neighboring plots at Pittaki 11–13 and Karaiskaki 16–18, whose mortuary use, however, is dated earlier, in the Protogeometric period.
Comments: The remains are located close to an ancient road running NE–SW, use of which as a natural pass or pathway should be traced back to very early times. This is deduced from the finding of Submycenaean and Geometric burials and pottery, obviously originating from destroyed graves, both on this building plot and others on either side of present Agiou Dimitriou and Karaiskaki Streets, which coincide with the course of the ancient road (Agiou Dimitriou 20, Agion Argyron 5, Pittaki 11–13).

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Cist grave of dimensions 0.85 x 0.60 m, lined with schist slabs. Found 1.10 m from the line of the building facades in Agias Theklas Street and 6.50 m from the S party wall of the plot. Found in 1976.

Finds: Trefoil-mouth hydria
Comments: During the 1979 excavation in the same plot, a pit grave cut in the soft limestone bedrock and dated to the LH IIIB was found.
Date: Submycenaean period.
Relevant bibliography: Mountjoy 1995, pp. 31–32, 64.

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III. 5. Athinas 3–5 & Themidos 2–4 – Monastiraki Metro Station

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Unpublished
Excavator: First Ephorate of Byzantine Antiquities
Year of excavation: No data

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Metro station
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Area of the enhanced archaeological site: 300 m^2
Finds: Building remains from the Geometric period (eighth century BC) to the nineteenth century AD. Parts of the Roman encasement of the Eridanos River, with brick-built vault, streets, houses, workshops, and storage facilities. A wealth of movable finds of all periods.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: There is no published information on this excavation, as the project was completed later than the other Metro stations included in the collective volume *The City Beneath the City*. The above information about the Geometric phase of the space is taken from information panels in the station. Despite the fact that 16 small and larger pits and scant remnants of walls are shown, we do not know whether these are wells, graves, workshop deposits, or something else.
Relevant bibliography: No data

III. 6. Aischylou 31

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

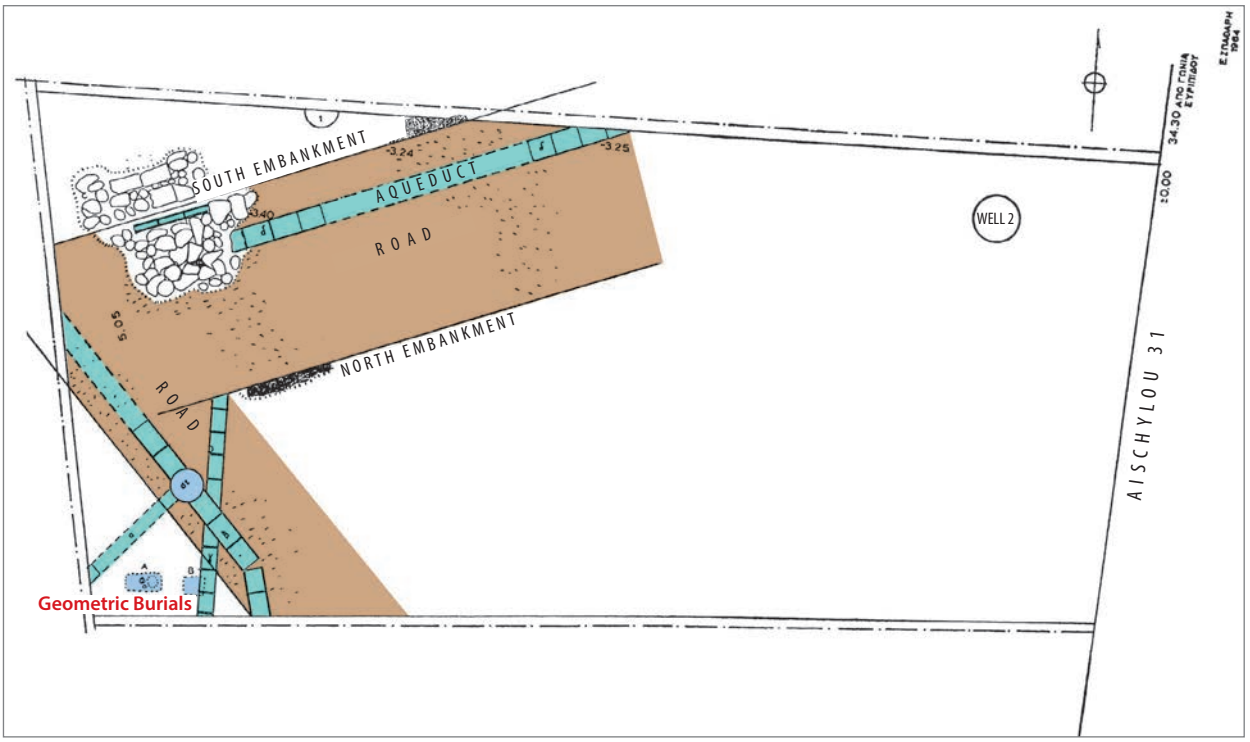

Figure 23. Athens, Psyrri. Plan of Aischylou 31 plot. Stavropoullos 1967, p.58, drawing 10. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 56–60, drawings 9–10, pl. 42α.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1964 (?)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Geometric burials and one pyre, junction of two Classical streets, central conduit, part of a system of drains of private installations, and two wells.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the plot to the SE at Agiou Dimitriou 20, where too a Middle Geometric burial has been found, although it cannot be said for certain whether they are located within a single cemetery.
Comments: The burial is located on the side of a very ancient road (natural pass, pathway), which served a large part of the N part of the city and where other graves or indications of graves for the Geometric period have been found (Kranaou & Sarri Streets). The site is at the junction of two streets, one of which almost links the Eriai Gate (V) with the Acharnai Gate (VI), while the other connected this area to the N bank of the Eridanos River.

Examined Remains

1. Early and Middle Geometric burials

Remains	Description
Three graves	All were found in the SW corner of the plot. Grave A: Rectangular pit grave cut in the bedrock. Found looted and half destroyed. Only two vases were found inside it. Cremation burial: Found at the E edge of the floor of Grave A. Disturbed in antiquity. It is a cavity 0.36 m in diameter and 0.70 m deeper than the bottom of the grave, inside which were found residues of objects. Grave B: Pit grave. Found 0.55 m E of Grave A and oriented N–S. It too was cut in the soft limestone bedrock but had been destroyed almost completely by the Classical Drain γ.

Finds
Grave A: One two-handled skyphos and one oenochoe
Cremation: Iron dagger blade and iron rivet in pieces
Grave B: Very few Geometric sherds and some Classical ones "originating from the overlying Classical fill"
Comments: The graves existed in the space and were destroyed by the Classical Road I, which passed over them.
Date: End of Early/beginning of Middle Geometric period, specifically EG II/MG I, on the basis of the similarities of the vases to the skyphos and the decoration of the amphora from the Phinopoulos Tomb 1[1]
Relevant bibliography: Costaki 2006, pp. 432–434, entry IV. 14–15, pl. BC10, pp. 68, 100, 169.

Note
1 Smithson 1974, p. 27; personal communication with John Papadopoulos regarding the dating of the vases.

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III. 7. Aisopou & Mikonos 18

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, p. 34, pl. 22α.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 11 x 9.50 m
Finds: One Protogeometric trefoil-mouth oenochoe on the soft limestone bedrock, obviously the sole surviving trace of a destroyed grave at this point
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: This particular plot is identified on the basis of its measurements with that at Mikonos 18, which was investigated again 11 years later, probably in a limited part of its initial area.
Relevant bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou, p. 27.

III. 8. Aristophanous 14–16

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, p. 56.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1964

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Disturbed fill with sherds of transport amphorae, sherds of Geometric and Classical vases
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

III. 9. Arionos 12

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Lygouri-Tolia 1989, p. 18.
Excavator: E. Lygouri-Tolia
Year of excavation: 1983

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Two trenches were opened: one in the N part of the plot, oriented E–W, and one along the length of the plot, in a N–S direction.

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Finds: Settlement remains of the Ottoman period, a deposit with fragments of a few Classical and mainly Roman vases, and Ottoman settlement remains. A few Mycenaean sherds were found on the surface of the soft limestone bedrock.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plot at Avliton 10 and with Arionos 4 & Ermou, where cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock have also been found.
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Deposit

Remains	Description
Deposit	Found in the NE corner of the plot. It was cut in the soft limestone bedrock.

Finds: A few black-glaze sherds of the second half of the fourth century BC and mainly of the first century BC were found inside the deposit.
Comments: Roman sherds were also recovered from the trenches opened in the plot.
Date: "Possibly of Hellenistic times," according to the excavator. There is considerable disturbance of levels in this area, which makes secure dating difficult.
Relevant bibliography: No data

III. 10. Arionos 4 & Ermou

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, pp. 260–262; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2005, pp. 72–73, fig. 3.
Excavator: I. Tsirigoti-Drakotou
Year of excavation: 1999

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench for the Athens Metro; ventilation shaft
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 220 m^2
Finds: Traces of habitation from the Classical into the Late Roman period, in a poor state of preservation due to multiple later interventions for the construction of a building (walls, wells, refuse pits, drains); Classical enchytrismos; possible workshop activity (cuttings, lumps of clay, tripod kiln-firing support, iron slag).
Relation to adjacent areas: To the E it neighbors the plot at Karaiskaki 1 & Arionos 2, where the existence of a Protogeometric layer has been ascertained. Examined together with the plots at Avliton 10 and Arionos 12, where too cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock have been found.
Comments: The pottery finds, which date from Geometric into Byzantine times, attest the continuous use of the space over the centuries. Among the movable finds is a marble kioniskos inscribed with an honorific decree.
Relevant bibliography: III Archaeological District 1965, p. 32.

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III. 11. Avliton 10

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, p. 27.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 112 m^2
Finds: Various pits of indeterminate use cut in the soft limestone bedrock, one Classical deposit, and two Hellenistic (?) walls, as well as two Late Roman walls
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Classical and Hellenistic phases, the plot is examined together with the neighboring plot at Arionos 12.
Comments: Examined together with the neighboring plot at Arionos 12 and with Arionos 4 & Ermou, where cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock have also been found.

Examined Remains

1. Classical deposit and cuttings

Remains	Description
Deposit	Found in the E part of the plot. Breached by an indeterminate Roman wall. An irregular cutting in the soft limestone bedrock (at depth 3 m), measuring 2.45 x 1.45 x 0.65 m. It contained the material from a single dump of fill (see "Finds").
Cuttings	Two pits smaller than the deposit, breached by the same Roman wall, which yielded sherds of the Classical period

Finds: Sherds of both domestic and high-quality vases, in equal quantity. Sherds from Classical vases were found also in the two pits.
Comments: No data
Date: Late Classical period, third quarter of fifth century BC

2. Indeterminate and undated cuttings

Remains	Description
Cuttings	Six in all

Finds: They contained no finds.
Comments: Various pits of indeterminate use cut in the soft limestone bedrock
Date: Not dated by the excavator
Relevant bibliography: Lygouri-Tolia 1989, p. 18; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, pp. 260–262; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2005, pp. 72–73, drawing 3.

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III. 12. Ivis & Lepeniotou

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Figure 24. Athens, Psyrri. Plan of Ivis and Lepeniotou plot. Stavropoullos 1967, p. 48, drawing 5. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 47–49, drawing 5.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1964 (?)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: "A building plot of small area." Investigated almost in its entirety, excepting its NW corner, which was left to give access.
Finds: One Geometric grave; conduits, perhaps a street; indeterminate remains, probably of the Classical period with traces of a Hellenistic phase; remains of a Byzantine building. The pottery recovered from the plot spans the fourth century BC to the fourth century AD, as do the lamps.

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Relation to adjacent areas: The continuation of the remains is lost under the surfaces of Ivis (E) and Lepeniotou (NNW) streets and inside the adjacent plots at Lepeniotou 25 (W) and Ivis 2 (SW).
Comments: The plot is not located at the SE corner of the junction of the streets, as is reported erroneously, but at the SW. North is indicated incorrectly on the plan, thus affecting all the measurements. (In the descriptions that follow and in the main text, they have been corrected.) This is a plot that yielded many architectural finds, but the excavator dates only the Geometric grave, part of a Hellenistic floor, and part of another floor of the sixth century AD. The rest of the remains are merely described.

Examined Remains

1. Geometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Rectangular plan, found under the foundation of a wall of rubble masonry and clay, located between the E wall of building B and one other wall 0.40 m E of the preceding one. Revealed after removal of fill of the Classical period.

Finds: Fragments of vases and residues of bone were recovered from inside it.
Comments: The grave had been looted in antiquity. Its position reinforces the excavator's hypothesis that an ancient street ran between Buildings A and B.
Date: Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: No data

III. 13. Kalogirou Samouil & Peiraios 59

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, p. 23.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1978

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Remnants of a burial of the late eighth century BC (three vases as grave goods: a large amphora, a lekanis, and a kotyle), later graves (one of the first century BC), pottery of the Geometric, Archaic, and Classical periods from the deeper layers of the fill, and one inscribed kioniskos of Hellenistic times
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this building plot and continued in use for several centuries. For the sites examined together with this plot, see "Relevant bibliography."
Comments: Part of the cemetery encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (former Kriezi Street) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 479 BC.
Relevant bibliography: Wide 1910, p. 33; Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6–191, pls. 6–9; Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Alexandri 1969, p. 67, pls. 35–37, pp. 79–84, drawing 34, pls. 45–47; Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26; Lazaridi 1987, p. 23.

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III. 14. Karaiskaki 1 & Arionos 2

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: III Archaeological District 1965, p. 32.
Excavator: Not mentioned
Year of excavation: 1962

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Scant architectural remains and a well of the Geometric period, a room of an undated building with walls preserving traces of plaster and a floor of irregular stones
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Geometric phase, the plot is examined together with the adjacent plot to the W at Arionos 4 & Ermou, but without the possibility of correlating architectural remains.
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Geometric settlement (?) remains

Remains	Description
Boulder	Found on the W side of the plot, on top of the Protogeometric layer.
Well	Found on the N side of the plot, sunk in the soft limestone bedrock. Diameter 0.55 m.

Finds: Geometric pottery from the filling of the well
Comments: The boulder is perhaps the remnant of a wall.
Date: Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1979, p. 132; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2000, pp. 260–262; Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2005, pp. 72–73, fig. 3.

III. 15. Karaiskaki 16–18

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1972, p. 67, pl. 60β.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1969

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 13.50 x 17.70 m
Finds: Remains of a Hellenistic house. Pottery of the Geometric to the Roman period was collected from the fill, along with other finds, among them a Protogeometric two-handled krateriskos with a conical foot, two lamps, two domestic vessels, three loom-weights, fragments of a glass vase, 11 bronze coins of the fourth to the second century BC, and some Vandal artifacts.

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Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding both the Protogeometric and the Hellenistic phase, the plot is examined together with the adjacent plot at Pittaki 11–13.
Comments: The remains are located close to an ancient road running NE–SW, use of which as a natural pass or pathway must date back to Geometric times. This is deduced from the finding of Geometric burials and pottery, obviously originating from destroyed graves, both in this particular plot and in others on either side of the present streets, Agiou Dimitriou and Karaiskaki, which coincide with the course of the ancient road (Agiou Dimitriou 20, Agion Anargyron 5, Pittaki 11–13).
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 108–110, drawing 54, pl. 95.

III. 16. Kranaou & Sarri

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Liangouras 1979, p. 41.
Excavator: A. Liangouras
Years of excavation: 1972–1973

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 20.70 x 18 m
Finds: At the E edge of the plot, an indeterminate and undated wall, 4.20 m long, and fill down to the soft limestone bedrock (depth 2 m), within which Protogeometric pottery and part of an inscription were found. The mending of the Protogeometric sherds yielded two black-glaze lekythia with high neck and decoration of semicircles in the shoulder area.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The site is located at the junction of two streets. One of them served most of the N part of the city; the other linked this area with the N bank of the Eridanos River.
Relevant bibliography: No data

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III. 17. Kriezi, ΥΔΡΕΞ trench (present-day Eleftheria Square)

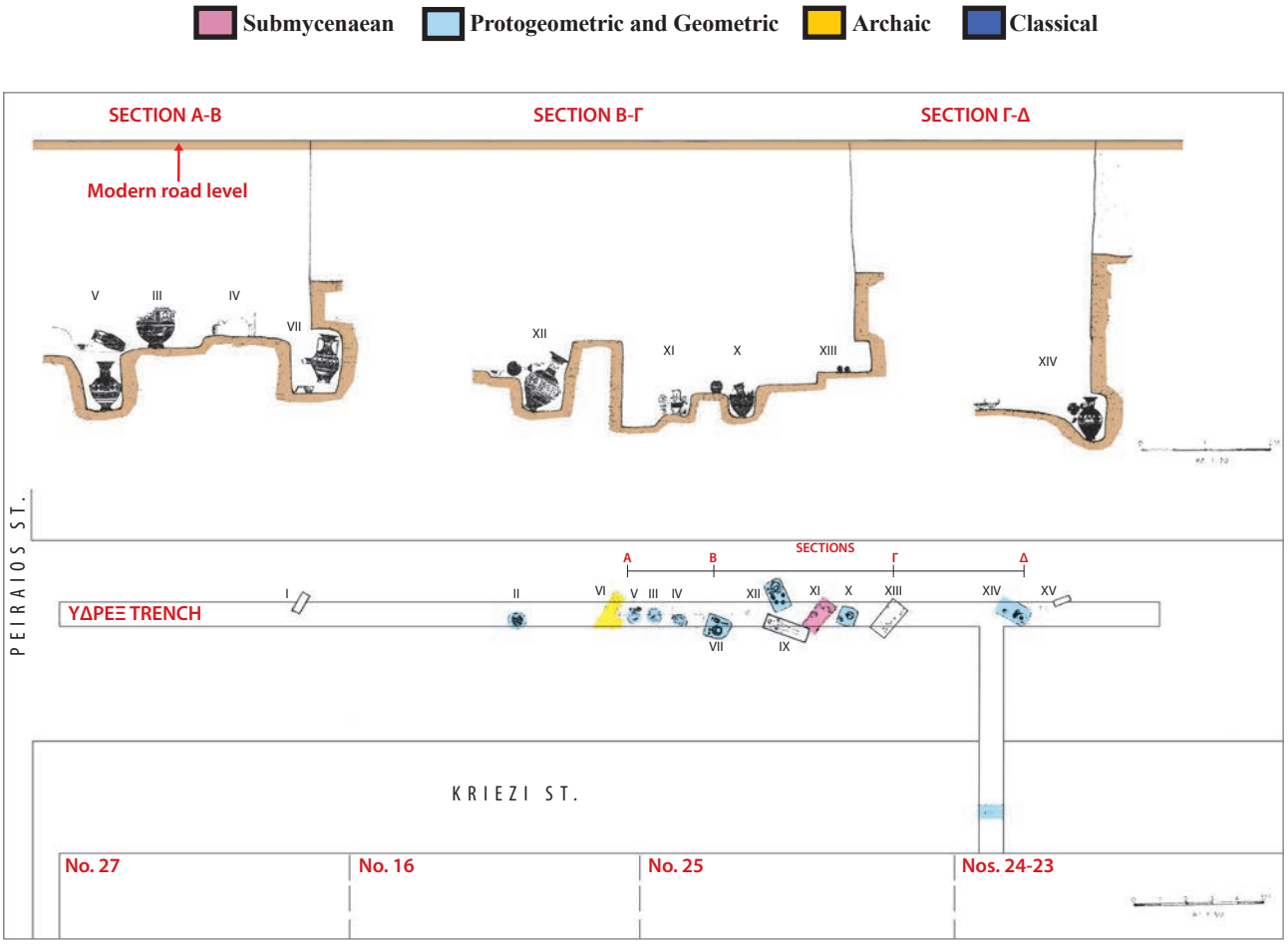

Figure 25. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Kriezi Street. Plan and section of ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench. Alexandri 1968b, pp. 24–25. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968b, pp. 20–27; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Alexandri 1969, p. 67, pls. 35–37.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: From no. 24 as far as the junction of Kriezi Street and Peiraios Street
Finds: Use of the space from the Submycenaean until the Classical period. Sixteen graves brought to light: one Submycenaean, nine Geometric, one Protoattic, one Archaic, and four Classical.
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this particular plot and was in use for several centuries. For sites examined together with the plot, see "Relevant bibliography."
Comments: Part of the cemetery that is encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (formerly Kriezi) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 480 BC.

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For this building plot and almost all the other plots on the W side of Eleftheria Square, one further problem is encountered in the bibliography: they are published both in *ArchDelt* and in AAA with the wrong address (in this case as Kriezi, ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench, instead of Eleftheria Square, ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench). This is due to the erroneous renaming of Eleftherias Street to the W of the homonymous square as Kriezi Street on the topographical maps of the Ministry of Public Works (1974). The error is evident from the lack of sequence in the numbering of the building plots, which begins normally from the E side of the square (Eleftheria Square 1 and Peiraios Street) and continues to the S side. However, at the junction of Kriezi Street and the street on its W side, instead of continuing the existing clockwise numbering, the continuation of the numbering of Kriezi Street, which was considered the continuation of Eleftheria Square, is adopted. This problem is encountered for the first time in *ArchDelt* 22, 1967, B΄1, [1968][1] and is continued until *ArchDelt* 49, 1994, B΄1, [1999],[2] with the sole exception *ArchDelt* 34, 1979, B΄1, [1987].[3] It causes great confusion and distortion of the space in which the cemetery is arranged. In the topographical plans prepared for the present study, the name of the street has been corrected and the positions of the graves are marked on the basis of this. In the entries for the building plots in the gazetteer the old naming, with which they have been published, is kept to avoid confusion with the bibliography.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Found at the height of the plot at no. 25. A partly destroyed cist grave measuring 1.50 x 0.79 m, lined on the sides with stone slabs.

Finds: Six vases: a stirrup jar, three lekythia, and two oenochoai
Comments: By the standards of the period, this is considered a richly furnished burial.
Date: Initially, it was dated by the excavator to the end of the Submycenaean period. Recently, Ruppenstein dated the grave to the final years of LH IIIC, together with the first Submycenaean graves in the Kerameikos, on the basis of one of the two oenochoai it contained, the only one published.[4]

2. Protogeometric/Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Cremation burial inside cinerary vases. The mouth of the urn amphora was covered by a bronze hemispherical cup.

Finds: Iron weapons (iron javelin tip) and jewelry (iron pin)
Comments: No data
Date: Protogeometric period

3. Middle Geometric and Middle to Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Eight graves	These are cremation burials inside cinerary vases.

Finds
Grave II: Cinerary amphora with a clay skyphos closing the mouth. It contained an iron dagger (therefore it belonged to a male), a gold plain fillet, and a gold finger ring.
Grave III: Cinerary amphora and half a krater
Grave V: Cinerary amphora with double horizontal handles on the belly, one other small amphora, and a bronze pin. The type of cinerary vase and the jewelry indicate that this was a female burial.
Grave VIII: Cinerary amphora, skyphos with handle in the form of a human limb, two undecorated skyphoi, oenochoe, gold funerary fillet, and iron sword. From this last grave good it is deduced that the burial was of a male.

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Grave XII: The richest in metal objects. The cinerary amphora was closed by a bronze cup and contained two iron pins, the upper halves of them gilded, a gold finger ring, and an iron fibula. The grave seems to have been of a female. At a higher level in the trench, an oenochoe, a skyphos, a pyxis. and four bronze vases were found.
Grave *XIV:* Cinerary amphora with horizontal handles on the belly and its mouth closed by a bronze skyphos. Found near it was a smaller amphora and inside it was a plain gold fillet. The vase type suggests that this was a female burial.
Grave XVI: Cinerary amphora, oenochoe, half a gold fillet (investigated partly)
Comments: All are cremation burials, notwithstanding their advanced date in the Geometric period.
Dates: Graves, II, III, V, VI, VII, and XIV, are dated to various phases of the Middle Geometric period (ninth century BC). Graves XII and XVI are dated to the transition from the Middle Geometric to the Late Geometric period (first half of eighth century BC).

4. Early Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave	No data

Finds: Cinerary amphora with incised inscription on the shoulder: "MNE" (*mnema*? = grave)[5]
Comments: No data
Date: Early seventh century BC

5. Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Burial inside a pit measuring 1.30 x 0.90 m. It was found half destroyed.

Finds: The grave contained 12 vases (two handleless with biconical bodies, two black-glaze jugs decorated with painted bands, six black-figure lekythoi, one kylix with foliate decoration, one lekanis with linear decoration) and one terracotta figurine of an enthroned deity.[6]
Comments: No data
Date: Third quarter of sixth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6–191, pls. 6–9; Wide 1910, p. 33; Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Smithson 1974, p. 335; Lazaridi 1987, pp. 23–24, drawing 6; Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 245.

Notes

1 Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90.
2 Orphanou 1992, p. 41.
3 Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26.
4 Alexandri 1968b, p. 22, fig. 2; *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 244–245, pl. 40b.
5 Kurtz and Boardman 1994 [1971], p. 69.
6 Higgins 1967, pl. 17E.

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III. 18. Kriezi 22 & Psaromilingou (present-day Eleftheria Square 22 & Psaromilingou)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

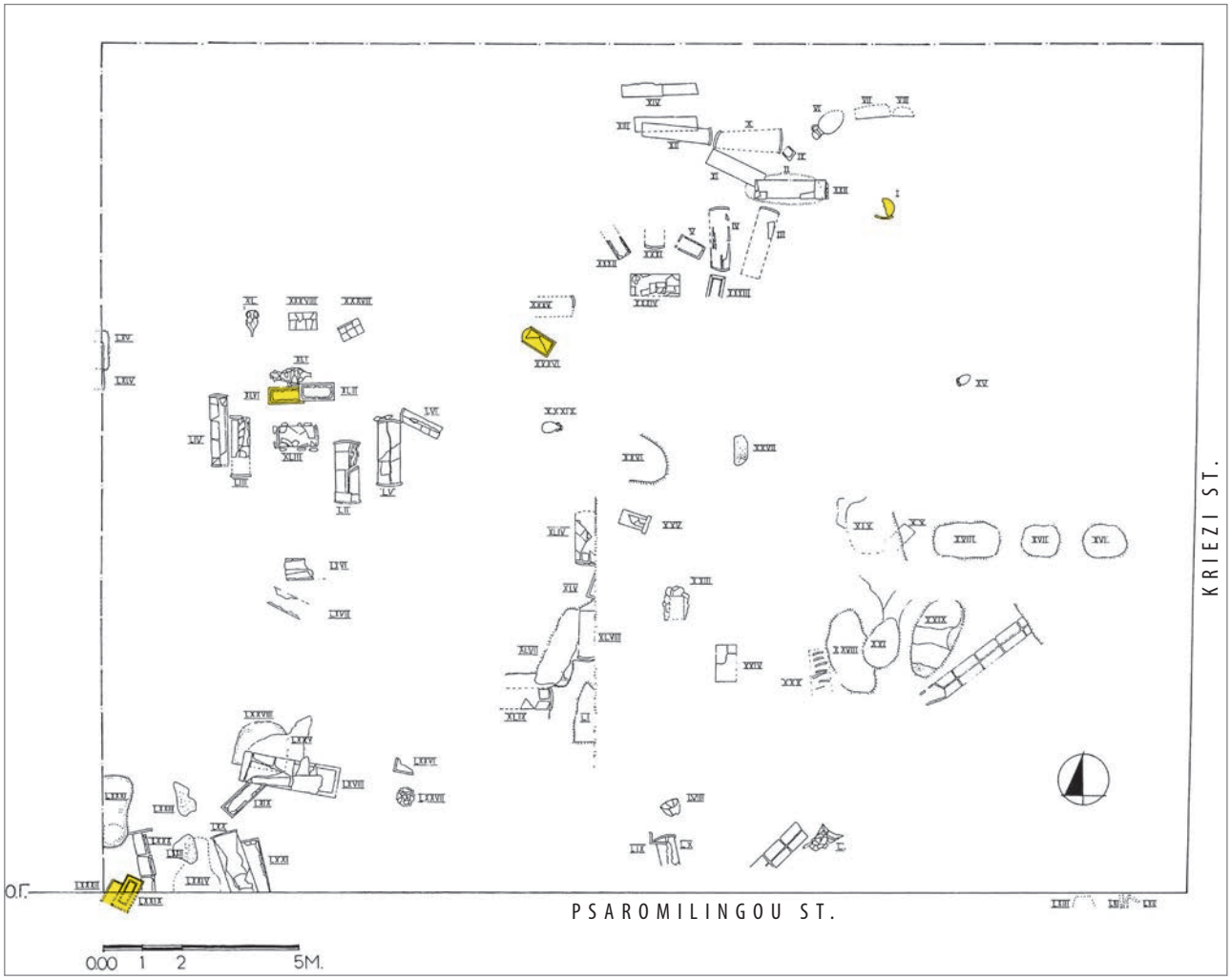

Figure 26. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Plan of Kriezi 22 and Psaromilingou plot. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, p. 25, drawing 6. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund

Bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, pp. 23–24, drawing 6.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 586 m^2
Finds: Fragment of a Submycenaean stirrup jar from the fill, one Late Geometric grave (late eighth century BC), five Late Archaic graves (early fifth century BC), nine Classical graves (fifth/fourth century BC).
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this particular plot and was in use for several centuries. For the plots examined together with this one, see "Relevant bibliography."

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Comments: Part of the cemetery encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (former Kriezi) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 480 BC. For this building plot and almost all the other plots on the W side of Eleftheria Square, one further problem is encountered in the bibliography: they are published both in *ArchDelt* and in AAA with the wrong address (in this case as Kriezi 22 and Psaromilingou instead of Eleftheria Square 22 and Psaromilingou). This is due to the erroneous renaming of Eleftherias Street to the W of the homonymous square as Kriezi Street on the topographical maps of the Ministry of Public Works (1974). The error is evident from the lack of sequence in the numbering of the building plots, which begins normally from the E side of the square (Eleftheria Square 1 and Peiraios Street) and continues to the S side. However, at the junction of Kriezi Street and the street on its W side, instead of continuing the existing clockwise numbering, the continuation of the numbering of Kriezi Street, which was considered the continuation of Eleftheria Square, is adopted. This problem is encountered for the first time in *ArchDelt* 22, 1967, B'1, [1968][1] and is continued until *ArchDelt* 49, 1994, B'1, [1999],[2] with the sole exception *ArchDelt* 34, 1979, B'1, [1987].[3] It causes great confusion and distortion of the space in which the cemetery is arranged. In the topographical plans prepared for the present study, the name of the street has been corrected and the symbols of the position of the graves have been placed on the basis of this. In the entries for the building plots in the gazetteer, the old naming, with which they have been published, is kept to avoid confusion with the bibliography.

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	This is Grave XV, which was an enchytrismos of a child in a jug.

Finds: The burial vase was an unpainted jug with incised decoration. In contact with it, in the area of the neck, one small black-glaze oenochoe and one small skyphos were found.
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period, late eighth century BC

1. Archaic graves

Remains	Description
Five graves	Graves I, XXXVI, XLVI, LXXIX, and LXXXII. All were terracotta children's larnakes, except the first, which was an enchytrismos inside an unpainted kalpe. Some of the larnakes were coated inside with black glaze.

Finds: Aryballoid lekythia, black-glaze lekanis, black-glaze thelastron, black-glaze skyphos, white- lekythos and black-painted lekythoi. Remains of bones survived in some of the larnakes.
Comments: All graves housed burials of children and infants.
Date: Late Archaic period, late sixth/early fifth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Wide 1910, p. 33; Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6–191, pls. 6–9; Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Alexandri 1969, pp. 79–84, drawing. 34, pls. 45–47; Alexandri 1969, p. 67, pls. 35–37, pp. 79–84, drawing 34, pls. 45–47; Lazaridi 1987, p. 23; Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26.

Notes

1 Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90.
2 Orphanou 1992, p. 41.
3 Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26.

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III. 19. Kriezi 23–24 (present-day Eleftheria Square 23–24)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

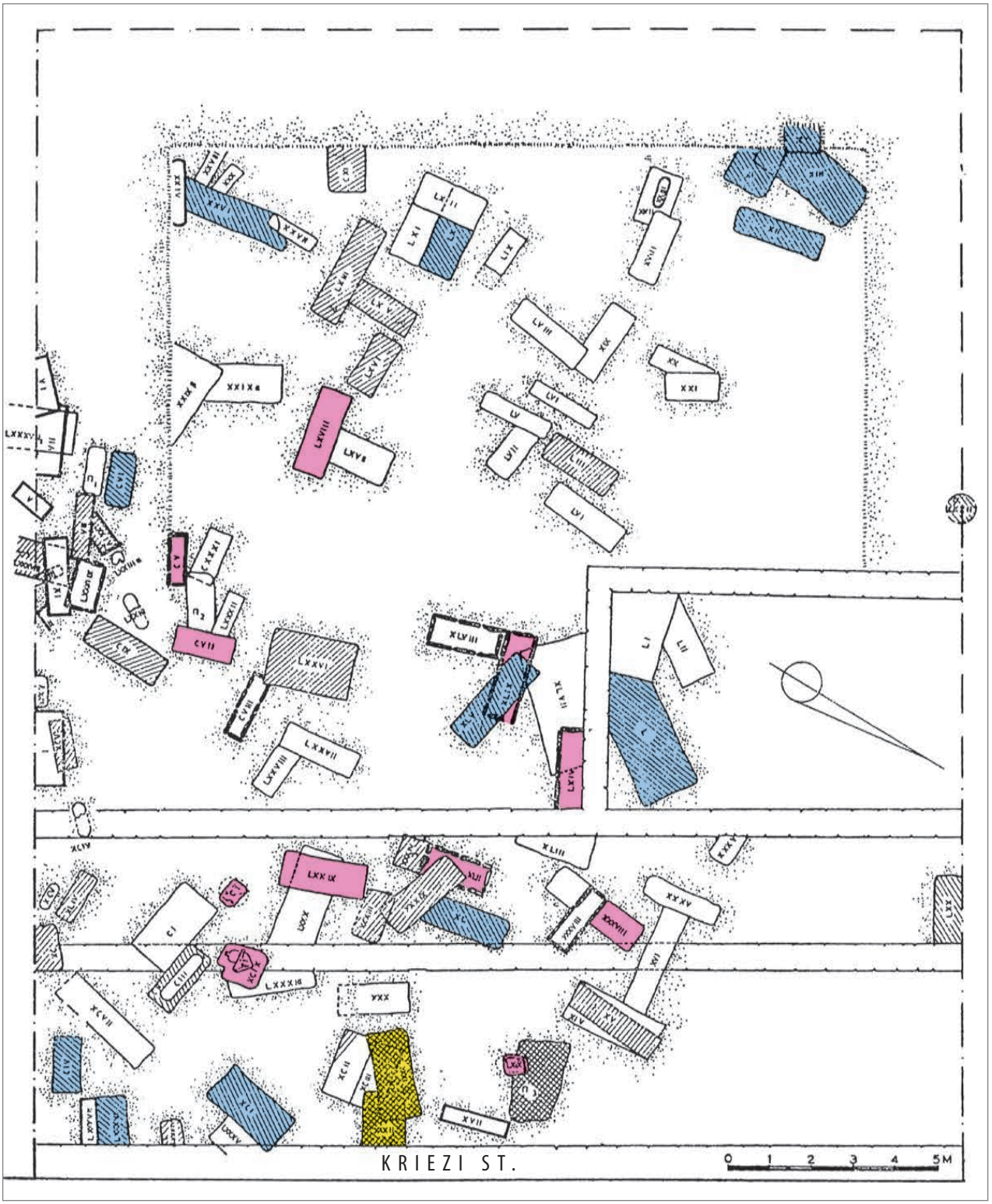

Figure 27. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Plan of Kriezi 23–24 plot. Alexandri 1968, p. 93, drawing 44. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot.
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 22.35 x 27.50 m
Finds: 111 graves, of which 57 have been dated as follows: 11 Submycenaean, 13 Geometric, two Archaic, and 31 Classical. It was not possible to identify the rest due to their total destruction. Furthermore, many pits had been reused for later burials. The earliest burials in the space were probably made directly on the soft limestone bedrock. During those years, the bedrock was covered by fill (height 0.50 m in the Geometric period). This increased progressively over the centuries, reaching a height of 3 m in Classical times.
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this building plot and continued in use for several centuries. For the sites examined together with this plot, see "Relevant bibliography."
Comments: Part of the cemetery encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (formerly Kriezi) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 479 BC. For this building plot and almost all the other plots on the W side of Eleftheria Square, one further problem is encountered in the bibliography: they are published both in *ArchDelt* and AAA with the wrong address (in this case Kriezi 23–24 instead of Eleftheria Square 23–24). This is due to the erroneous renaming of Eleftherias Street to the W of the homonymous square as Kriezi Street on the topographical maps of the Ministry of Public Works (1974). The error is evident from the lack of sequence in the numbering of the building plots, which begins normally from the E side of the square (Eleftheria Square 1 and Peiraios Street) and continues to the S side. However, at the junction of Kriezi Street and the street on its W side, instead of continuing the existing clockwise numbering, continuation of the numbering of Kriezi Street, which was considered the continuation of Eleftheria Square, is adopted. This problem is encountered for the first time in *ArchDelt* 22, 1967, B΄1, [1968][1] and is continued until *ArchDelt* 49, 1994, B΄1, [1999],[2] with the sole exception being *ArchDelt* 34, 1979, B΄1, [1987].[3] It causes great confusion and distortion of the space in which the cemetery is arranged. In the topographical plans prepared for the present study, the name of the street has been corrected and the symbols of the position of the graves have been placed on the basis of this. In the entries for the building plots in the gazetteer, the old naming, with which they have been published, is kept to avoid confusion with the bibliography.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves

Remains	Description
11 graves	These are cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock, of mean measurements 1.70 x 0.65 m. Four contained cremation burials (Graves LXX, LXXIX, XCIX, and XXXVIII), five were cist graves (pits lined with stone slabs on the sides), and two were simple pit graves.

Finds: Two of the cremation burials, which were most probably of males (LXX, LXXIX), were unusually richly furnished, both in terms of number of grave goods and in the material from which they were made. They were accompanied by bronze and iron weapons (spearheads, sword), bronze jewelry (fibula, finger ring), and vases.
Comments: Even more remarkable is that here, as in the neighboring Kerameikos, the mortuary custom of cremation is encountered in this period.
Date: Submycenaean period.
Graves LXX and XCIX are dated by Ruppenstein to the transitional phase from the Submycenaean to the Early Geometric period.

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2. Middle and Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
13 graves	These are simple rectangular pits with dimensions ranging from 2.70 x 0.82 x 0.60 m to 1.20 x 0.85 x 0.55 m. All contained cremation burials. Of the 13 Geometric graves, six were found intact (Graves XCI, CVI, XL, XLV, LXXII, and XXVI). In two cases, one MG and one MG/LG burial, the cinerary urn was a bronze lebes (cauldron).

Finds: Iron weapons (sword) and jewelry (pin), vases, pyxides (one with a horse figurine on its lid), terracotta tripod, gold, and silver funerary bands-diadems.
Comments: Despite their advanced date in the Geometric period, these graves all held cremation burials and are distinguished by their rich grave goods.
Dates: Graves XIII, XCI, CVI, XXVI, and XL are dated to various phases of the Middle Geometric period. Graves XLV and X are dated to the transition from the Middle Geometric to the Late Geometric period. Graves XII, L, LXXII, and CIV date to the Late Geometric period.

2. Archaic graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	These are Graves XXXI and XXXII, which were found half destroyed. They are simple pits in the soft limestone bedrock.

Finds
Grave XXXI: Two lekythoi, one of Deianeira type[4] and the other black-figure with scene of valediction.
Grave XXXII: One handleless piriform vase
Comments: No data
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6191, pls. 6–9; Wide 1910, p. 33; Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Alexandri 1969, p. 67, pls. 35–37, pp. 79–84, drawing 34, pls. 45–47; Coldstream 1977, p. 164; Lazaridi 1987, pp. 23–24, drawing 6; Morris 1987, p. 60; Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26; Mountjoy 1995, p. 64; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 244, pl. 40b.

Notes
1 Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90.
2 Orphanou 1992, p. 41.
3 Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26.
4 Alexandri 1968, pl. 90β.

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III. 20. Lepeniotou 27 & Leokoriou 14

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1985, p. 12.
Excavator: K. Lazaridi
Year of excavation: 1978 (?)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: In 1978, in the course of excavating the plot, a cistern and a well, connected by a tunnel cut in the soft limestone bedrock, were revealed, along with a rock-cut drain covered with amphorae and tiles, and the foundation of a wall. None of these finds is clarified or dated by the excavator. The pottery from the fill was of Hellenistic and Early Roman times, while fragments of vases of the Geometric, Classical, and Hellenistic periods were recovered from inside the cistern.
Relation to adjacent areas: In 1969, during the opening of a trench by the Public Power Corporation, the head of a female statue of the mid-fourth century BC was brought up of the junction of the two streets.
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1970, pp. 55–56, fig. 50α.

III. 21. Leokoriou 25–27

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Tsirigoti-Drakotou 2002, p. 51.
Excavator: I. Tsirigoti-Drakotou
Year of excavation: 1997

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Investigation inside an existing building, prior to its conversion into a theater.
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Approximately 17 m^2
Finds: Architectural remains of two walls and one floor, undated and unspecified by the excavator. The earlier use of the space, as is ascertained from the pottery found, dates to the Geometric period.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

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III. 22. Leokoriou 4–6–8 & Ivis 8

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 71–73, pl. 14α–β, δ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 35.50 x 18.50 m
Finds: Cemetery (11 graves) of the fourth and third centuries BC, intra muros on the NE side of the road between the Eriai Gate and the NW corner of the Agora; wells; remains of a Roman building.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Hellenistic phase, the plot is examined together with the adjacent plot to the E at Ivis and Navarchou Apostoli Streets.
Comments: The movable finds from the fill are particularly interesting, as they are objects associated directly or indirectly with a cemetery (votive relief with nekrodeipno scene), as well as objects for purely domestic use (25 stamped loom-weights and 22 plain ones; six spindle-whorls) and others that are open to dual interpretation (figurines, among them one seated goddess of Archaic type; part of an altar; numerous lamps spanning the fourth to the second century BC; objects associated with the female toilet; two bone pins; and faience beads). The pottery collected dates from the Archaic into the Hellenistic period. Coins of the third and second centuries BC were found, as well as three busts (one of the Late Roman period).

Settlement Remains

1. Undated well

Remains	Description
Well	Well Φ1. There is no reference to its findspot.

Finds: Corinthian aryballos with the neck missing
Comments: The aryballos is most probably linked with a destroyed grave that existed on the site.
Date: The excavator gives no date.

2. Undated well

Remains	Description
Well	Well Φ2. There is no reference to its findspot; nor is any other information given.

Finds: Various Hellenistic vases were mended from sherds recovered from the fill: red-glaze lopas, black-glaze skyphos, two black-glaze bowls (one decorated with stamped anthemia/palmettes), broken red-glaze flask.
Comments: No data
Date: The excavator gives no date.

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3. Undated well

Remains	Description
Well	Well Φ3. Found under the SW wall of the Roman building. Exactly above its opening a relieving arch has been constructed to support the overlying wall.

Finds: No data
Comments: This is perhaps Well 3, which is not mentioned with the rest of the wells.
Date: The excavator gives no date. Even so, it should be considered earlier than the overlying Roman building: Classical to Hellenistic period?

4. Undated well

Remains	Description
Well	Well Φ4: There is no reference to its findspot; nor is any other information given.

Finds: Three black-glaze flasks, ladle, red-glaze skyphos, part of a red-figure chous with representation of a child, black-glaze juglet with grooved decoration, one-handled skyphos, and part of a black-glaze kylix with stamped decoration.
Comments: Red-figure choai are par excellence grave goods for child burials and appear in the last quarter of the fifth century BC. The case of the finding of the chous in the fill of the well is the same as that of the Corinthian aryballos inside Well Φ1 (see above) and is an indication of the strange use of a space intra muros as a cemetery, at least until the end of the fifth century BC, if not later. It is interesting that a ladle, a utensil for everyday domestic use, was found inside the same well.
Date: The excavator gives no date.

Other Examined Remains

1. Part of an ancient street

Remains	Description
Retaining wall of a street	The wall was located along the length of the building facade of Leokoriou Street. Running NW–SE, it was possibly the SE retaining wall of an ancient road. It was founded at a depth of 2.60 m upon a layer of fill, survived to a height of 1.80 m, and was constructed of assorted building materials.

Finds: No data
Comments: This is the northwesternmost surviving part of the road that commenced at the Eriai Gate (Gate V) and terminated at the NW corner of the Ancient Agora.
Date: No data
Relevant bibliography: Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7; Alexandri 1970, p. 49; Costaki 2006, pp. 111–112, 461, 464–466, 468–472.

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III. 23. Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil & Psaromilingou (Sapountzakis property)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

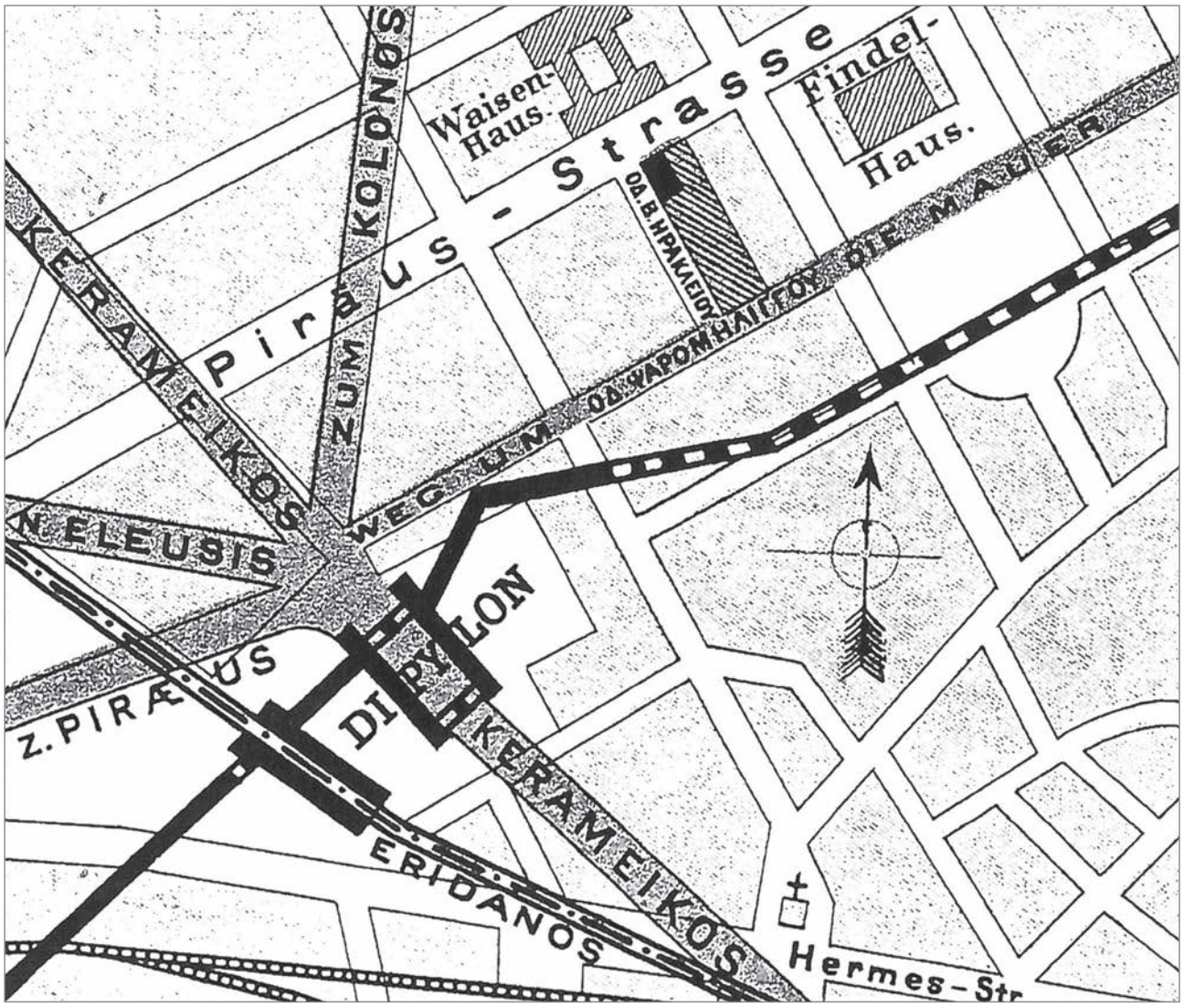

Figure 28. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil and Psaromilingou. Sapountzakis property. Brückner and Pernice 1893, pl. VI. 1.

Bibliography: Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6–191, pls. 6–9.
Excavators: A. Brückner (1891), E. Pernice (1892)
Year of excavation: 1891

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: The plot was not excavated thoroughly. Eight independent rectangular trenches — 8 to 12 m long — were opened (fig. 28).

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Finds: More than 231 graves dating from the Middle and Late Geometric periods to the fourth century BC.[1] Of these, 19 are Geometric. The graves dating from the interval between the end of the eighth century BC and the building of the Themistoclean Wall are strikingly few.

Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this particular plot and was in use for several centuries. For the plots examined together with this one, see "Relevant bibliography."

Comments: Part of the cemetery encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (formerly Kriezi) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 479 BC. This is the W half of the modern building plot delimited by Peiraos, Kalogirou Samouil, and Psaromilingou Streets and Eleftheria Square, opposite the building plot at Peiraios 68, where the Hadjicostas Orphanage stood. At the time of the excavation, the street plan was different: the building blocks were larger and the area investigated was located between Peiraios to the N, Psaromilingou to the S, and Vasileos Irakleiou, which is identified today with the section of Kalogirou Samouil between Peiraios and Psaromilingou Streets. The area had been excavated earlier, from 1893, and on the corner plot at the junction of Peiraios and Vasileos Irakleiou (property of the widow of Karatzas), other graves had been found, along with the Nett(ss)os amphora.

The Geometric graves found are not dated precisely by the excavator. It is simply mentioned that of 231 graves excavated, 19 are of the Dipylon period ("aus der Dipylonzeit"). Given that the monumental funerary vases encountered under this conventional name in the bibliography of the late nineteenth century are dated from 760 BC (Dipylon Painter: 760–740 BC) until the third quarter of the eighth century BC (Hirschfeld Painter: 750–735 BC), on the maps of Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square, graves of both the Middle and Late Geometric periods are marked on the Sapountzakis property. The number of the four symbols (▲) that correspond to seven to 10 graves is in any case hypothetical, based on the assumption that burial activity in both periods was about the same.

Examined Remains

1. Middle and Late Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
19 graves	These are Graves I–Grave XIX, 16 inhumations, two enchytrismoi (Graves X and XIX)[2] and only one cremation burial (Grave III) inside a cinerary vase. Graves I to IV are located under Tumulus A; Graves IX and X under Tumulus B. There is no mention of identification of the boundaries of other tumuli over the other graves.
Grave I	Inhumation. It had been found before Brückner and Pernice started their investigations. The deceased had been placed full length with the head facing north.[3]
Grave II	Inhumation. Partly destroyed by a later cremation.[4]
Grave III	The sole cremation burial. The size of the grave in which it was found differed from that of the graves housing inhumations. The bones were placed inside a bronze cauldron, which was found buried at one end of the pit and was destroyed during the excavation.[5]
Grave IV	Inhumation.[6] The head faced west.
Grave V	Inhumation.[7] Partly destroyed by Grave VI. Less than 1 m long "if it was excavated correctly," as Brückner remarks.[8] This was not a child's grave, as ascertained from the size of the skull, which faced west. As the shoulder blades and the upper ribs were found fallen beside the head, it is surmised that either the deceased was anatomically deformed or was buried in crouching pose.
Grave VI	Inhumation.[9] Placed above Grave V, which it had partially disturbed.
Grave VII	Inhumation, possibly of a woman.[10] A step on the two long sides. The head of the deceased faced north.
Grave VIII	Inhumation.[11] The skull was placed at the south end of the grave.

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Grave IX	Inhumation.[12] The deceased was buried full length, with head facing north.
Grave X	Enchytrismos.[13] Coarse-ware pithos containing a child burial. The mouth was closed by a schist slab.
Grave XI	Inhumation.[14] The greater part was destroyed by a later poros sarcophagus. Perhaps the grave of a woman.
Grave XII	Inhumation.[15] Partly destroyed by two later poros sarcophagi. The grave was probably of a young individual, judging by the good condition of the teeth.
Grave XIII	Inhumation.[16] The head of the deceased faced south. The grave contained objects imported from the East.
Grave XIV	Inhumation.[17] The head of the deceased faced east.
Grave XV	Inhumation.[18] The head of the deceased faced south.
Grave XVI	Inhumation.[19] No skull found.
Grave XVII	Destroyed, just like the previous one.[20]
Grave XVIII	Inhumation.[21] The head of the deceased faced west. A ledge all around — 30 cm wide — obviously to hold beams or planks in place.
Grave XIX	Enchytrismos of an adult.[22] The pithos (height approximately 1.40 m) was found placed on the side.

Figure 29. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Peiraios – Kalogirou Samouil and Psaromilingou. Sapountzakis property. The first three of the eight trenches, 8–12 m long, opened in the Sapountzakis plot. Only the graves of the period of the Dipylon – Dipylongräber are marked, with a solid circle (●) in the position of the head. Brückner and Pernice 1893, pl. V**II**. 1.

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Finds: Richly furnished graves, some of which have grave marker vases (I, II, III, IV), among them amphora no. 804 by the Dipylon Painter (760–740 BC) and the krater, which are exhibited in the National Archaeological Museum in Athens. All contained a large number of vases of high artistic quality, and some contained gold funerary bands-diadems (I, V, XII), weaponry (IV, V, XVIII), figurines (IX), and objects imported from the East, of ivory and faience (VII, XI, XIII), or with Oriental influences (VII).
Grave I: Many grave goods at the feet and head of the deceased. On the head, a gold diadem had been placed. It was found fallen next to the head. Fragments of a monumental funerary vase were found above the main fill of the grave, about halfway along its length, which suggests its use as a grave marker.
Grave II: Also had a grave marker. Its fragments were found 1.20 m above the bottom of the grave.
Grave III: The large funerary krater/grave marker was found in situ. Inside it were intact vases, among them a large amphora, a skyphos, and an oenochoe.
Grave IV: The fragments of the funerary vase/grave marker were found at a height of 0.90 m on the head of the deceased. It contained a sword and vases.
Grave V: A wide diadem found near the lower jaw and an assemblage of vases on the left side of the torso. However, some of them may have belonged to Grave VI.
Grave VI: Contained bronze weapons. Two bronze sauroters and part of a dagger were found.
Grave VII: Contained an assemblage of vases and spindle-whorls, found at the feet of the deceased, among them a large intact hydria. Described also is a skyphos with decoration inspired by Oriental models.
Grave VIII: Although of an adult, most of the accompanying vases were miniature.
Grave IX: Contained seven kyathoi, six small oenochoai, a skyphos with high handles, fragments of an aryballos with impressed decoration, an equid figurine, and a large handmade cooking pot with traces of burning.
Grave X: The grave goods were placed outside the pithos: a cooking pot, an amphora, a one-handled skyphos, and possibly an oenochoe.
Grave XI: Preserved in the SE corner of the grave were objects probably from the decoration of a perished wooden casket.
Grave XII: Gold diadem found near the lower jaw and a tall oenochoe with lid. Also found were three sawn animal bones (length 0.50–0.60 m), which were attributed to a sacrificed animal.
Grave XIII: Contained seven vases (large amphora, tall oenochoe with lid, three large and two smaller skyphoi, one containing small bones "obviously from the nekrodeipno"), which were found near the head. Above the head were six ivory figurines, three faience figurines of lions with hieroglyphic inscription on the base, and small bone objects (rosette, dolphin, two lozenges with through-hole at the center).
Grave XIV: Contained two large vases: a large neck amphora and a tall oenochoe with lid and bird-shaped boss. Found next to each other, placed beside the head.
Grave XV: In the SW corner of the grave, a tall vase with equid figurines on the lid (pyxis?). Wedged in the neck of the vase was a bone, probably of a bull. On either side of the deceased's ribs was a skyphos, one containing remnants of bones, "obviously from the nekrodeipno."[23] Found too was a bronze cinerary vase similar to that in Grave III, which Brückner notes could belong to another grave.
Grave XVI: Two skyphoi with high foot.
Grave XVII: Fragments of Geometric vases and remnants of an iron sword.
Grave XVIII: In the upper fill of the grave were many fragments of Geometric vases, while lower down was the fragment of a very large vase, All of them perhaps originated from a funerary vase/grave marker. A skyphos was found on either side of the skeleton.
Grave XIX: No grave goods found inside the pithos.
Comments: Perhaps the most important excavation inside the boundaries of the Dipylon cemetery, due to the extent of the site investigated and the number of graves uncovered. Noteworthy is the effort to apply excavation methodology by Brückner and E. Pernice, which is evident in descriptions of the levels and graves. The scientific approach to the finds is also shown by the citing of parallels, wherever these were then available. Even so, since knowledge of the Geometric period was still in its infancy, the description of the vase types, their decoration, and their dating are unclear in many

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points, which makes it difficult for the excavators to draw conclusions relating to the practice of cremation. Shocking by today's standards but realistic in the late nineteenth century, when the excavation was conducted, is the two researchers' reference to Greek "antiquities-dealers" to strengthen their observations regarding the custom of cremation.[24]

Dates: Middle and Late Geometric period. Grave VII may well date to the Orientalizing period.

Relevant bibliography: Wide 1910, p. 33; Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Alexandri 1969, pp. 67, pls. 35–37; Alexandri 1969, pp. 79–84, drawing 34, pls. 45–47; Lazaridi 1987, pp. 23–24, drawing 6; Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26; Kavvadias 2009, pp. 73–89.

Notes

1 See note 2.
2 The number of enchytrismoi was greater, as the excavator notes, but not all were recorded or drawn. Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 78.
3 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 91, 101–104.
4 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 94, 104.
5 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 92–94.
6 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 94, 106–107.
7 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 109–111.
8 "Wenn es righting ausgegraben ist," Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 108.
9 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 109–111.
10 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 112–115.
11 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 109–111, table VIII.1.
12 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 115, table VIII.2.
13 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 99, 118, fig. 12.
14 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 123–124.
15 Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 125–126.
16 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 127–131.
17 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 131.
18 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 132.
19 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 132.
20 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 132.
21 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 132. Found outside the excavation area depicted in pl. VII of the article.
22 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 133, fig. 30.
23 "Von einem beigesetzten Speiseofer," Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 132.
24 Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 148.

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III. 24. Peiraios 57

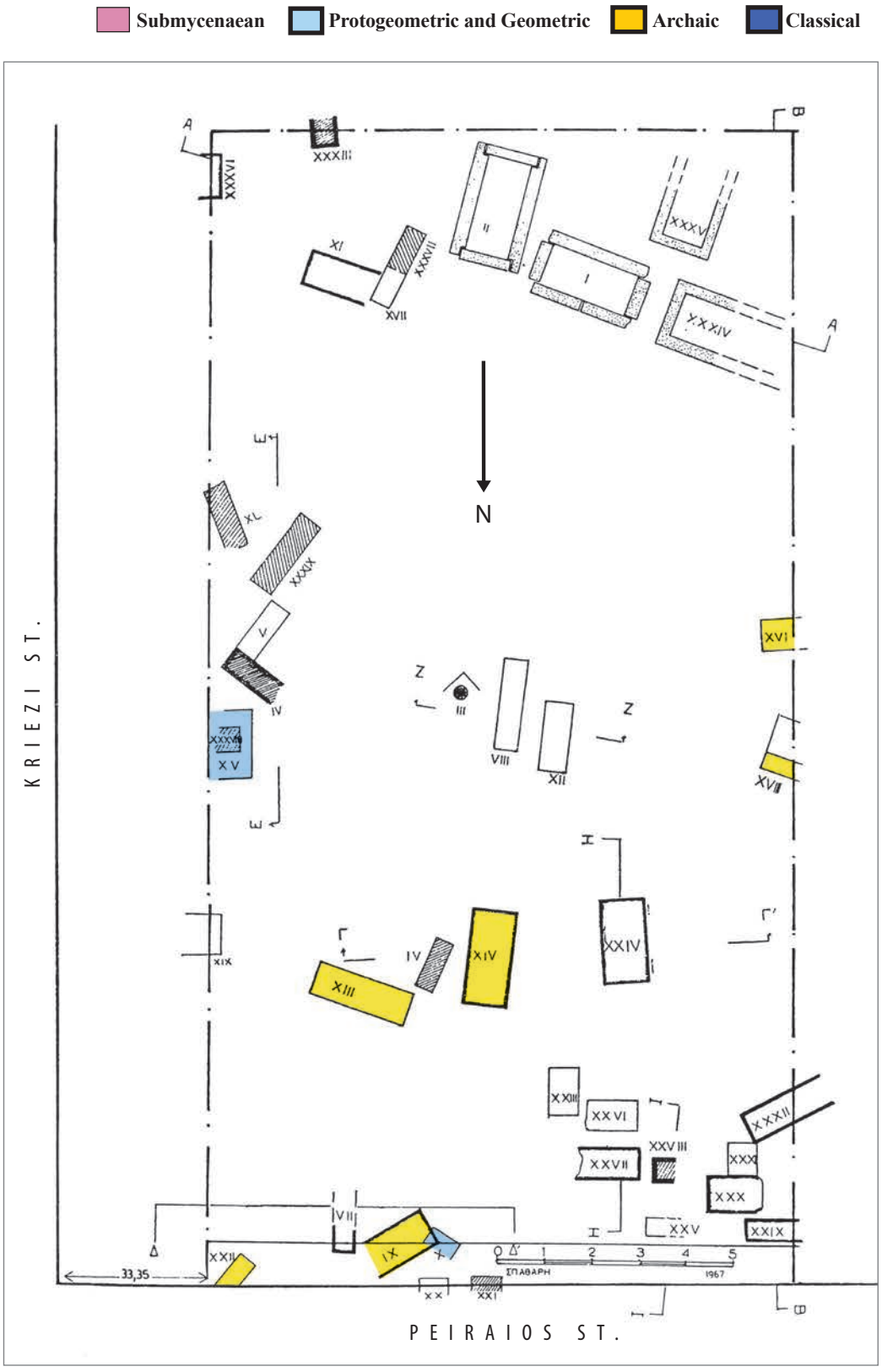

Figure 30. Athens, Koumoundouros Square. Plan of Peiraios 57 plot. Alexandri 1969, p. 81, drawing 34. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 79–84, drawing 34, pls. 45–47.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 12.60 x 24.70 m
Finds: Part of a cemetery in use from the Late Geometric into the Classical period; two Late Geometric graves, six Archaic graves (one of them Early Archaic), 16 Classical graves.
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this particular plot and was in use for several centuries. For the plots examined together with this one, see "Relevant bibliography."
Comments: Part of the cemetery encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (formerly Kriezi) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 479 BC. The orientation of Drawing 34 is erroneous and has been corrected.

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	These are Graves X and XV. They are pits of rectangular plan, inside which were inhumations.

Finds
Grave X: A juglet
Grave XV: Two skyphoid pyxides, a two-handled kyathos, and a plate
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period

2. Early Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave	No data

Finds: Protoattic burial amphora decorated on the belly with dogs and chariots in zones, and on the neck with Centaurs in panels.[1] Trilobe oenochoe and shallow kalathos.
Comments: No data
Date: Early Archaic period

3. Archaic graves

Remains	Description
Six graves	Graves IX and XIV housed cremations inside rectangular ditches with residues on the bottom of them. Graves XIII, XVI, XVIII, and XXII housed inhumations.

Finds
Grave IX: Black-figure lekythos with representation of a man on horseback and two hoplites with shields; Ionic juglet[2]
Grave XIII: Two black-figure lekythoi, one with representation of a quadriga and Maenads; seven white-ground lekythoi with black decoration of a quadriga and females, chariots, male figures, dance of Maenads and Satyrs, and rising sun;[3] two red-ground lekythoi with black intertwined palmettes; one black-glaze bowl

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Grave XIV: Five black-figure lekythoi with representations from the Dionysos cycle and a quadriga, and one with a symposium scene by the Painter of Athens 581[4]; two-handled skyphos; pyxis; black-glaze flask
Grave XVI: Black-figure lekythos with martial scene of men with shields
Grave XXII: Black-figure lekythos
Comments: No data
Dates
Grave IX: Early fifth century BC
Grave XIII: First half of fifth century BC
Grave XIV: Ca. 500 BC
Grave XVI: Ca. 500 BC
Grave XXII: No data
Relevant bibliography: Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6–191, pls. 6–9; Wide 1910, p. 33; Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Alexandri 1969, p. 67, pls. 35–37; Lazaridi 1987, p. 23–24, drawing 6; Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26.

Notes
1 Alexandri 1969, pl. 45.
2 Alexandri 1969, pl. 47β.
3 Alexandri 1969, pl. 47γ.
4 Alexandri 1969, pl. 47δ.

III. 25. Peiraios 68

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Wide 1910, p. 33; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26.
Excavator: V. Philippaki
Years of excavation: 1963–1965

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: One Submycenaean grave; graves of the Geometric, Classical, and Late Roman periods, which are neither described nor marked on the ground plan; grave enclosures; street (perhaps the continuation of the road that started at the Altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora and ran in the direction of Hippios Kolonos); and eight wells. Mycenaean pottery from the wells and fragments of Minyan kylikes from a deep and irregular shaft.
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this particular plot and was in use for several centuries. For the plots examined together with this one, see "Relevant bibliography."
Comments: Part of the cemetery encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (formerly Kriezi) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 479 BC.

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Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
Grave	No data

Finds: A vase originating from a destroyed grave
Comments: There is no specific information except the old reference by Wide, who notes that a vase of the Late Helladic period was found on the said plot.[1]
Date: Syriopoulos also discussed the vase as Late Helladic.[2] However, Pantelidou observes that it must be later, because it is comparable to Submycenaean finds from the Salamis naval base.[3]
Consequently, it is dated to the Submycenaean period.

2. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Graves	There is simply reference to their existence. Neither their number nor their position is mentioned.

Finds: No data
Comments: Given that a few years earlier, in investigations made on Peiraios Street, occasioned by the laying of drains, Threpsiadis had found in front of this building plot graves and funerary vases of the Middle Geometric period, we assume that the above graves were found in the SE part of the plot, near the line of the building facades.
Date: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6–191, pls. 6–9; Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α; Styrenius 1967, p. 23; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Alexandri 1969, p. 67, pls. 35–37, pp. 79–84, drawing 34, pls. 45–47; Pantelidou 1975, pp. 153–155, note 5; Lazaridi 1987, pp. 23–24, drawing 6; Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26; *Kerameikos* I, p. 131; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 240.

Notes

1 Wide 1910, pp. 33–4.
2 Syriopoulos 1968, p. 58.
3 Pantelidou 1975, p. 154, note 5.

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III. 26. Peiraios, ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench (between Koumoundouros Square and Kerameikos)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α.
Excavator: I. Threpsiadis
Year of excavation: 1961–1962

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Trench opened by ΥΔΡΕΞ (width 1 m; depth 5 m) along the entire length of Peiraios Street from the height of Eleftheria (Koumoundouros) Square to the old fruit and vegetable market (Lachanagora). (Dipylon, archaeological site of Kerameikos.)
Finds: Graves from Geometric to "Graeco-Roman times." The burials were found in small or larger groups, dispersed or even completely isolated at various depths. Most of the graves investigated were found outside the archaeological site of Kerameikos, in the area of the old fruit and vegetable market (Lachanagora) and in front of the former Hadjiicostas Orphanage (Peiraios 68) and a branch of the Social Security Service. The Geometric graves yielded large vases that were obviously tomb markers (see large krater with Dipylon-style decoration). The Archaic graves yielded vases in the Protoattic style, the Corinthian style (early sixth century BC), and the black-figure style of the middle and late sixth century BC.
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this particular plot and was in use for several centuries. For the plots examined together with this one, see "Relevant bibliography."
Comments: Part of the cemetery encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (formerly Kriezi) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 479 BC.

Examined Remains

1. Middle and Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Graves	Their number is not specified, their findspot is not given, and they are not described, in contrast to their large vases (tomb markers). It is possible that "they were not numerous and were restricted to the section of the street in front of the Hadjicostas Orphanage (Peiraios 68)." Found at a relatively shallow depth under the modern street surface.

Finds: Large vases were found. They seem to have been grave markers. Mentioned indicatively are a krater with Dipylon-style decoration, on which there is a scene of prothesis and a procession of warriors and chariots, and a wide-necked jug with a modeled bird on its lid.
Comments: No data
Date: The graves can be dated by their large funerary vases from the end of the Middle Geometric to the end of the Late Geometric period.

2. Early Archaic graves

Remains	Description
Graves	No data

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Finds: Protoattic hydria with representation of Sphinxes;[1] Protoattic amphora with lyre-shape palmette motifs in panels;[2] fragment of a Corinthian vase with representation of a Sphinx; black-glaze amphora (early sixth century BC) and small pithos with ovoid body (early sixth century BC); black-figure amphora with warriors on horseback (end of first half of sixth century BC).
Comments: No data
Date: Early Archaic period.

3. Archaic graves

Remains	Description
Graves	No data

Finds: Black-glaze amphora and small pithos with ovoid body (early sixth century BC); black-figure amphora with representations of warriors on horseback in panels under a zone of palmettes (end of first half of sixth century BC);[3] juglet with representation of a roaring lion in a panel (late sixth century BC); black-glaze kylikes with low foot; pyxides with lid; black-glaze bowls decorated with reserved band on the outside;[4] several lekythoi, one with representation of Herakles and the Nemean Lion, one with representation of Herakles and Iolaos, and one with representation of Theseus and the Bull of Marathon.
Comments: No data
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6–191, pls. 6–9; Wide 1910, p. 33; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Alexandri 1969, pp. 67, pls. 35–37, pp. 79–84, drawing 34, pls. 45–47; Lazaridi 1987, pp. 23–24, drawing 6; Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26.

Notes
1 Threpsiadis 1963, pl. 25.
2 Threpsiadis 1963, pl. 26β.
3 Threpsiadis 1963, pl. 26γ.
4 Threpsiadis 1963, pl. 26δ–ς.

III. 27. Pittaki 11–13

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 108–110, drawing 54, pl. 95.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 13.60 x 20 m
Finds: Part of a Hellenistic house (with alterations), remains of Roman buildings (with alterations), and remains of a storage space of the Byzantine age. The fill yielded a Protogeometric amphora, a black-glaze plate, a krater-like vessel for domestic use, two jugs, five Byzantine glazed vases, 11 bronze coins (three of them of the third to second century BC), two lamps, a loom-weight, a spindle-whorl, and fragments of a glass vase.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the partly adjacent plot at Karaiskaki 16, where an Early Geometric krateriskos was found in the fill.

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Comments: The finding of a Protogeometric vase in the fill attests the presence of a grave and, in combination with finds from the plot at Karaiskaki 16, points to the existence of a burial ground of the Protogeometric period.
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1972, p. 67.

III. 28. Eleftheria Square 25

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Tsouklidou-Penna 1987, pp. 24, 26.
Excavator: D. Tsouklidou-Penna
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Late Geometric graves with large funerary vases as markers (as emerges from the numerous sizable sherds) and Classical graves; part of the cemetery of the Eriai Gate.
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery is detected over a wide radius around this particular plot and was in use for several centuries. For the plots examined together with this one, see "Relevant bibliography."
Comments: Part of the cemetery encountered in the bibliography under various designations: as the cemetery of the Dipylon, of the Eriai Gate, of Kriezi Street, of Peiraios Street, and of Eleftheria (Freedom) Square. It is located in the area bounded by Peiraios and Dipylou Streets and Eleftheria Square (formerly Kriezi) and outside the point where Gate V was constructed in 479 BC. This particular plot is the only one on the W side of Eleftheria Square that does not appear in the bibliography with the wrong address (Kriezi instead of Eleftheria Square), which is due to the erroneous renaming of the W side of Eleftheria Square as Kriezi on the topographical maps of the Ministry of Public Works (1974).[1]

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric Graves

Remains	Description
10 graves	Simple pit graves, all found destroyed and looted due to the reuse of the space as a cemetery in the late fifth century BC. These are large rectangular ditches cut in the soft limestone bedrock, ranging in length from 2 to 3 m.

Finds: The graves contained very few bones and many sherds of large amphorae and kraters, which were not grave goods but funerary vases set up on the tombs.
Comments: All the pit graves date from the first period of use of the cemetery. However, some of these were reused in the second phase of the cemetery.
Date: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 6–191, pls. 6–9; Wide 1910, p. 33; Threpsiadis 1963, pp. 22–23, drawing 1, pls. 22–27α; Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Philippaki 1968, pp. 61–63, drawing 7, pls. 22–26; Alexandri 1969, p. 67, pls. 35–37; Alexandri 1969, pp. 79–84, drawing 34, pls. 45–47; Lazaridi 1987, pp. 23–24, drawing 6.

Note

1 See Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–96, drawings 44–45, pls. 85–90; Alexandri 1969, p. 67, pls. 35–37; Lazaridi 1987, pp. 23–24, drawing 6; Orphanou 1999, p. 41.

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III. 29. Agioi Asomatoi Square

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Liangouras 1979, p. 47.
Excavator: A. Liangouras
Years of excavation: 1972–1973

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench (opened during works on the layout of the square)
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Undated well. Found inside it were a Geometric figurine (height 0.12 m), traces of fire and charcoal, fragments of Geometric pyxides and Classical vases, and one intact lopas.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the plot at Ermou 128–132
Comments: The well contained material probably originating from the clearing of a Geometric grave and indeed one housing a cremation.
Relevant bibliography: Bournias 2005, pp. 119–138.

III. 30. Sarri 4

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1970, pp. 70, 72, drawing 31.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1968

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 27 x 11 m
Finds: Remains of a Hellenistic house, an indeterminate Late Roman building, and a Byzantine house of the fifth century AD. The fill yielded pottery dating from the Geometric into the Byzantine period, three lamps of the fifth century AD, and one bronze coin.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1970, pp. 72–73, pl. 60β.

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Area IV
Varvakeios – South of Omonoia Square

IV. 1. Aiolou 72

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1984, pp. 26–27, pl. 31γ–δ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1976

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 20 x 62.30 m
Finds: Two Submycenaean cist graves, richly furnished with vases and bronze jewelry. Vases of the same period (two small stirrup jars and part of a coarse-ware jug) were found in the fill of the building plot.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The graves were found close to an ancient street, the initial use of which as a pathway or natural pass should be sought in these years. This is advocated also by the construction of Gate VI (Acharnai) of the Classical enceinte of the city, a few meters N of which passed a street orientated N–S. The course of this ancient street in some places coincides with and in other places runs parallel to and E of modern Aiolou Street.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	Grave I: Rectangular shaft in the soft limestone bedrock, 2.00 x 0.70 x 0.43 m. Lined with schist slabs, preserved on one of the long sides. Grave II: Of the same construction as Grave I, 1.90 x 0.54 x 0.54 m. The lining with schist slabs survives on all four sides. The capstones are also preserved.

Finds
Grave I: Nine vases (stirrup jar, two small stamnoi, flask, small amphora, skyphos, kernos, incomplete globular vase, incomplete juglet), jewelry (five bronze finger rings and fragments of pins), and bone residues
Grave II: Four vases (small stamnos, lekythos with cylindrical body, small stirrup jar, lekythion), jewelry (parts of bronze finger rings and two fibulae), parts of iron nails, and bone residues
Comments: Richly furnished burials for the period
Dates
Grave I: Late Submycenaean period (Stufe III), according to Ruppenstein[1]
Grave II: Slightly later than Grave I, according to Mountjoy[2]
Relevant bibliography: No data

Notes
1 Ruppenstein 2009, p. 333.
2 Mountjoy 1995, p. 64.

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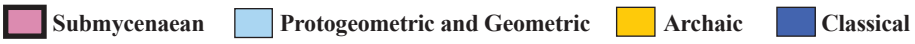
IV. 2. Aiolou 93 & Sophokleous



Bibliography: Brückner and Pernice 1893, p. 77.
Excavator: I. Palaiologos
Year of excavation: 1893

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Submycenaean grave containing one vase
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Submycenaean burials have been found a few meters to the SW, in the building plot at Aiolou 72.
Relevant bibliography: Judeich 1931, map I, F2; *Kerameikos* I, p. 132; Styrenius 1967, p. 23.

IV. 3. Aristeidou & Pesmazoglou

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 56–58, drawing 16.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 40 x 33 m
Finds: Part of the Classical fortification wall and outwork. The fill of the plot yielded sherds ranging in date from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period, and one Geometric spindle-whorl.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The plot is intersected by the Classical enceinte, which leaves the greater part of it extra muros of the city.
Relevant bibliography: No data

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IV. 4. Lykourgou (building plot of Lambropoulos Brothers)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: III Archaeological District 1965, pp. 35–36, drawing 2, pls. 36–37α–γ.
Excavators: I. Threpsiadis and E. Pentazos
Year of excavation: 1962

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Part of a cemetery of Hellenistic/Roman times (25 graves) and one Protogeometric grave at a greater depth than the 25 later graves
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the graves found farther S in Kotzias Square.
Comments: The burial correlates with two streets that passed close to it — mainly the westernmost of the two — which indicates the very old use of them.

Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Cremation burial inside a cinerary hydria (Grave 26). Found at a great depth (4.20 m below the present ground surface).

Finds: Inside the hydria, together with the ashes of the deceased, were an incomplete vase and a bronze pin.
Comments: No data
Date: Protogeometric period
Relevant bibliography: Daux 1962, p. 644; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p. 35; Zachariadou and Kyriakou 1993, pp. 22–29, drawing 1, pls. 29–33; Kyriakou and Zapheiropoulou 2004, pp. 68–70; Orphanou 2004, pp. 65–68, drawing 5, pl. 38.

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IV. 5. Kotzias Square

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Zachariadou and Kyriakou 1993, pp. 22–29, drawing 1, pls. 29–33; Orphanou 2004, pp. 65–68, drawing 5, pl. 38; Kyriakou and Zapheiropoulou 2004, pp. 68–70.
Excavators: O. Zachariadou, D. Kyriakou, and V. Orphanou
Years of excavation: 1985–1988, 1994–1995

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 6,750 m^2
Finds: Three ancient streets (I–III), area of cemeteries dating from the Protogeometric period to Roman times, and extensive complex of Late Roman potters' workshops. Specifically, one burial under the SE part of the square is dated to the Protogeometric period, and six are dated to the Late Geometric (three in the S part of the square and three in the trench opened along Kratinou Street). Three sporadic enchytrismoi of the seventh century BC and three other burials of the sixth century BC (enchytrismos, burial in a pit, and pyre) date to the Archaic period. From Late Archaic times (from which date a total of 40 graves in the SE and NW of the square) and after, the space was used systematically as a cemetery. To this period belong two fragments of funerary sculptures found on the W side of Aiolou Street — a Sphinx with polos and a male head with drill holes for inserting a circlet — which are dated ca. 540 BC.
Relation to adjacent areas: The finds continued to the W onto the plot of the Civic Theater, the building of which (1873–1888) largely destroyed them, and to the N onto the Lambropoulos Brothers plot in Lykourgou Street, with regard to the Protogeometric phase of the area's use as a cemetery. There were destructions in recent times too, by the electricity substation of the Public Power Corporation of Greece and public conveniences in the central part of the square.
Comments: Kotzias Square was excavated twice in the space of 10 years. The first investigation was necessitated by the decision of the Ministry of Public Works to construct a multistory car park, despite the fact that antiquities were known to exist on the site. The second was occasioned by the need to widen the space to the N, S, and E so that the car park could be constructed underground.

Examined Remains

1. **Protogeometric grave**

Remains	Description
One grave	Child grave, enchytrismos in an amphora. Located in the SE part of the square.

Finds: No data
Comments: Correlated by the excavators with the Protogeometric grave in Lykourgou Street (Lambropoulos Brothers property)
Date: Protogeometric period

2. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Six graves	Three burials in pits were located in the S part of the square, under the earliest surface of Street III, which is dated to the end of the sixth century BC (ca. 500 BC). Three others were in the trench along Kratinou Street.

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Finds: Skyphoi, jugs, pyxides, and plates
Comments: Correlated by the excavators with the burials at 31 Aischylou Street, which, however, are dated to the Middle Geometric period
Date: Late Geometric period

3. Archaic Graves

Remains	Description
Graves	The burials of the Early and Middle Archaic period are sporadic. Systematic use of the site as a cemetery is observed in Late Archaic times — that is, the early fifth century BC (500–480 BC).
Early and Middle Archaic Period	
Nine graves	Three enchytrismoi of the seventh century BC and three burials of the sixth century BC (enchytrismos, shaft burial, and pyre). During the extension of the excavation, in the period 1985 to 1988, three other graves were found. They are not described but are referred to in pl. 1.[1]
Late Archaic Period	
65 graves	These are 40 rectangular pits or pyres clustered in the SE part of the square, at the junction of Aiolou and Kratinou Streets and in its NW part. A very few sporadic graves were also found. During the extension of the excavation in the period 1985–1988, 25 other graves were revealed. They are not described but are referred to in pl. 1.[2]

Finds: Black-figure lekythoi,[3] miniature vases, pyxides, jugs, plates, and figurines.
Comments: The graves in the NW of Kotzias Square very probably coincide in date with the opening of Street III.
Date: Use of the site from the seventh century BC to the early fifth century BC
Relevant bibliography: III Archaeological District 1968, pp. 35–36, drawing 2, pls. 36–37α–γ; Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1988, pp. 87–108; Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 2000.

Notes

1 Kyriakou and Zapheiropoulou 2004, p. 68.
2 See note 1.
3 Zachariadou and Kyriakou 1993, pl. 31β.

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IV. 6. Sapphous 10

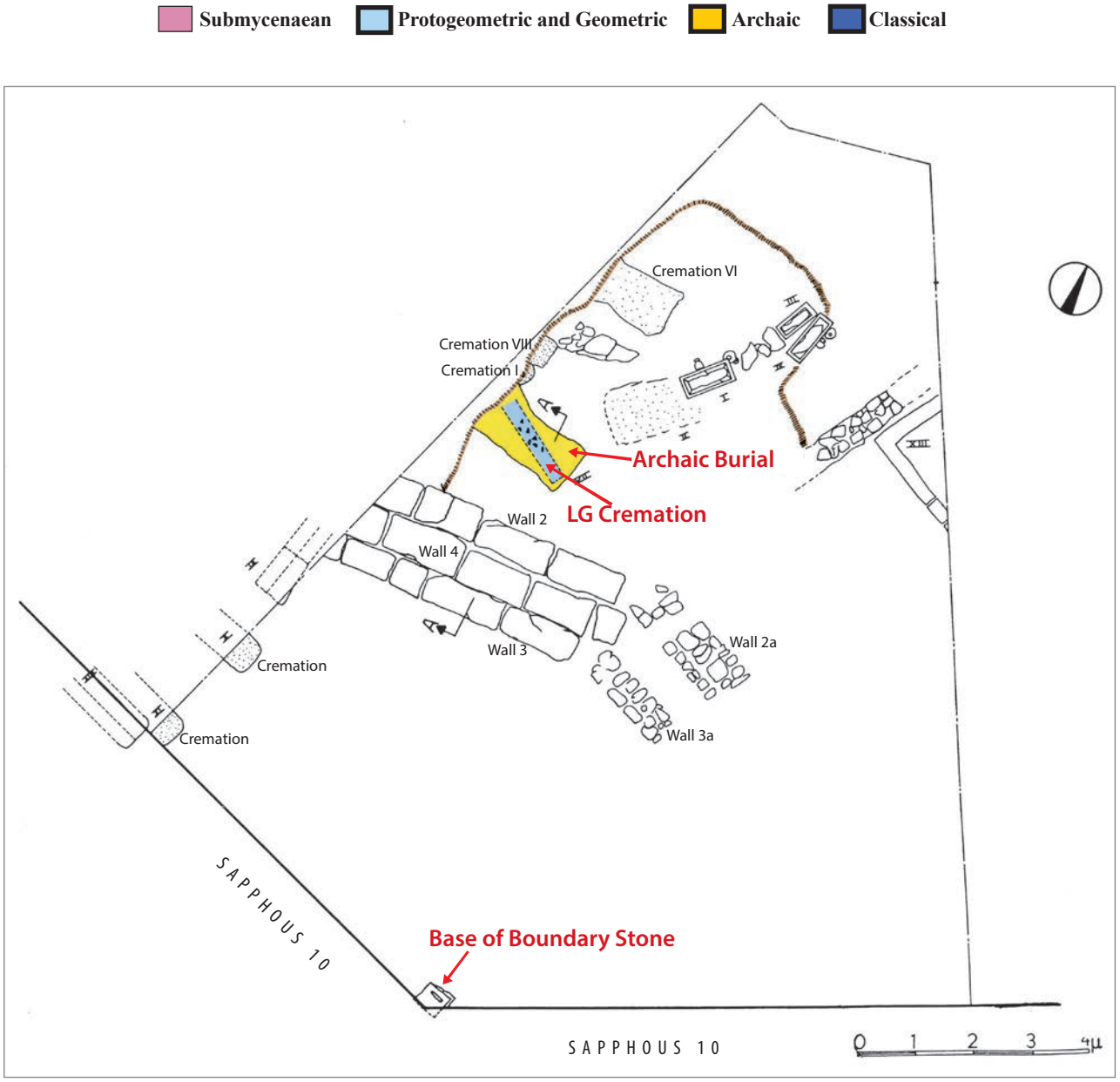

Figure 31. Athens, Varvakeios. Plan of Sapphous 10 plot. Alexandri 1984, p. 27, drawing 1. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Alexandri 1984, pp. 26–28, drawing 1.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1977

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 9.20 x 6.50 x 14.20 m
Finds: Part of a cemetery that developed between Gates V and VI. Graves mainly of the fifth century BC but also one Archaic cremation burial and below this one cremation of the Late Geometric period.
Relation to adjacent areas: The Late Geometric and the Archaic phases are examined together with the adjacent building plot to the N, at Sapphous 12, which had been excavated earlier, unearthing 12 Late Geometric graves and one Archaic grave.
Comments: The cemetery was located on the E side of an ancient road, whose use is dated by the Late Geometric burial to this period and follows a similar course to that of present-day Epikourou Street, a few meters farther E.

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Remnants of a cremation burial found under the Archaic level in Grave VII

Finds: One oenochoe and two cups
Comments: Interesting is observance of the mortuary custom of the previous period, which had been replaced completely by inhumation during the Late Geometric period.
Date: Late Geometric period

2. Archaic grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Grave VII. A pit measuring 1.60 x 0.30 x 0.15 m, it contained a cremation burial and had covered an earlier Late Geometric cremation.

Finds: A lekanis decorated with concentric black bands was mended from sherds from the cremation level.
Comments: No data
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 89–92, drawing 40, pls. 50α–γ, 51–52.

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IV. 7. Sapphous 12

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

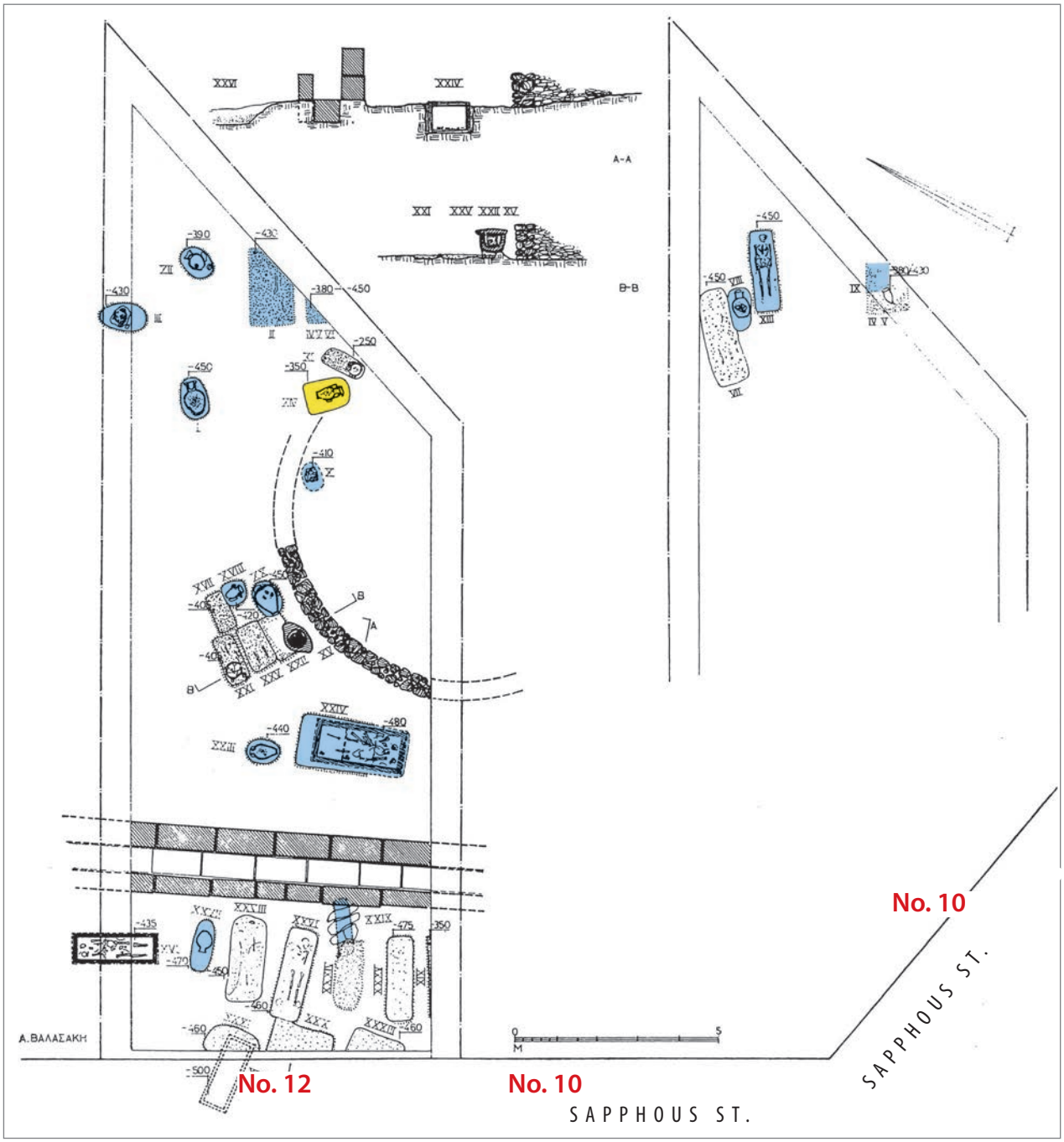

Figure 32. Athens, Varvakeios. Sapphous 12 plot. Alexandri 1969, p. 90, drawing 40. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

READ ONLY / NO DOWNLOAD

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 89–92, drawing 40, pls. 50α–γ, 51–52.
Excavation: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 26 x 9 m
Finds: Part of a cemetery dating from the Late Geometric period to the end of the fifth century BC, which developed in the space between Gate V and Gate VI of the Classical fortification wall. One Early Archaic grave and 22 other graves of the fifth century BC were found. Part of a wall uncovered along the entire length of the plot, built of dressed stones in the isodomic system, was interpreted as a grave enclosure. The use and date of a second wall, curved and of rubble masonry (thickness 0.50 m, height 0.80 m, founded on the soft limestone bedrock), located to the E of some of the Geometric graves, remain vague.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the adjacent plot to the S, where graves of the same periods have been found. However, these are fewer, especially of the Geometric and Archaic periods.
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
12 graves	Located over the entire area of the plot. These are 10 enchytrismoi inside large vases, placed in a cutting in the soft limestone bedrock (Graves I, III, VIII, IX, X, XII, XVIII, XXIII, XXVII, and XXIX) and two inhumation burials in pit graves (Graves XIII and XXIX).

Finds: Funerary vases of various types and sizes (amphorae, hydries, pithoi, jugs), pyxides, kalathoi, oenochoai, kantharoi, one-handled cups, skyphoi, kotyles
Comments: The majority of burials seem to be of children, as is deduced from the manner of burial inside vases (enchytrismoi).
Date: Late Geometric period

2. Early Archaic grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Grave XIV

Finds: Protoattic amphora with representation of deer in metopes, black-glaze olpe, one-handled cup, and two-handled skyphos
Comments: No data
Date: Early Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1984, pp. 26–28, drawing 1.

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Area V
Commercial Center

V. 1. Agiou Markou 6–8–10–12

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 55–56, drawing 5, pl. 51α–δ.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1963

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Geometric burials of the late ninth century BC inside cinerary amphorae, one of a warrior (with sword bent around the shoulder of the vase) and the other of a female (with grave goods of finger rings, pins, and necklaces). Pottery of the fourth century BC was found in higher levels at the same point. Last, a Roman well and remains of Roman conduits were excavated on the building plot.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The burials are aligned on the sides of a very ancient road, the course of which coincides with modern Agiou Markou, Evangelistrias, Adrianou, Shelley, Vyronos, and Makrygianni Streets. It ran straight through the city, leading from Gate VI (Acharnai) to either Gate XI (Itonia – Iosiph ton Rogon Street) or Gate XII (Phaleron – Phalirou Street).

Examined Remains

1. Double grave of the Middle Geometric period

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave housing two cremation burials, one of a male and one of a female. Located 22 m from the building facade of Agiou Markou Street. An oblong pit (1.80 x 0.55–0.85 m), at a depth of 3.10 m below the present ground surface. It contained two cinerary vases with grave goods around them. One cinerary vase was an amphora with vertical rope handles. Found in situ on the shoulder was the bent iron sword of the deceased. The other was also an amphora, but of earlier type, unpainted and with horizontal handles. It was sealed by a stone slab over the mouth.

Finds: There were no grave goods inside the cinerary amphora of the male, only remains of burned bones. Inside that of the female were remnants of bones, a kalathos-shaped vase that had been used as a lid, and corroded bronze jewelry (finger rings, pins, and so on). Found around the cinerary vases were oenochoai, a pyxis with conical lid, numerous clay necklace beads, a kalathos-shaped vase, small krater, skyphos, and others.
Comments: The cinerary amphora of the female is much earlier than that of the male and the excavator considered it an heirloom/antique. In his view, the two burials were made at the same time. He mentions also that the kalathos-shaped vase used as a lid seems to be contemporary with the other vases in the grave. However, given that graves of this type in the cemetery in Irodou Attikou Street contained two independent and not mutually contemporary burials, the date of the said vase merits reexamination.
Date: The cinerary amphora of the female is dated to the early ninth century BC (end of Protogeometric/beginning of Early Geometric period). The grave is dated by the excavator, on the basis of the cinerary amphora of the male (which is later), to the ninth century BC (end of Early Geometric period).
Relevant bibliography: Snodgrass 1971, p. 233; Smithson 1974, p. 347; Coldstream 1977, pp. 43–44; Welwei 1992, p. 63.

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V. 2. Evripidou 5 & Praxitelous 42–44

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1985, p. 13.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1978 (?)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 385 m^2
Finds: Submycenaean grave and two wells containing pottery of the Geometric, Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods, as did the plot as a whole
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The grave is located on the S side of a road that was obviously a natural pathway and in later times a basic street artery of the city, which ran SW–NE and led to Gate VII in present-day Dragatsaniou Street.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Cut in the soft limestone bedrock at a depth of 3.80 m below the present ground surface. Half destroyed by a later drain. Most probably housed a female burial.

Finds: Small stirrup jar, wide-mouthed small amphora with vertical handles on the belly, broken and corroded bronze finger ring, fragment of a bronze bow fibula, and bone residues
Comments: No data
Date: Submycenaean period
Relevant bibliography: Mountjoy 1995, p. 65.

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V. 3. Karagiorgi Servias 4

Submycenaean Protogeometric and Geometric Archaic Classical

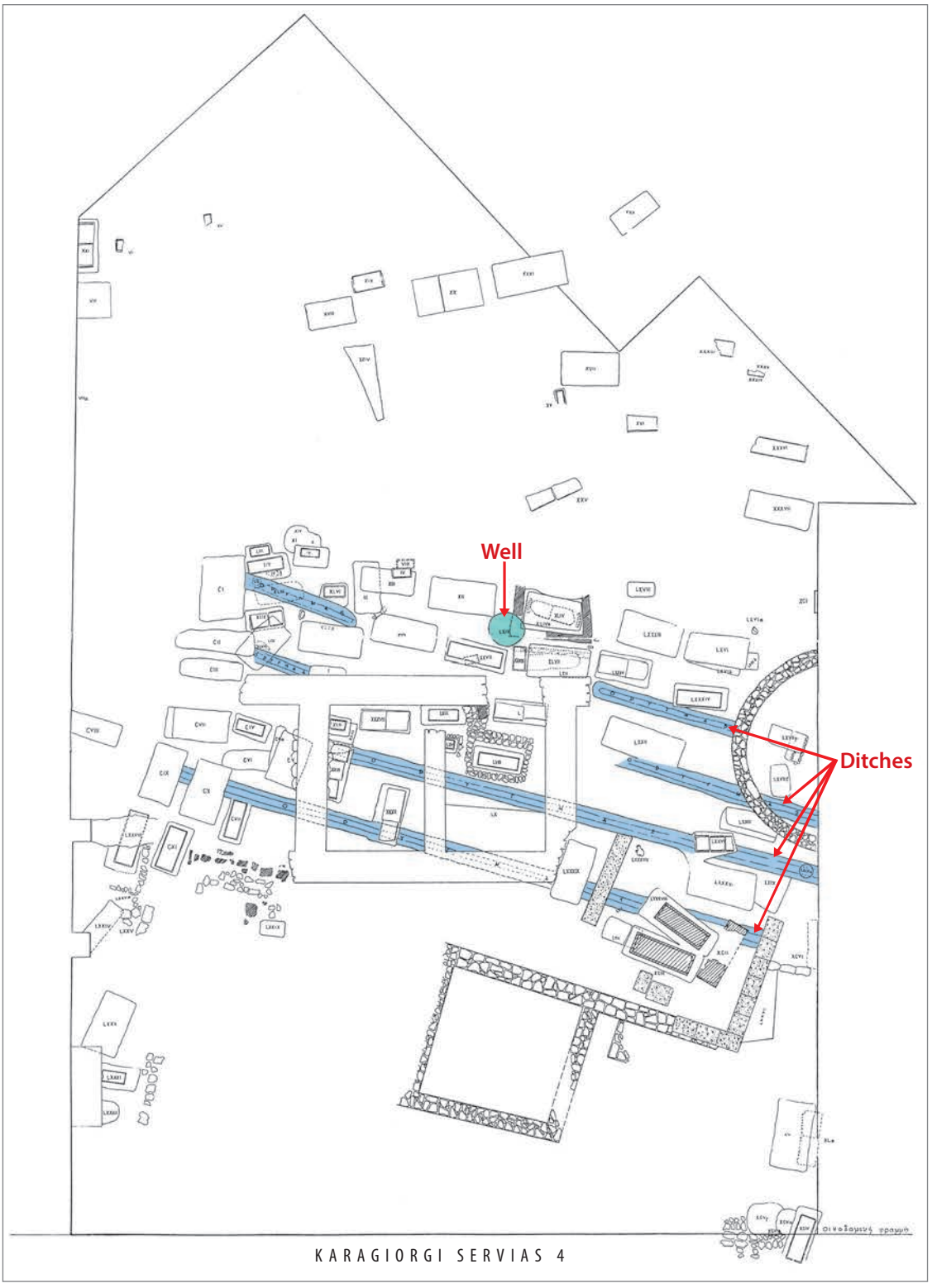

Figure 33. Athens, Commercial Center. Plan of Karagiorgi Servias 4 plot. Charitonidis 1958, p. 4, plate 1. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

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Bibliography: Charitonidis 1958, pp. 1–152.
Excavator: S. I. Charitonidis
Year of excavation: 1957

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Remains of a Late Geometric irrigation system and an earlier Protogeometric/Middle Geometric cemetery. An extensive cemetery of Classical times, part of which is located also to the NE, between Stadiou and Panepistimiou Streets.
Relation to adjacent areas: It is examined together with the building plot at 3 Stadiou Street, which is adjacent to it to the NE,[1] and with the plot to the S at Karagiorgi Servias 1.[2] The finds from the Classical phase of the use of the space as a cemetery are correlated also with those from the plot to the NE of the Royal Stables/Army Share Fund (9 Panepistimiou, Voukourestiou, Stadiou, and Amerikis Streets).
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Late Geometric irrigation system

Remains	Description
Ditches	Four oblong cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock, of depth and width 0.50 x 0.50 m, parallel to each other and with curved bottoms and ends. They are 1.60 m apart and orientated E–W. The two southernmost ditches (1 and 2) were of maximum length approximately 18 m and 12 m, respectively. Parallel to the first are the two northernmost ditches (3–4 and 5–6), which are interrupted by Classical graves.
Well	Sunk in the soft limestone bedrock, diameter 1.10 m. Found N of the four ditches, accommodated to the southward slope of the ground and specifically slightly N of Ditches 5 and 6, in the space between them. A brick enclosure of a Classical grave (XLIV) covers one-quarter of its surface. Not investigated completely because it contained water. The excavation stopped at a depth of 5 m from the present ground surface, where the aquifer was reached.

Finds: Protogeometric and Geometric pottery was found in the well, in the ditches, and dispersed over the site (fragments of Protogeometric kylikes, pyxides, small kraters, and so on).
Comments: Inside both the ditches and the well, Classical sherds were found, in addition to the Protogeometric and Middle Geometric pottery. The excavator explains their presence as the result of overturning and disturbance of the soil during the opening of the Classical graves. The same explanation is given for the presence of Protogeometric sherds (of amphorae, small kraters, and so on) and a fragment of a horse figurine in the fill of later graves, as well as on the bottom of pyres to the N and S of the ditches.
Date: Irrigation system: Late Geometric period, after the cemetery had ceased to function. The cemetery is estimated to have been in use from the Protogeometric period (950 BC) until the end of the Middle Geometric/beginning of the Late Geometric period (750 BC), on the basis of pottery found inside the well and the ditches.
Relevant bibliography: Kyparissis 1927, pp. 68–72; Kyparissis 1930, p. 55; Amandry 1947–1948, pp. 385–391; III Archaeological District 1966, p. 64; Chatzioti 1988, pp. 10–13, drawing 1, pl. 13α–β; Zachariadou 2000, pp. 149–161, 247–249; Chatzipouliou 2000, p. 225.

Notes

1 Both were properties of the Kalligas family and were investigated concurrently because the buildings on them — the Metropolitikon Hotel on the plot at 3 Stadiou Street and the offices of the newspaper *Eleftheria* at 4 Karagiorgi Servias Street — were demolished together.
2 Zachariadou and Papagiannakis 2013, p. 97.

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V. 4. Panepistimiou 9 – Voukourestiou – Stadiou – Amerikis (Army Share Fund)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Kyparissis 1927, pp. 68–72.
Excavator: N. Kyparissis
Years of excavation: 1926–1927

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data (building block)
Finds: Extensive cemetery of the fifth century BC in use into Roman times (despite the fact that the Hadrianic wall surrounded part of it within the new expansion of the city), grave enclosures, part of the Roman fortification wall, Roman aqueduct, wells. Pottery of the Geometric and Orientalizing periods was found in the fill, presumably deriving from free burials earlier than the turning of the space into an organized cemetery.[1]
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: This is the building plot of the Royal Stables, which were demolished to build the head offices of the Army Share Fund.
Relevant bibliography: Amandry 1948, pp. 385–391.

Note
1 Amandry 1948, p. 387.

V. 5. Praxitelous 25 & Miltiadou 2

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Chatzioti 1988, pp. 14–15.
Excavator: E. Chatzioti
Year of excavation: 1981

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Pit in the soft limestone bedrock, containing fragments of vases dated to the late sixth/early fifth century BC. In the upper levels at the same point, a few Classical and Hellenistic sherds were found, but mainly Roman ones (up to second/third century AD), revealing that the ground was in use mainly in that period. Remains of a Late Roman building and two drains.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

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V. 6. Stadiou & Omirou

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: III Archaeological District 1966, pp. 64.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: 1964

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Graves of late sixth to fourth century BC
Relation to adjacent areas: Part of the extensive cemetery brought to light also in other places in Panepistimiou, Stadiou, Amerikis, and Voukourestiou Streets
Comments: The NE cemetery of the city, located on both sides of present Akadimias Street and in Klafthmonos Square. The founding phase of the cemetery seems to be represented by the graves in this particular plot. It is different from the "northeast cemetery of Syntagma Square." This distinction was made clear after excavations of the Athens Metro (2000) and the finds in the Panepistimio Station and the well in Amerikis Street.
Relevant bibliography: Kyparissis 1927, pp. 68–72; Kyparissis 1930, p. 55; Amandry 1948, pp. 385–391; Charitonidis 1958, pp. 1–152; Chatzioti 1988, pp. 10–13, drawing 1, pl. 13α–β; Zachariadou 2000, pp. 149–161, 247–249; Chatzipouliou 2000, p. 225; Zachariadou and Kavvadias 2004, pp. 54–58, drawing 1, pls. 30–33.

V. 7. Panepistimiou 31

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Chatzioti 1988, pp. 10–13.
Excavator: E. M. Chatzioti
Year of excavation: 1981

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Ancient street, cemetery in use from Late Hellenistic times into the fifth/sixth century AD. Pottery of the Late Geometric and Archaic periods inside cavities in the rock. Possibly remnants of an ancient road orientated E–W.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Possible correlation with part of the ring road extra muros of the Classical fortification of the city
Relevant bibliography: Costaki 2006, p. 136.

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V. 8. Lekka 23–25

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 69–71, pl. 39.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1968

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 40 x 58 m
Finds: Remains of buildings dating from the Classical to the Late Roman period and 14 Early Christian graves. Particularly interesting among the movable finds are two marble unfinished female statues (height 0.90 m and 0.80 m) of the early fifth century BC, which were found in the fill upon the soft limestone bedrock.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: In the excavator's opinion, the statues were abandoned unfinished because of the destruction of the city (and therefore of the stone-carving workshop in which they were being made) in the Persian invasion.
Relevant bibliography: No data

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Area VI
Plaka

VI. 1. Adrianou 146–150

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: III Archaeological District 1963, p. 27, drawing 1, pl. 27β–γ.
Excavator: I. Threpsiadis
Year of excavation: 1961–1962

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two wells and fragments of architectural members (bases of Ionic columns, part of a column shaft) and sculptures, found built into walls of later buildings. The pottery found in the fills, although of small quantity, included numerous sherds belonging to the same vases, which are dated to the mid-sixth century BC. (See large kylix with representation of a Satyr and in the tondo a Maenad dancing, holding rattles and an ivy branch.)
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The plot lies within the wider area of the site of the Ancient Agora. Due to the deep foundations of the later constructions, no architectural remains were found, except one wall on the side of Shelley Street.
Relevant bibliography: Camp 1977, p. 177.

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VI. 2. Voulis – Mitropoleos – Pentelis & Apollonos

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Threpsiadis 1962, pp. 22–27, pls. 22–26.
Excavator: I Threpsiadis
Year of excavation: 1959

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Geometric grave and lower body of a kouros, part of the fortification (wall, outwork, and moat), Telma of Athena, Panops Fountain
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Geometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Located in the area of the filling of the Themistoclean Wall. A pit opened in the soft limestone bedrock, of depth 0.26 m and width 0.44 m.

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Geometric period. Not dated precisely by the excavator.
Relevant bibliography: Threpsiadis 1954, pp. 126–141; Charitonidis 1958, pp. 1–152; Zachariadou 2000, pp. 149–161.

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VI. 3. Metropolis Church of Athens

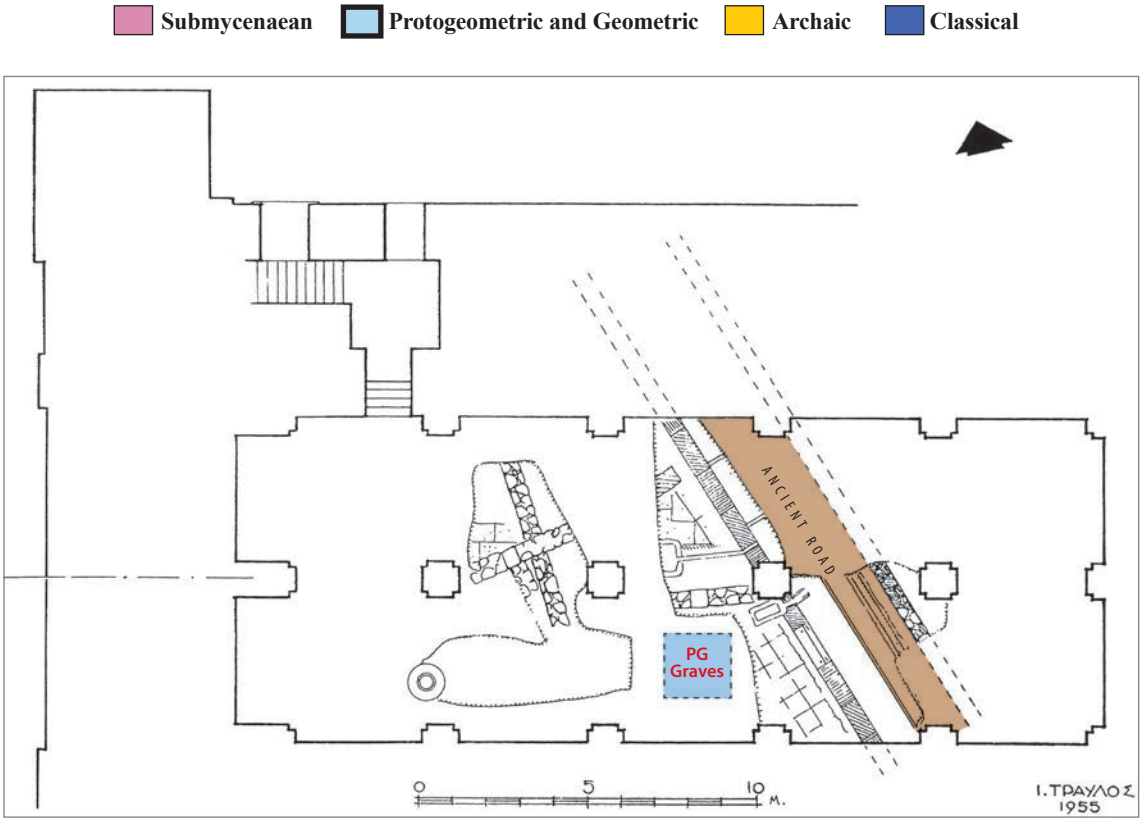

Figure 34. Athens, Plaka. Plan of the excavation under the Metropolis of Athens. Dontas 1953–1954, p. 95, fig. 7. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Bibliography: Dontas 1953–1954, pp. 77–97.
Excavator: G. Dontas
Year of excavation: 1955

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Investigation in the crypt of the Metropolis Church (Greek Orthodox cathedral) of Athens
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Protogeometric cinerary amphorae (one most probably of a male); foundations of a Hellenistic building with Roman interventions, destroyed in AD 267; and remains of the Byzantine and the Post-Byzantine period (possibly the residence of a metropolitan), all founded on the bedrock
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The excavation was occasioned by works in the crypt of the church to construct a baptistery. The excavator stresses the importance of the Protogeometric burials, as such early indications had not been found hitherto on this side of the city. The existence of others, which had perhaps been destroyed by later building activity in the area, cannot be ruled out.

Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	Located below the crypt of the Metropolis church of Athens, in the course of sinking a well for construction of a baptistery. Two cinerary amphorae were found — one neck-handled and one belly-handled.

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Finds: In addition to the two cinerary amphorae, accompanying vases from the pyre were found: oenochoe, small lekythos, skyphos, iron lance head, and sword distorted into an S shape.
Comments: On the basis of the type of cinerary vases, the neck amphora is considered to have belonged to a male and is associated with the sword and the lance head, while the belly amphora is thought to have belonged to a female.[1]
Date: Protogeometric period
Relevant bibliography: Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 55–56, drawing 5, pl. 51α–δ; Styrenius 1967, p. 87; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p. 35; Spathari and Chatzioti 1989, pp. 23–25, drawing 4, pl. 19β.

Notes
1 Desborough 1952, pp. 5–6; Desborough 1972, pp. 167–170.

VI. 4. Kodrou 15

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Liangouras 1979, p. 41, pl. 50ε.
Excavator: A. Liangouras
Years of excavation: 1972–1973

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 6.90 x 18 m
Finds: Remains of a Late Archaic/Classical house; disturbed levels with Late Geometric and some Archaic pottery
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Archaic/Classical house

Remains	Description
Walls	Two walls were found at the E edge of the building plot. Wall 1: Foundation of a wall orientated E–W. Length 0.95 m, width 0.60 m, height 0.40 m. Founded at a depth of 1.93–1.98 m below the present ground surface. Constructed of fieldstones and mud mortar. Wall 2: Found W of Wall 1. Oriented N–S. Length 3.70 m, width 0.60 m, present height 1 m. The construction and depth of the foundation in the soft limestone bedrock are the same as for Wall 1. Continues to N and S.
Floor of court	Found W of Wall 2. A level of hard-packed earth, which the excavator identifies as a floor of the court.
Well	Located farther W. At a depth of 2.20 m below the present ground surface. Cut in the bedrock, it was 0.80 m in diameter and investigated to a depth of 8.50 m. The upper half of a clay pithos was found in situ as the wellhead. The excavator considers that the well belonged the court of the house.

Finds: No information on the content of the well. From the stratigraphy, the disturbance of the site was ascertained. Nonetheless, a chronological sequence is observed from three trenches opened in the N and E of the building plot: Trench i (W of Wall 2): Layer i: Sherds of the Classical and Hellenistic periods. Layer ii: Sherds of the Classical period and mainly of the fourth century BC. Layer iii: Sherds of the Late Geometric, Classical, and Hellenistic periods.

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Trench ii (W of the well): Layers i and ii: Classical pottery and Byzantine sherds. Layer iii: Sherds of the Classical period and very few of the sixth century BC.
Trench iii (E party wall): Layer i: Byzantine and Post-Byzantine sherds. Layer ii: Classical and Hellenistic sherds. Layer iii: Classical sherds, mainly of the fifth century BC.
Comments: Exceptionally important for dating the remains was the finding of the upper half of a pithos as a wellhead in situ.
Date: The excavator dates the house to the Classical period. However, on the basis of the particular type of wellhead (upper half of a pithos) and the serendipity of finding it in situ, it is proposed that the well at least, if not the rest of the architectural remains surrounding it, dates from the Archaic period, with a possible second phase of use in Classical times.
Relevant bibliography: Lang 1949, pp. 114–127; Camp 1977, p. 180.

VI. 5. Amalias Avenue (opposite nos. 32–34)

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Zachariadou 2004, pp. 59–60, drawing 2, pl. 34γ.
Excavator: P. Pallikaropoulou-Gika
Year of excavation: 1998

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Central reservation in Amalias Avenue, between the excavation of the Zappeion Well and the apartment blocks at nos. 32 and 34
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 100 m^2
Finds: Remains of a fortification or, more likely, a construction built of spolia from the fortification; four graves, three of them looted and one of the Archaic period; a Late Classical/Hellenistic enclosure of a building; well with clay lining; drains and manhole associated with the Late Roman bathhouse complex of the excavation of the Zappeion Well; storage jars; and silos
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the excavation to the E, in the SW corner of Zappeion Park, where a large bathhouse complex was found
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave	No. 4. Inhumation in a pit.

Finds: Black-figure aryballos and one-handled globular vase
Comments: This is the only undisturbed grave of the four that were found and investigated near it. It probably belonged to this cluster. The graves housed two pyres and one inhumation in which only the bones of the dead survived.
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Zachariadou 2000, pp. 133–137.

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VI. 6. Lysikratous 15

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Karagiorga 1983, p. 33.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 50 m^2
Finds: Building of Roman times (second century BC). Intensive use of the space in Late Archaic and Classical times.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

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Area VII
National Garden – Syntagma Square

VII. 1. Hellenic Parliament

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Zachariadou and Kavvadias 2004, pp. 54–58, drawing 1, pls. 30–33.
Excavators: O. Zachariadou and G. Kavvadias
Years of excavation: 1996–1998

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Forecourt of the Parliament building
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 0.8 ha
Finds: Submycenaean and Protogeometric burials behind the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier and to the SE of the precinct; in the S and W precincts a cemetery in use from the fourth century BC to the first century AD; in the N a Late Classical cemetery that was abolished in the fourth century BC and covered by buildings (workshops, possibly carding mills, and between them a house); in the N forecourt a workshop complex producing lamps of the first and second centuries AD; in the NW corner of the precinct clusters of graves of the second and first centuries BC; in the W forecourt part of a Late Roman bathhouse complex.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the adjacent excavation in Amalias Avenue for construction of the Athens Metro and correlated with earlier excavations in Syntagma Square, Zappeion Park, and the National Garden.
Comments: The excavation was occasioned by construction of the underground car park in the Parliament building. It stands on a former hillock (of Agios Thomas or Agios Athanasios) that was leveled in 1836 to build the palace of Otto (Othon), the first king of Greece, which today houses the Hellenic National Assembly.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves

Remains	Description
Three graves	Grave I: Located on the SE side of the precinct of the Parliament. Graves II and III: Located behind the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier. Simple pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock.

Finds: Grave I: one Submycenaean small amphora
Comments: No data
Date: Submycenaean period. Graves II and III possibly date to the transitional phase between the Submycenaean and Protogeometric period, if the phraseology of their excavators has been interpreted correctly.
Relevant bibliography: Kyparissis 1930, p. 55; Amandry 1947–1948, pp. 385–391; Charitonidis 1958, pp. 1–152; Chatzioti 1989, pp. 23–25, drawing 4, pl. 19β; Parlama 1990–1991, pp. 231–245; Parlama 1992–1998, pp. 521–544; Zachariadou 2000, pp. 149–161, 191–195.

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VII. 2. Amalias Avenue (in front of Syntagma Square)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Zachariadou 1999, pp. 27–32, drawing 1, pls. 17–18.
Excavation supervisors: D. Tsouklidou, E. Chatzipouliou-Kalliri, O. Zachariadou (in chronological order)
Years of excavation: 1992–1994

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench along part of the avenue
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 5,500 m^2 (7,500 m^2 together with Syntagma Square and accesses to the Metro station)
Finds: Two Submycenaean graves; the ancient road leading from Gate VIII (Diochares Gate) to the demoi of the Mesogaia; cemetery of the fourth century BC/third century AD on its N side (192 graves, more than 30 of which were of babies and infants; three were burials of animals); the bed of the Eridanos; parts of the Peisistratian aqueduct; bronze-casting workshops of the second half of the fifth century BC and above these a peristyle court of a fourth-century BC house; and a Late Roman balneum of more than 5,500 m^2 in area, which was built in the late third/early fourth century AD in the entire area N of the Eridanos River and over the cemetery and the street
Relation to adjacent areas: The topographical continuation of the excavation in Syntagma Square. The Submycenaean graves are examined together with the precinct of the Hellenic Parliament and excavations in the NE corner of the National Garden.
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	Found about 50 m apart from each other at the N–NE foot of the hill of Agios Thomas or Agios Athanasios, which until 1836 existed on the site where the Royal Palace was built, the present seat of the Hellenic National Assembly. They were both rectangular pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock and covered by schist slabs. Grave 126 measured 1.00 x 0.50 x 0.45 m and was covered by three schist slabs. Grave 55 measured 1.30 x 0.50 x 0.40 m and was likewise covered by three schist slabs.

Finds
Grave 126: Apart from the scant remnants of bones, it contained a conical cup with a conical base and a trilobe oenochoe.
Grave 55: Contained the bones of a young individual and a small amphora, a trilobe oenochoe, two lekythoi, a cup, a smaller one-handled cup, and two bronze bow fibulae. On the basis of the grave goods, it is deduced that the grave probably housed a female burial.
Comments: The graves indicate the position of another Athenian cemetery of early times, which should be correlated with that found in the well in Irodou Attikou Street, by the building of the Presidential Guard.
Date: Both graves are dated on the basis of the vases they contained: Grave 126 to the Early Submycenaean period and Grave 55 to the transition to the Protogeometric period.[1]
Relevant bibliography: Parlama 1990–1991, pp. 231–245; Parlama 1992–1998, pp. 521–544; Zachariadou 1998, pp. 33–35; Zachariadou 2000, pp. 149–161; Parlama 2000, pp. 162–165; Zachariadou and Kavvadias 2004, pp. 54–58, drawing 1, pls. 30–33.

Notes
1 Parlama 2000, pp. 162–165, entries 128, 136.

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VII. 3. Vasilissis Sophias Avenue & Irodou Attikou 2

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

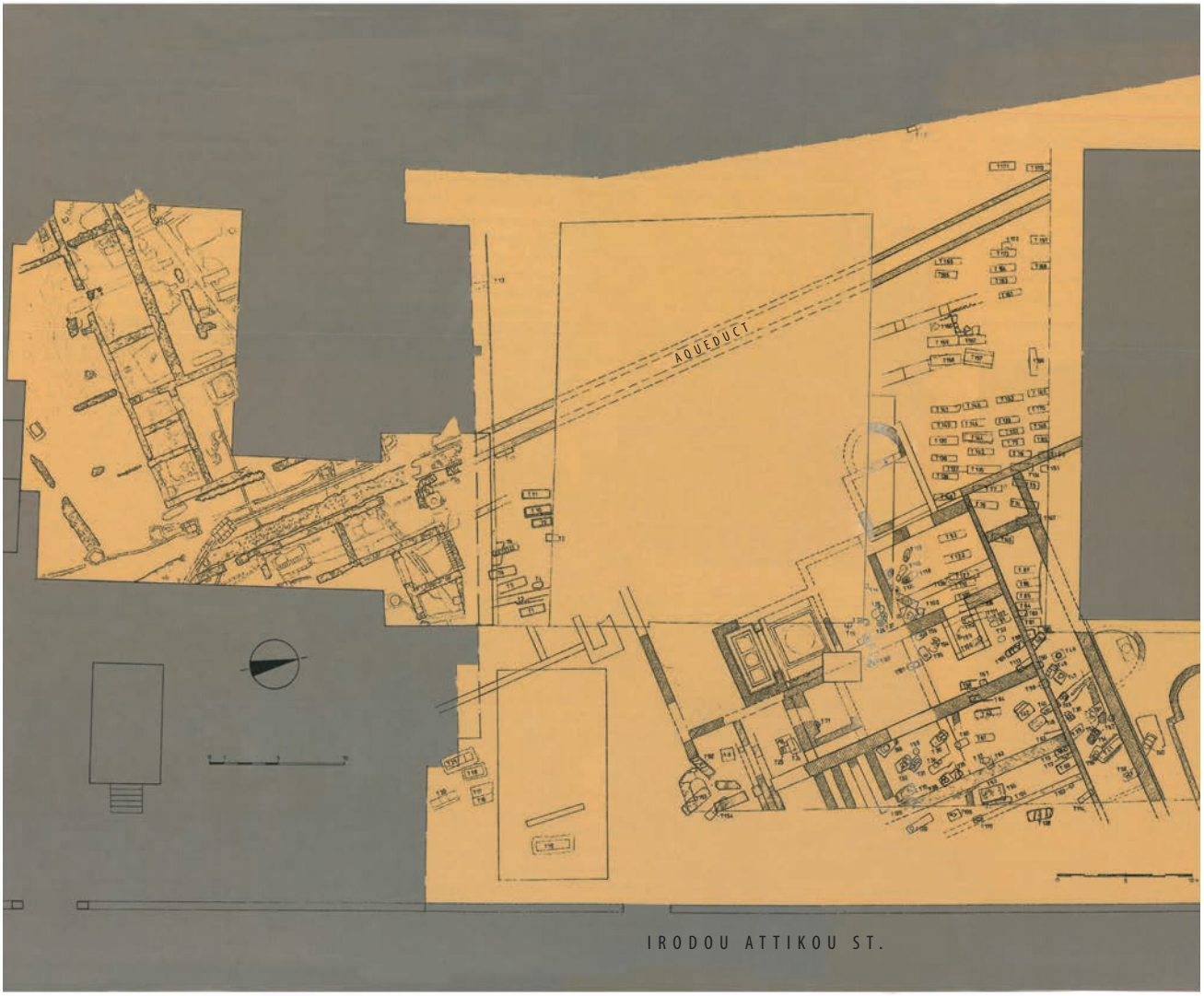

Figure 35. Athens, National Garden. Vasilissis Sophias and Irodou Attikou 2. Plan of the excavation. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 190–191. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Spathari and Chatzioti 1989, pp. 23–25, drawing 4, pl. 19β.
Excavators: E. Spathari, M. Chatzioti, O. Zachariadou
Years of excavation: 1982–1983

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: NE corner of the National Garden, barracks of the Presidential Guard
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 5,050 m^2
Finds: Cemetery of Submycenaean and Protogeometric times (76 graves — 16 of them with inhumations and 60 with cremations); ancient streets; cemetery of the Early Roman period (92 graves of the first century BC–first century AD); part of the Peisistratian aqueduct; building complex with three building phases, which was first constructed in the second century AD and, after destructions and repeated repairs, survived until the first half of the sixth century AD. Initially it was considered a villa, but later it was interpreted as a civic building because of its particularly large dimensions.
Relation to adjacent areas: The Submycenaean and Protogeometric cemetery is examined together with the area of the precinct of the Hellenic Parliament and excavations in the reservation strip of Amalias Avenue, where graves of the same period were found.
Comments: The excavation picture for the site was filled in by excavations made to construct a ventilation shaft for the Athens Metro, inside the National Garden and S of the barracks of the Presidential Guard (National Garden well or well in Irodou Attikou Street). The cemetery is located on either side of a basic road artery, which, via Gate VIII (Diochares Gate), linked the city with the Mesogaia.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean and Protogeometric cemetery

Remains	Description
76 graves (16 inhumations and 60 cremations)	Located in the E part of the site, along Irodou Attikou Street, at the height of Mourouzi Street. Along the line of the building facades were the earliest graves, which are also in the densest arrangement, while farther N and farther apart from one another were the later ones. The graves are rectangular pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock, within which both inhumation and cremation burials were found. Most of the graves were oriented NE–SW. Of the 16 inhumations, 11 were found undisturbed, but only six of these were furnished with grave goods. In the cremations, the cinerary vases with the ashes of the dead were found under the floor of the grave inside a pit covered by small schist slabs. Their mouths were closed by smaller vases. In 10 cases, two cuttings with two cinerary amphorae were found inside the same shaft.

Finds: Skyphoi, lekythoi, and stirrup jars, which served as lids of the cinerary vases; small vases as grave goods, found inside the circular cutting (in only three graves); and a unique sword
Comments: The cemetery has yet to be published.
Date: Submycenaean and Protogeometric periods
Relevant bibliography: Parlama 1990–1991, pp. 231–245; Parlama 1992–1998, pp. 521–544; Mountjoy 1995, p. 68; Parlama 1996, p. 48; Zachariadou 2000c, pp. 191–195; Zachariadou and Kavvadias 2004, pp. 54–58, drawing 1, pls. 30–33.

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Area VIII
Acropolis

VIII. 1. Acropolis, terrace

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906; Iakovidis 1962, pp. 53–54, 70, 101, 132, 156, 166, 158, 160–161, 203, 207–208, drawings 31, 32; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 50–51, 55–56, 63–64; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 1–60.
Excavator: P. Kavvadias and G. Kawerau
Years of excavation: 1885–1890

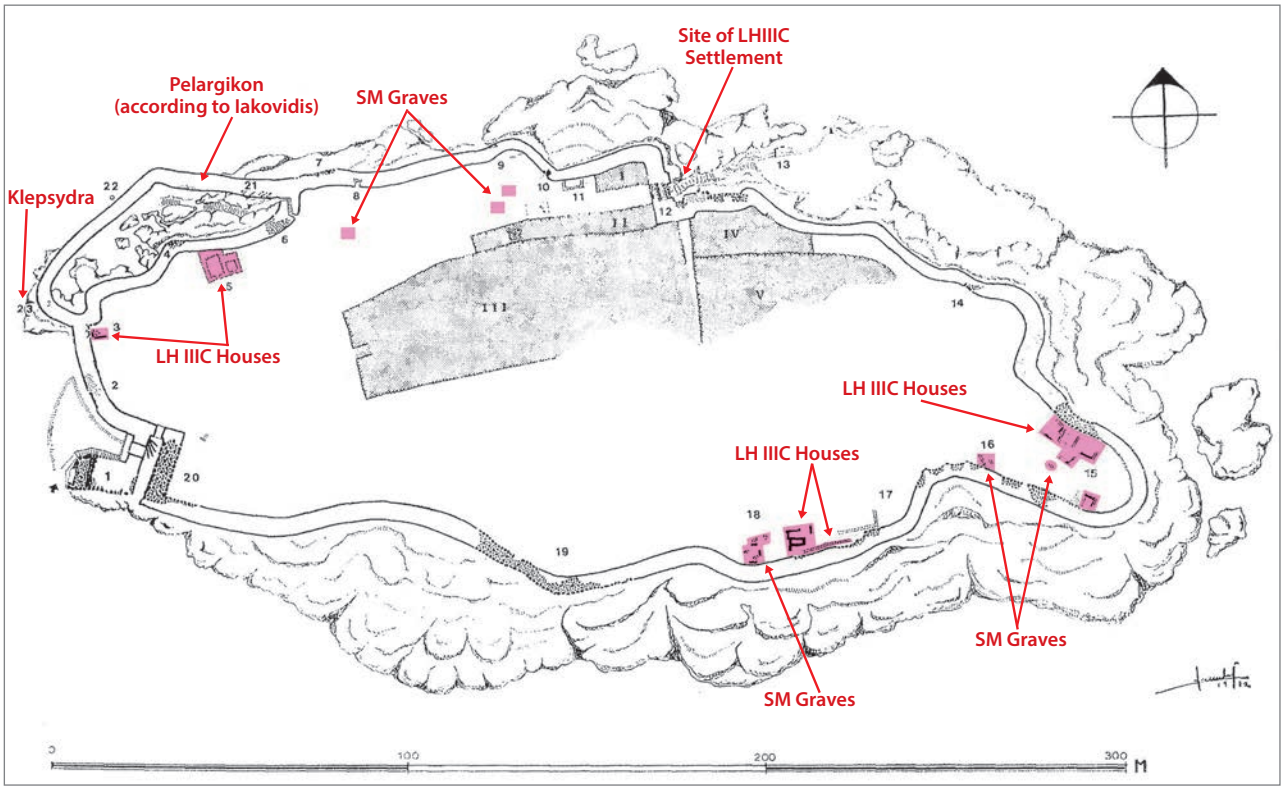

Figure 36. Athens, Acropolis. Plan of the terrace. Iakovidis 1973, drawing 13. Courtesy of A. Kakouri-Iakovidis.

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: approximately 2.3 ha
Finds: Remains of LH IIIC houses and 11 graves of the Submycenaean period. All were found on the summit of the Rock, on the margins of the terrace near the prehistoric wall of the LH IIIB period. The settlement remains are located NW, S, and SE of the Parthenon, abutting the inner side of the fortification wall, while the graves are on the W, N, S, and SE of the terrace.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Settlement Remains

1. Remains of LH IIIC houses to the S of the terrace (S of the Parthenon)

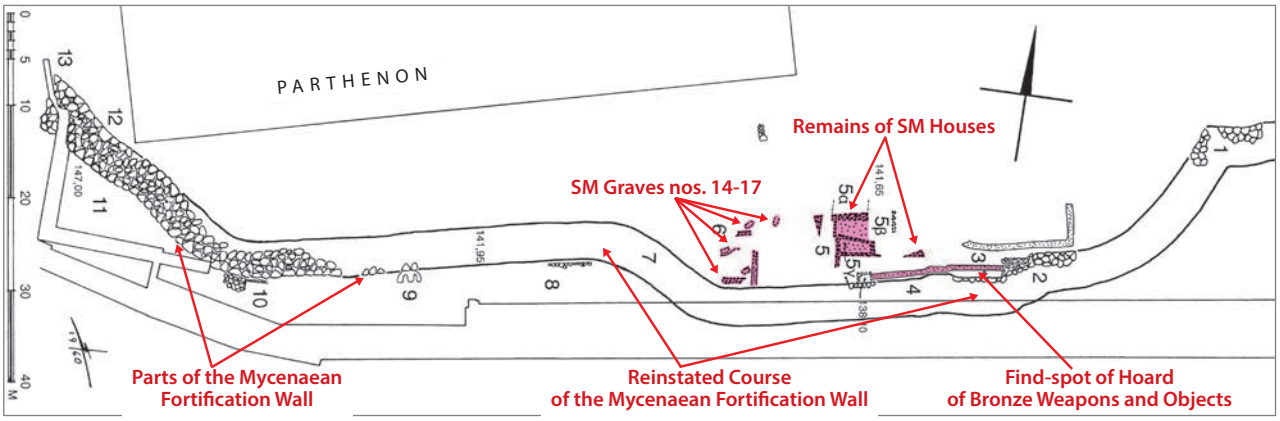

Figure 37. Athens, Acropolis. The south fortification wall and the LH IIIC and Submycenaean remains preserved beside it. Iakovidis 2006, p.173, plan 32. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Remains	Description
Mud-brick wall (no. 3) (Iakovidis's numbering)	Found under the fill from the Persian destruction. Stands directly on the bedrock. Its foundation consists of a stone socle and a mud-brick superstructure. At the time of the excavation it stood to a height of 1 m and ran for a length of approximately 13 m.
Group of walls (no. 5) (Iakovidis's numbering)	Found NW of the mud-brick wall, a short distance from the inner face of the S branch of the Mycenaean fortification wall. The constituent walls do not stand on the bedrock but are founded in a fill that accumulated at this point after construction of the fortification wall. All are built in the same way and delimit irregular spaces in which are preserved floors of small fieldstones covered by a coat of clay. Analogous remains survive to the W and E.
Unconnected walls (no. 6) (Iakovidis's numbering)	Other walls, unconnected with one another and most probably built abutting the fortification wall. They were found close to Submycenaean Graves 14–17.
Curved wall	Found under fill from the Persian destruction, N of the mud-brick Wall 3 (see "Finds"). Between this and the Mycenaean fortification wall, and E of the group of walls (5) and graves (14–17), a hoard of bronzes was discovered. This wall seems to be curved at its W end.

Finds: The hoard of bronzes from Wall 3 included a dirk, lance, double axes and ordinary axes, chisel, hammers, anvils, rasp, knife, sickle, broad chisel, circular mirrors, two-handled bowl, and so on. Possibly found together with it was a stirrup jar, which is not described by Kavvadias and Kawerau.[1]

Comments: Wall 3 was buried under the Persian destruction level. Between it and the inner face of the Late Mycenaean fortification wall of the Acropolis, a hoard of bronze weapons, vessels, and tools was found. Traces of wood in the sockets for the handles or hafts were preserved. The curved wall, which was found buried under the same level, belonged to a building of apsidal plan.

Date: According to Iakovidis, the aforesaid architectural remains are dated on the basis of the excavation data (masonry and foundation upon fill later than the fortification wall) generally in LH III.[2] However, since he considers the "dwellings" on the S side of the terrace contemporary with the graves found between them, he dates these to LH IIIC.[3] According to Mountjoy, who dates strictly and solely on the basis of pottery, all the above remains — in the absence of pottery — can be dated from LH IIIB2 (1225–1190 BC), to which she dates construction of the Mycenaean fortification wall, to any moment in LH IIIC (1190–1030 BC).[4] In the opinion of Iakovidis, the curved wall is later than the mud-brick one.[5]

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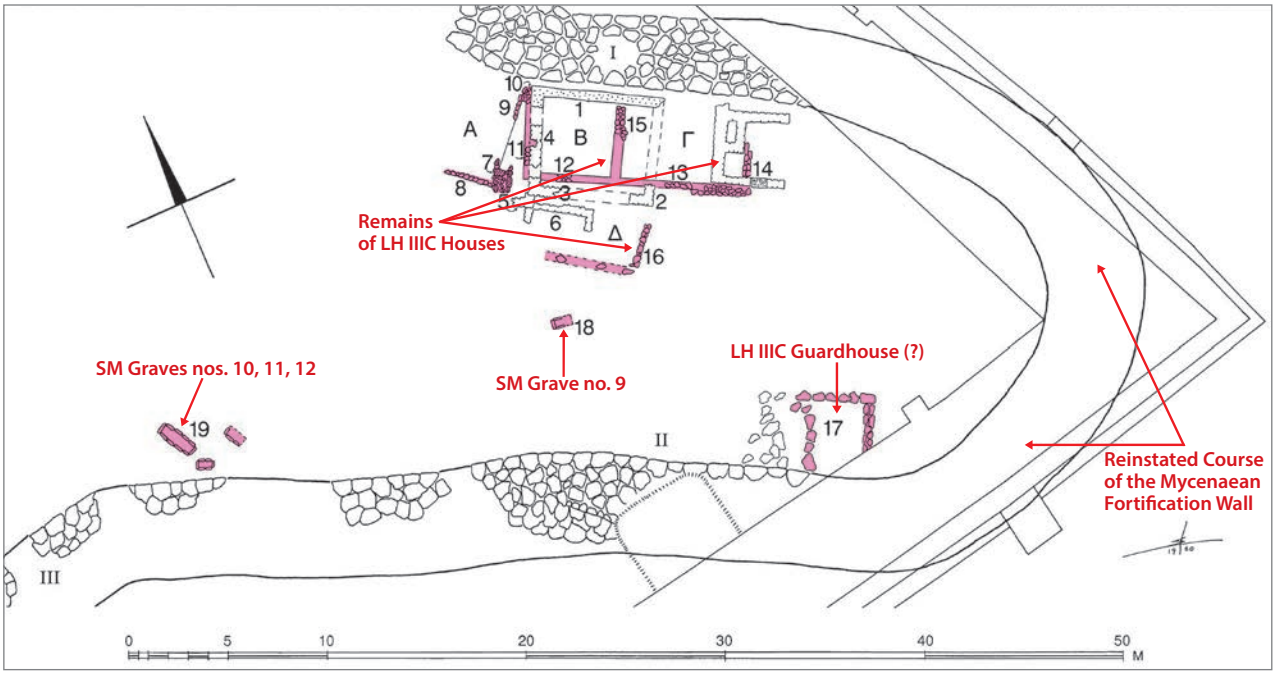

Figure 38. Athens, Acropolis. The southwest corner of the fortification wall and the LH IIIC and Submycenaean remains preserved beside it. Iakovidis 2006, p. 166, plan 31. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Remains	Description
Group of walls	Walls 8–9 and 11–16 (Iakovidis's numbering), which, with the exception perhaps of Wall 14, appear to belong to the same building. All are built abutting the S, inner side of the Mycenaean fortification wall and create four spaces (A, B, Γ, and Δ). Their foundation of one course of stones survives, and they are 0.40–0.50 m thick.[6]

Finds: No data

Comments: In the view of Iakovidis, the above "dwellings" are associated with the graves to the S and SW of them, and he dates the whole to the "final period of the Mycenaean Age."[7]

Date: According to Iakovidis, the above architectural remains are dated on the basis of their masonry and the depth of the foundation to the LH III period.[8] However, since he considers the "dwellings" on the S side of the terrace contemporary with the graves found between them, he dates these to LH IIIC.[9] According to Mountjoy, who dates strictly and solely on the basis of pottery, all the above remains — in the absence of pottery — can be dated from LH IIIB2, to which she dates construction of the Mycenaean fortification wall, to any moment in LH IIIC.[10]

3. Remains of LH IIIC houses and an Archaic cistern to the N of the terrace (above the caves of Apollo and Pan)

Remains	Description
Group of walls	Walls 4α and 4β (Iakovidis's numbering), which are contemporary. Built of small fieldstones and very thick, they are not founded directly on the bedrock but in a fill about 0.90 m high, which had accumulated on the inner side of the fortification wall and consequently postdated its construction.

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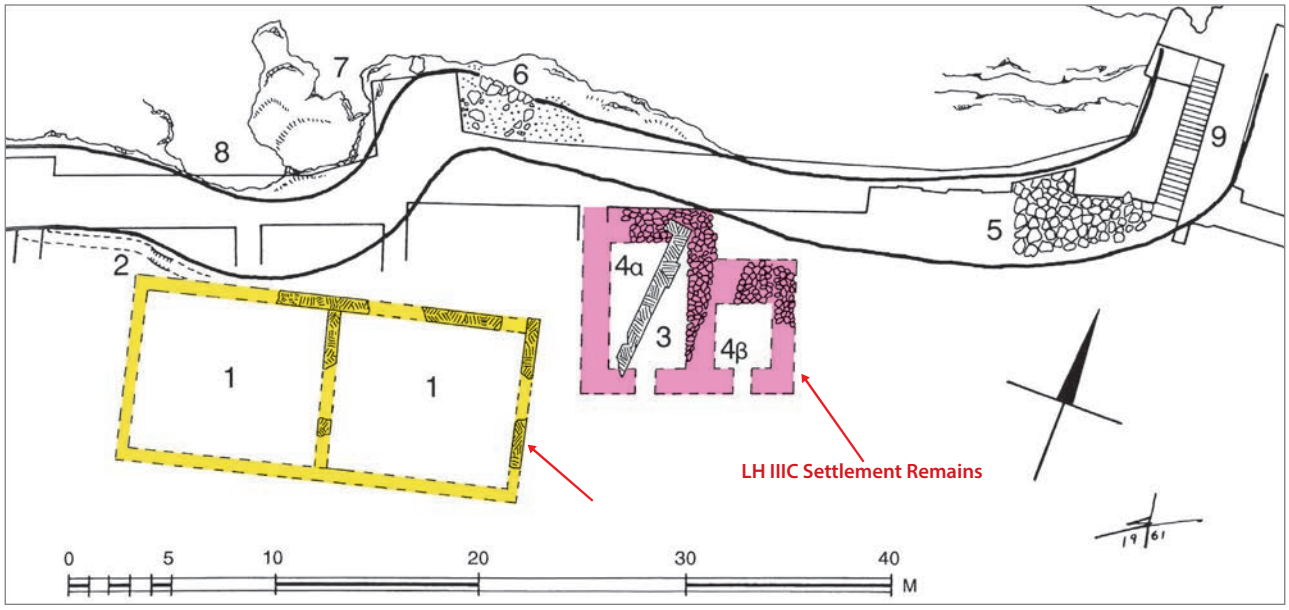

Figure 39. Athens, Acropolis. The north fortification wall from the Pinakotheke to the northwest descent, with remains of LH IIIC houses and an Archaic cistern beside it. Iakovidis 2006, p. 129, plan 21. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Finds: No data
Comments: Built abutting the inner side of the fortification wall
Date: According to Iakovidis, the above architectural remains are dated on the basis of their masonry and the depth of the foundation to the LH III period.[11] According to Mountjoy, who dates strictly and solely on the basis of pottery, all the above remains — in the absence of pottery — can be dated from LH IIIB2, to which she dates construction of the Mycenaean fortification wall, to any moment in LH IIIC.[12]

Remains	Description
Cistern	Double-space construction, which must have been located inside a deep fill, as is deduced from its thin walls, which otherwise would not have been able to withstand the pressure of the water[13]

Finds: No data
Comments: Built abutting the inner side of the fortification wall
Date: Judeich characterizes it as pre-Persian, because a Classical edifice was built on top of it in the time of Themistocles.[14] Iakovidis dates its construction after the Kylonian Conspiracy (632 BC) and before Kleomenes' siege of the Peisistratids (510 BC).

4. Remains of LH IIIC houses to the W of the terrace (below the Pinakotheke)

Remains	Description
Corner wall (no. 3) (Iakovidis's numbering)	Located where a purely Mycenaean fill is preserved to a height of 1 m. Founded directly on the bedrock. Its socle was of rubble masonry and the superstructure of mud bricks.

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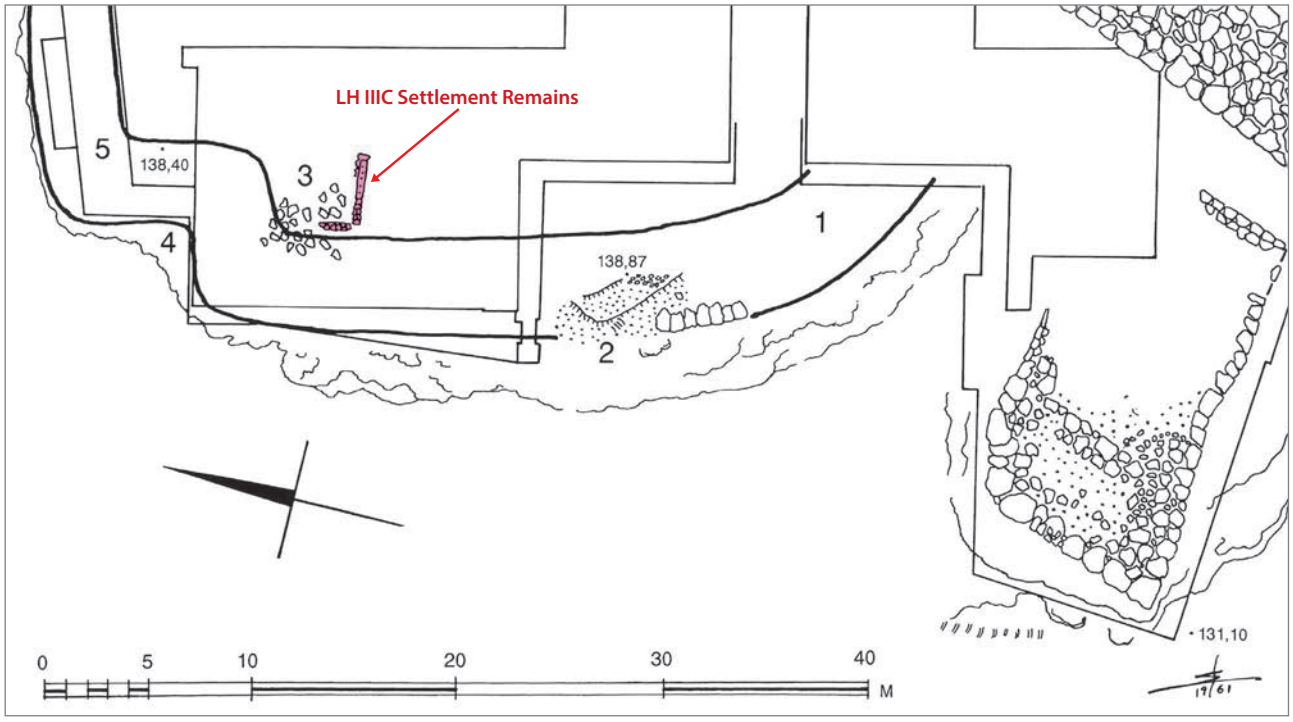

Figure 40. Athens, Acropolis. The west fortification wall and remains of LH IIIC houses beside it. Iakovidis 2006, p. 126, plan 20. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Finds: No data

Comments: Built abutting the inner face of the fortification wall

Date: According to Iakovidis, the above architectural remains are dated to the LH III period on the basis of their masonry and the depth of the foundation.[15] According to Mountjoy, who dates strictly and solely on the basis of pottery, all the above remains — in the absence of pottery — can be dated from LH IIIB2, to which she dates construction of the Mycenaean fortification wall, to any moment in LH IIIC.[16]

Other Examined Remains

Submycenaean graves on the terrace of the Acropolis

Remains	Description
11 graves	Found almost on the brink of the rock. Graves 1, 6, 7, 9, 10–12, and 14–17 in the plan above. They were all cist graves and the majority, except two, were without grave goods. Five graves housed children or infants and one housed an adult male (?). For the remaining five, there is no relevant information in the excavation daybooks.

Finds: See below.

Comments: Initially it was considered that there were 15 graves on the terrace and that these housed child burials. The correct number is 19, of which at least five were of children, plus one of an adult. Of the 19 graves, the eight that are not of the Submycenaean period are dated as follows: four to the Mycenaean period and one enchytrismos to the Middle Helladic. There is insufficient information to date the others.

Date: According to Iakovidis, the graves of the S side at least are contemporary with each other and with the remains of the buildings and are dated to "the final years of advanced LH IIIC."[17] Mountjoy dates them to the Submycenaean period (1020–1000 BC, according to her). For the dating of Gauss and Ruppenstein, who confirm Iakovidis's dating, see below.

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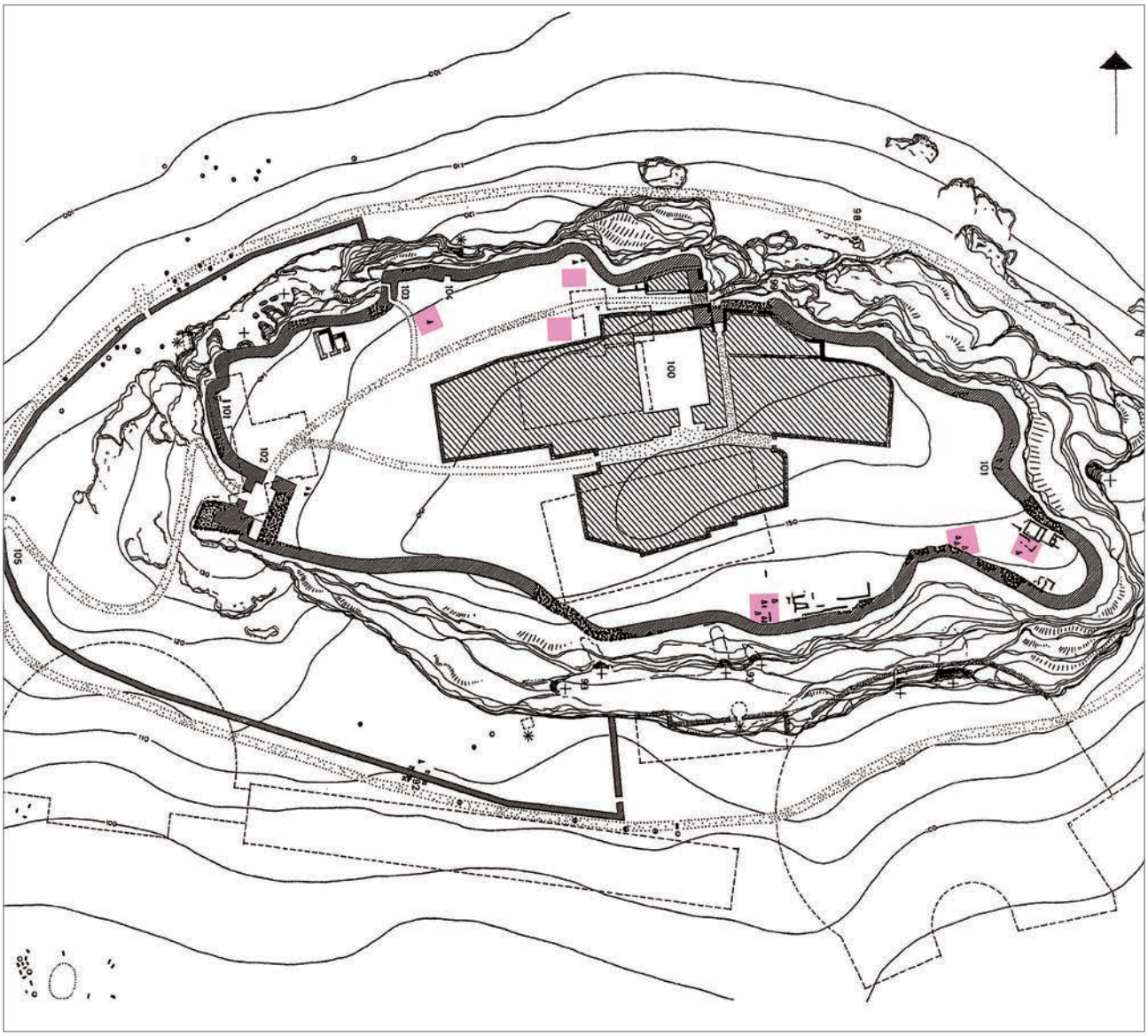

Figure 41. Athens, Acropolis. Plan of the terrace showing where Submycenaean graves have been found. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 2, fig. 1. Courtesy of W. Gauss and F. Ruppenstein

1. Submycenaean graves to the NNW and N of the terrace[18]

Remains	Description
Three graves	Graves 1, 6, and 7 (Gauss and Ruppenstein's numbering). All were cist graves. Grave 1, of internal measurements 0.64 x 0.26–8 m, was constructed of fieldstones and slabs. Grave 7, of internal measurements 0.90 x 0.40–0.50 m, and Grave 6 were built only of fieldstones.

Finds: Sherds of a vase that was a grave good were found only in Grave 1. There is no information on the contents of the other two graves.

Comments: Grave 1 was of a child, whose bones were preserved.

Date: There is no reference to the graves on the N side in Iakovidis. According to Mountjoy they postdate the remains of settlement on the terrace in the Submycenaean period, which she defines as between 1020 and 1000 BC.[19] According to Gauss and Ruppenstein, all three graves most probably date to the Submycenaean period.

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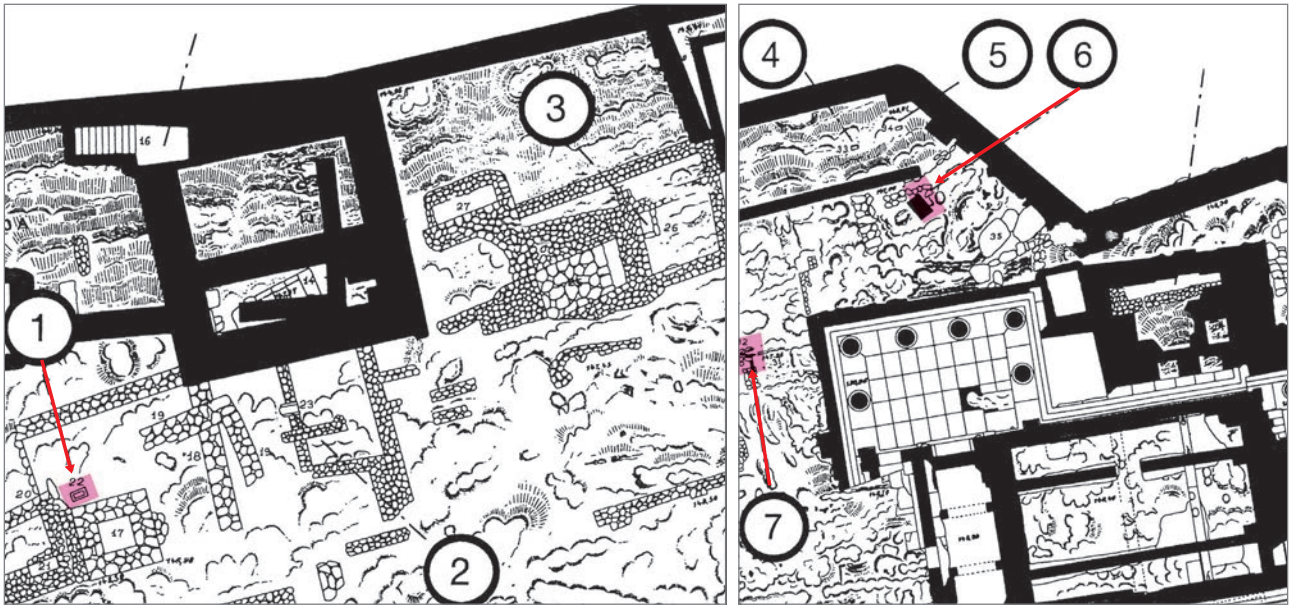

Figure 42. Athens, Acropolis: (a) Submycenaean Grave 1; (b) Submycenaean Graves 6 and 7. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 3, figs. 2–3. Courtesy of W. Gauss and F. Ruppenstein.

2. Submycenaean graves to the SE of the terrace[20]

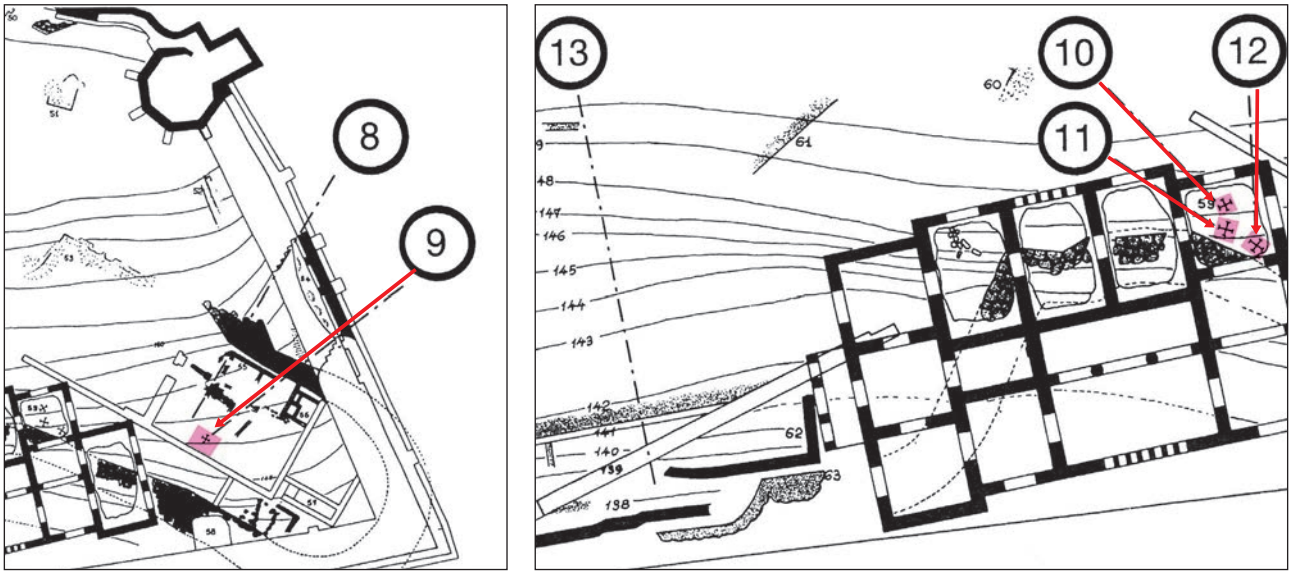

Figure 43. Athens, Acropolis: (a) Submycenaean Grave 9; (b) Submycenaean Graves 10, 11, and 12. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 3, figs. 4–5. Courtesy of W. Gauss and F. Ruppenstein.

Remains	Description
Four graves	Found E and SW of the remains of the Submycenaean houses. Graves 9, 10, 11, and 12 (Gauss and Ruppenstein's numbering). All cist graves were constructed of fieldstones and opened in the fill that accumulated on the inner side of the fortification wall after it was built.[21] There are no data on the dimensions of these graves. The internal measurements of Grave 10 were 1.85 x 0.48 x 0.34 m, and those of Grave 12 were perhaps comparable,[22] while those of Grave 11 were 0.70 x 0.22 m.

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Finds: Grave 10 contained a small pithoid amphora.[23] Graves 9 and11 were found without grave goods, and Grave 12 was devoid of finds.
Comments: Grave 9 was of a child, as is deduced from the bones found inside it. Grave 10 is the only grave of an adult on the Acropolis. Kavvadias and Kawerau considered it to be of a male, whereas Gauss and Ruppenstein doubt this assumption on the basis of the type of vase used as a grave good.[24]
Date: Iakovidis dates Grave 9 to LH IIIC because of its proximity to the building remains that he considers to be contemporary. In his view, the other three graves are contemporary too, and he dates Grave 10 to the same period, also on the basis of the vase that is a grave good.[25] Mountjoy dates the graves, after the settlement remains on the terrace, to the Submycenaean period, which she defines as 1020–1000 BC.[26] According to Gauss and Ruppenstein, Graves 10, 11, and 12 date to the Submycenaean period, as does quite probably Grave 9.

3. Submycenaean graves to the S of the terrace[27]

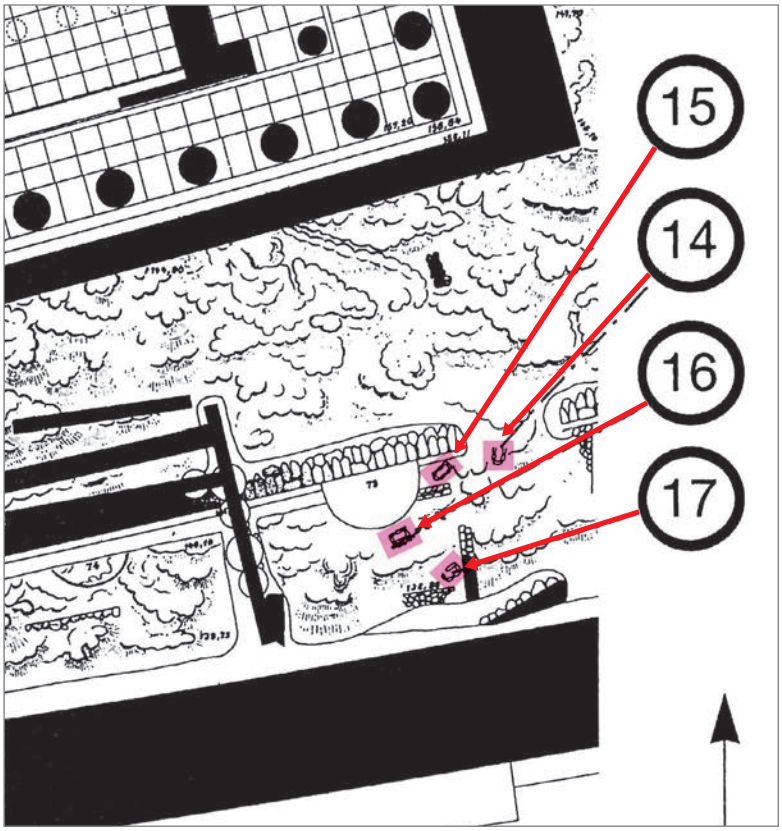

Figure 44. Athens, Acropolis. Submycenaean Graves 14, 15, 16, and 17. Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 3, fig. 6. Courtesy of W. Gauss and F. Ruppenstein.

Remains	Description
Four graves	Found W of the settlement remains (no. 5; Iakovidis's numbering) and between the unconnected walls (no. 6; Iakovidis's numbering). These are Graves 14, 15, 16, and 17 (Gauss and Ruppenstein's numbering). They were all cist graves, constructed of fieldstones and with walls lined with small slabs. They were opened in the fill created on the inner side of the fortification wall after its construction.[28] Graves 14 and 17 were possibly unfinished. The external measurements of the first were 0.70 x 0.50 m, and the internal measurements of the second were 0.80–0.90 x 0.20 m. The internal measurements of Graves 15 and 16 were 0.70 x 0.20–0.30 m and 0.70 x 0.30-040 m, respectively.

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Finds: The graves were unfurnished, except Grave 17 which contained a one-handled skyphos and two beads, and possibly had an enclosure.[29]
Comments: All four graves were of children or infants, as is deduced from the surviving skeletal material.
Date: According to Iakovidis, who takes into account also the depth at which they were found, they date to LH IIIC, as their construction is the same as that of the settlement remains that he dates to the same period.[30] According to Mountjoy, they postdate the settlement remains on the terrace and date to the Submycenaean period, which she defines as 1020–1000 BC.[31] According to Gauss and Ruppenstein, Graves 14, 15, 16, and 17 date to the Submycenaean period.
Relevant bibliography: Styrenius 1967, pp. 22–23; Iakovidis 1973, pp. 113, 135–136; Pantelidou 1975, p. 230; Camp 1977, p. 46; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 63–64; Hurwit 1999, pp. 83–84; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 299; Iakovidis 2006.

Notes

1 Iakovidis 1962, p. 160, note 286.
2 With regard to the mud-brick wall, Iakovidis notes that the latest of the pottery found together with the hoard of bronzes dates to LH IIIC, but without clarifying the correlation between the two. Iakovidis 1962, pp. 157–161, 219–220, drawing 32; Iakovidis 1973, pp. 135–136, drawing 13; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 172–177, 243–244, drawing 32. According to Mountjoy, the hoard from Wall 3 is dated to late LH IIIB–early LH IIIC (1200–1130 BC) and is not used in dating the specific remains. Mountjoy 1995, p. 55.
3 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 156, 160; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 171, 176.
4 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 50–51, 55.
5 Iakovidis 1962, p. 159.
6 Iakovidis 1962, pp.153–156, drawing 31.
7 Iakovidis 1962, p. 156.
8 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 154, 219–220; Iakovidis 1973, p. 135, drawing 13; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 167–171, 243–244, drawing 31.
9 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 156, 160; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 171, 176.
10 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 50–51, 55.
11 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 123, 219–220; Iakovidis 1973, pp. 132–135, drawing 13; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 132–135, 243–244, drawing 21.
12 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 50–51, 55.
13 Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, p. 65; Iakovidis 1962, pp. 118–119; Iakovidis 1973, p. 126; Camp 1977, p. 46, note 21, with relevant bibliography; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 129–130.
14 Judeich 1931, p. 246.
15 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 116, 219–220; Iakovidis 1973, p. 135, drawing 13; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 126–127, 243–244, drawing 20.
16 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 50–51, 55.
17 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 156, 160; Iakovidis 2006, pp. 171, 176.
18 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 5, 8–9, 40.
19 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 63–64.
20 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 11–14.
21 Iakovidis 1962, p. 161; Iakovidis 2006, p. 177.
22 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 14.
23 Iakovidis 1962, p. 156, note 279; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 636–634; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 12–13, drawing 15.
24 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 22.
25 Iakovidis 1962, p. 156; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, p. 11–14; Iakovidis 2006, p. 171.
26 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 63–64.
27 Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 15–17.
28 Iakovidis 1962, p. 161; Iakovidis 2006, p. 177.
29 Iakovidis 1962, p. 160, note 288; Gauss and Ruppenstein 1998, pp. 16–17, drawing 17; Iakovidis 2006, p. 176, note 291.
30 The same information is given by Kavvadias and Kawerau 1906, p. 38; Iakovidis 1962, 160; Iakovidis 2006, p. 176.
31 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 63–64.

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VIII. 2. Acropolis, NW Slope – Klepsydra and its environs

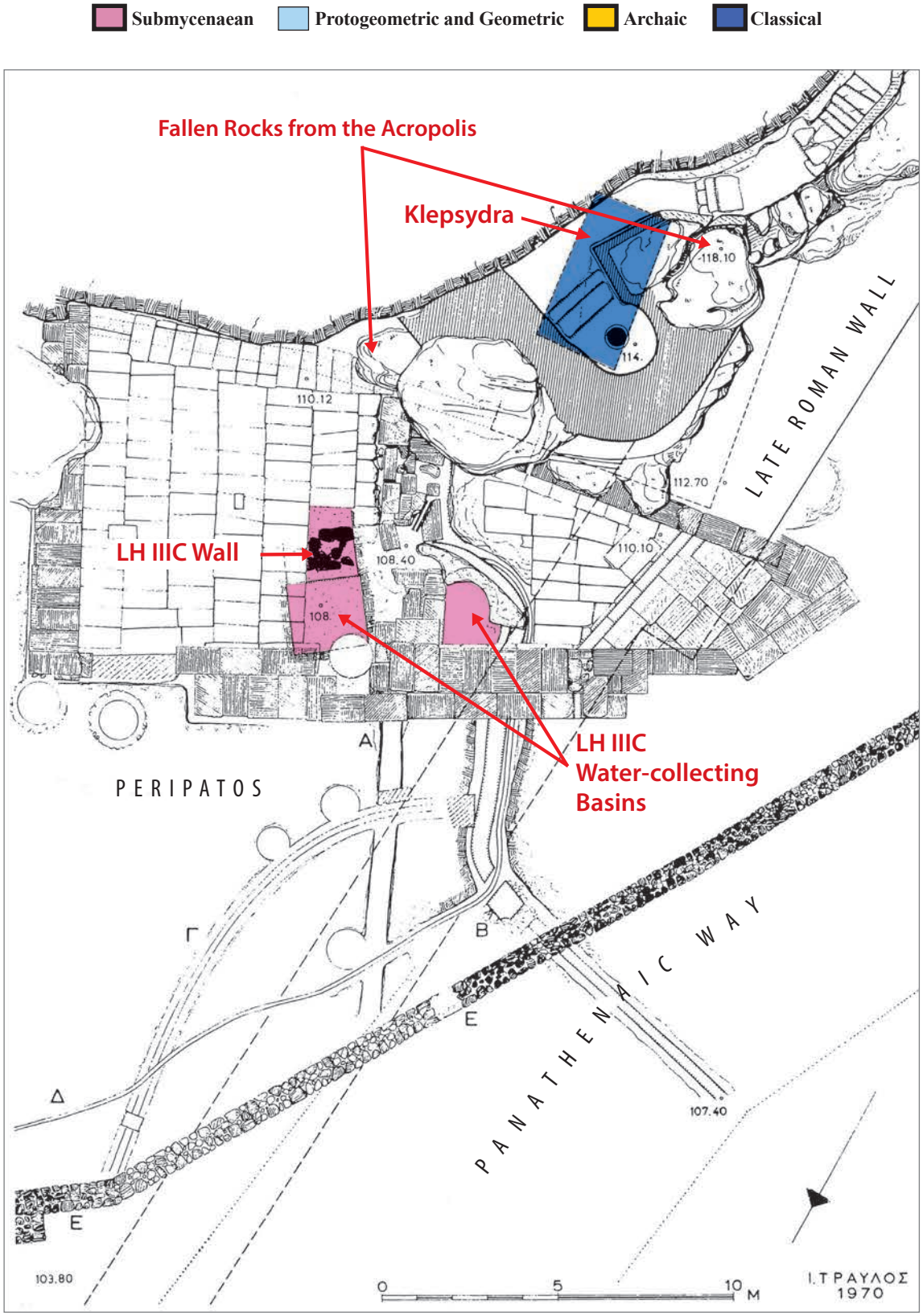

Figure 45. Athens, Acropolis. Northwest Slope. Plan of the Klepsydra area. Dontas 1972, p. 27, drawing 1. Courtesy of W. Gauss and F. Ruppenstein.

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Bibliography: Shear 1939, pp. 221–223; Shear 1941, p. 7, fig. 7; Parsons 1943, pp. 191–267; Dontas 1972, pp. 26–28, drawing 1, pls. 34–39.
Excavators: A. W. Parsons (ASCS), G. Dontas (Greek Archaeological Service)
Years of excavation: 1937–1940 (ASCS), 1969 (ASCS)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: The prehistoric Empedo spring, renamed Klepsydra in Classical times; its Mycenaean and Submycenaean phases (water-collecting basins/deposits and three wells of the Late Mycenaean/Submycenaean period); seven Archaic/Early Classical wells — one unfinished on the slope N of the spring; Classical phase of the spring arranged as a fountain (paved court)
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The levels underlying the Classical phase were examined only in part, due to the extremely heavy paving slabs in the court, in an area not more than 7 m (E–W) x 4.50 m (N–S).

Examined Architectural Remains

1. LH IIIB and LH IIIC wells E of the Klepsydra[1]

Remains	Description
Well 1	50 m E of the Klepsydra. Well V 24:1, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. It was 6.20 m deep and 1.10–1.40 m. in diameter.
Well 2	Found a few meters W of the Klepsydra. Well S 27:7, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. The shaft was almost square, measuring 1.10 x 1.15 m, and approximately 6.25 m deep.

Finds: Wheel-made and handmade pottery (mainly domestic)
Comments: Well 1 is the oldest water-supply source of Mycenaean times in the area. It contained domestic pottery of LH IIIA2–IIIB, which points to habitation on the N Slope at an earlier date than settlement on the NE ascent.[2] It contained also a few LH IIIC sherds. Well 2 was possibly still in use or had just been abandoned in the period when the water-collecting basins were functioning.
Dates
Well 1: Dated by the fill that sealed it in LH IIIB
Well 2: Later than Well 1, it is dated to LH IIIC and slightly earlier than Well 3 (Φ3).

2. LH IIIC well and water-collecting basins under the Classical court of the Klepsydra[3]

Remains	Description
East deposit	Found under the Classical paved court of the Klepsydra and the Roman wall that bisected it in the mid-first century AD. Cut in the bedrock of the N Slope. Square shape with almost parallel sides and slightly rounded corners. Relatively shallow; its floor was found at a depth of 2 m from ground level.
West deposit	Found to the W of the previous one. It is deeper because at this point the surface of the bedrock is 3.40 m below the floor of the Classical court. The excavation did not reveal the bottom of the deposit. On the contrary, it gave the strong impression that this was a natural water-collecting hollow analogous to the one upon which the Classical Klepsydra was constructed.
Well 3	Close to the E side of the court of the Klepsydra. Well U 26:4, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.

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Finds

East pit: The Late Mycenaean fill was found undisturbed on the bottom.

West pit: The same content as in the east pit, plus a Mycenaean clay figurine found in 1969.5 Apart from two fragments of tiles and a lump of clay, which were found in the W pit, the deposit did not contain building debris or other remains with traces of destruction by conflagration. Furthermore, no household objects were found.[6] On the contrary, most of the sherds were from hydries and other large closed vases for drawing and transporting liquids. The material with which the deposit was sealed is the same and must have come from the same place. No layer from the POU of the water-collecting basins was found.

U 26:4: Large and small handmade domestic vessels for food preparation, fragments of wheel-made Mycenaean vases, drinking vases, hydries, and trefoil-mouth oenochoai[7]

Comments: No data

Dates

E and W pit: Advanced LH IIIC, according to Smithson8

U 26:4: It is dated to the final years of the Late Mycenaean period, possibly after the water-collecting basins of the Klepsydra ceased to be used.[9]

3. LH IIIC retaining wall S of the east pit

Remains	Description
Wall	Found to the S of the east pit. Founded on the bedrock, 5 m from the rocky slope below the sanctuary of Apollo, with which it runs parallel (E–W). It survives for a length of 1.55 m, height of 1.20 m, and width of 0.60 m and is constructed of small and large stone blocks, fitted together neatly without mortar. The blocks are carefully worked on the N face, which was probably visible.[10] By contrast, its roughly worked back face, which could not be seen, reveals that it was probably a wall underpinning a terrace, which — according to Smithson — perhaps supported a staircase leading to the sanctuary of Apollo and from there to the Acropolis. Possibly it also included storage spaces under or beside the staircase, thus explaining the finding of pithoi in the fill.[11]

Finds: In the fill of its S face, in and among the blocks, were found Late Mycenaean sherds (LH IIIB–C) and fragments of two coarse-ware vases, from which two wide-mouthed pithoi were mended.12

Comments: In 1969, during works on arranging and conserving the excavated areas on the N Slope, done by the First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, supplementary research was carried out in the paved court of the Klepsydra.

Date: Dated to the Late Mycenaean period on the basis of the pithoi found behind the S front of the wall and the pottery in its fill, which is contemporary with the pits.13

5. Archaic wells and domestic rubbish pit

Remains	Description
Seven Wells	Wells T 24:3, T 24:5, T 25:2, U23:2, U 24:1, V 23:1, and V 24:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[14] Found on the NW Slope of the Acropolis, in the area of the Klepsydra, directly N of the arranged space of the Classical period. The fill inside them was uniform, pointing to their intentional abandonment in a specific period and not to their use as rubbish pits for a long time.
One rubbish pit	Deposit U 25:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies.[15] The pit was initially intended as a well but was not sunk completely, due to the hardness of the rock. So it was used as a rubbish pit by the nearby houses.

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Finds: Pottery mostly of the sixth century BC and a few fragments of the fifth century BC, as well as objects identified as deriving from the cleaning of a large area after a destruction:16 fragments of tiles and mud bricks from the superstructure of houses (V 24:2), carefully dressed polygonal stone blocks like those used in the foundations of houses and buildings of the Archaic/Early Classical period, paving stones and remnants of wood (from roof beams?), water conduits, and a chimney (T 24:3).[17] Also found were one wellhead, which may have belonged to the actual well (V 24:2), since it is dated after the third quarter of the sixth century BC down to the early fifth century BC.[18]
Comments: In Pit U 25:2 three different layers of fill were identified. The lower/earliest dates to ca. 535–520 BC, the middle down to 525 BC, and the upper/latest to ca. 500 or more probably 490 BC.[19] It functioned as a rubbish pit over the entire period represented by these layers.
Dates
According to Parsons:[20]
Period of construction unknown — probably during the seventh or sixth century BC
POU: Archaic period
Period of abandonment: ca. 475 BC or at the latest before the mid-fifth century BC
According to Talcott and Sparkes:[21]
T 24:3: POU no later than ca. 530–520 BC
Upper layer of fill: ca. 500 BC and earlier
T 24:5: ca. 525–500 BC and earlier, on the basis of the filling layer
T 25:2: ca. 500 BC and earlier on the basis of the filling layer
U23:2: POU ca. 525–500 BC
Upper layer of fill: ca. 500 BC and perhaps immediately after
U 24:1: POU and upper layer of fill ca. 500 BC
U 25:2: POU 535–490 BC
V 23:1: POU ca. 525–500 BC
Upper layer of fill: 500–490 BC
V 24:2: ca. 525–500 BC
Relevant bibliography: *Agora* XII, pp. 111–113, 247–263, 383–399; Camp 1977, pp. 45–47; Smithson 1977, pp. 78–79; *Agora* XXIII, p. 335; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 47, 57–58, 64; Papadopoulos 2006, pp. 94–95.

Notes

1 Parsons 1943, pp. 206–207; *Agora* XIII, pp. 112, 255–261.
2 *Agora* XIII, p. 112; Mountjoy 1995, p. 47.
3 These are the pits/deposits T 26–27:2, according to the archival record of the American School of Classical Studies. Parsons 1943, pp. 207, 212, 243–245; *Agora* XIII, pp. 112, 261–262; Smithson 1977, pp. 143–144.
4 Parsons (1943, p. 207); Iakovidis 1962, pp. 194–195, note 377), who, however, dates the well to the final years of LH IIIB; Smithson (1977, pp. 78–79).
5 Smithson 1982, p. 145.
6 Smithson 1982, p. 144.
7 Smithson 1977, p. 79.
8 Smithson 1982, p. 146.
9 Iakovidis 1962, pp. 194–195, note 377. The well was still unpublished, but he dates it on the basis of its pottery to the end of LH IIIB. Pantelidou (1975, p. 37, note 1, where she refers to Iakovidis's view); Camp (1977, p. 36), who mentions only the two Late Mycenaean wells and not U 26:4. Smithson (1977, p. 79), who studied it, dates it to the final years of LH IIIC.
10 Dontas 1972, p. 28.
11 Smithson 1982, p. 148.
12 Dontas 1972, p. 28; Smithson 1982, p. 144.
13 Smithson 1982, pp. 144, 148.

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14 *Agora* XII, p. 399; Ag*ora X*XIII, p. 335.
15 *Agora* XII, p. 399. Ag*ora X*XIII, p. 335.
16 Parsons 1943. p. 207.
17 Shear 1939, pp. 221–223; *Agora* XII, p. 399; Lawall et al. 2001, pp. 173–175; Tsakirgis 207, p. 231, where it is mentioned that it is more likely to come from a public building or a workshop installation than from a house.
18 Lang 1949, Wellhead 5; Camp 1977, p. 207.
19 *Agora* XII, p. 399.
20 Parsons dates the construction of the Klepsydra and the paved court around it to the years immediately after the Persian Wars (second quarter fifth century BC) and includes it in the wider building program of Kimon. Parsons 1943, pp. 207, 231.
21 *Agora* XII, p. 399.

VIII. 3. Acropolis, W Slope – Beulé Gate

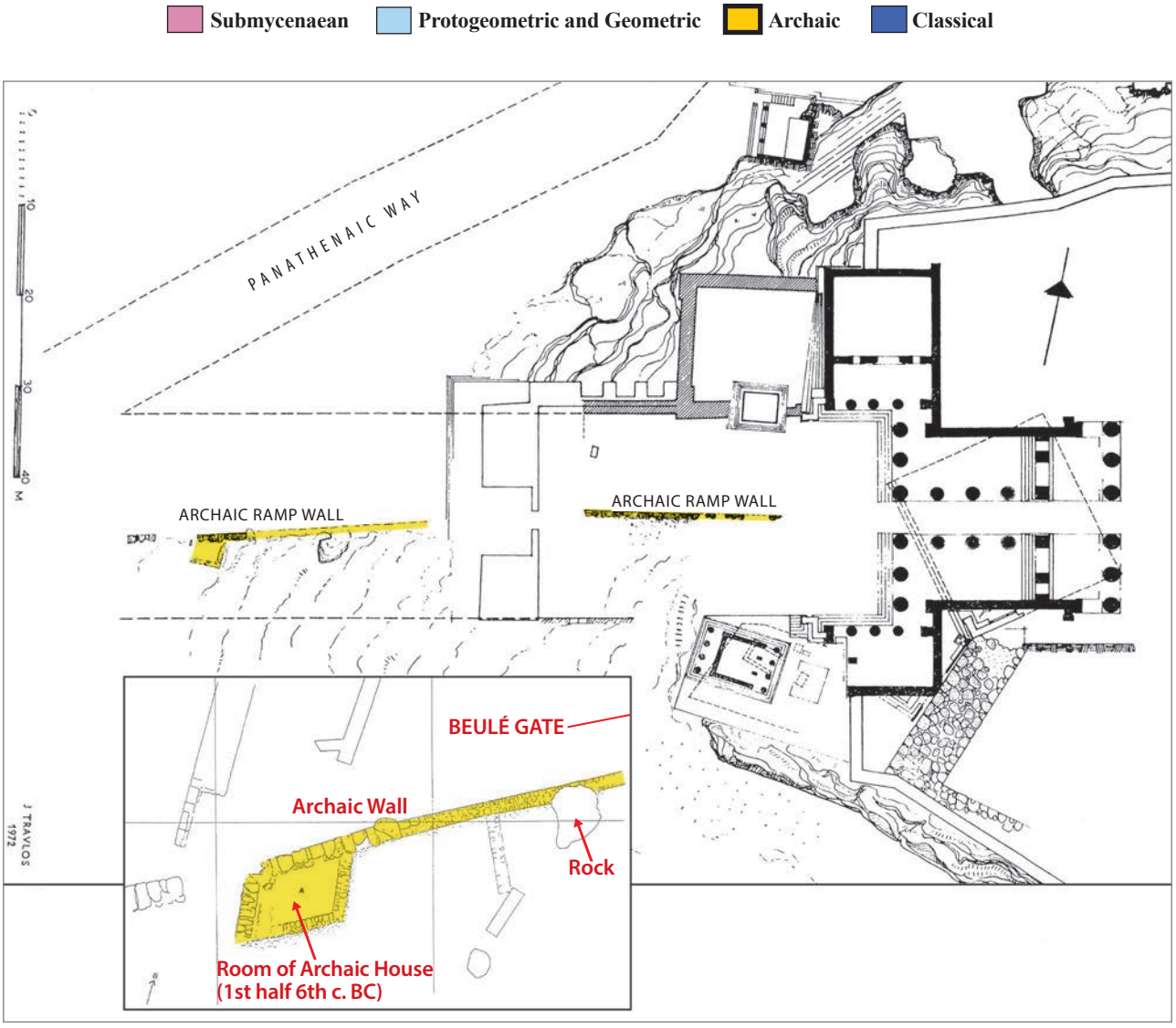

Figure 46. Athens, Acropolis. Archaic settlement remains west of the Beulé Gate. Vanderpool 1974, p. 158, fig. 1; Platon 1968, p. 41, drawing 4. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/ Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Keramopoullos 1934–1935, pp. 85–116; Platon 1968, pp. 39–43, drawing 4, pls. 61–63.
Excavators: A. Keramopoullos, N. Platon
Years of excavation: 1928, 1965.

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site of the Acropolis, W of the Beulé Gate
Dimensions of plot / area of excavation: No data
Finds: Subneolithic well, Archaic house, Archaic wall (a fortification wall according to Keramopoullos; a ramp leading up to the Acropolis according to Vanderpool)
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The site was excavated in 1928 by Keramopoullos, who brought to light the great Archaic wall, whose direction coincided with the central axis of the Propylaia and the Beulé Gate, and that he associates with fortification purposes (Enneapylon). In 1966, during cleaning work on the W Slope, to remove the dump from successive excavations on the Acropolis, Platon uncovered Keramopoullos's Archaic wall, which had been backfilled for years, and located the remains of the earlier Archaic house and the Subneolithic well.

Settlement Remains

1. Archaic house

Remains	Description
Room	Located S of the great Archaic wall, which had partly destroyed it. Only the S and the E wall were preserved.[1] Founded on the leveled bedrock and constructed of stone blocks dressed on their outer faces. The E wall survived to a height of 0.70 m. The N wall had been destroyed by construction of the Archaic one.
Floor	It had been badly damaged by a sheaf of cables.

Finds: Pottery of the second quarter of the sixth century BC, which represents the last years the house was in use and gives the terminus post quem for its abandonment. (See fragment of a black-figure vase of the time of Sophilos and the Gorgo Painter.)
Comments: The house was abandoned and destroyed when the great Archaic wall was built.[2]
Date: First half of sixth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Vanderpool 1974, pp. 156–160.

Notes

1 In ArchDelt 21, 1966, B΄1 [1968], p. 42, the position of the room is erroneously given as W of the Archaic wall, and of the two surviving walls, the S is referred to as N.
2 Vanderpool 1974, p. 159.

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VIII. 4. Acropolis, S Slope – S of the Herodeion

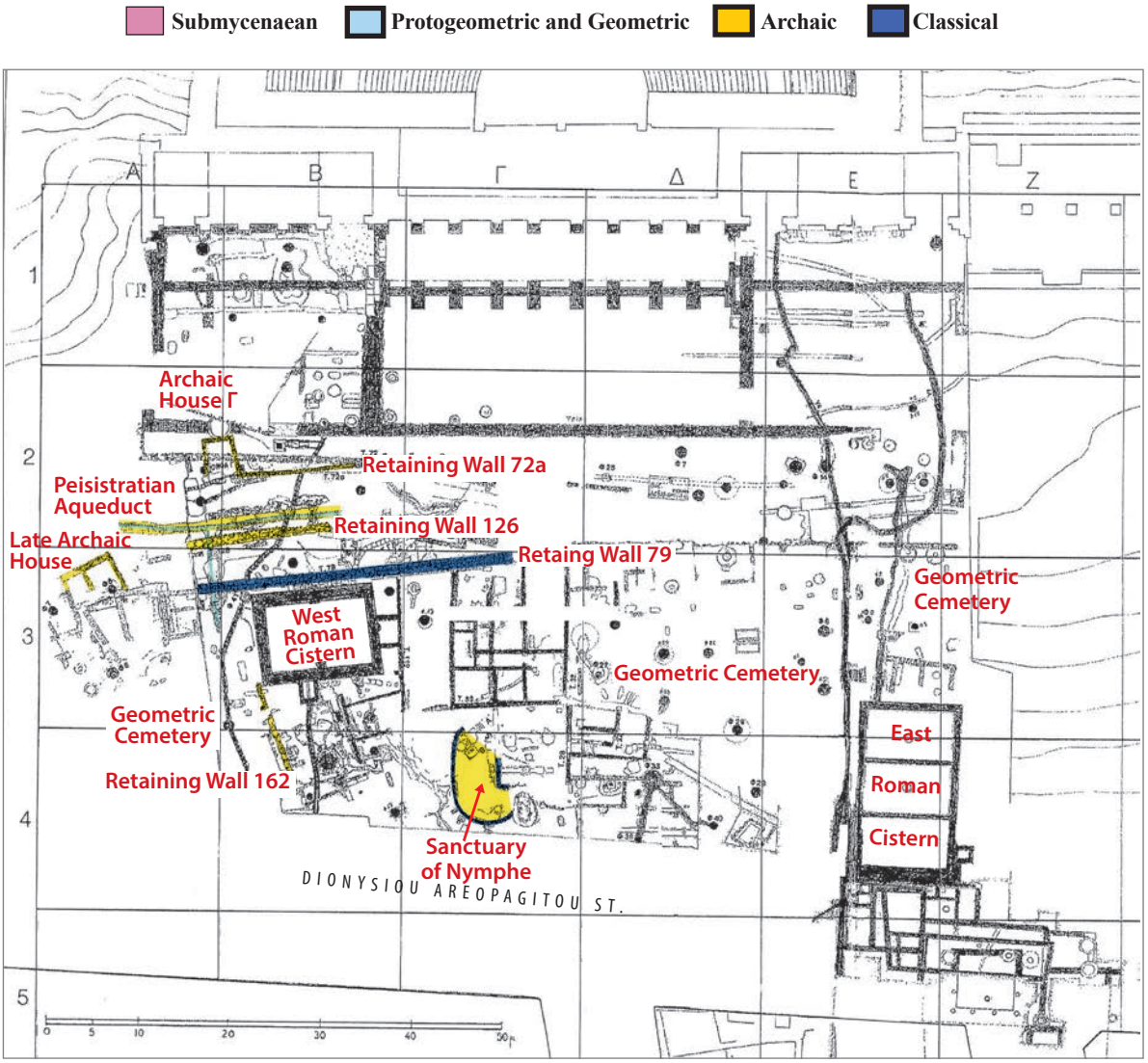

Figure 47. Athens, Acropolis. South Slope. Plan of the area south of the Herodeion. Brouskari 2004, pp. 26–27, drawing 27. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

Bibliography: Dontas 1962, pp. 15–16, pls. 10–11; Miliadis 1965, pp. 5–7, pls. 1–3; Charitonidis 1975, pp. 1–63, drawings 1–25, pls. 1–47; Brouskari 2004.
Excavator: I. Miliadis
Years of excavation: 1958–1959

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public (between the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and Dionysiou Areopagitou Street, a pedestrian zone)
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Geometric cemetery, two Late Archaic houses, part of the Peisistratian aqueduct, Hellenistic aqueduct, Byzantine houses, and graves of the fourth and fifth century AD
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Settlement Remains

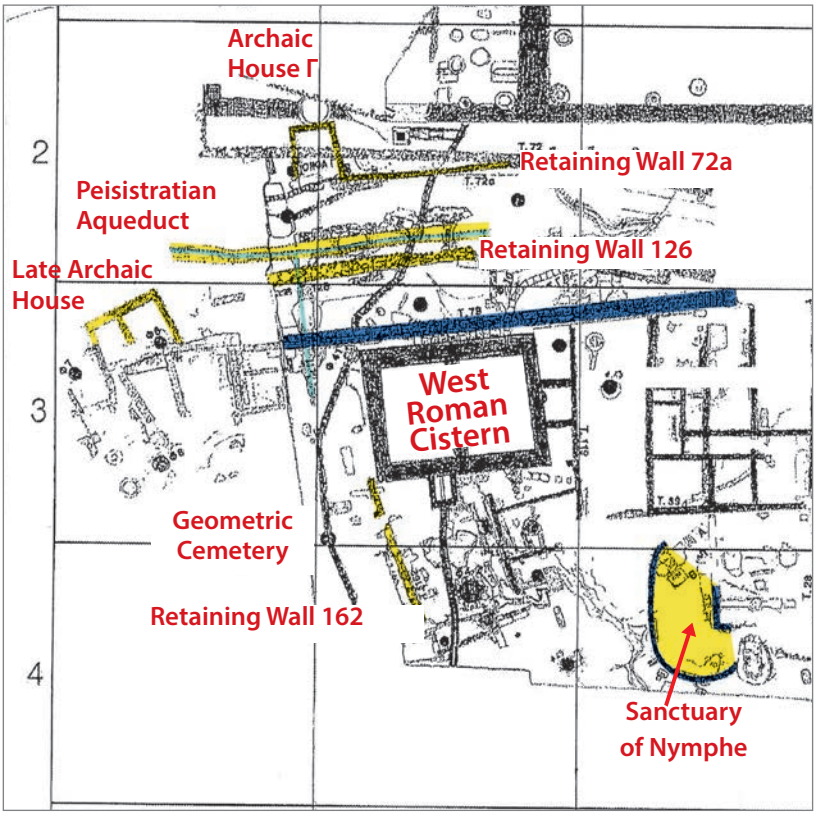

Figure 48. Athens, Acropolis. South Slope. Plan of the area of the Archaic houses south of the Herodeion. Detail from Brouskari 2004, p. 26–27, drawing 27. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

1. Retaining walls and terraces

Remains	Description
Retaining Wall 72α	This is the earliest retaining wall on the site. Length 13.50 m, thickness 1.50 m, height 0.90 m. Constructed of boulders, it retained the earth of the manmade terrace. At its W end two antae define the width of a street running northward. The antae are in situ and the westernmost belongs to Archaic House Γ. Visible today.
Retaining Wall 126	Found a few meters S of the previous one, it has the same orientation and created a widening of the terrace. Length 12.50 m, thickness 1.30 m, height 1.20 m. Not visible today.
Retaining Wall 162	Located in front of the SW corner of the West Roman Cistern. It was at a right angle to the previous two retaining walls — that is, oriented NW–SE — as it held in place a hillock to the west of it. Described by the excavator as "of excellent construction of large limestone blocks, bluish and reddish, between which are interposed by course smaller gray stones" and "the best of the surviving walls in Athens." Visible today.

Finds: No data

Comments: Works to arrange and prepare the site, prior to construction

Date: Archaic period, sixth century BC

Retaining Wall 72α: Sixth century BC. In use until 480 BC, when it was destroyed by the Persians.

Retaining Wall 126: Late sixth century BC according to Miliadis;[1] Early Classical according to Brouskari[2]

Retaining Wall 162: Late Archaic/Early Classical period, first quarter fifth century BC[3]

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2. Archaic House Γ

Remains	Description
Room	Found in the NE of the area. All that survives of the house is a rectangular space. It was built on the terrace created by the construction of Retaining Wall 72α.

Finds: No data
Comments: Some have proposed the dual hypothesis that the house perhaps had another room, which has not survived, and that it was probably not a private residence.[4]
Date: Correlated with Retaining Wall 72α, which is dated to the sixth century BC

2. Late Archaic house

Remains	Description
Two rooms	Located 40 m S of the W end of the Herodeion. The two rooms were rectangular and adjacent to each other. The dimensions of both together were 3.40 x 2.80 m. The stone-built walls survived to a height of 0.90 m (presumably the superstructure was, as usual, of mud bricks) and were coated with clay on the inner faces. After investigation, they were backfilled.
Floors	Of hard-packed earth

Finds: No data
Comments: The SE part of the house was destroyed in the Late Classical period, during the sinking of the large well (Φ 6), in order to cut a tunnel for a large aqueduct oriented E–W.
Date: Late Archaic period[5]

Other Examined Remains

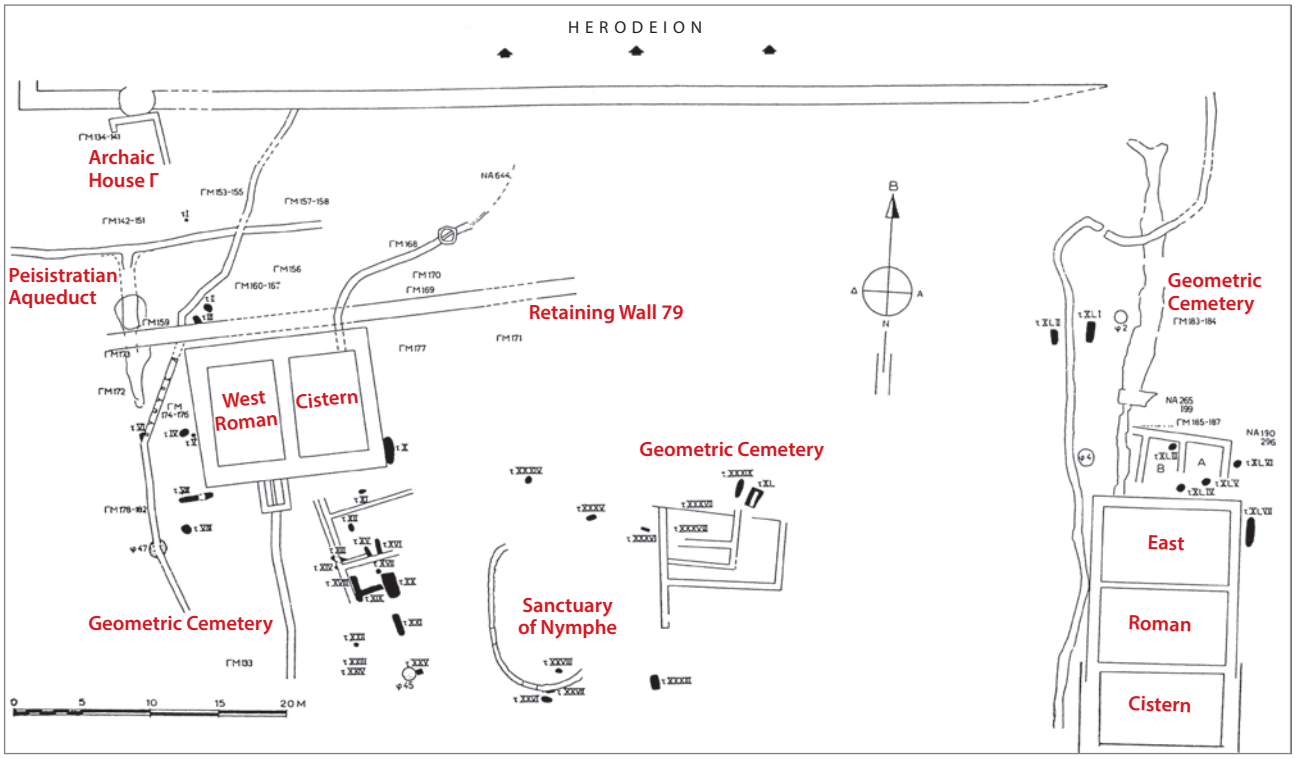

Figure 49. Athens, Acropolis. South Slope. Plan of the Geometric cemetery south of the Herodeion. Charitonidis 1975, p. 4, drawing 1. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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1. Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
Protogeometric Burials	
Four inhumations	Graves XLII, XL, VI, and XXXIX. Found dispersed in the area, only Graves XXXIX and XL were close to each other, to the NE of House A. These may have been child graves (Grave XL was double), as inferred by the measurements of the pits.[6]
Five cremations	Cremations XXVI, XXVIII, XXII, XXV, and VII. These too were dispersed but mainly in the W half of the area. Cremations XXVI and XXVIII were found inside and outside the precinct (peribolos) of the sanctuary of Nymphe.[7]
Middle Geometric Burials	
Four burials	Very few examples located. Pits XV, XIX, and perhaps XVIII, which were found together to the SW of the West Roman Cistern, below the foundations of the Classical house and the disturbed Burial XLVIII.
Late Geometric Burials	
26 burials (approximately)	There are four burials in simple pits (Graves XV, XIX, XVIII, and XXI), one of them with a cover. The other 22 are enchytrismoi (14 identified and eight others probable).[8]

Finds: Vases mainly. Some of the Protogeometric burials were accompanied by grave goods, including fibulae, pins, and necklaces of terracotta beads. Burials without grave goods were also located. These consequently remained undated.
Comments: Located all over the area S of the Herodeion and up to the N side of Dionysiou Areopagitou Street, but mainly to the W and S: below and around the West Roman Cistern, where the density is greatest, as well as below and around the sanctuary of Nymphe, below the Classical houses in the area, and around the East Roman Cistern.[9]
Dates
XLII: PG I period
VI, XL, XXXIX: PG II period
VII, XXII, XXVI, XXVIII: PG III–EG I period
XV, XIX, XVIII, XLVIII: MG period
XV, XIX, XVIII, XXI: LG I period
22 enchytrismoi: LG III period
Enchytrismos XLVII: LG III–Early Archaic period

2. Part of the Peisistratian Aqueduct

Remains	Description
	Found in the NW part of the excavation, 22 m S of the Herodeion, in the middle of the distance defined by Retaining Walls 72α and 79 and parallel to them. It was uncovered for a length of 30 m. The tunnel of the drain, dug in the soft limestone bedrock, was 1.70 m high and the clay pipe was set on the bottom of it, inside a specially cut groove. The drain consisted of pipes of circular cross-section, known from other surviving parts of the aqueduct, which were joined together with lead and had small inspection hatches at intervals, closed with clay lids, for cleaning the inside.

Finds: No data
Comments: Some of the wells found on the site, approximately 30 m from each other, are associated with the construction and the cleaning of the drain.
Date: Early fifth century BC[10]
Relevant bibliography: Daux 1958, pp. 657–660, figs. 1–7; Charitonidis 1975, pp. 1–63, drawings 1–25, pls. 1–47; Kalligas 2001, pp. 10–15; Brouskari 2004, pp. 1–114.

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Notes

1 Miliadis 1965, p. 6

2 Brouskari believes it was constructed to replace the preceding retaining wall, 72α, which was destroyed in the Persian Wars. Brouskari 2004, p. 39.

3 Observed at the NW end of Wall 162 is a row of horizontal slab-like filling stones, which could be a feature for dating at least this specific part of it to the end of the fifth/beginning of the fourth century BC. In the present study, this retaining wall is considered to be Archaic on the basis of dating by the excavator. See Miliadis 1965, p. 7.

4 This has not been put in writing elsewhere, and in the present article it is neither documented nor commented on further. Brouskari 2004, p. 45.

5 Miliadis 1965, p. 5.

6 Dimensions of XXXIX/Grave 21: 1.15 x 0.46–0.56 m. Dimensions of XL/Grave 22: 1.05–1.20 x 0.60–0.68 m. Charitonidis 1975, pp. 32–33. These two graves belong to a "small but dense cluster of graves of the end of the Protogeometric period, inside and outside the peribolos of the sanctuary (of Nymphe)," "the founding of which seems to have obliterated some graves — as this, at least, is concluded from the presence of empty pits and the finding of a few sherds." Charitonidis 1975, p. 3. The two graves are not identified as child graves by the excavator but are referred to as such by Lemos 2002, p. 154, note 23.

7 Charitonidis 1975, p. 3.

8 Charitonidis 1975, p. 42, note 21.

9 Charitonidis 1975, pp. 1, 3.

10 For the Peisistratian Aqueduct and its course, see Tölle-Kastenbein 1994.

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Area IX
Olympieion

IX. 1. Aristonikou 4

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1979, p. 85, pl. 73δ–ε.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1973

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 12 x 15 m
Finds: Grave of the Late Geometric period
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the site to the NW at the junction of Athanasiou Diakou and Anapafseos Streets, where two other Late Geometric burials have been found. An inscribed Roman funerary columella was retrieved from the fill in the building plot.
Comments: Its association with the cemetery to the W, of Kynosarges, which possibly spread to the E in Late Geometric/Subgeometric times, seems more likely than its association with the Submycenaean/Geometric cemetery on the site of the Olympieion.

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Cut in the soft limestone bedrock, it contained remains of a Geometric burial. Dimensions: 3.50 x 0.90 x 1.10 m.

Finds: Two small high-stemmed kraters of the Late Geometric period and a few burned bones
Comments: No data
Date: Dated by the two small kraters to the Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: III Archaeological District 1965, pp. 37–38, drawing 2, pl. 37δ–42.

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IX. 2. Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

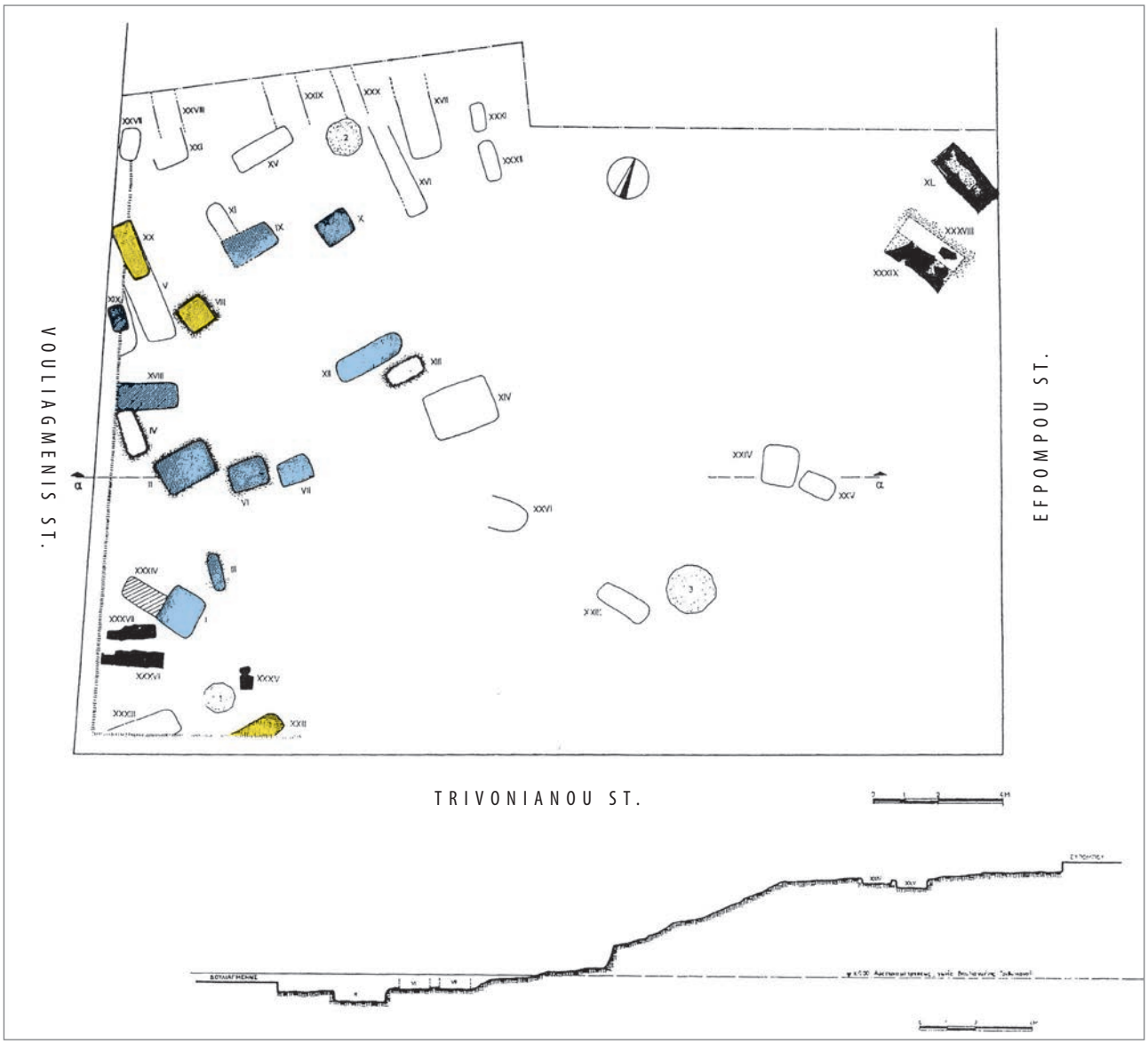

Figure 50. Athens, Olympieion. Plan of Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou and Efpompou plot. Alexandri 1976, p. 94, drawing 7. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Alexandri 1976, pp. 93–97, drawings 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1972, pp. 165–175.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1971

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data

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Finds: Part of a cemetery. Forty graves were found, all cut in the soft limestone bedrock (except one that was built of stones and plaster).[1] Of these, nine were Geometric (eighth century BC), four Archaic, two Classical (fifth century BC), and four Hellenistic. The rest were not dated, due to the lack of reliable evidence. Despite the continuous use of the space as a cemetery, which caused successive destructions and lootings of earlier graves, the early graves investigated yielded a significant number of vases, pieces of jewelry (mainly fillets of gold sheet with repoussé decoration and gilded pins, fibulae, and hair rings [sphekoterai]), and a few iron weapons.
Relation to adjacent areas: The existence of a cemetery in the area spanning the Classical to the Early Christian period was known from earlier excavations, which had also revealed part of the ancient street leading through Gate X (Diomeia) to the SE demoi of Attica. The discovery of the Geometric graves demonstrates that mortuary use of the space began much earlier.
Comments: This particular site is associated with the cemetery in the Kynosarges area.

Examined Remains

1. Middle and Late Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
Nine graves	Of these, three contained cremation burials and six inhumation burials. To the first category belong Graves II (which was of a male, as is deduced from the grave goods), III (one of the richest graves), and VI. To the second category belong Graves I, VII, IX, XII (which contained the most vases and a few pieces of gold jewelry), XVIII, and XIX (with notable gold jewelry).

Finds
Grave I: Skyphos
Grave II: Nine pyxides (one with modeled quadriga on its lid), lower half of an amphora, and two parts of an iron sword with part of its hilt
Grave III: Cinerary amphora, five skyphoi, two gold funerary fillets, gold finger ring, bronze hair ring (sphekoteras), and fragments of gold sheets
Grave VI: Three skyphoi
Grave IX: Two pyxides with horse figurine on the lid, gold funerary fillet, and gilded bronze hair rings (sphekoterai)
Grave XII: Eight pyxides (two with modeled quadriga on the lid), skyphos, semiglobular cup, three plates, unpainted small amphora, gold fillet with holes at the ends for tying on the head, and two gilded bronze hair rings (sphekoterai)
Grave XVIII: Skyphos, amphora with horizontal handles, and upper half of a gilded bronze pin
Grave XIX: Part of a pyxis, half a skyphos, halves of two amphorae, gold fillet with repoussé decoration of animals in three panels, three gold fibulae with catch-plate, two gilded iron pins, and gold semicircular plaquette with two cylindrical attachment holes
Comments: The graves are not contemporary with each other but are dated to various phases of the eighth century BC.
Date: Middle and Late Geometric periods (eighth century BC)

2. Archaic cemetery

Remains	Description
Four graves	Graves VIII, X, XX, and XXII. All were pit graves.

Finds
Grave VIII: Parts of two black-figure lekythoi and one horse figurine from a pyxis lid, from a Geometric grave on the site
Grave X: Black-figure lekythos with effaced representation
Grave XX: Fragment of a skyphos decorated with three garbed figures
Grave XXII: Black-figure lekythos with representation of quadriga and seated figure

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Comments: No data
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Smith 1895–1896, pp. 22–25; Droop 1905–1906, pp. 80–92; Alexandri 1969, p. 61, pl. 34; Alexandri 1976, p. 62; Alexandri 1977, pp. 30–31, pl. 20δ–ε, pp. 32–33, pl. 20β–γ; Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ; Spathari 1988, pp. 31–34, pl. 17γ; Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368; Eliopoulos 2010, pp. 85–91, figs. 34–40.

Notes
1 Measurements of shafts range from 2 x 1.40 m to 0.80 x 0.50 m.

IX. 3. Diakou and Anapafseos

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: III Archaeological District 1965, pp. 37–38, drawing 2, pls. 37δ–42.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: 1962

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Drain trench
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Late Geometric graves
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the building plot to the SE, at Aristonikou 4, where too a Late Geometric grave was found.
Comments: More likely is the association with the cemetery to the W, of Kynosarges, which possibly spread to the E during Late Geometric/Subgeometric times, rather than with the Late Geometric/Subgeometric cemetery on the site of the Olympieion.

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric burials

Remains	Description
Two graves	Located at the junction of Diakou and Anapafseos Streets. Grave 1: Cremation burial inside a cinerary neck amphora. It is possibly of a male. Grave 2: Inhumation burial with rich grave goods.

Finds
Grave 1: The cinerary amphora contained a small oenochoe and a flask-shaped black-figure vase.
Grave 2: The deceased in the second grave had a gold-sheet armband and was accompanied by an unusually large number of vases as grave goods (jugs, oenochoai, skyphoi, cup, lekanis) and two pyxides with a horse figurine on the lid.[1]
Comments: According to the excavator, the inhumation burial is later than the cremation. In fact, exactly the opposite is the case. In the opinion of Snodgrass, Grave 1 was of a child, demonstrating the persistence of customs of the previous phase. However, from the available data, no such interpretation emerges.[2]
Grave 1: End of Late Geometric/beginning of Subgeometric period
Grave 2: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1979, p. 85, pl. 73δ–ε.

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Notes

1 The pyxis with horse figurine appears ca. 900 BC and disappears completely at the end of the eighth century BC. See Bohen 1997, pp. 47, 54–55.

2 Snodgrass 1971, p. 146.

IX. 4. Olympieion, area N of temple of Zeus

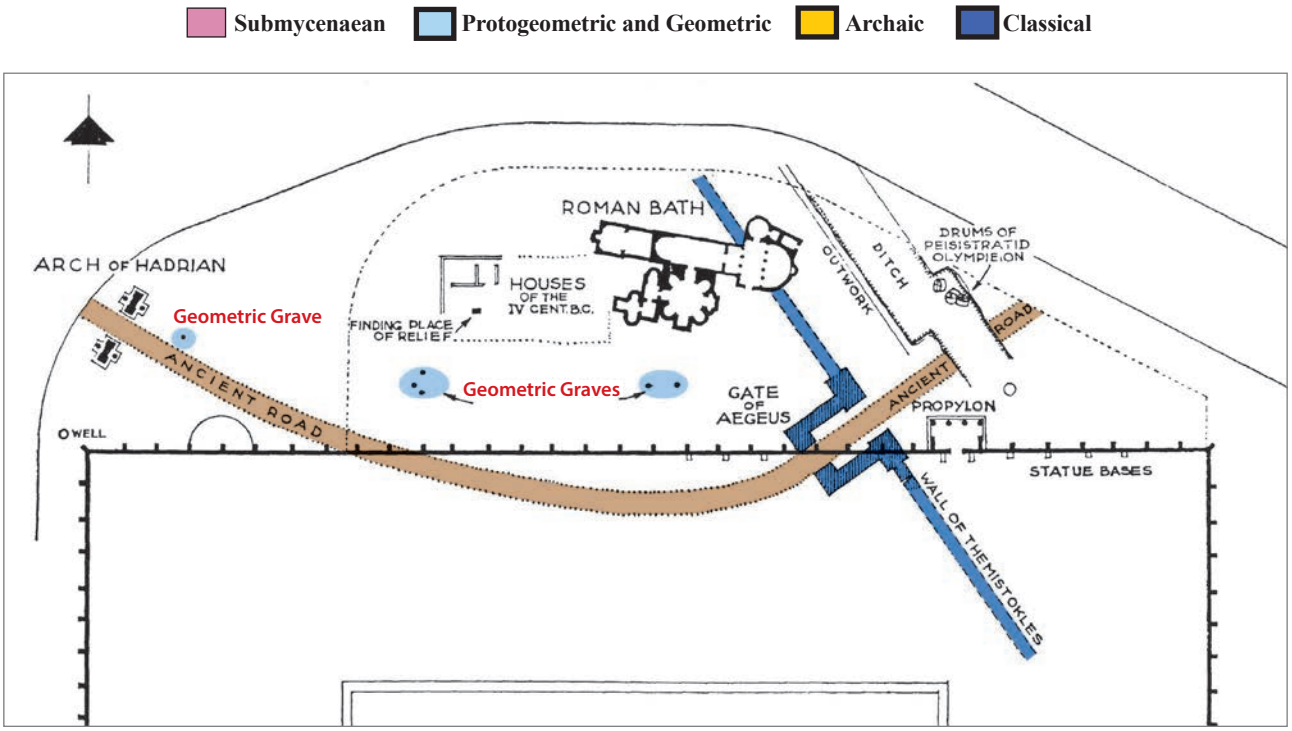

Figure 51. Athens, Olympieion. Plan of area north of the temple of Zeus. Vanderpool 1960, p. 268, drawing 1. Courtesy of *American Journal of Archaeology* and Archaeological Institute of America.

Bibliography: Travlos 1951, pp. 25–43; Brann 1959, pp. 251–252; Vanderpool 1960, pp. 267–268; Daux 1960, pp. 631–637.
Excavator: I. Travlos (preceded by F. Penrose in 1883–1886, A. Skias in the late nineteenth century, G. Welter in 1922, and M. Mitsos around 1940)
Years of excavation: 1949, 1956–1960

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Protogeometric and Geometric pottery from the entire area; pits for placing cinerary vases cut into the bedrock and empty graves with Geometric sherds in and around them; Middle Geometric (?) grave near the Arch of Hadrian; to the N of the street passing by this,[1] sherds of funerary vases, which are dated between the seventh and the beginning of the sixth century BC; sherds of vases of exquisite art dated between the fourth quarter of the eighth and the second quarter of the sixth century BC, close to the S wall of Gate IX, originating from destroyed graves; Classical houses that continued in use into Roman times; gateway in the fortification wall and part of the moat; Roman balneum and basilica (excavated by Skias and backfilled), which were revealed anew).[2]
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Examined Remains

1. Geometric graves S of the Classical houses

Remains	Description
Graves	Marked on Travlos's drawing (1959), published in *AJA* 64 (1960) and in fig. 2 under the letter *z*; published in *BCH* 84 (1960). No other information is available.[3]

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Geometric period

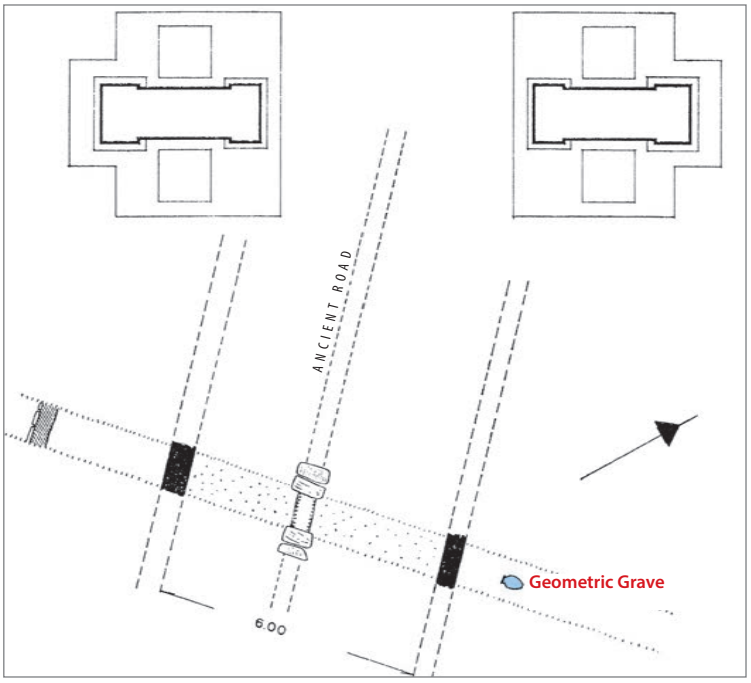

Figure 52. Athens, Olympieion. Plan of the area of Hadrian's Arch. Pantelidou 1975, p. 142, drawing 14. Courtesy of the Archaeological Society at Athens.

2. Geometric grave SE of the Arch of Hadrian

Remains	Description
Grave	Marked by Pantelidou (1975) in drawing 14, p. 142, where she notes information given her by Travlos, who in 1957 investigated the stratigraphy of the space 7 m E of the Arch of Hadrian, occasioned by the digging of a trench for laying a drain. Possibly an enchytrismos, judging by the pithoid vase depicted in the drawing.

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Lemerle 1941, p. 294; Martin 1942, pp. 237–238; Dunbabin 1944, pp. 78–81; Pierce and Blegen 1952, p. 127; Daux 1962, pp. 641–644; Vanderpool 1962, p. 389; Threpsiadis and Travlos 1963, pp. 9–14, drawing 1, pls. 6–9; Pantelidou 1975, pp. 141–148.

Notes

1 Brann 1959, p. 251.
2 *PAE* 1886, pp. 13–17; *PAE* 1887, p. 10; *PAE* 1888, p. 15.
3 Vanderpool 1960, pp. 276–268, drawing 1; Daux 1960, pp. 631–637, figs. 1–2.

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IX. 5. Olympieion, area S of temple of Zeus

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Lemerle 1941, p. 294; Martin 1942, pp. 237–238; Dunbabin 1944, pp. 78–81; Threpsiadis and Travlos 1963, pp. 9–14, drawing 1, pls. 6–9; Vanderpool 1962, p. 389; Daux 1962, pp. 641–644; Styrenius 1967, p. 22.
Excavators and years of excavations: F. Penrose 1883–1886, A. Skias late nineteenth century, G. Welter 1922, Mitsos ca. 1940, I. Travlos and I. Threpsiadis 1950–1960

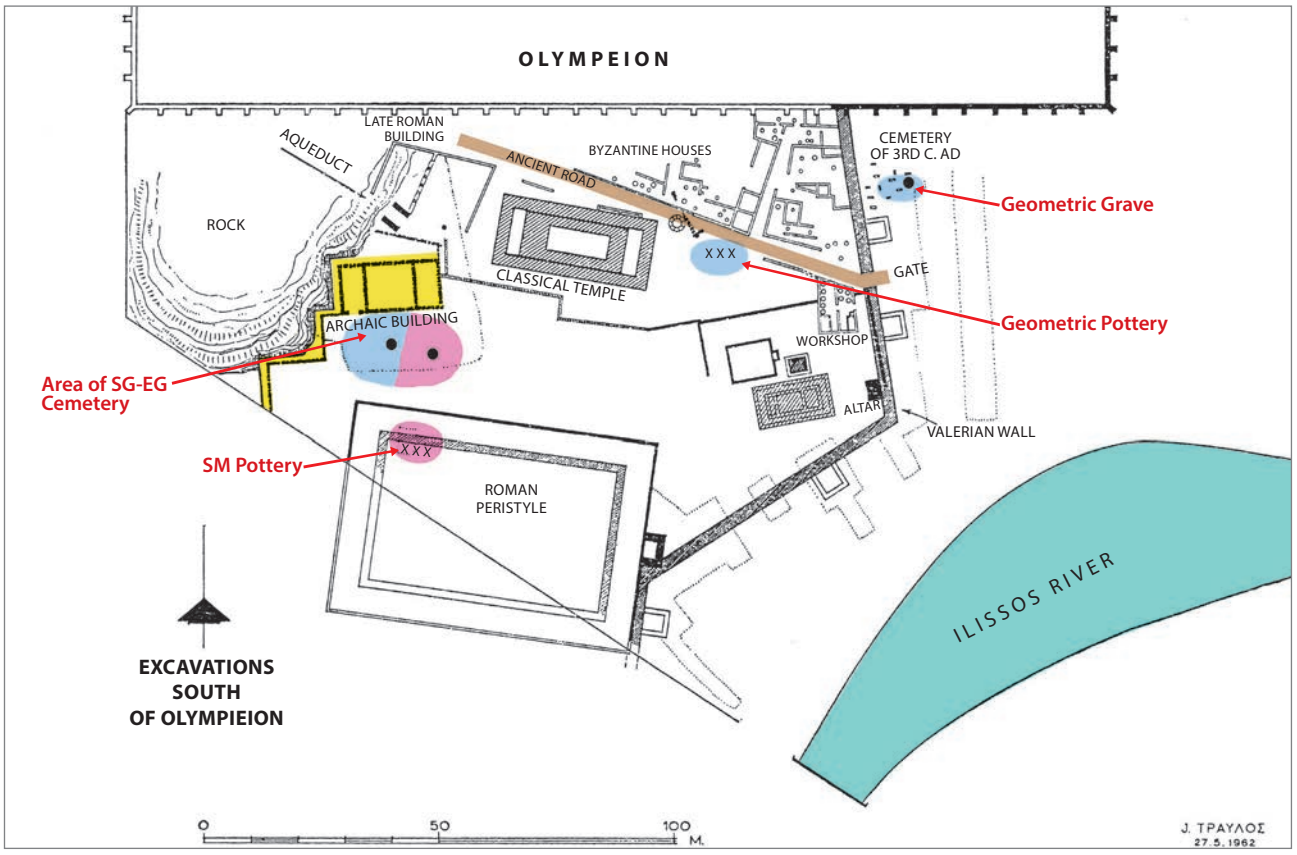

Figure 53. Athens, Olympieion. Plan of the area south of the temple of Zeus. Threpsiadis and Travlos 1963, p. 11, drawing 1. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Archaeological site, open to the public
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Area investigated: 210 x 130 m, between the S side of the Olympieion, Anapafseos Street, and the Ilissos River (Kallirrhois Street)
Finds: Pottery of the Late Helladic period dispersed throughout the site, wherever investigations reached bedrock. Pottery of Submycenaean times has been found in the NW corner of the peristyle of the temple of Zeus Panhellenios, upon the bedrock. Similar pottery was located sporadically at other points in the site. Unpublished cemetery of Submycenaean and Protogeometric times to the SE of the hill, three Early Geometric graves and one Middle Geometric grave extra muros among the Late Roman graves of the third century AD. In the E part of the site there is an intense presence of pottery from Protogeometric into Early Archaic times. On the same site are Archaic wells that yielded Protoattic pottery, an aqueduct of the sixth century BC, and a bronze foundry with a furnace of the fifth century BC to the SW of the temple of Zeus.

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Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: With the exception of the joint reference by Travlos and Threpsiadis in *ArchDelt* 17 (1961–1962), there is no overall study or other presentation of the results of all the excavations conducted at various times on the site of the Olympieion, since most of these were never reported analytically in the bibliography. Consequently, the data available to us are few and piecemeal.

Settlement Remains

1. Early Archaic wells

Remains	Description
Wells	Excavated by Mitsos ca. 1939. There is no information on these except their location, to the E of the space S of the temple.

Finds: Sherds of Protoattic and black-figure Archaic vases of high artistic quality were recovered from inside the wells.[1]
Comments: We do not know the period of use of the wells. If the pottery found inside them comes from the cleaning of graves, then the wells must have been abandoned together with the graves of the final phase of the use of the site as a cemetery.
Date: Early Archaic period

Other Examined Remains

1. Cemetery of Submycenaean, Protogeometric, and Early Geometric times

Remains	Description
Nine graves	Located SE of the hill, on the site of the "epi Delphinio" law court, which extends to the S (excavations by Mitsos). Most of the graves were oriented NE–SW. Of these three were cist graves (one with an adult burial and two with burials of young individuals), five were pit graves (of children), and one contained a cremation burial (of an adult).

Finds: Two of the pit graves and the cremation burial were without grave goods. The other graves yielded pottery (stirrup jars, two skyphoi, two oenochoai, and other unspecified vases) and jewelry (a bronze pin, two bronze and one iron finger rings, a bronze bracelet, and amber necklace beads).
Comments: The cemetery is still unpublished. Mortuary activity continued eastward too, since to the E of the temple of Apollo Delphinios ("Classical Temple" on the plan), Protogeometric sherds and walls were found, as well as Geometric/Protoattic vases.
Date: Submycenaean/Protogeometric period

2. Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Found in the easternmost part of the site, extra muros and among Late Roman graves of the third century AD.

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Walter 1940, pp. 122–308; Walter 1942, pp. 99–200; Martin 1942, pp. 237–238; Travlos 1951, pp. 25–43; Pierce and Blegen 1952, p. 127; Brann 1959, pp. 251–252; Daux 1960, pp. 631–637; Vanderpool 1960, pp. 265–269; Pantelidou 1975, pp. 148–153, 234; Morris 1987, p. 60.

Note
1 Dunbabin 1944, p. 81.

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Area X
Makrygianni

X. 1. Veikou 5–7

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1976, pp. 36–38, pls. 41γ–42α.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1970

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 21 x 12.50 m
Finds: Part of the hypocaust of a Roman bathhouse, four rooms of a Roman building, three undated pit graves, and pottery from the fill, dating from the Geometric to the Roman period
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The plot belongs to a wider cemetery that lies on either side of the road that, via Gate XIII, linked the city with the harbor at Phaleron.
Relevant bibliography: No data

X. 2. Garivaldi 28, drainage trench (present-day Garivaldi 31)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: III Archaeological District 1965, p. 41, pls. 45β, 46β.
Excavator: III Archaeological District
Year of excavation: 1962

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench for a drain
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Early Helladic building (3.20 x 2.50 m) with mud-brick walls, inside which five Protogeometric burials were made later
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the earliest use of the site in the Early Helladic and Geometric periods, it is related to the plot at Garivaldi – Sophroniskou – Phainaretis (X 3).
Comments: It is not possible to identify this building plot, obviously because of the change in the direction of numbering in Garivaldi Street. No. 28 does not exist today, as the numbering of the street starts from the junction with Rovertou Galli. Consequently the buildings on the only built-up side of the street, the E, have odd numbers. The reference to Grave I and its correlation with finds from a later excavation on the building plot at Garivaldi 31 – Sophroniskou – Phainaretis reinstate its position in accordance with the modern numbering. The conclusion is confirmed also by the accompanying table[1] (p. 33) in *ArchDelt* 18 (1963), where the plot is presented on the E side of the street. Furthermore, from the excavation report in the same volume, it is deduced that the investigation must have taken place close to the point where present Mouson Street meets Garivaldi Street, because the finds from "Garivaldi Street near no. 28" were uncovered on the occasion of works to install drains in the area of Philopappos. In the same report, "Drakou Street by no. 44" and "at the junction of Drakou and Mouson Streets." are mentioned as neighboring trenches.[2]

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Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	The grave partly destroyed an Early Helladic grave and was itself found destroyed by later building activity on the site.

Finds: Five skulls, one black-glaze trefoil-mouth oenochoe with meander pattern on the neck, and two skyphoid kyathoi
Comments: The continuation was found five years later, during excavation on the plot at Garivaldi – Sophroniskou – Phainaretis, where Late Geometric vases were also collected. It seems that the site was used for burials in the Early Helladic period, the Protogeometric period, and the Late Geometric period.
Date: The vase dates the burial (or burials) to the Protogeometric period.
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 48–50, drawings 11–13, pl. 28.

Notes
1 *ArchDelt* 18 (1963), p. 33, drawing 1.
2 See also Pantelidou 1975, p. 51, note 5.

X. 3. Garivaldi 28 – Sophroniskou – Phainaretis

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 48–50, drawings 11–13, pl. 28.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 14.70 x 13.10 m
Finds: Semi-destroyed and violated Early Helladic grave, Geometric grave violated and with two phases of use (PG and LG period), walls, conduit and wells on a terrace of the Later Classical/Hellenistic period, Late Roman grave
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the trench for a drain at Garivaldi 28 (present Garivaldi 31), where parts of the graves that were revealed entirely in the building plot had been located in 1962
Comments: For the problem of identifying the building plot at Garivaldi 28, see X. 2, Garivaldi 28 (drain) – present Garivaldi 31.

Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric and Late Geometric burials

Remains	Description
Grave VI	The continuation of the grave located in the trench at Garivaldi 28. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Found violated, below the line of the building facades of Garivaldi Street at the westernmost edge of the plot. It had partly destroyed an earlier grave of the Early Helladic period (Grave V), part of which had also been uncovered in the above excavation.

Finds: Amphora, skyphos, kantharos
Comments: Possibly reconstructed in part in Late Geometric times. Its first excavator (of the III Archaeological District) had considered it Protogeometric, on the basis of the vases found. The vases found in the second phase of its excavation

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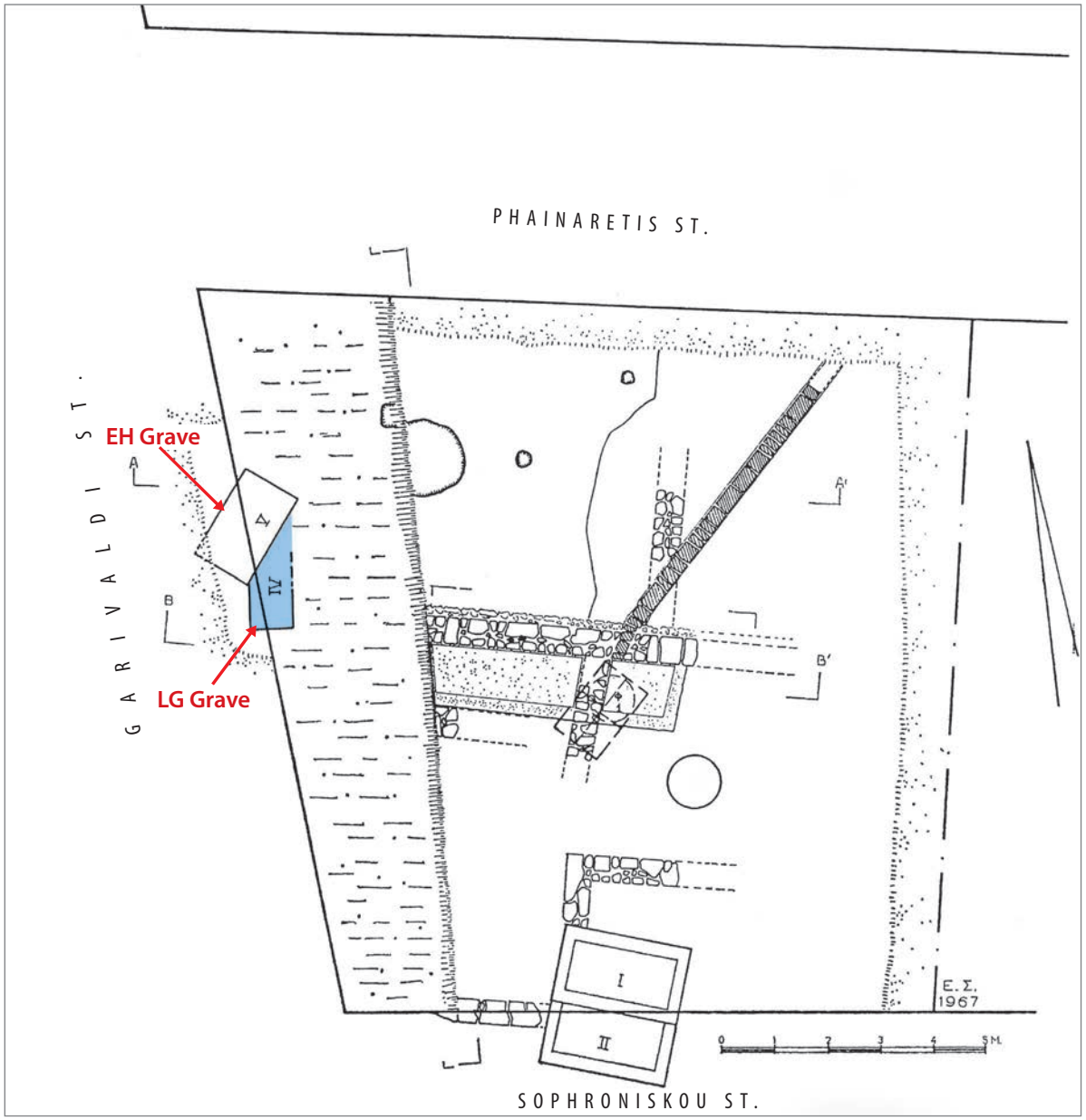

Figure 54. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Garivaldi 28 – Sophroniskou – Phainaretis plot. Alexandri 1969, p. 49, drawing 11. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

are dated to the Late Geometric period. It seems that the grave was used twice, once in the Protogeometric period and once in the Late Geometric, which explains the number of skulls (five) and the Protogeometric vases found during the initial investigation. Obviously, these finds are due to the collecting of bones from an earlier burial or the simple shifting aside of old remains and grave goods prior to making the second burial. The excavator notes that the above graves (probably meaning the early ones) are possibly the westernmost cluster of the cemetery, parts of which have been found in many other places (see Erechtheiou 20). However, it is clear that both sites cannot be united, at least on the basis of the evidence available.

Dates

First phase of use: Protogeometric period

Second phase of use: Late Geometric period

Relevant bibliography: Third (III) Archaeological District 1965, p. 41, pls. 45β, 46β.

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X. 4. Rovertou Galli 9

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, p. 112, pls. 96ε, 97α.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of building plot/area of excavation: 12 x 13.80 m
Finds: Remains of a water-supply network of Roman times and two undated wells cut in the soft limestone bedrock and connected by a built conduit. A Subgeometric louterion was found inside one of the two wells.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: In image ε of pl. 96, the vase is labeled as Late Geometric and not Subgeometric as it is referred to in the text.
Relevant bibliography: No data

X. 5. Rovertou Galli 10 & Karyatidon 14

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Valakou 1987, p. 16.
Excavator: N. Valakou
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 240 m^2
Finds: Located on the E side of the plot was a Protogeometric child burial, while on the W side remains of workshops (possibly for pottery making) and an Early Roman conduit were excavated.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Child burial inside an amphora (enchytrismos), accompanied by rich grave goods

Finds: Vases (oenochoe, skyphos, lekythos) and jewelry (pair of bronze bracelets and one bronze pin)
Comments: No data
Date: Protogeometric period
Relevant bibliography: No data

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X. 6. Rovertou Galli 16 & Parthenonos

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Philippaki 1968, p. 71.
Excavator: V. Philippaki
Year of excavation: 1965

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Three intact terracotta figurines and fragments of others, of the seventh century BC, were found inside a small natural cavity in about the middle of the plot, at a depth of 0.88 m.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Archaic phase, the plot is examined together with the neighboring plot to the NW at Rovertou Galli 18–20 & Parthenonos.
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 112–114, drawing 56, pl. 96ς΄; Alexandri 1976, p. 134.

X. 7. Rovertou Galli 18–20 & Parthenonos

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

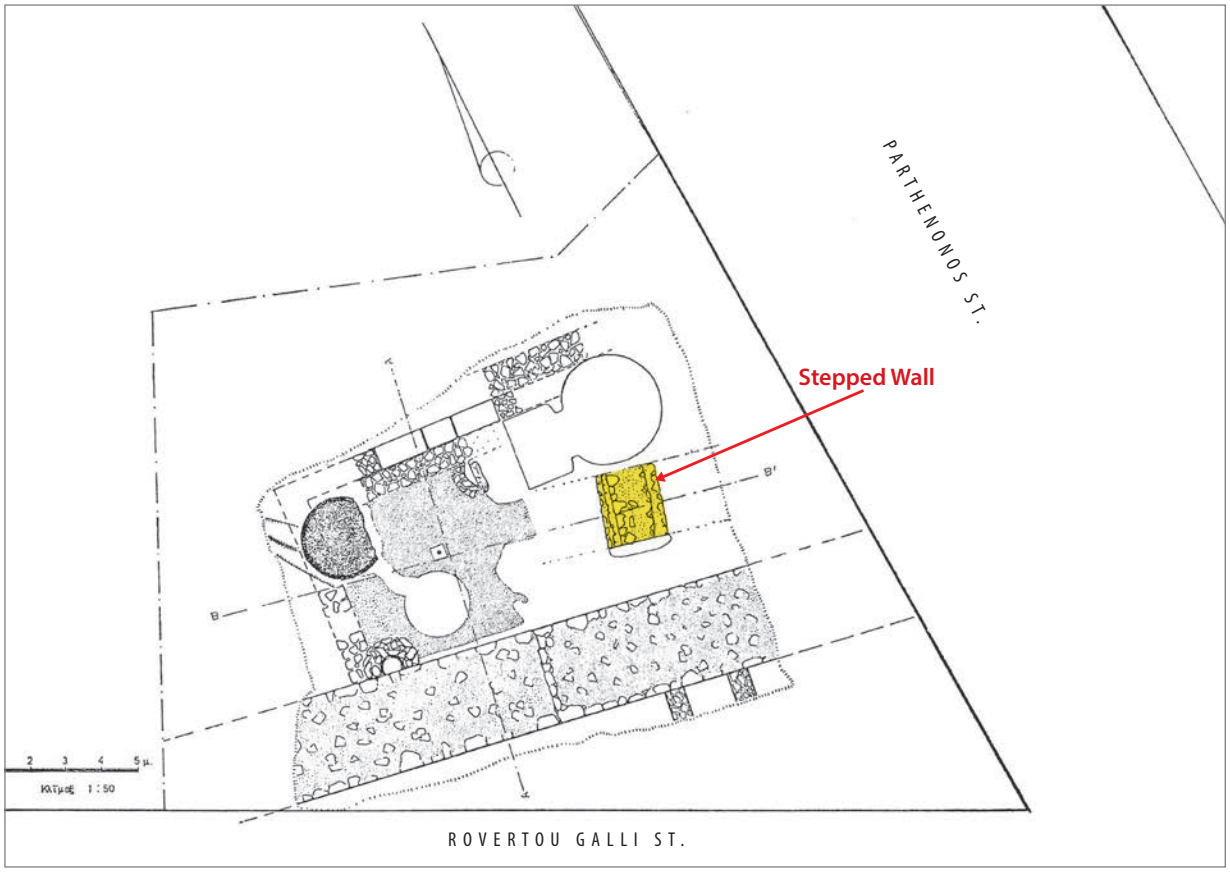

Figure 55. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Rovertou Galli 18–20 and Parthenonos plot. Alexandri 1968, p. 113, drawing 56. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 112–114, drawing 56, pl. 96ς΄; Alexandri 1976, p. 134.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Years of excavation: 1966, 1971

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: The dimensions 23 x 20 m given in *ArchDelt* 22 (1967), p. 112, are erroneous. The measurements of the ground plan of the plot, 31 x 18 m, agree with those given for the same plot in *ArchDelt* 27 (1972), p. 134.
Finds: Prehistoric chamber tomb with circular chamber, wall of the Archaic period, remains of Classical houses of three building phases (walls, floors), undated well, and well lined with rings of clay. Collected from the fill of the plot were half a stone ax, the front half of a stone figure of a dog, one Archaic black-figure amphora with horse protome in metope, one black-glaze skyphos, one small bowl, one pyxis lid, two lids of vases "reserved with red lines," one coarse-ware lekanis of Roman times, one Roman lamp, six loom-weights, one stamped vase handle, and six bronze coins — four of them badly worn and two of them Athenian, one of the first half of the third century BC and the other of imperial times (first or second century AD).
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Archaic phase, the site is examined together with the neighboring plot to the SE at Rovertou Galli 16 and Parthenonos.
Comments: This is the building plot at the NW corner, as emerges from its ground plan (*ArchDelt* 22, 1967, drawing 56), which takes nos. 18–20 from Rovertou Galli Street and which at the time of the 1966 excavation was two plots united in one property (Markopoulos). It seems that the V. Kougeas property is identified with the same building plot, even though it is referred to as "Parthenonos & Rovertou Galli 2" in A*rchDelt* 27, 1972, p. 134. This does not correspond to any building plot, since the numbering of Rovertou Galli Street begins from the E, from Mitsaion Street. In all probability, it is a typographical error, and the omission of a zero turned the property at "Parthenonos and Rovertou Galli 20" into "Parthenonos and Rovertou Galli 2." In this case, the change in the owner's name, the even numbering of the plot at Rovertou Galli (20 instead of 18–20), the different dimensions, and the point at which the archaeological investigation was conducted all lead to the conclusion that in 1971 the original building plot (Rovertou Galli 18–20 & Parthenonos) was divided into two. The corner plot changed ownership and was excavated again at the point where the investigation in 1966 had identified a wall, which is recorded on the plan but is not commented on in the text of the report.

Settlement Remains

1. Archaic stepped wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Found at a depth of 2.92 m from the present ground surface. The wall was stepped and 1.60 m thick. It was constructed of fieldstones and mud as mortar, and stood on the soft limestone bedrock. Present length 2 m; present height 0.60 m.

Finds: No data
Comments: The excavator notes that "from Archaic until Late Classical times the space was used repeatedly as a settlement site."[1]
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Philippaki 1968, p. 71.

Note
1 Alexandri 1968, p. 112.

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X. 8. Dimitrakopoulou 7 & Phalirou 8

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, p. 73, drawings 28–29; personal communication with S. Eleftheratou (First EPCA).
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Years of excavation: 1966; Athens Metro excavations 1993–1996

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Submycenaean grave (skyphos and lekythos inside a cutting), part of the fortification of the late fourth century BC (dry moat and outwork), wall of polygonal masonry, Archaic well, conduit, three Hellenistic graves.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The Archaic well found on the site is unpublished. It was located during works to open the tunnel for the Metro tracks and is recorded under no. 66. It contained finds dated to the Early Archaic period.[1]
Relevant bibliography: No data

Note

1 The above data and the topographical plan of the excavation, on which the findspots are marked, are the result of personal communication with the responsible archaeologist of the First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, S. Eleftheratou, who kindly provided them for use in the present study with the proviso that they are not final conclusions based on thorough study but preliminary observations of the material, which is still unpublished.

X. 9. Athanasiou Diakou 9

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1972, p. 15.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1969

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 16.70 x 20.50 m
Finds: Late Classical foundation associated with the Palladion Law Court. The pottery from the fill is dated from the Geometric to the Roman period.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Late Classical phase, the plot is examined together with the neighboring plots at Makri 8 and 12, where the continuation of the building complex has been found.[2]
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

Note

2 *ArchDelt* 21, 1966, B΄1, pp. 81–83, drawing 22.

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X. 10. Athanasiou Diakou 34

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Liangouras 1979, p. 36.
Excavator: A. Liangouras
Years of excavation: 1972–1973

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Trial trenches were opened.
Finds: Well with sherds of the Mycenaean, Geometric, and Classical periods in its fill. It is possible that the bed of a tributary of the Ilissos River passed this way.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

X. 11. Dionysiou Areopagitou 5 & Makri 1

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Zapheiropoulou 1989, pp. 19–23, drawing 3, pl. 19α.
Excavator: M. Zapheiropoulou
Year of excavation: 1983

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 302 m^2
Finds: Foundations of houses of the Classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods; conduits; apsidal building of Late Roman/Early Christian times. A small amount of Protogeometric, Geometric, and Archaic pottery from specific points in the plot, which is not accompanied by architectural remains of the corresponding periods.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

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X. 12. Dionysiou Areopagitou & Propylaion

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1970, pp. 32–37, drawings 7–10, pls. 40–41.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1968

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 23.50 x 17.80 m
Finds: Geometric well and cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock (graves), remains of Archaic walls and grave of the second quarter of the sixth century BC, Late Archaic/Early Classical building that partly destroyed the preceding Archaic walls, Early Classical retaining walls forming a terrace, and internal dividing walls. Later terraces and retaining walls of the second half of the fifth century BC, remains of a house in the N of the plot, grave of the late fifth/early fourth century BC, Late Classical/Hellenistic building, Hellenistic remains of walls and grave of the third century BC, walls of the Late Hellenistic period (slightly earlier than 31 BC), and a Late Roman house.
Relation to adjacent areas: The continuation of the Late Roman house should be sought in the adjacent plot to the S.
Comments: A particularly difficult excavation, due to successive overlying building phases, the report of which is laconic, especially with regard to the deeper levels, which represent the earlier phases

Settlement Remains

1. Geometric well

Remains	Description
Well	Sunk in the bedrock; diameter 1.40 m

Finds: No data
Comments: Its chronological relation to the use of the space as a Geometric cemetery is not clarified.
Date: Geometric period

2. Archaic walls

Remains	Description
Walls	These are the earliest architectural remains on the site. Remnants of walls not connected to one another. Built of fieldstones, they are 0.50 m thick and founded at a depth of 6.62 m below the present ground surface.

Finds: No data
Comments: Part of these walls (and the constructions to which they belonged) was destroyed by the building of the next phase, which is dated to the Late Archaic/Early Classical period.
Date: The excavator dates the walls “conclusively” to the Archaic period.

3. Late Archaic/Early Classical building

Remains	Description
Rectangular space	It consists of walls of careful construction, 0.40 m thick and founded at a depth of 6.42 m below the present ground surface. Floor level is estimated at a depth of 5.92 m.

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Finds: No data
Comments: Destroyed part of the walls of the Archaic period
Date: End of Archaic/beginning of Classical period

4. Early Classical retaining walls and terrace – house (?)

Remains	Description
Two retaining walls	Walls at right angle to each other, creating a terrace necessitated by the steep southward slope of the ground. Constructed of polygonal masonry. The N branch has been uncovered for a length of 9 m and continues westward under the line of the facades on Propylaion Street. The E branch survives to a length of 7.40 m and is interrupted by a well. The retaining wall is 0.60–0.80 m. thick and founded on the bedrock, which had been prepared appropriately beforehand (cutting for the foundation) at a depth of approximately 6 m below the present ground surface.
Internal walls	Walls defining the internal arrangement of the flat space of the terrace. Floor level is estimated at a depth of 5.33 m below the present surface of Propylaion Street.

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Early Classical period

Other Examined Remains

1. Remains of a Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
Graves	Empty pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock

Finds: Geometric pottery
Comments: The finds of Geometric pottery and the presence of cuttings in the bedrock led the excavator to the conclusion that the space was used as a cemetery.
Date: Geometric period

2. Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Cut in the soft limestone bedrock

Finds: Two lekythoi (one of the second quarter of sixth century BC) and fragments of a third were found on top of the grave. Another two lekythoi were inside it. Of the lekythoi outside the grave, one was black-figure with a representation of Athena flanked by Hermes, left, and a male figure, right (second quarter of sixth century BC). The other is decorated with a scene of warriors.
Comments: No data
Date: Archaic period, second quarter of the sixth century BC (on the basis of the pottery)
Relevant bibliography: No data

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X. 13. Dionysiou Areopagitou 35 & Kallisperi 16

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Orphanou 1998, pp. 35–37, drawing 1, pl. 20α–β.
Excavator: V. Orphanou
Year of excavation: 1992–1993

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plots (two adjoining)
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Continuous habitation from the Geometric into the Byzantine period. Architectural remains of Geometric times are accompanied by "interesting pottery," a Classical street, a Hellenistic/Early Roman street, contemporary conduits and cisterns to the N of it, and houses of the same period. Roman street and two houses on either side of it.
Relation to adjacent areas: Directly neighboring the Angelopoulos plot at Dionysiou Areopagitou 41, Parthenonos 32–34 & Kallisperi 20
Comments: Continuation of the Geometric cemetery in the Angelopoulos plot
Relevant bibliography: Dontas 1963, pp. 83–100, pls. 30–31, 36, 38–40. III Archaeological District 1963, p. 9, pl. 5.

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X. 14. Dionysiou Areopagitou 41 – Parthenonos 32–34 – Kallisperi 20 (Angelopoulos property)

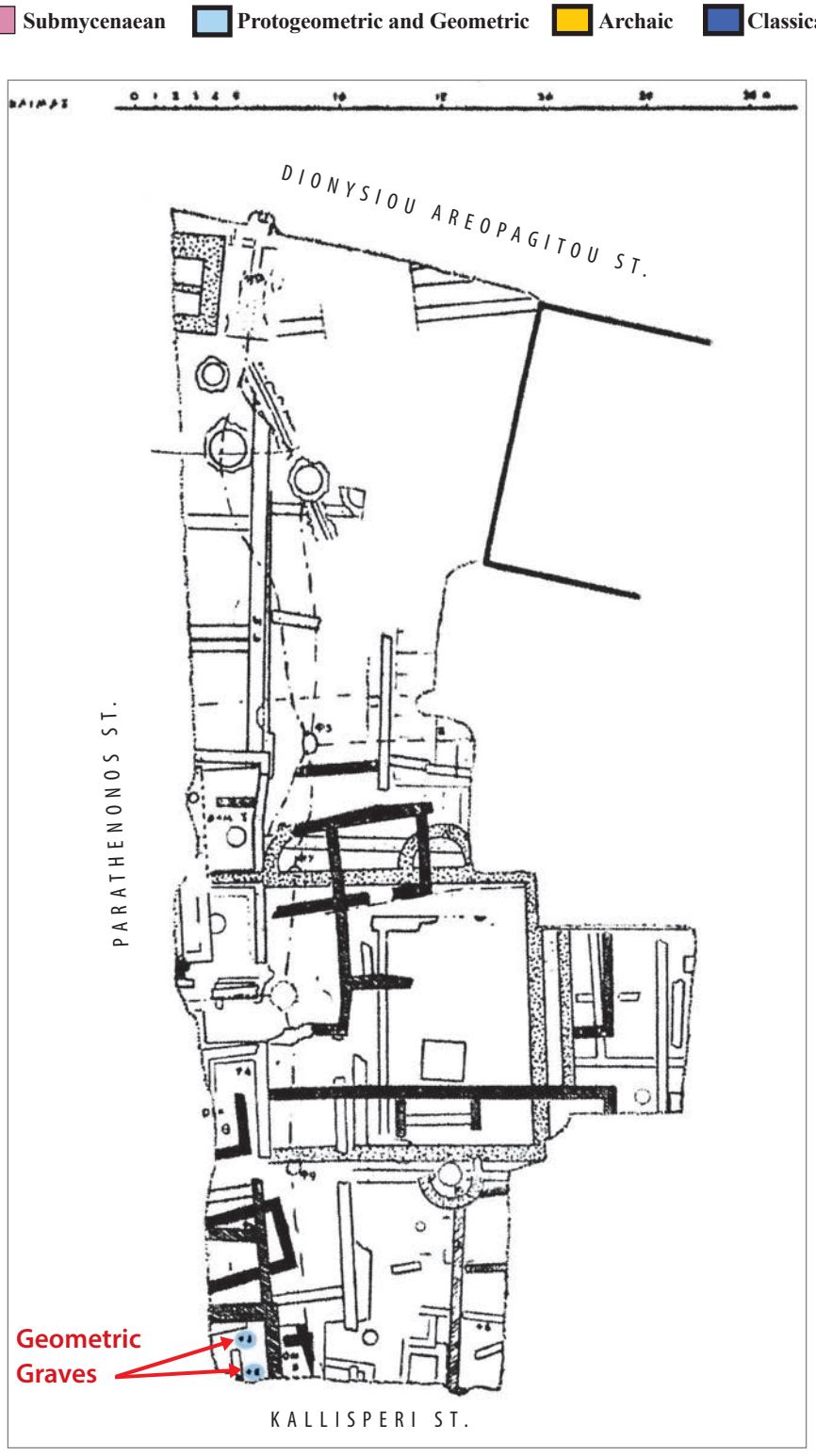

Figure 56. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Dionysiou Areopagitou 41 – Parthenonos 32–34 – Kallisperi 20 plot. Dontas 1963, p. 84. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Dontas 1963, pp. 83–100, pls. 30–31, 36, 38–40; III Archaeological District 1963, p. 9, pl. 5.
Excavator: G. Dontas
Year of excavation: 1961

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 835 m^2
Finds: Middle Helladic remains in the SW part of the plot: Two graves (4 and 7); remains of walls from at least two, possibly three, houses (Θ, I, K); one well. In the same space: Three Geometric graves and sherds of Late Geometric funerary vases from the fill; remains of Archaic walls in the E and SE parts of the plot; andron of a Classical house of the fourth century BC, with a pebbled floor and space for placing the couches; part of a drain of the fourth century BC, which runs through the plot; system of water-collecting cisterns of the Hellenistic period, perhaps belonging to a workshop; Roman balneum (?) of the first century BC/first century AD, which was destroyed before the mid-second century AD; remnants of Roman walls in the E projection of the plot; Late Roman house built after AD 267 and destroyed around the mid-fourth century AD; a bathhouse of the fifth century AD; Byzantine houses.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the use of the plot as a cemetery in the Middle Geometric/Late Geometric period, it is examined together with the neighboring through plot to the E at Dionysiou Areopagitou 35 & Kallisperi 16, as well as the neighboring plot farther E at Karyatidon & Kallisperi (Kougeas property). The remains continue also into the adjacent plot to the S at Parthenonos 30 & Kallisperi 17 (Zacharatos property), where, however, investigations down to bedrock and the earliest archaeological levels have been made in very few places.
Comments: The area (continuation of the South Slope of the Acropolis) inclines markedly to the SE and has a deep fill (height 7 m). Almost continuous habitation from the Middle Helladic period into the Byzantine age, which caused changes to the ground plans of most of the buildings.

Settlement Remains

1. Prehistoric House K

Remains	Description
Walls	Found in the SW corner of the plot, below the facade of Kallisperi Street. The walls form the NE corner of a room.

Finds: No data
Comments: According to the excavator, these are the remains of a "very ancient house, which, however, it is doubtful whether it dates to the prehistoric or the Geometric period."
Date: Prehistoric period

2. Remains of Archaic walls

Remains	Description
Walls	Small remains of walls not connected to each other, in the E and SE parts of the plot

Finds: Pottery dated mainly to the end of the seventh century BC. It is not specified whether this originates from graves.
Comments: The absence of pottery of the Orientalizing period from the site and from the area of Dionysiou Areopagitou, as well as from N of this (excavations by Miliadis 1955–1960), leads the excavator to the conclusion that in the first half of the seventh century BC and later, there was less habitation in the area S of the Acropolis than in earlier times.
Date: Archaic period.

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Other Examined Remains

1. Middle and Late Geometric burial ground

Remains	Description
Grave 3	Cremation burial. Found in the SW corner of the plot. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock and covered by three stone slabs, the grave was richly furnished. It belonged probably to a young individual. (See spinning top and perhaps unusual vase type.)
Grave 5	Cremation burial. Found in the SW corner of the plot, near the previous one, to which it is very similar. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock and containing a cinerary vase of the same period, it probably housed an adult male. (See type of cinerary amphora.)
Grave 6	Found in the SE corner of the plot, also cut in the bedrock. It had been violated.

Finds

Grave 3: Cinerary vase of unusual shape (deep pyxis); nine intact vases (three pyxides, one kantharos, one one-handled cup, one skyphos, one jug, one small oenochoe, and one spinning top) and fragments of others. The excavator qualifies the decoration as high quality and on some vases as "excellent art."[1]

Grave 5: Cinerary amphora with vertical handles and a deep plate used as a lid

Grave 6: A few sherds and one shallow plate

Comments: Mortuary activity must have continued also during the Late Geometric period, as revealed by the sherds of an "impressive" Late Geometric amphora with representation of chariots, found in the fill of the plot.

Date: The excavator dates the graves and grave goods generally to the Geometric period, early eighth century BC. Coldstream dates the pyxis in Grave 3 to MG II, which is corroborated by Smithson.[2]

Relevant bibliography: Theophanidis 1930, pp. 2–3, fig. 2α–γ; Orphanou 1998, pp. 35–37, drawing 1, pl. 20α–β.

Notes

1 Dontas 1963, pp. 83–100.

2 Coldstream 1968, p. 46; Smithson 1974, p. 372.

X. 15. Erechtheiou 20

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 76–78, drawing 31, pl. 77; Alexandri 1969, pp. 55–57, drawing 17, pl. 31α-ζ; Alexandri 1979, pp. 131–132, pl. 103α–δ.

Excavator: O. Alexandri

Years of excavation: 1966, 1967, 1973

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot

Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 21.50 x 11.90 m

Finds

1966: Part of the fortification wall; "remains of a Preclassical house." Fifty-two loom-weights, three spindle-whorls, nine lamps, three plates, one domestic vessel, one pyxis, two kantharoi, four small bowls, three lekythia, and one palmette roof tile were recovered from the fill.

1967: Nine graves in the S part of the plot, of which five were Submycenaean and two of the Geometric period

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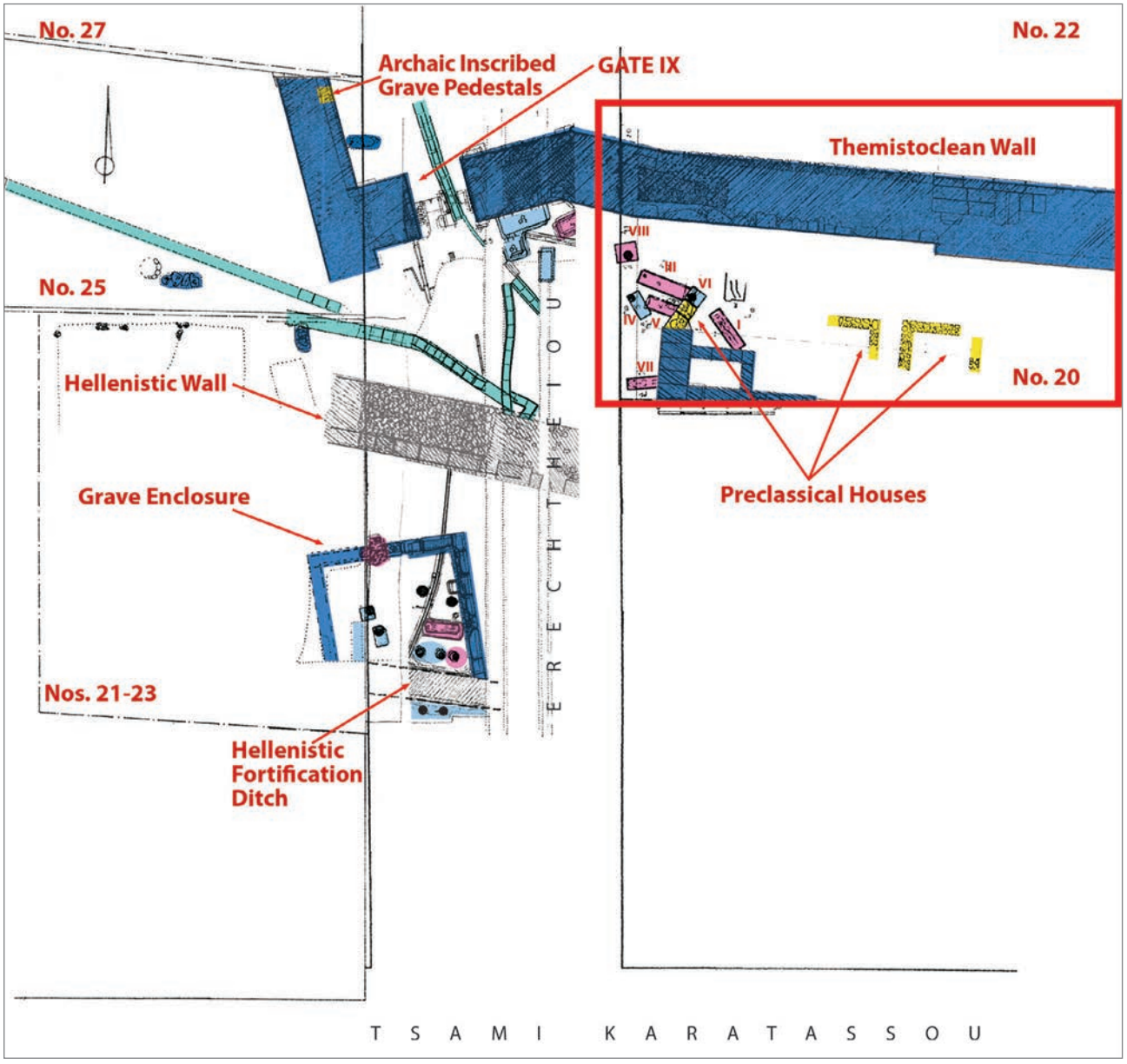

Figure 57. Athens, Makrygianni. General plan of Erechtheiou Street excavations and especially settlement and burial remains at Erechtheiou 20. Synthesis of plans from *ArchDelt* 20, 1965, B΄1 [1967], p. 84, drawing 29; *ArchDelt* 21, 1966, B΄1 [1968], p. 70, drawing 14; *ArchDelt* 22, 1967, B΄1 [1968], p. 76, drawing 31; *ArchDelt* 23, 1968, B΄1 [1969], p. 56, drawing 17; Brouskari 1980, fig. 1. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund. Courtesy of M. Brouskari.

1973: Late Submycenaean grave in the trench in front of the properties at Erechtheiou 18–20. Contained vases (stirrup jar, askos, small amphora), two bronze finger rings, and fragments of bronze fibulae.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plots and trenches on Erechtheiou Street (nos. 21–23, 25, 24–26), where numerous Submycenaean and Geometric graves have been found, and with the plots to the S at Erechtheiou 9–11, Erechtheiou 13–15, and Renti 8, which constitute the southernmost known limit of the cemetery.
Comments: Part of the cemetery that developed in the area of the Classical South Phaleron Gate XIII, on either side of the road passing through it, connecting Athens with Phaleron. The Submycenaean graves show that this use of the road began in the Early Iron Age or even earlier (see Erechtheiou 24–26, where LH IIIA graves have been found). Some of the graves on this particular plot have a wealth of grave goods unusual for this period.

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Settlement Remains

1. Remains of an Archaic house

Remains	Description
Walls	Located in the E and SE part of the plot. Built of fieldstones and founded in the soft limestone bedrock, they were 0.45 m thick. No further information given.

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: "Preclassical period"

Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean burial ground

Remains	Description
Five graves	Five pit graves (I, III, V, VII, VIII) cut in the soft limestone bedrock, with the sides lined with stone slabs. Found on the W side of the plot, near the line of the facades of Erechtheiou Street. The graves vary in size from 2 x 0.20 x 0.50 m (Grave I) to 0.80 x 0.95 x 0.60 m (Grave VIII).

Finds: All the burials were furnished with vases and jewelry. One of these (Grave VIII), obviously a female burial, was accompanied by jewelry (two hair rings [sphekoterai], nine bronze finger rings, and two bronze fibulae).
Comments: The graves belong to the Submycenaean cemetery in Erechtheiou Street, in the environs of the later Gate XIII of the Classical city wall. Grave VIII was considered initially the earliest Submycenaean grave in the cemetery, until the excavation in the plot at Erechtheiou 24–26, where graves dated by their pottery to the LH IIIC/Submycenaean period were found.
Date: Submycenaean period. Ruppenstein dates Grave VII to the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period (Stuffe IV) and Grave VIII to (Stuffe II).[1]

2. Burial ground of the Middle and Late Geometric period

Remains	Description
Two graves	Two pit graves (IV and VI) on the site of the earlier Submycenaean graves. One of these was covered by stone slabs. Both contained cremation burials.

Finds: Cinerary amphorae and vases as grave goods were found inside both graves. Grave IV contained seven clay vases (three skyphoi, kantharos, one-handled cup, amphora, and oenochoe) and a bronze hemispherical cup. Grave VI, which belonged to a male, contained, in addition to the cinerary amphora, a gold band (diadem?), a bronze hemispherical cup, and the iron sword of the deceased.
Comments: They belong to the Geometric cemetery in Erechtheiou Street, in the environs of the later Gate XIII of the Classical city wall.
Dates
Grave VI: Middle Geometric period
Grave IV: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Miliadis 1955, pp. 5–14, figs. 1–8; Miliadis 1957a, pp. 36–52, figs. 1–2, pls. 1–9; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 84–87, drawing 29, pls. 49β–51; Alexandri 1968, pp. 78, pls. 74β–γ; Philippaki 1968, pp. 69, 17, drawing 13; Philippaki 1968, pp. 71, drawing 14, pl. 79γ; Brouskari 1980, pp. 13–31, drawing 1, pls. 1–5; Spathari 1987, pp. 16–17; Tsouklidou 1990, pp. 13–14; Parlama 1995, pp. 33–37; drawing 2; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 61, 66; *Kerameikos* 2007, pp. 244, 247.

Note
1 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 244, pl. 40b.

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X. 16. Erechtheiou 21–23

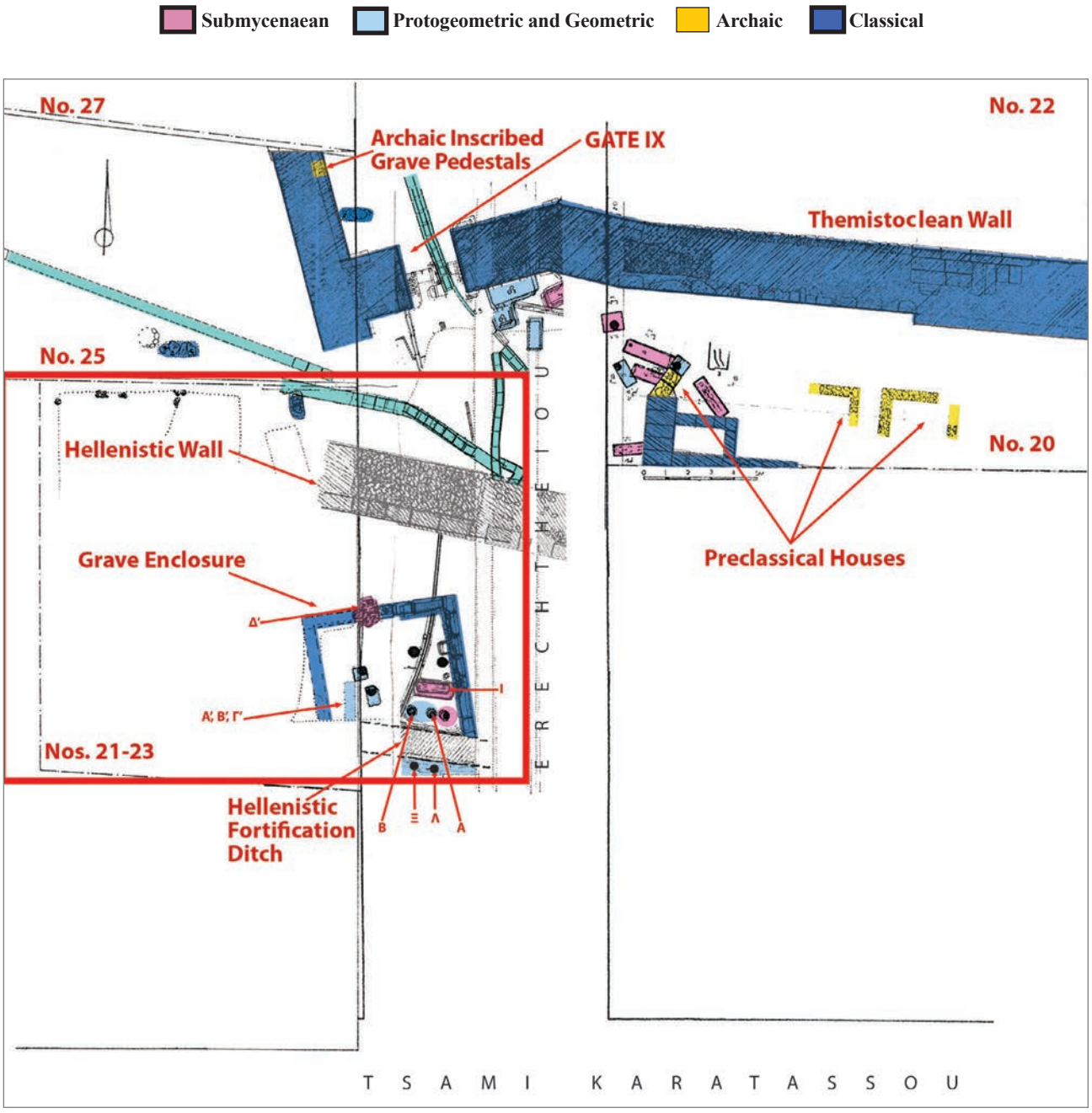

Figure 58. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Erechtheiou Street excavations and especially burial remains at Erechtheiou 21–23. Synthesis of plans from *ArchDelt* 20, 1965, B΄1 [1967], drawing 29; *ArchDelt* 21, 1966, **B**΄1 [1968], drawing 14; *ArchDelt* 22, 1967, B΄1 [1968], drawing 31; *ArchDelt* 23, 1968, B΄1 [1969], drawing 17; BSA 75 (1980), fig. 1. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund. Courtesy of M. Brouskari.

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Bibliography: Miliadis 1957a, pp. 36–52, figs. 1–2, pls. 1–9; Philippaki 1968, p. 71, drawing 14, pl. 79γ.
Excavators: I. Miliadis, V. Philippaki
Year of excavation: 1955, 1965

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench (1955); building plot (1965)
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds
1955: Late Hellenistic fortification construction (initially dated by Miliadis to the second century BC); grave enclosure of the fourth century BC, which surrounded nine burials dating from the Submycenaean to the end of the Protogeometric period. Empty square cutting in the bedrock, probably belonging to a Submycenaean grave, under the E wall of the enclosure.
1965: The westward continuation of Gate XIII, the fortification, and the grave enclosure of the Submycenaean/Geometric cemetery. Submycenaean grave under the N wall of the enclosure; unidentified child burial near the NE corner of the plot. Other cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock, "of unknown purpose," were found along the length of the N party wall.
Relation to adjacent areas: The described remains were found in the plot at Erechtheiou 21–23 and in a trench in the street in front of the same property. The site is examined together with the neighboring building plots and trenches at Erechtheiou 18–20, 24–26, and 25, where numerous Submycenaean and Geometric graves have been found, and with the plots to the S at Erechtheiou 9–11, Erechtheiou 13–15, and Renti 8, which are the southernmost known limits of the cemetery. See gazetteer drawing X. 15 (Erechtheiou 20).
Comments: Part of the cemetery that developed in the vicinity of the Classical South Phaleron Gate XIII, on either side of the road that passed through it and led from the city to Phaleron. The existence of an extensive Submycenaean/Geometric cemetery dates the road that passed through Gate XIII and is virtually identified with Erechtheiou Street to the early historical times of the city, although there are indications of its use from prehistoric times. (See Erechtheiou 24–26, where LH IIIA graves have been found.)

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean/Protogeometric cemetery

Remains	Description
Two graves	Grave Z: Found inside the enclosure. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock, it contained the bones of one individual.[1] Grave Δ: Cremation burial — indeed double. Found in 1965 under the N wall of the enclosure.[2]
Cutting/grave?	Square pit cut in the bedrock, under the E wall of the enclosure

Finds: Four small vases: Neck-handled amphoriskos, globular pyxis with lid, one-handled cup, and skyphos Grave Δ: Inside the same cinerary vase, which was covered with a pithos fragment, were the remains of a young female aged 17 years and a young male aged about 18 years. One of the two was cremated wrapped in a bearskin, since the phalanges of the animal's feet were found together with the incinerated bones of the dead.[3]
Comments: Grave Z is the only example of an inhumation within the enclosed burial area and echoes the mortuary practices of its period. Miliadis considered that the empty cutting under the enclosure wall was also a Submycenaean grave.
Date: Graves Z and Δ: Submycenaean period. Ruppenstein dates both graves to the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period.[4]

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Remains	Description
12 Graves	In 1955 six pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock to receive cinerary vases (A, B, Γ, H, I) were found. Located over the entire plot, they had not destroyed the Submycenaean Grave Z, which they surround. Grave A: Cremation burial of a male more than 24 years old[5] Grave B: Cremation burial of a boy nine to 10 years old[6] Grave Γ: Cremation burial[7] Grave E: Only part of the burial pit is preserved and has not been dated.[8] Grave H: Cremation burial of an individual of unknown gender[9] Grave I: Cremation burial of a girl five to 10 years old[10] Graves Λ, N, and Ξ: Found destroyed in the southernmost part of the trench, beyond the ditch that interrupts the cemetery. In the past the graves were probably included in the cemetery and were contemporary with the other graves.[11] In 1965 three other graves were found (A', B', Γ'), also cut in the bedrock. For them we have no information.
Cuttings	Found along the N party wall, they were characterized by the excavator as "of unknown purpose."
Wall	Remains of a wall, probably of a grave enclosure. Behind the remains of the early-fourth-century BC enclosure, fill consisting of small fieldstones was found in places, which brings to mind construction of Geometric enclosures and could in fact be the remains of one such enclosure.[12]

Finds

Grave A: Cinerary neck amphora and a skyphos

Grave B: Cinerary neck amphora

Grave Γ: No complete vases. Parts of an iron sword.

Grave H: Cinerary belly amphora, oenochoe

Grave I: Cinerary belly amphora, two gold spirals (grasshoppers), and a coarse handmade vessel

Comments: It is possible that the grave enclosure (6 x 3 m) of the fourth century BC replaced an earlier one of the Geometric period. To the S, the enclosure is interrupted by the ditch that probably divided the cemetery into two parts.[13]

Date: Protogeometric period. End of use: ca mid-tenth century BC.[14] Ruppenstein dates Graves I and K to the transition from the Submycenaean to the Protogeometric period.[15]

Relevant bibliography: Miliadis 1955, pp. 5–14, figs. 1–8; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 84–87, drawing 29, pls. 49β–51; Alexandri 1968, pp. 76–78, drawing 31, pl. 77; Alexandri 1968, p. 78, pl. 74β–γ; Philippaki 1968, pp. 69, 71, drawing 13; Alexandri 1969, pp. 55–57, drawing 17, pl. 31α–ζ; Alexandri 1979, pp. 131–132, pl. 103α–δ; Brouskari 1980, pp. 13–31, drawing 1, pls. 1–5; Spathari 1987, pp. 16–17; Tsouklidou 1990, pp. 13–14; Parlama 1995, pp. 33–37, drawing 2; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 61, 66; Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75.

Notes

1 Brouskari 1980, pp. 22–23, pl. 3f–e.

2 Brouskari 1980, pp. 21–22, pl. 2f.

3 Brouskari 1980, p. 30.

4 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 244, pl. 40b.

5 Brouskari 1980, pp. 19–20, pl. 2e–f, 3a–b.

6 Brouskari 1980, pp. 20–21, pl. 2e, 3c.

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7 Brouskari 1980, p. 21, fig. 2.
8 Brouskari 1980, p. 22.
9 Brouskari 1980, pp. 23–24, pl. 4a–b.
10 Brouskari 1980, p. 24, pl. 4d.
11 Brouskari 1980, pp. 24–25.
12 Brouskari 1980, p. 29.
13 Judging by the small quantity of pottery found, Miliadis thought that these also belonged to the mortuary assemblage inside the enclosure. Miliadis 1957a, p. 44.
14 A few scattered Classical sherds were found. They probably date from the period of construction of the grave enclosure. Brouskari 1980, p. 30.
15 *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 244, pl. 40b.

X. 17. Erechtheiou 24–26

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Tsouklidou 1990, pp. 13–14.
Excavator: D. Tsouklidou
Year of excavation: 1985

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 807 m^2
Finds: Prehistoric cemetery of the LH IIIA period, three pits of Submycenaean graves, and one Protogeometric grave. Remains of houses of the Classical to the Late Hellenistic period.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the plot at Erechtheiou 20, the closest one with similar (funerary) finds, as well as Archaic "settlement" remains. Furthermore, the northernmost known limit of the extensive burial ground in Erechtheiou Street is examined together with the neighboring plots and trenches at Erechtheiou 18–20, 21–23, and 25, where numerous Submycenaean and Geometric graves have been found, and with the plots to the S at Erechtheiou 9–11, Erechtheiou 13–15, and Renti 8, which are the southernmost known limits of the cemetery. See gazetteer drawing X.15. (Erechtheiou 20).
Comments: Part of the cemetery that developed in the vicinity of the Classical South Phaleron Gate XIII, on either side of the road that passed through it and linked the city to Phaleron. The discovery of the prehistoric cemetery is significant as indicative of the very ancient use of the area for burials, which were attested only from the Submycenaean period in the rest of the building plots on the street.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves

Remains	Description
Three graves	Pits in the soft limestone bedrock, some intact and others destroyed. In two, the bones of the dead were preserved, without grave goods.

Finds: Pottery
Comments: The unpublished vases from the graves are dated by Mountjoy, who has examined them, between LH IIIC and the Submycenaean period. Indeed, she notes that there are parallels for them from the Kerameikos and that one or two of them seem to have been imported from Perati.[1]
Date: Submycenaean period

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2. Protogeometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Cist grave with schist orthostats and capstone. It contained a child burial, richly furnished.

Finds: Vases, two bronze bracelets, and one finger ring
Comments: The only grave of this period found in the plot and the latest of all the graves
Date: Protogeometric period
Relevant bibliography: Miliadis 1955, pp. 5–14, figs. 1–2, pls. 1–9; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 84–87, drawing 29, pls. 49β–51; Alexandri 1968, pp. 76–78, drawing 31, pl. 77; Alexandri 1968, p. 78, pl. 74β–γ; Philippaki 1968, pp. 69, 71, drawing 13; Philippaki 1968, p. 71, drawing 14, pl. 79γ M; Alexandri 1969, pp. 55–57, drawing 17, pl. 31α–ζ; Alexandri 1979, pp. 131–132, pl. 103α–δ; Brouskari 1980, pp. 13–31, drawing 1, pls. 1–5; Spathari 1987, pp. 16–17; Parlama 1995, pp. 33–37, drawing 2; Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75; *Kerameikos* XVIII, p. 247.

Note
1 Mountjoy 1995, pp. 61, 66.

X. 18. Erechtheiou 25

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Miliadis 1957a, pp. 36–52, figs. 1–2, pls. 1–9; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 84–87, drawing 29, pls. 49β–51; Brouskari 1979.
Excavators: I. Miliadis, Ph. Stavropoullos
Years of excavation: 1955, 1964

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench/building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds
1955: Gate in the Themistoclean fortification wall (XIII), one Submycenaean cist grave (Grave M), one Protogeometric grave containing two cinerary amphorae, two Middle Geometric graves, partly under the E part of the gate
1964: Two Late Geometric graves, inscribed funerary pedestals of the Archaic period built into the fabric of the fortification wall
Relation to adjacent areas: The finds described come from examination of the plot at Erechtheiou 25 (1964 excavation) and the trench excavated in 1955 in Erechtheiou Street, outside this particular property. The plot is examined together with neighboring plots and trenches at Erechtheiou 18–20, 21–23, and 24–26), where numerous Submycenaean and Geometric graves have been found, and with the plots to the S at Erechtheiou 9–11, Erechtheiou 13–15, and Renti 8, which are the southernmost known limits of the cemetery. See gazetteer drawing X. 15 (Erechtheiou 20).
Comments: Part of the cemetery that developed in the vicinity of the Classical South Phaleron Gate XIII, on either side of the road that passed through it and linked the city to Phaleron. The Submycenaean graves show that use of this road began in the Early Iron Age or even earlier. (See Erechtheiou 24–26, where LH IIIA graves have been found.) Some of the graves at this site have an unusual wealth of grave goods for the period.

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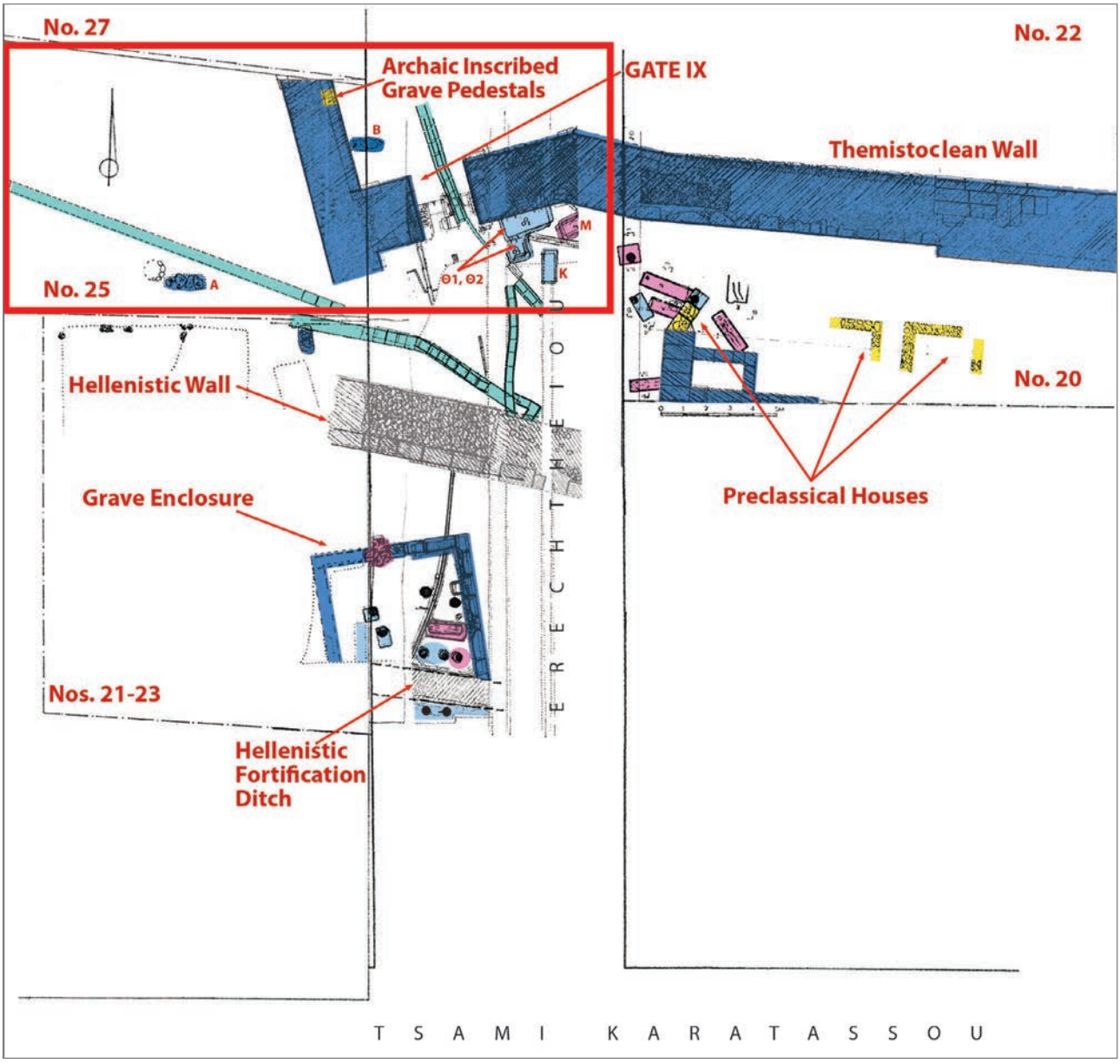

Figure 59. Athens, Makrygianni. General plan of Erechtheiou Street excavations and especially burial remains at Erechtheiou 25. Synthesis of plans from *ArchDelt* 20, 1965, B΄1 [1967], p. 84, drawing 29; *ArchDelt* 21, 1966, B΄1 [1968], p. 70, drawing 14; *ArchDelt* 22, 1967, B΄1 [1968], p. 76, drawing 31; *ArchDelt* 23, 1968, B΄1 [1969], p. 56, drawing 17; BSA 75 (1980), fig. 1. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
Grave M	Inhumation. Found to the SE of the Geometric graves in the plot. Cist grave lined with upright slabs.[1]

Finds: It contained two stirrup jars and a lekythos.

Comments: No data

Date: Submycenaean period

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2. Protogeometric – Middle and Late Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
Protogeometric Period	
Grave K	Cremation burials. Found by Miliadis in 1955, in the trench along the street, S of the gate. It was cut in the soft limestone bedrock and covered by two schist slabs, upon which was a layer of stones with traces of fire, which originated from an overlying sacrificial pit. Found inside the cutting were two cinerary vases that, judging by their type, belonged to females.[2]
Middle Geometric Period	
Grave Θ1	Found by Miliadis in 1955 SE of the gate and partly under it. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock and lined inside with stone slabs. The N part was destroyed by the later Geometric Grave Θ2.[3]
Grave Θ2	Found together with Grave Θ1. Although according to the excavator "it probably belonged to a maiden" and was richly furnished, it emerges from study of the vases that it probably housed a male.[4]
Grave B	Found by Stavropoullos in 1964 on the front of the plot. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock and oriented W–E, it was covered by five flattish river pebbles.[5]
Late Geometric Period	
Grave A	Found by Stavropoullos in 1964 near the S party wall. As deduced from the grave goods, it belonged to a female. Cut in the bedrock, it was lined inside and covered with schist slabs. It had been disturbed.[6]

Finds

Grave K: Two cinerary belly amphorae with lateral handles. One contained a bronze finger ring and the other two amorphous bronze objects. Belly-handled amphoriskos, bowl, household vessel with incised decoration, two lekythoi, and an oenochoe.

Grave Θ1: No data

Grave Θ2: It contained a huge quantity of sherds, from which 86 vases and 13 lids were mended. Possibly these included the grave goods from Grave Θ1, which were mixed up during the disturbance. Also found was a small gold band, perhaps from a diadem.

Grave B: Bronze pin

Grave A: A few sherds of vases and two gold earrings

Comments: No data

Dates

Grave K: Protogeometric period

Graves Θ1, Θ2, and B: Middle Geometric period

Grave A: On the basis of the pottery, it is dated to the Late Geometric period.

Relevant bibliography: Miliadis 1955, pp. 5–14, figs. 1–8; Alexandri 1968, pp. 76–78, drawing 31, pl. 77; Alexandri 1968, p. 78, pl. 74β–γ; Philippaki 1968, pp. 69, 71, drawing 13; Philippaki 1968, p. 71, drawing 14, pl. 79γ M; Alexandri 1969, pp. 55–57, drawing 17, pl. 31α–ζ; Alexandri 1979, pp. 131–132, pl. 103α–δ; Brouskari 1979; Brouskari 1980, pp. 13–31, drawing 1, pls. 1–5; Spathari 1987, pp. 16–17; Tsouklidou 1990, pp. 13–14; Parlama 1995, pp. 33–37, drawing 2; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 61, 66; Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75.

Notes

1 Brouskari 1980, pp. 28–29, figs. 5–6, pl. 5c–d.
2 Miliadis 1955, fig. 2; Brouskari 1980, pp. 25–26, figs. 3–4, pls. 4c, 4e–f, 5a, 5b, 5f.
3 Miliadis 1955, fig. 2; Brouskari 1979, pp. 10.
4 Miliadis 1955, fig. 2; Brouskari 1979, pp. 11–12.
5 Stavropoullos 1967, drawing 29.
6 Stavropoullos 1967, drawing 29.

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X. 19. Erechtheiou 30 & Kavalloti 21

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, p. 57.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 21.50 x 15 m
Finds: Late Classical house, two Hellenistic graves, and a large quantity of Geometric pottery in the N half of the plot
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The presence of Geometric pottery is not surprising, since this particular site lies between two extensive cemeteries of the Geometric period, those of Erechtheiou and Kavalloti Streets.
Relevant bibliography: Miliadis 1957a, pp. 36–52, figs. 1–2, pls. 1–9; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 84–87, drawing 29; Alexandri 1968, pp. 76–78, drawing 31, pl. 77; Philippaki 1968, p. 71, drawing 14, pl. 79γ; Alexandri 1969, pp. 55–57, drawing 17, pl. 31α–ζ; Alexandri 1969, p. 65; Alexandri 1979, pp. 131–132, pl. 103α–δ; Tsouklidou-Penna 1990, pp. 13–14.

X. 20. Iosiph ton Rogon 6

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

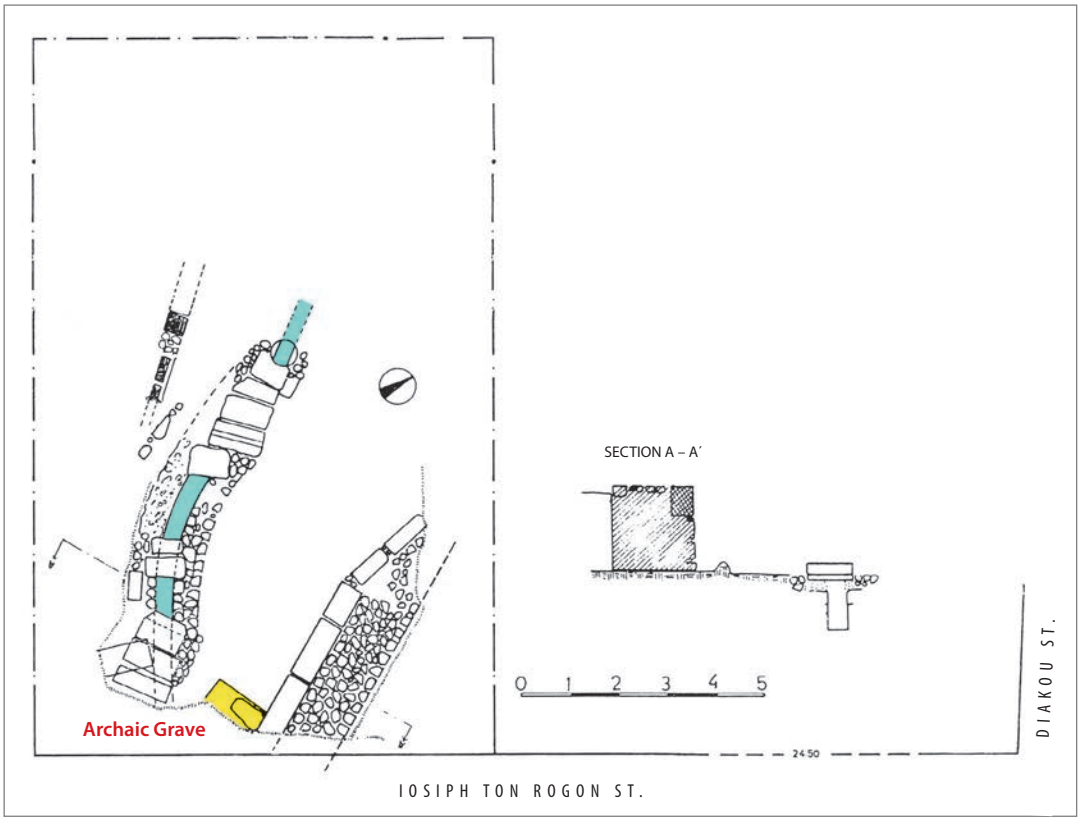

Figure 60. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Iosiph ton Rogon 6 plot. Alexandri 1979, p. 89, drawing 4. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Alexandri 1979, pp. 87–90, drawing 4, pls. 74γ–75γ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1972

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 29.50 x 9.55 m
Finds: Part of the fortification; an undated retaining wall; two rock-cut conduits (one large and one smaller), between which are remains of a wall and an Archaic grave. The covering of the large conduit is with architectural material in second use (spolia) and fragments of sculptures of the Archaic and Roman periods, notable among which are a headless torso of a kouros (height 0.54 m) with broken-off arms and legs, its hairstyle a solid mass on the back and curls on the shoulders; a funerary lion with integral plinth; a headless torso of a legionary (present height 0.30 m) with arms broken at the height of the upper arms and the legs from the knees; and the upper part of the torso of a himation-clad male with a mortise for inserting the head (present height 0.30 m; width 0.75 m). An archaistic head of a herm (present height 0.25 m) was recovered from the fill.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Retaining wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Revealed in the NE corner of the plot. Polygonal and orientated E–W, it presents two building phases that are distinguished height-wise. Behind the wall was infill, from which it is deduced that it functioned as a retaining wall. Its overall thickness (front and infill) is 1.60 m.
Building Phase I	
	Founded on fill at a depth of 2.20 m, its S end stands on an Archaic grave and curves northward at an obtuse angle, where it is cut off and destroyed. It survives for a length of 4 m and a height of 1.10 m.
Building Phase II	
	To this phase belongs part of the upper structure, height 0.60 m and length 6.50–7 m, built according to the irregular trapezoidal system.

Finds: No data
Comments: In our view, the excavator's characterization of the wall as "polygonal" refers to the first building phase, since the second phase is constructed in the irregular trapezoidal system.
Date: Not dated by the excavator. Its dating is proposed on the basis of its masonry and the Archaic grave that it destroyed. Building Phase I: early fifth century BC; Building Phase II: fifth century BC.

Other Examined Remains

1. Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Found under the retaining wall and at a distance of 1.40 m from the line of the building facades of Iosiph ton Rogon Street. A pit grave cut in the soft limestone bedrock, dimensions 1.85 x 0.75 x 0.45 m, with residues of a pyre on the bottom (cremation burial).

Finds: A few fragments of Archaic vases
Comments: No data
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: No data

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X. 21. Kavalloti 14

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Threpsiadis 1971, pp. 10–38.
Excavator: I. Threpsiadis
Year of excavation: 1953

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Archaic vase in fragments
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The excavator notes that the vase was found "exactly under the small house of Roman times marked by the architect M. Kourouniotis."
Relevant bibliography: No data

X. 22. Kavalloti 18

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Tsouklidou-Penna 1989a, pp. 21–22, drawing 1.
Excavator: D. Tsouklidou-Penna
Year of excavation: 1982

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 167 m^2
Finds: Part of the ancient road leading from the South Slope of the Acropolis to Phaleron, via the south Gate XIII; its E embankment; a conduit running along the W side; and another conduit of unknown form along the E side. Found under the road surface were remains of one Geometric, one Archaic, and one Early Classical wall (first half of fifth century BC), while the W part of the plot is occupied by Late Hellenistic walls parallel to the embankment of the road (possibly these too are retaining walls) and Roman remains of buildings and a cistern.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the course of the road, it is examined together with the adjacent trench to the SW in Kavalloti Street, where the continuation of the road surface and the W embankment were found.
Comments: The fragment of the Geometric wall may also be correlated with this site.

Settlement Remains

1. Geometric wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Found under the road surface at depth of 1.30 m and 1.10 m W of the embankment. Oriented NW–SE, it intersects it at an oblique angle. Constructed of flattish stones and bedded on the soft limestone bedrock.

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Geometric period

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2. Archaic wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Transverse to the Geometric wall, oriented E–W. Found at a depth of 1.77 m.

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: "Earlier than the road but not of Geometric times." The earliest surface of the road is dated to the early fifth century BC — consequently, the Archaic period.
Relevant bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 75–80, drawing 25, pls. 43γ–49α; Alexandri 1969, p. 65.

X. 23. Kavalloti 27

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Alexandri 1979, p. 90.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1972

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 8.35 x 15.30 m
Finds: Undated well, pottery from the fill, dated from the Geometric into the Hellenistic period
Relation to adjacent areas: Adjacent to the S with the trench in the section of Kavalloti between Propylaion and Erechtheiou Streets, where the Geometric cemetery and the Hellenistic and Roman houses were found
Comments: The excavator does not connect this excavation with that of the Geometric cemetery.
Relevant bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 75–80, drawings 25, 43γ–49α; Alexandri 1969, p. 65.

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X. 24. Kavalloti (between Propylaion & Erechtheiou)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Figure 61. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Kavalotti Street between Propylaion and Erechtheiou. Stavropoullos 1967, p. 77, drawing 25. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 75–80, drawing 25, pls. 43γ–49α; Alexandri 1969, p. 65.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Years of excavation: 1964, 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds
1964: Geometric cemetery, section of an ancient road, remains of Hellenistic and Roman houses
1967: The continuation of the conduit from the plot at Erechtheiou 35, corner of a cistern, part of a Roman wall
Relation to adjacent areas: The cemetery most probably extended beyond the boundaries of the specific excavation, to the N and S below the properties at Kavalloti 20 and 29 and to the W below the surface of Propylaion Street. The supplementary excavations in 1967, all along the same section of the street, added nothing to our knowledge of the Geometric cemetery. However, they did yield evidence on the Hellenistic/Roman phase of habitation on the site, which was corroborated by investigation in the adjacent plot to the S, at Kavalloti 27.
Comments: The section of Kavalloti Street between Propylaion and Erechtheiou Streets includes the properties at nos. 23 to 29.

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Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
25 burials	Rectangular pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock, densely arranged in rows oriented W–E. In 17 were cremation burials (cinerary vases) and in eight were inhumation burials. In the first case, the dead were cremated inside the graves and the cinerary vases (usually amphorae). Residues of the pyre were placed in a cutting, always at the W end of the grave.

Finds: According to the excavator, the excavation of the cemetery overall yielded 19 large vases (height 0.35–0.71 m), including the cinerary ones, and 90 vases that were grave goods. Jewelry (gold diadems, finger rings bronze fibulae) was found inside the cinerary vases, while the vases deposited as grave goods were placed outside, around the amphorae. Recovered from Grave B were many Late Geometric vases and a rare inscribed Egyptian figurine of the goddess Mehit (or Hat-Mehit). Found in Grave 1 were a bone seal with representation of men taming a horse, necklace beads, figurines, an iron strigil, and bronze fibulae. In the violated Grave 2 there was an iron sword.
Comments: This is an organized cemetery, as emerges from many features: the density of the graves, their arrangement in parallel lines running S–N, and the uniformity of the cuttings in the bedrock. The graves are more or less contemporary, but there is still a preponderance of cremations, since this is the phase of transition from the Middle Geometric to the Late Geometric period. Analogous cases of the improvement of earlier cemeteries during the Classical period are the cemetery at Erechtheiou 21–23 and that in the Ancient Agora.[1] Perhaps this is not a rare phenomenon.
Date: Cremations and inhumations contemporary with one another. End of Middle Geometric–Late Geometric period.[2]

2. Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave	An inhumation in a very large rectangular cutting in the soft limestone bedrock (1.60 x 1.15 x 1.90 m)

Finds: Three black-figure lekythoi with similar representations of a warrior flanked by two figures[3]
Comments: The sole Archaic grave found in the investigated part of the cemetery
Date: Late sixth century BC

3. Archaic road

Remains	Description
Road	To the E of the cemetery

Finds: No data
Comments: This is the ancient road that ran in the direction of Gate XIII and is identified with present Erechtheiou Street. The choice of this particular space to the E of it for mortuary use, in accordance with very ancient funerary customs, confirms the existence of a road axis already in Protogeometric times.
Date: The Geometric cemetery is a terminus ante quem for dating the road.
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1979, p. 90.

Notes

1 Young and Angel 1939, pp. 1–250.
2 Coldstream 1977, pp. 82, 108. He dates it to MG II.
3 All three are classed in "the group of the Hoplite-Leaving-Home." ABV pp. 464–466 (Phanyllis Group E); ABL pp. 66–67, 205.

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X. 25. Karyatidon & Kallisperi (S. Kougeas property)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Theophanidis 1930, pp. 2–3, fig. 2α–γ.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: 1929

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: 10 Geometric vases, presumably from a destroyed grave or graves that existed in the space
Relation to adjacent areas: Of the four vases published in *ArchDelt*, the pyxis with lateral cylindrical handles is contemporary with the deep cinerary pyxis with vertical cylindrical handles found in the neighboring Angelopoulos property to the W and dated to MG II. The rest of the vases from the plot are dated to the Late Geometric period. These data lead to the joint examination of both plots with regard to their use as cemeteries from as early as MG II and during the Late Geometric period (LG Ia–LG Ib).
Comments: It is not possible to identify this particular property because its number is not given. For this reason, the indication of mortuary activity is marked on Map X of the Makrygianni area at the intersection of Karyatidon and Kallisperi Streets.
Relevant bibliography: Dontas 1963, pp. 83–100, pls. 30–31, 36, 38–40; III Archaeological District 1963, p. 9, pl. 5.

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X. 26. Karyatidon 9–11

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

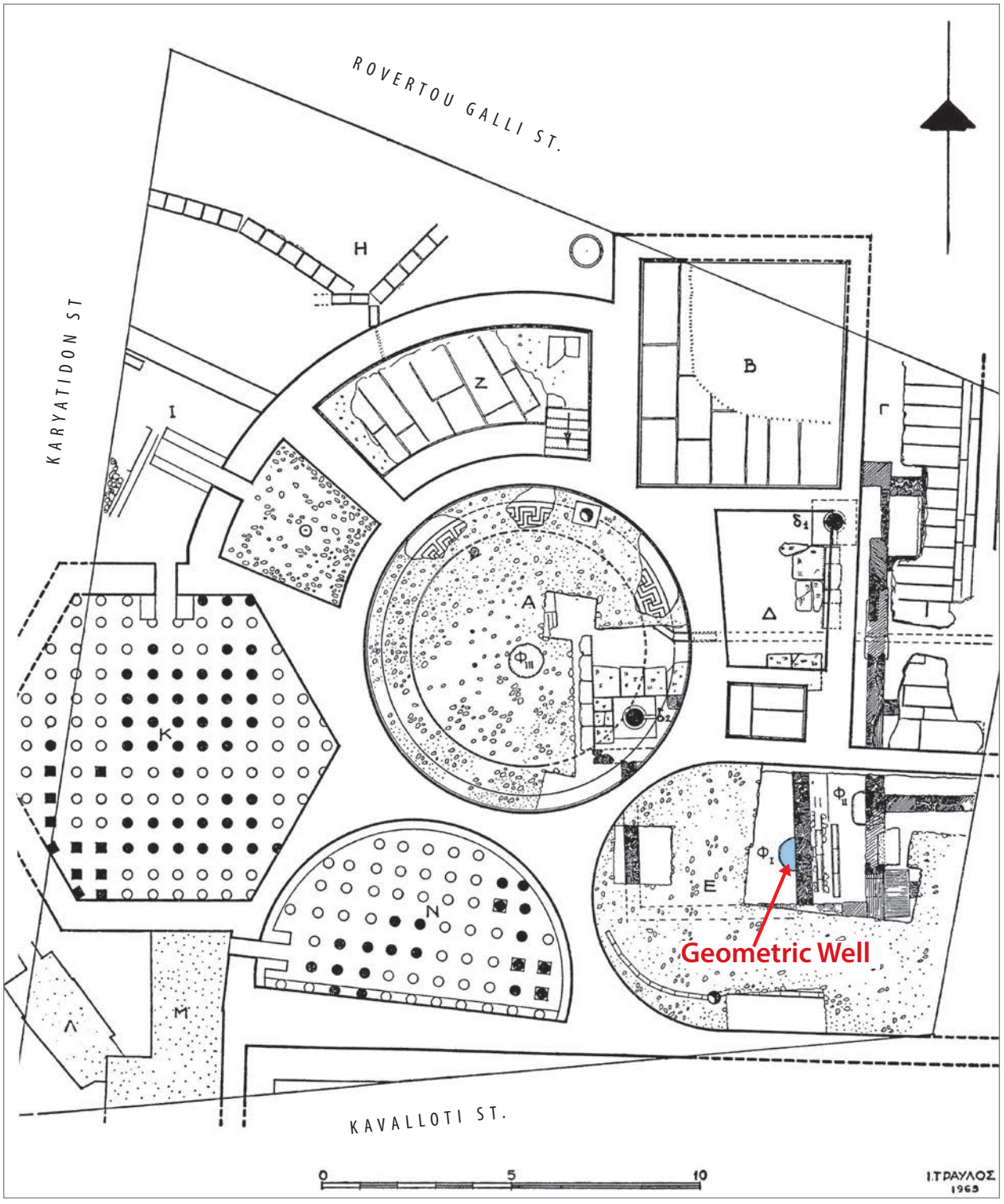

Figure 62. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Karyatidon 9–11 plot. Stavropoullos 1966, p. 49, drawing 2. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 47–49, drawing 2, pls. 41–45.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1963

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Late Helladic and one Geometric well, a Classical house, a Roman bathhouse
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The discovery of the Late Helladic wells and the Geometric well is extremely important for determining habitation in the city during the early years of its history. The remains are preserved in the basements of the apartment block built on the plot, with the intention of making them accessible to visitors.

Settlement Remains

1. Geometric well

Remains	Description
Well	Well Φ1 was found in the SE corner of the plot, under the E wall of the Classical room N2. It was investigated down to the bottom. After it became redundant, it was turned into a refuse pit.

Finds: Pottery of the Geometric period
Comments: No data
Date: Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: No data

X. 27. Lembesi 9 & Porinou 15

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1972, pp. 70–71, pls. 62α–β.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1969

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 30 x 7.50 m
Finds: One Submycenaean grave; two other graves found violated, which remain undated; remains of a Hellenistic house with traces of alterations in Late Roman times
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding mortuary activity during the Submycenaean period, the plot is examined together with the neighboring and adjacent plots at Makrygianni 19–21 and Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou.
Comments: Part of the early cemetery that developed on either side of a very old road leading from Gate VI (Acharnai) in the Classical city wall to the East Phaleron Gate (Halade Gate), having crossed the city almost from north to south. The presence of Submycenaean graves dates its use already to this period.

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Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave and two undated graves

Remains	Description
Grave I	Found in the NE corner of the plot and not investigated fully because part of it was under the party wall with the adjacent building. A rectangular cutting in the soft limestone bedrock, it contained the bones of two dead.
Grave II	Looted in antiquity. Found in the same space as Graves I and III.
Grave III	Looted in antiquity. Found in the same space as Graves I and II. Inside it were found sherds belonging to at least 10 Panathenaic amphorae of the fourth quarter of the fourth century BC.

Finds: Three lekythoi
Comments: Could Graves II and III be contemporary with Grave I and constitute a single mortuary ensemble? Could the use of one of them for the deposition of amphorae be later ?
Date: Grave I: Submycenaean period. Graves II and III: undated due to lack of evidence.
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, p. 73, pl. 41γ; Alexandri 1969, pp. 73–75, pl. 42; Alexandri 1970, pp. 56–57, drawing 23, pl. 50β–γ; Mountjoy 1995, p. 66.

X. 28. Lembesi 19 & Iosiph ton Rogon

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1985, p. 17.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1978

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 360 m^2
Finds: Remnants of Hellenistic habitation; Late Geometric and Archaic pottery in the fill
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

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X. 29. Syngrou Avenue (between Misaraliotou & Hadjichristou)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

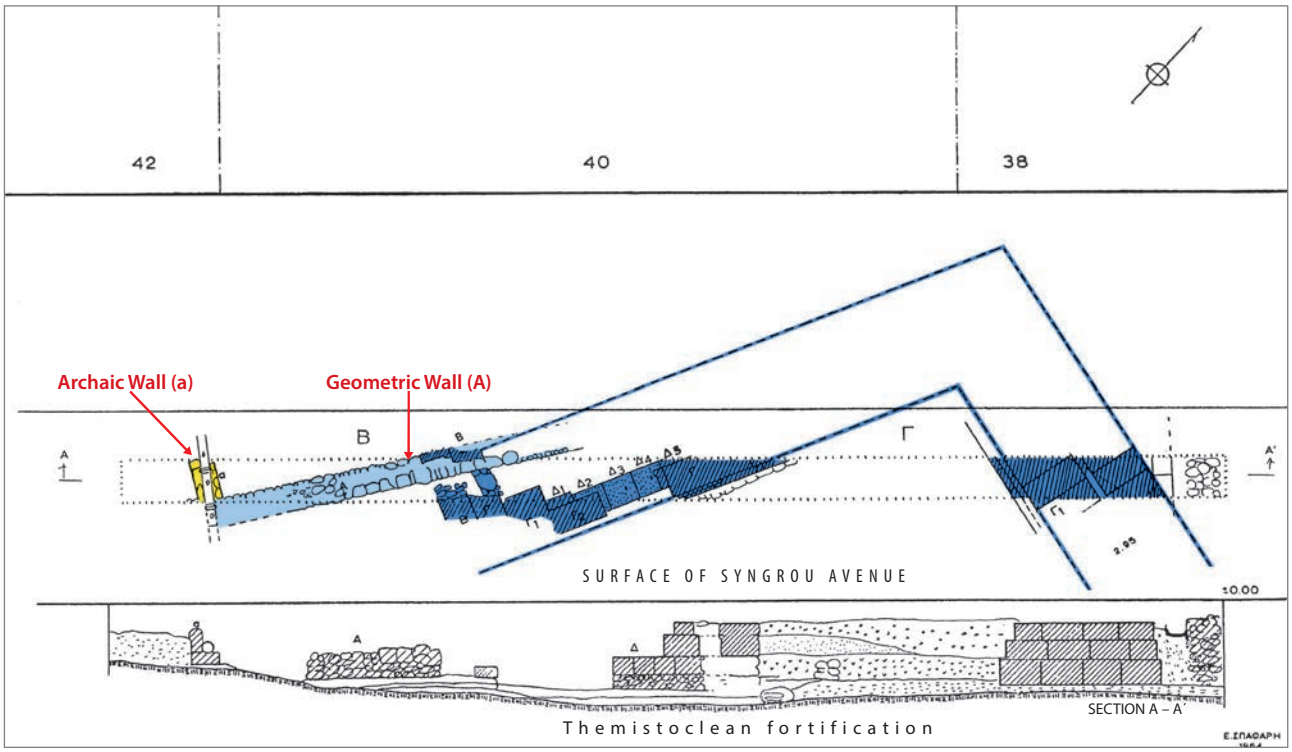

Figure 63. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Syngrou Avenue trench between Misaraliotou and Hadjichristou. Stavropoullos 1967, p. 89, drawing 30. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 87–93, drawings 30–31, pls. 52β, 52γ–55α.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1964

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Along Syngrou Avenue, in the section between Misaraliotou and Hadjichristou Streets, trenches of standard length 11.50 m and width 0.80 m were opened at a distance of 6.70 m from the W facade of the buildings.
Finds: Parts of the Themistoclean fortification, disturbed Geometric burial, Geometric wall, Archaic wall, Geometric and Protoattic pottery, settlement remains of the Hellenistic and Roman periods
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: The trench in Syngrou Avenue was investigated in front of properties no. 24 (junction with Hadjichristou) to no. 48 (junction with Petmeza, extension of Misaraliotou).

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Settlement Remains

1. Geometric wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Found at the height of plot no. 40, abutting the NE edge of the Archaic wall (α). It is marked (A) on the plan. It survived for a length of 9 m, to a height of 0.60–0.70 m, and was 0.70 m thick. Constructed of fieldstones of various sizes with clay mortar, it ran almost N–S. It stood upon a Geometric layer (thickness 0.30–0.40 m), and pottery of the same period was found in the joins between its stones.

Finds: No data
Comments: Perhaps this is a retaining wall.
Date: Geometric period

2. Archaic wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Located at the height of the party wall between plots nos. 40 and 42. It is marked (α) on the plan. Found at a depth of 0.65 m below the present road surface, it was founded at a depth of 1.44 m and stood upon Geometric fill (Geometric sherds) of depth 0.29 m. Constructed of fieldstones with clay mortar, the wall was 0.60 m thick, ran NE–SW, and survived for a length of 0.90 m. Its upper surface had been altered during the fifth century BC to create a cutting to receive a conduit of circular cross-section (diameter 0.25 m) with painted red bands on the joins.

Finds: No data
Comments: Perhaps this is a retaining wall.
Date: Archaic period

Other Examined Remains

1. Geometric burial

Remains	Description
Grave	Fragments of a Geometric amphora inside a cutting

Finds: Geometric pottery in this section of the trench
Comments: The finds were located in the first trench between Petmeza and Donta Streets, closer to the latter.
Date: Geometric period

2. Archaic pithos
Finds: Broken Archaic pithos and Protoattic sherds in the section of the trench at the height of property no. 42
Comments: No data
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: No data

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X. 30. Syngrou Avenue 13 & Lembesi

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

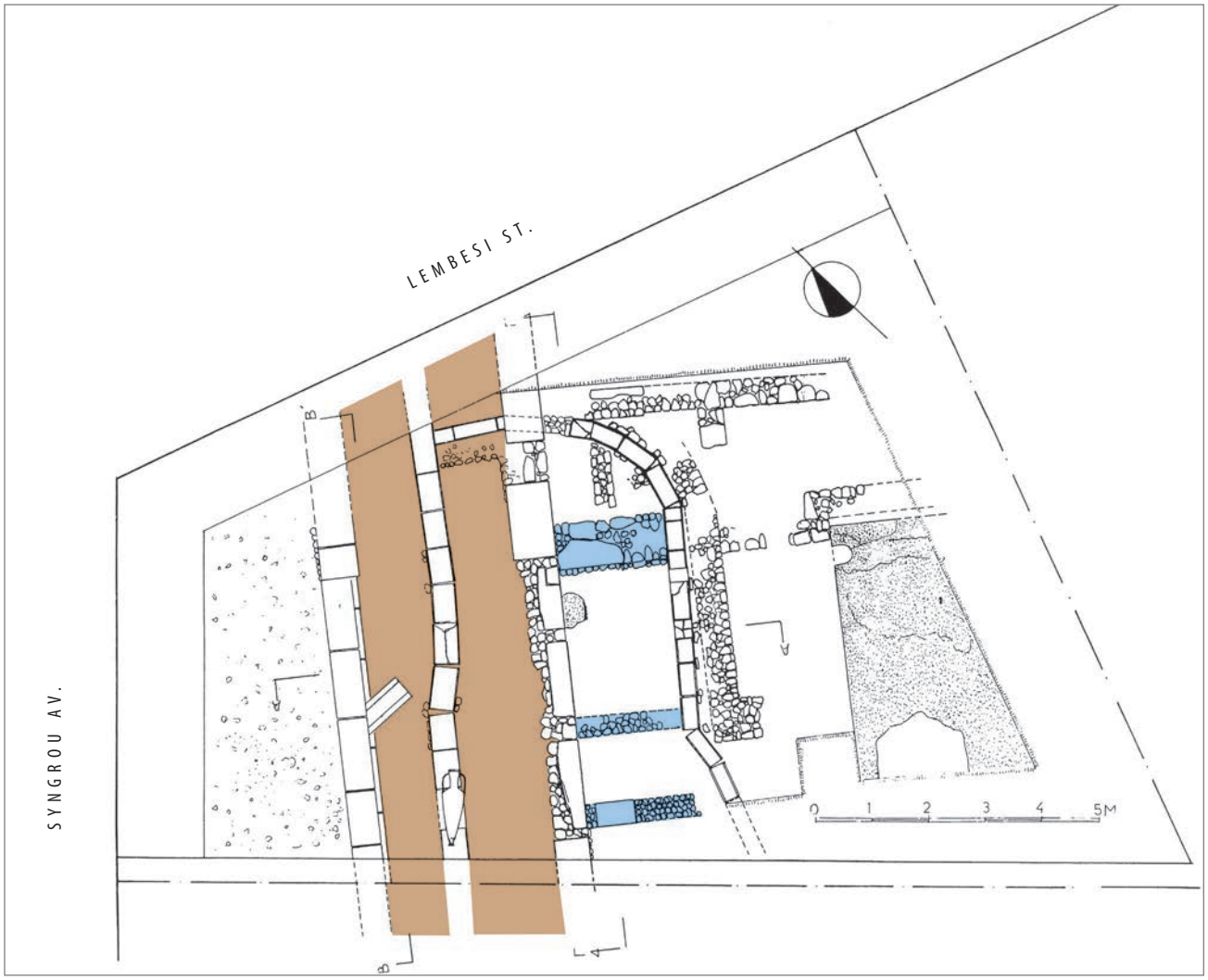

Figure 64. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Syngrou 13 and Lembesi plot. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1985, p.16, drawing 3. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1985, pp. 15–117, drawing 3, pl. 11β.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1978

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 170 m^2
Finds: Remains of Geometric walls, ancient street, and remains of houses of Late Hellenistic and Roman times
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Settlement Remains

1. Remains of Geometric walls

Remains	Description
Walls	Remnants of three small walls parallel to one another. Found under the remains of the Late Hellenistic and Roman houses. They were at a right angle to the Classical embankment of the street and founded on the soft limestone bedrock.

Finds: No data
Comments: The excavator characterizes them as "remains of scant habitation in Geometric times."
Date: Geometric period.
Relevant bibliography: No data

X. 31. Syngrou Avenue 25

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Alexandri 1979, pp. 97–98, pl. 78ε–στ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1972

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 14.20 x 15.20 m
Finds: Protogeometric burial, part of the Classical and Late Roman fortification, ancient street and architectural remains of the Roman period
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Pit grave measuring 0.80 x 0.26 x 0.25 m. Partly destroyed by part of the fortification. Contained remnants of a cremation burial. Found under the Classical city wall.

Finds: Sherds from which six vases were mended: two trefoil-mouth oenochoai, two skyphoi, and two coarse-ware jugs
Comments: No data
Date: Protogeometric period
Relevant bibliography: No data

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X. 32. Makrygianni (15–)17, Porinou & Diakou, Athanasiou

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, p. 73, pl. 41γ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 29 x 27.25 m
Finds: Two Late Geometric graves and part of a Late Roman bathhouse
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the mortuary activity during the Geometric period, the plot is examined together with the neighboring and adjacent plots at Makrygianni 19–21 and Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou.
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	The graves were located near the S party wall and were cut in the bedrock. They were found destroyed.

Finds: Remains of the bones of one burial were found, with a skyphos of the fourth quarter of the eighth century BC as a grave good. Nothing survived of the second burial, which was accompanied by a bronze lopas, found in fragments.
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 73–75, pl. 42; Alexandri 1970, pp. 56–57, drawing 23, pl. 50β–γ.

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X. 33. Makrygianni 19–21

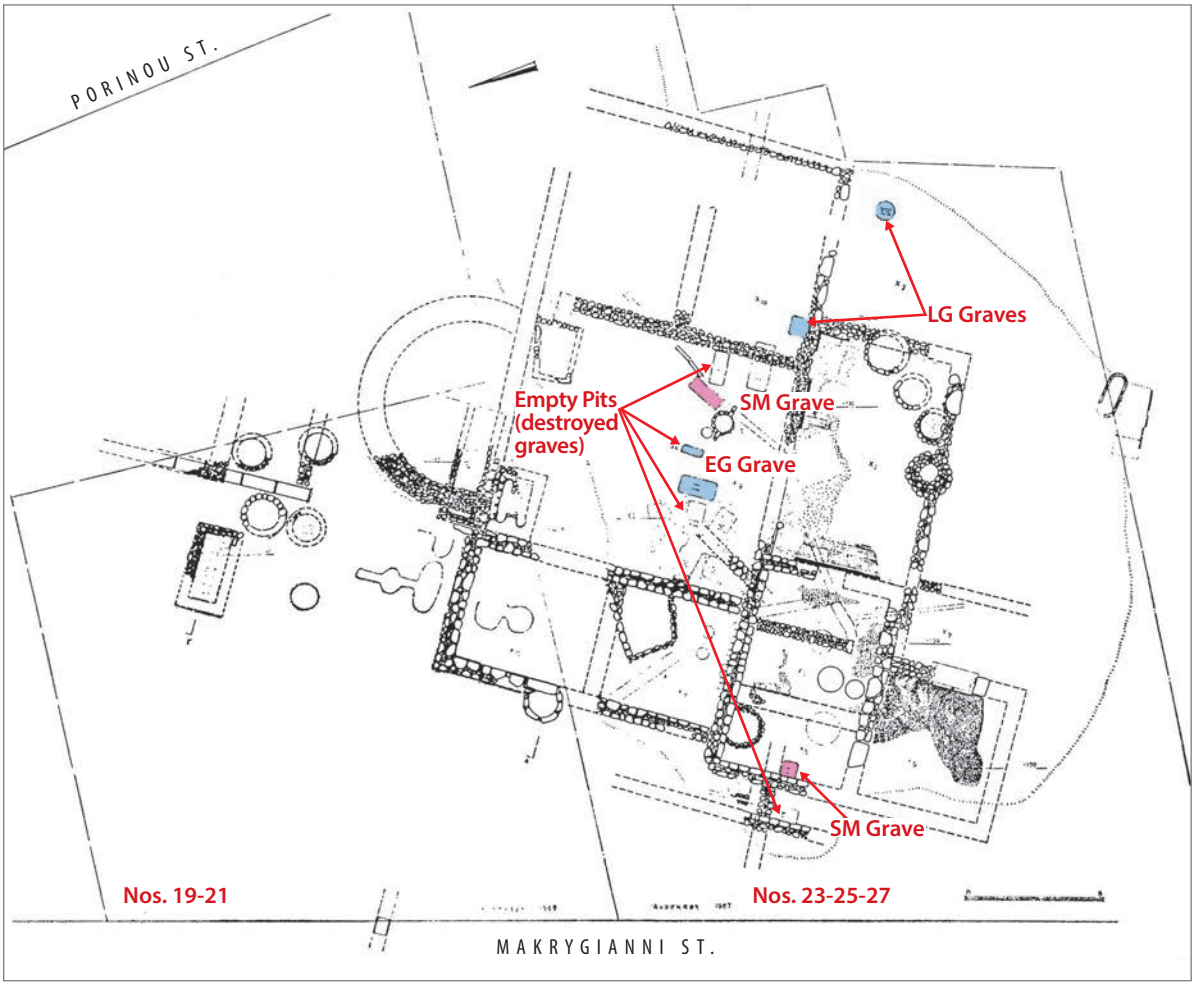

Figure 65. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Makrygianni 19–21–23–25–27 plots. Alexandri 1970, p. 57, drawing 23. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Alexandri 1970, pp. 56–57, drawing 23, pl. 50β–γ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1968

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 18.85 x 14 m
Finds: Cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock, remains of a Hellenistic building with two constructional phases, building (villa) of the Late Roman period, remains of Byzantine habitation
Relation to adjacent spaces: Regarding the mortuary activity during Geometric times, the plot is examined together with the adjacent plots at Makrygianni 15–17, Porinou & Athanasiou Diakou, and Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou. The Late Roman remains are the continuation of finds in the adjacent plot to the S at Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou.
Comments: The empty pits can be interpreted as empty early graves, like those on the adjacent plot to the S at Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou.

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Examined Remains

1. Cuttings – destroyed graves

Remains	Description
Cuttings	A number of cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock were found.

Finds: No data
Comments: The excavator interpreted them as graves "by analogy with the similar ones found in the adjacent building plot and those that contained burials."
Date: Not dated by the excavator. We propose their dating in the Submycenaean/Protogeometric period, due to the existence of graves of the same period in the adjacent plots at Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou, Makrygianni 17–19, Porinou & Athanasiou Diakou, and Lembesi & Porinou, among which many empty pits have also been found.
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, p. 73, pl. 41γ; Alexandri 1969, pp. 73–75, pl. 42; Alexandri 1972, pp. 70–71.

X. 34. Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 73–75, pl. 42.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 21 x 36 m
Finds: Cemetery spanning the Submycenaean to the Late Geometric period. A total of 13 graves were found. Eight of them were completely destroyed. Of the remaining five, two were dated to the Submycenaean period (one a child burial) and the other three to the Geometric period (one Protogeometric and two Late Geometric). Of the eight destroyed graves, Pantelidou dates three to the Late Helladic period, on the basis of sherds recovered from inside them. The Hellenistic vases found in the fill indicated that the space was in use in that period too. A building of the Late Roman period was also found.
Relation to adjacent spaces: For prehistoric mortuary activity on the site, see also excavations on the Makrygiannis plot, where, during works to construct the new Acropolis Museum, graves from the nineteenth to the seventeenth centuries BC were located. Regarding mortuary activity during Submycenaean and Protogeometric times, the plot is examined together with the neighboring and adjacent plots at Makrygianni (15–)17, Porinou & Diakou, Makrygianni 19–21, and Lembesi & Porinou. Regarding the Hellenistic phase, it is examined together with the adjacent plot to the N at Makrygianni 19–21, where remains of a Hellenistic building have been found.
Comments: No Submycenaean graves have been found in the adjacent plots. Perhaps they were destroyed by later building activity. After all, many graves were found empty on the present plot too. This early cemetery developed on either side of a very ancient road that led from Gate VI (Acharnai) in the Classical city wall to the East Phaleron Gate XII (Halade [Seaward] Gate), having crossed the city almost from N to S. The presence of Submycenaean graves attests that its use began in these years, if not earlier.

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Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	Pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Grave I: Child burial. Found half destroyed by the wall of the Late Roman building. Measurements: 0.85 x 0.45 x 0.45 m. Grave XII: Adult burial. Found undisturbed. Measurements: 1.15 x 0.50 x 0.78 m.

Finds
Grave I: One-handled cup
Grave XII: One-handled cup
Comments: No data
Date: Submycenaean period. Grave XII is dated to early Submycenaean times.

2. Protogeometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Grave III: Found half destroyed by the wall of the Late Roman building. Measurements 1.20 x 0.65 x 0.24 m.

Finds: One-handled cup with high foot
Comments: No data
Date: Protogeometric period

3. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	Cut in the soft limestone bedrock Grave VII: Enchytrismos. Child burial. Measurements of pit: 1.00 x 0.70 x 0.43 m Grave XIII: Small cutting measuring 0.40 x 0.45 x 0.45 m, containing a cremation burial

Finds
Grave VII: Thelastron, amphora, juglet, incomplete jug for domestic use
Grave XIII: Unpainted jug
Comments: No data
Dates
Grave VII: Late Geometric period
Grave XIII: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, p. 73, pl. 41γ; Alexandri 1970, pp. 56–57, drawing 23, pl. 50β–γ; Alexandri 1972, pp. 70–71; Pantelidou 1975, pp. 66–69, drawing 7; Mavroeidopoulos 2000, pp. 40–45; Eleftheratou 2006, p. 154.

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X. 35. Makrygiannis building plot (Weiler building)

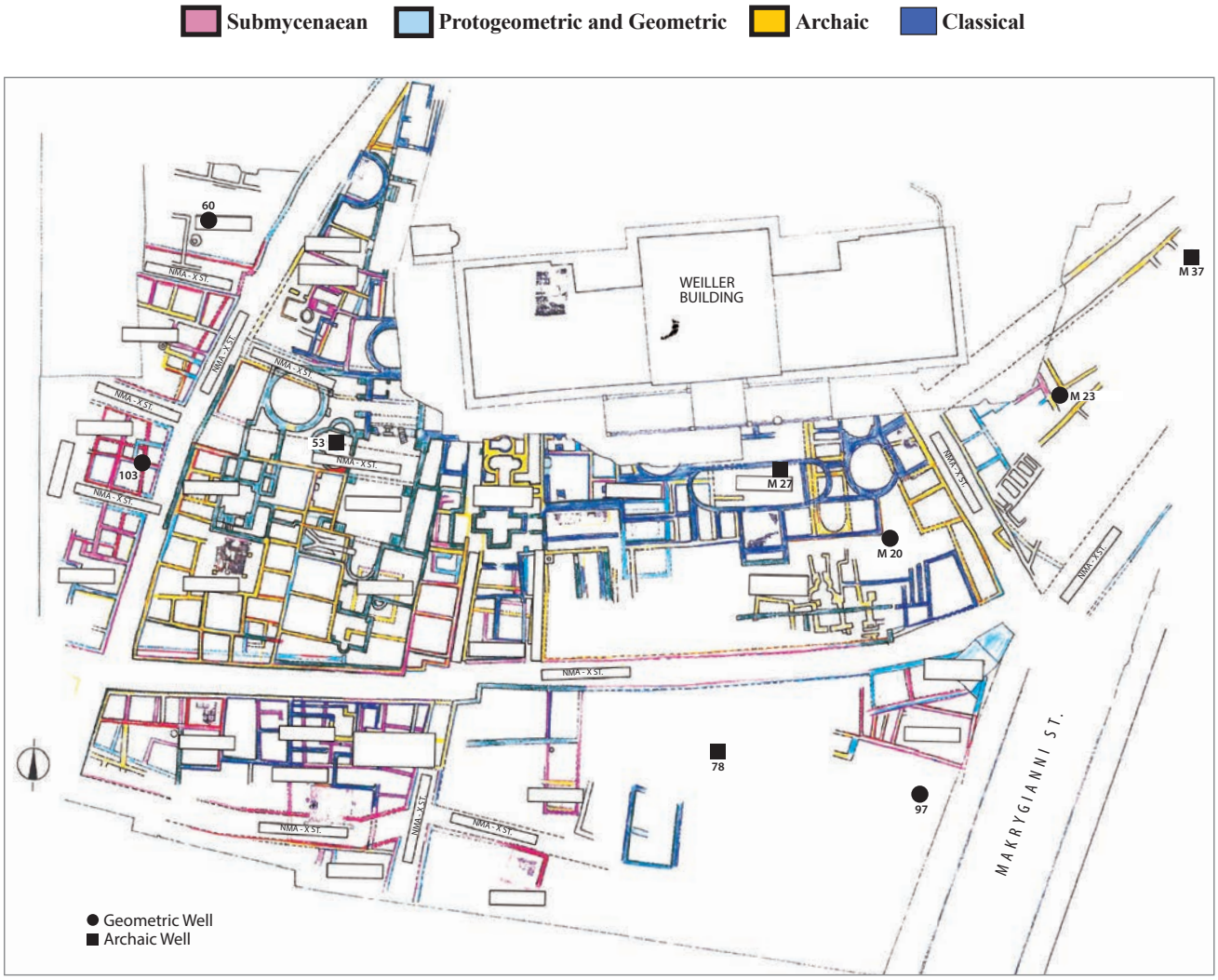

Figure 66. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Makrygiannis building plot. Geometric and Archaic wells. Eleftheratou 2006, p. 13. Copyright © Acropolis Museum.

Bibliography: Palaiokrassa 1985–1986, pp. 141–147, pls. 22–27; Lygouri-Tolia 1989, pp. 8–10, pl. 3β–γ; Kalligas 1995a, pp. 5–11; Eleftheratou 2002, pp. 34–36, pls. 20–26; Eleftheratou 2005, pp. 45–56, drawings 6–7, figs. 5–14; Eleftheratou 2006, pp. 154, 157–158; Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 607–628; Eleftheratou and Saraga 2009, pp. 49–56, figs. 8–15.

Excavators
1984 (prior to excavations for the Metro and the new Acropolis Museum): E. Lygouri-Tolia
1980 and 1983–1984: Third Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities
1985–1986: First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (restoration of the Weiler building)
1986–1991 and 1996–1997: University of Athens (head of excavation: L. Palaiokrassa)
1987–1991: First Ephorate of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities (new Acropolis Museum excavations: S. Eleftheratou, N. Saraga)
Metro: P. G. Kalligas (director of excavation), I. Trianti, S. Eleftheratou, M. Pologiorgi (supervision of excavation)
Years of excavation: 1980–present

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General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Public land
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: +/- 11,000 m^2
First and Third EPCA (1980, 1983–1986, 1990): W, SW, and S parts of the plot and basements of the Weiler building
University of Athens: NE part of the plot, N of the Weiler building. (The findings from this excavation have been backfilled.)
Metro (1993–1996): 2,500 m^2 S and E of the Weiler building and in Makrygianni and Athanasiou Diakou Streets, at points occupying the subsequent northward and westward access to the Metro station
New Acropolis Museum (NAM; 1997–2003): +/- 8,000 m^2. These excavations incorporated previous ones that fell within their boundaries.
Finds: Traces of habitation and workshops from prehistoric times (remains of walls and a street of the Middle Helladic period); sporadic burials of the Middle Helladic, Mycenaean, and Protogeometric periods; remains of workshop activity of Geometric times; streets; remains of Classical to Byzantine and recent buildings
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Traces of Late Geometric habitation

Remains	Description
Walls and floors	Found W of NAM I Street, near one of the two deposits of the eighth century BC[1]
Six wells	Two wells were located in trial trenches to the S and SW of the Weiler building, opened in the natural deposits. The easternmost of the two (water was still trickling at the time of the excavation) was used as a refuse pit when it was abandoned in the Late Geometric period.[2]
Two wells in trial trenche	Two other wells (M 20 and M 23) were excavated during works preceding construction of the Acropolis Station of the Athens Metro. They were found filled with broken vases of the Late Geometric period.[3]
Two wells, Metro	M 20: Located to the W of Metro I Street. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock, it was 1 m in diameter and 5.15 m deep. After its use as a well, it was filled in. M 23: Located E of Metro I Street. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Its depth is estimated to have reached 6 m. It was 1.70 m in diameter at the height of the rim and narrowed downward to 1.30 m.[4]
Three wells NAM	Two other wells filled in with Late Geometric pottery were found during the excavation prior to building the NAM — the northernmost in the NW part of the site (Well 60) and the other (Well 103) to the W of NAM II Street and between NAM V and NAM VII Streets. We have no information on Well 97.[5]

Finds
Wells in trial trenches (Metro): Late Geometric pottery
Wells in Metro excavation: Abundant Late Geometric pottery and vases with painted geometric motifs and representations of warriors, horses, and birds, were recovered from the wells.[6]
M 20: Objects for domestic use, mainly originating from a nearby domestic assemblage (two trefoil-mouth oenochoai, kotyle, plate)
M 23: The majority of the finds date to the Geometric period. However, a few sherds dating from prehistoric into Roman times were found. These included a lid, possibly of a pyxis; a mended part of the mouth of a handmade pithos with incised decoration; and part of a large open vase (grave marker?).[7]
Wells NAM: Late Geometric pottery
Comments: No data
Date: All are dated to the second half of the eighth century BC, to the Late Geometric period.

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2. Late Geometric workshops

Remains	Description
Cuttings	Large pits and cuttings in the bedrock, south of NAM I Street (Area I)
Kiln	Small pottery kiln

Finds: Filling of gravel and clay, containing Geometric pottery[8]
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period

3. Traces of Archaic habitation

Remains	Description
Four wells	Four wells (Well M 37, Well M 27, Well 78, and Well 53) were located dispersed in the site. M 37 was found in the easternmost part of the plot; M 27 SE of the entrance to the Weiler building; Well 78 in the SE of the plot, where the greater part of the architectural remains had been destroyed, in all likelihood in the years when the site was used by the gendarmerie; and Well 53 on the N side of NAM VIII Street.
Wall in Area 4	Found in the wider area of the NW corner of the plot. Its foundation trench was 1.40 m wide. Investigation of it was not completed.

Finds
University of Athens (1986): Sporadic sherds of the Geometric and Archaic periods were recovered from the fill to the N of the Weiler building.
Excavations of Metro and NAM: Pottery of the seventh and sixth centuries BC from various points of the plot. The Archaic wells are unpublished. Well 78 contained fragments of Archaic vases, the latest of which are dated to the mid-sixth century BC.[9]
Comments: The section of a large wall in the NW of the NAM excavation, in combination with pottery found in the NE of the plot (Metro excavation) and dated to the years of the Persian destruction, possibly indicates the S limit of the Archaic city.[10]

Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean graves

Remains	Description
Grave C 3	Found in the NE part of the plot, N of the Weiler building. A pit grave oriented NE–SW, it was covered by large rough slabs. It housed the burial of an adult male aged 25–45 years.[11]
Grave B 1	Also found in the NE part of the plot, N of the Weiler building. A cist grave of internal measurements 0.73 x 0.20 m, consisting of schist slabs. Oriented NE–SW, it was covered by six small schist slabs with smaller stones at the points of contact. It housed the burial of a child aged six to eight years, of indeterminate gender.[12]
Grave B 2	Found 0.80 m W of the previous grave and at the same depth. Both have the same orientation and are of similar construction. However, Grave B 2 had been violated and its covering slabs were missing.[13]
Grave C 4	Found near the previous grave. Of internal measurements 0.70 x 0.25 m, it was oriented NW–SE and consisted of schist slabs and small stones. It housed a girl aged 14–18 years and contained no grave goods.[14]
Grave 57	Found in the E part of the plot, in the middle of the excavated area. A pit grave dug in the soft limestone bedrock, measurements 1.20 x 0.27 m. Oriented NW–SE and covered with schist slabs. It housed a young girl aged about five years (osteological diagnosis by Th. Pitsios).

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Finds
Grave B1: Two lekythoi decorated with concentric semicircles on the shoulder, painted with a pair of compasses and multiple paintbrushes
Grave C3: One small trilobe oenochoe
Grave 57: Four clay perfume vases containing two lekythia decorated with concentric semicircles on the shoulder, painted with a pair of compasses and multiple paintbrushes; pair of gold earrings; two iron and two bronze finger rings; one small bronze pin; one iron pin
Comments: Grave 57: This particular burial is considered richly furnished for the period, leading to the assumption that the deceased was the offspring of a distinguished Athenian family.
Date: Grave C 3: Submycenaean period
Graves 57, B 1, B 2, C 4: The transition from Submycenaean to Protogeometric times (early tenth century BC–Early Protogeometric period)[15]

2. Protogeometric graves

Remains	Description
Burial 84/Pyre 8	Found at the N end of the excavation, N of Graves 90 and 91 and Burial 85/Pyre 9. It consists of the pyre pit and the cinerary vase, a belly amphora, the mouth of which was closed by a skyphos.[16]
Graves 90, 91, Burial 85/Pyre 9	Found S of Burial 84/Pyre 8. In all probability, the graves formed a single group.
Grave in Area 4	Found near the N wall of the basement space of the Roman "grain-processing workshop" and S of Cistern VI. It consists of the pyre pit and the cinerary amphora.[17]
Grave NAM-60	Cist grave of a child (six–seven years old)[18]

Finds
The dead were accompanied by a few grave goods: small lekythia, small amphorae, and very few metal artifacts (e.g., pins of bronze or iron).
Burial 84/Pyre 8: Found in the pyre were a trefoil-mouth oenochoe, pyxis, jug, bell-shaped articulated figurine (doll), one terracotta spindle-whorl, and one bronze finger ring. Found inside the cinerary vase was a pair of iron pins.
Grave NAM-60: Lekythos, hydria, globular pyxis, foot of a krater, and handmade bowl with incised decoration.
Comments: The graves were found dispersed throughout the area of the Metro excavation, mainly in its N part. This does not seem to be a single cemetery but small clusters of graves. Most of them housed child and infant burials, while of the adult burials, the majority are of females. Perhaps the graves belong to members of one family or clan.
Dates
Graves 84/Pyre 8, Grave 90, Grave 91, and Burial 85/Pyre 8: Late tenth century BC–Late Protogeometric period
Grave in Area 4: Late tenth century BC–Late Protogeometric period
Grave NAM-60: Second half of tenth century BC

2. Grave of the Late Geometric period (?)

Remains	Description
Grave C 2	Enchytrismos in a handmade domestic amphora. It was surrounded by fieldstones forming a construction measuring 0.49 x 0.62 m. The burial was found disturbed.[19]

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Possibly dated to the Late Geometric period, on the basis of the type and form of the amphora

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5. Archaic graves

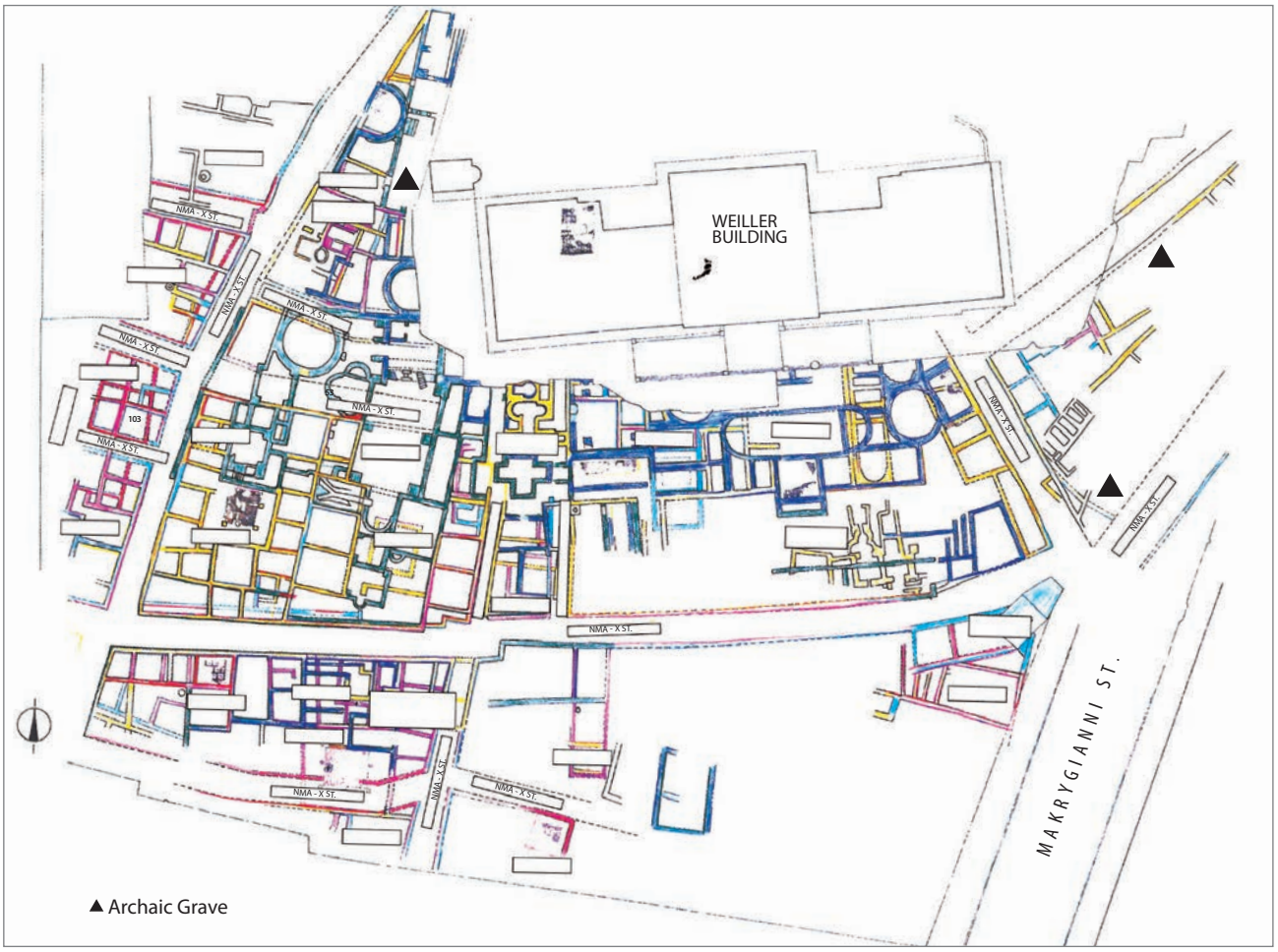

Figure 67. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Makrygiannis building plot. Archaic burials. Eleftheratou 2006, p. 13.
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Remains	Description
Four burials	Unpublished. The only data available are their findspots, one in the NW of the area W of the little church of the Saints Anargyroi and the other two in the E of the space, E of Metro I Street and N of Metro IV Street.[20] The fourth burial was brought to light in the NMA excavation.[21]

Finds: Under study

Comments: In the course of the Athens Metro excavations, the head of a kouros, dated to 570–560 BC, was found in the plot, inside a well containing Middle Byzantine pottery (Well 9, south of Street I).[22]

Date: Archaic period

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5. Streets

Remains	Description
NAM I Street	Runs through the S part of the space in an E–W direction. The street has been uncovered for a length of 50 m and is 3.50–4.50 m wide. It was provided with a central conduit, with cleaning shafts at intervals, into which the waste effluent from the buildings on either side was channeled through lateral and smaller conduits.
NAM II Street	At a right angle to and contemporary with the previous street, it runs across the W part of the space in a NE–SW direction. It is 4 m wide and has been excavated for a length of 65 m. Of the same construction as NAM I Street and with cleaning shafts constructed like ordinary wells, lined with clay rings and footholds to facilitate descent into the interior. The extension of this road to the N may well have crossed two other roads, the ring road around the precinct of the Theater of Dionysos and Road M I.
NAM III Street	Also located in the S part of the space, it is at a right angle to NAM I and runs N–S along almost the same axis as the side street NAM III. Of width 3 m, it has been revealed for a length of 24 m. It too was provided with embankments and a central drain/sewer.
NAM IV Street	Found near the S end of the W side of the Weiler building (Area 2). At a right angle to NAM II, it was about 3 m wide and oriented E–W.
Side street of NAM I	See NAM III Street.
Metro I Street	Runs through the E part of the space in a NW–SE direction. Intersects to the N with NAM II and to the S with NAM I, creating a triangular space in which the Weiler building and the NAM are inscribed. Parts of the street have been located in the Metro excavations, to the S of the Weiler building in the University of Athens excavations, and in the basement of the building itself during works on its restoration by the First EPCA.
Metro IV Street	Uncovered to the E of the Makrygiannis plot. The main artery of the area, crossing the E part of the city, its course coinciding with that of modern Makrygianni Street. This road linked the north sector of the city with the harbor at Phaleron, passing through the Acharnai Gate to the N and the Phaleron Gate (XII) to the S.[2]3

Finds: No data

Comments

NAM I Street: It was probably opened on the course of an earlier street.

NAM III Street: Abolished by a Late Roman or Early Christian house

Dates

NAM I and II Streets: Late fourth century BC–Middle Byzantine period

NAM III Street: Late fourth century BC–Late Roman or Early Christian times

NAM IV Street: Third century BC–fourth century AD

Relevant bibliography: Stavropoulou 1988, pp. 25–27, pl. 17α; Tsakos and Tyrovouzi 1990, pp. 11–15, drawings 1–2, pls. 32; Kalligas 1995b, pp. 18–19, drawings 3; Kalligas 1999, pp. 13–17; Kalligas 2000, pp. 28–39, 44–50; Mougnai 2000, entries 31–37; Kalligas 2001, pp. 16–18.

Notes

1 Trianti 1999, pp. 14.

2 Zachariadou 1989, pp. 9.

3 Kalligas 1995a, pp. 5–6.

4 Mougnai 2000, entries 31–37, pp. 62–65.

5 The above data and the topographical plan of the excavation, on which their findspots are marked, were obtained in personal communication with the responsible archaeologist of the First EPCA, S. Eleftheratou, who kindly provided them for use in the present study, with the proviso that they are not final conclusions based on thorough study but are preliminary observations of the material, which is still unpublished.

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6 Kalligas 1995a, pp. 6.
7 Mougnai 2000, entries 31–37, pp. 62–65.
8 Eleftheratou and Saraga 2009, pp. 49.
9 Trianti 1999, pp. 133–134.
10 Eleftheratou 2006, pp. 14; Trianti 2006, p. 133.
11 Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 612–613.
12 Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 608–611.
13 Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 611.
14 Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 611–612.
15 Ruppenstein also dates Grave 57 to these years (Stufe IV) on account of the use of a pair of compasses with multiple brushes in the decoration of lekythion M 2451. *Kerameikos* XVIII, pp. 245.
16 Kalligas 2000, pp. 46–47.
17 Eleftheratou and Saraga 2009, pp. 52.
18 Eleftheratou 2006, pp. 154, 157–158.
19 Palaiokrassa 2006, pp. 611–612.
20 See note 5.
21 Trianti 2006, p. 133.
22 Trianti 2006.
23 Eleftheratou 2006, p. 12.

X. 36. Mitsaion & Zitrou

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Andreiomenou 1968, pp. 84–85, drawing 24, pl. 85α; Alexandri 1968, pp. 102–103, pl. 94**β**.
Excavators: A. Andreiomenou, O. Alexandri
Years of excavation: 1965, 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: 1965: Ancient street with drain/sewer and embankments. Three Geometric graves were found under the surface of the street.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Early or Middle Geometric graves

Remains	Description
	All were found under the surface of a later street. They were pit graves cut in the soft limestone bedrock.
Grave A	Contained a cremation burial inside a cinerary amphora. Measuring 0.55 x 0.43 x 0.53 m, its stone cover survives.
Grave B	Judging by the grave goods, it was probably of a child.
Grave Γ	Only part of it survived, as the central drain/sewer of the street passed over it.

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Figure 68. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Mitsaion and Zitrou plot. Andreiomenou 1968, p. 84, drawing 24. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Finds

Grave A: Bronze hemispherical cup in the position of the lid of the cinerary vase; iron hilt; iron pin; iron sword, bent and placed around the shoulders of the cinerary amphora

Grave B: Vases, terracotta model of a pair of shoes,[1] small wheels, and marbles

Grave Γ: Handleless cup and small oenochoe

Comments: No data

Date: Early or Middle Geometric period. According to Alexandri, the cinerary amphora from Grave A is dated to the Early Geometric period. Smithson dates it to MG I.[2]

Relevant bibliography: Smithson 1974, p. 340.

Notes

1 For parallels, see the Ancient Agora (II. 12), Eleusis (Grave α), and Psyrri, Agiou Dimitriou 20 (III. 3).

2 Alexandri 1968, pp. 102–103, pl. 94β; Smithson 1974, p. 340; Kourou 2011, pp. 192–193.

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X. 37. Parthenonos 12

Figure 69. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Parthenonos 12 plot. Alexandri 1968, p. 107, drawing 52. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 106–107, drawing 52, pl. 93.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Geometric cemetery: Nine graves of the eighth century BC. Part of the fortification (city wall and tower) and three interconnected wells dated by the pottery in the fill from the Late Classical to the Hellenistic period. Also recovered from the fill were nine loom-weights, three stamped vase handles, one unpainted miniature plate, two terracotta protomes from a brazier, and one Subgeometric juglet.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Examined Remains

1. Middle Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
Nine graves	Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. One was intact (Grave ζ), two contained some remains, and the rest were empty. Grave ζ, measuring 1.10 x 0.55 m, was covered by schist slabs and contained an inhumation, probably of a female. (See spindle-whorls.) Grave ε contained a cremation burial inside an amphora.

Finds

Grave ζ: Two skyphoi, trefoil-mouth oenochoe, two jugs, cups, conical vase base, terracotta spherical spindle-whorls

Grave ε: Unpainted coarse-ware cinerary amphora

Grave γ: Half an amphora and three small unpainted vases in fragments

Comments: No data

Date: Grave ζ: End of Middle Geometric/beginning of Late Geometric period, mid-eighth century BC

Relevant bibliography: No data

X. 38. Parthenonos 30 & Kallisperi 17 (Zacharatos property)

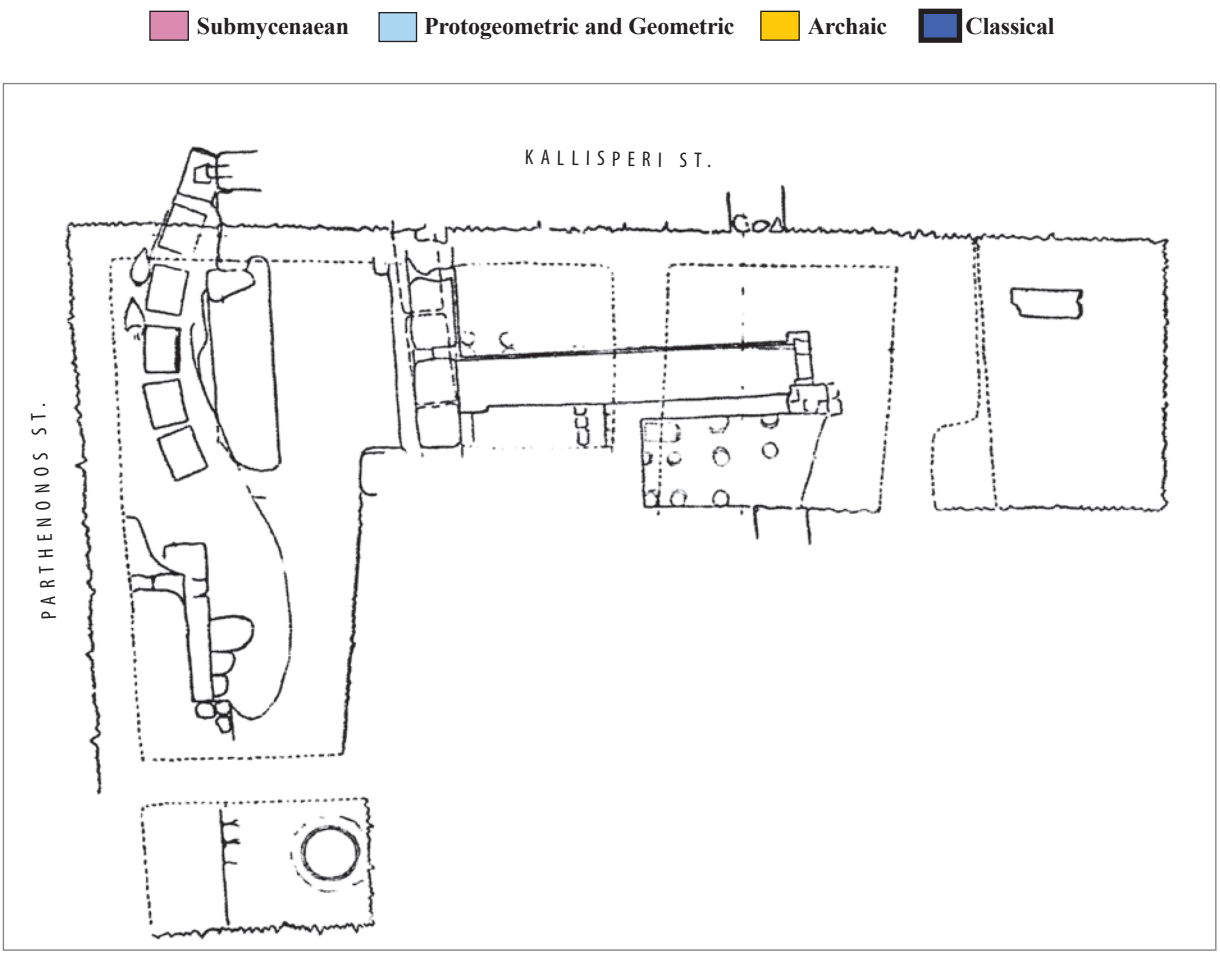

Figure 70. Athens, Makrygianni. Plan of Parthenonos 30 and Kallisperi 17 plot (Zacharatos plot). Dontas 1963, p. 102. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Dontas 1963, pp 101–103, pl. 37.
Excavator: G. Dontas
Year of excavation: 1961

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: see "Comments."
Finds: Wall of the Classical period, drain/sewer of the Hellenistic period, and inspection shaft (continuation of the aqueduct in the Angelopoulos property), as well as a hypocaust hall (continuation of the Roman balneum in the aforesaid plot)
Relation to adjacent areas: The Angelopoulos plot, to the N, is presented for the plan of the excavation, since in its S part, Middle Helladic and Geometric remains have been found. In all probability they continued into the present plot.
Comments: The excavator notes that due to lack of funding, investigations were restricted to a small part of the plot (a zone 8 m wide along the N side and a zone 7–8 m wide along the W side) and that bedrock was reached at very few points.
Relevant bibliography: Dontas 1963, pp. 83–100, pls. 30–31, 36, 38–40; III Archaeological District 1963, p. 9, pl. 5.

X. 39. Promachou 4–6

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Prokopiou 1987, p. 16.
Excavator: N. Prokopiou
Year of excavation: 1987

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 139 m^2
Finds: Shaft containing fragments of Geometric vases; well; cistern. The fill of the well yielded pottery of the late eighth century BC, down to the depth of 3 m, where investigations were cut short by the seeping water. Sherds of Classical and Roman vases were collected.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plot to the S at Promachou 5, both with regard to mortuary use of the space during the Geometric period and with its change into a settlement space in Preclassical and Classical times
Comments: The typological and topographical interpretation of the finds was hindered by the fact that the excavator failed to link them with the adjacent plot at Promachou 5.

Examined Remains

1. Pit/Geometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Found at about the center of the plot. An irregular quadrilateral pit measuring 0.80 x 0.60 x 0.30 m.

Finds: Fragments of vases
Comments: The excavator does not interpret the pit as a grave. However, the finds from the neighboring plot at Promachou 5, as well as the Late Geometric pottery found in the built well on the plot, leave no margin of doubt that this is the case.
Date: End of Middle Geometric/beginning of Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 88–89; Parlama 1970, pp. 112–117.

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X. 40. Promachou 5

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 88–89.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 12 x 17.50 m
Finds: Two Late Geometric graves; remains of a Preclassical house and a Classical house
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding mortuary use of the space during Geometric times, the plot is examined together with the neighboring plot to the N at Promachou 4–6.
Comments: No data

Settlement Remains

1. Remains of a Preclassical house

Remains	Description
Walls	Vertical foundations of walls, intersecting and forming two rooms separated by a party wall, and one more wall upon which the house of the next period sits. The walls are 0.40 m thick and constructed of small fieldstones with mud mortar.

Finds: See below in toto.
Comments: On top of the remains of the Preclassical building, others of the Early Classical period were found.
Date: Preclassical period, late sixth century BC

2. Remains of a Classical house

Remains	Description
Walls	Walls built upon the remains of the Preclassical house, forming part of a room. These too are foundations of rubble masonry and mud mortar, slightly thicker than those of the preceding phase — 0.80 m.

Finds: Found in the fill of the plot were half a black-glaze lamp dated to the late sixth/early fifth century BC[1], a plain lamp of the sixth century BC,[2] and many fragments of Archaic and Classical vases.
Comments: The date of the lamps agrees with the date of the settlement remains.
Date: Early Classical period, early fifth century BC

Other Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Grave I	Found near the line of the building facades of Promachou Street, in the NW corner of the plot. Measurements of pit: 3.20 x 0.90 x 0.70 m.
Grave II	Found near the preceding grave. Measurements of pit: 2.70 x 0.70 x 0.50 m.

Finds
Grave I: Disturbed bones and seven vases
Grave II: Six incomplete vases

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Comments: The pits are notably long. Parlama speaks of an extensive cemetery, known also from other excavations in the area between Dionysiou Areopagitou and Veikou.[3] The picture is now clearer, and we no longer speak of an extensive cemetery covering so many thousand square meters. The specific graves are located near the ancient road that commenced at the South Slope of the Acropolis and ran in the direction of Phaleron, via Gate XIII.
Date: Geometric period. Grave I: third quarter of eighth century BC.
Relevant bibliography: Parlama 1970, pp. 112–117; Prokopiou 1987, p. 16.

Notes
1 *Agora* IV, Type 19B.
2 *Agora* IV, Type 2B.
3 Parlama 1970, p. 112.

X. 41. Propylaion 34

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Lygouri-Tolia 1995, pp. 29–33, drawing 1, pl. 17β–γ.
Excavator: E. Lygouri-Tolia
Year of excavation: 1990

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Part of the Classical fortification with later repair and part of a cemetery that began operation in the Late Archaic period, continued in the Classical, and, after an interruption of several centuries, was reused in the second half of the third century AD. The burials are located S of the wall, in successive levels. The earliest (Archaic) were found in the S and E of the plot, the majority of them breached by the overlying graves. They are pits for pyres, opened in the bedrock or in the overlying layer of chalky soil and sand. Fragments of vases of the Geometric and the Late Archaic periods were found inside these, while Submycenaean sherds were recovered from the fill of the site.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

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Area XI
Kynosarges

XI. 1. Diamantopoulou 10

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Eliopoulos 2010, pp. 85–91, figs. 34–40.
Excavator: Th. Eliopoulos
Year of excavation: 2001

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 330 m^2
Finds: Part of the Kynosarges cemetery, with graves from the Geometric to the Roman period (159 graves), the majority of them dating from Classical times
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the plots on Theophilopoulou Street, where there is evidence of contemporary mortuary activity.
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Middle Geometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave 21, which contained a cremation burial inside an amphora

Finds: Three vases were found inside the cinerary vase.
Comments: Contemporary pottery was found dispersed over the site.
Date: Middle Geometric period

2. Archaic graves

Remains	Description
Graves	–

Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Archaic period, mid-sixth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, p. 61, pl. 34; Alexandri 1972b, pp. 165–175; Alexandri 1976, pp. 93–97, drawings 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1976, p. 62; Alexandri 1977, pp. 32–33, pl. 20β–γ; Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ; Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368.

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XI. 2. Theophilopoulou (between Menaichmou & Kokkini)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1976, p. 62, pl. 50α–β.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1972

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Water-supply trench
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Nine graves, of which two are Geometric, one is Late Archaic, and five are Classical. One Geometric grave contained a cremation burial, while the other was circular, as was the Late Archaic grave.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Geometric period, the trench is examined together with the plot at Theophilopoulou 11, where contemporary pottery has been found, and the plot at Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou, which is farther E, as well as the plots at Theophilopoulou 16 and Κοκκini 4–6, where graves of the Late Geometric period have been located. Regarding the Archaic period, it is examined together with the neighboring plots to the E at Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Kokkini, Theophilopoulou 1–3–5 & Pareskevopoulou, and Theophilopoulou 11.
Comments: Part of the cemetery founded in the area in the Middle Geometric period

Examined Remains

1. Middle Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	Grave IV was a rectangular pit measuring 0.65 x 0.45 m and cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Inside it was a neck amphora. Grave IX was a circular pit of diameter 1.30 m, which contained remains of a pyre and a few sherds.

Finds: Grave IV: It contained a gold funerary fillet-diadem with repoussé decoration and two skyphoi.
Comments: Judging by the type of the cinerary amphora and the gold funerary diadem, Grave IV must have belonged to an affluent male.
Date: Middle Geometric period

2. Late Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Grave VIII	A circular pit of diameter 1.30 m and depth 0.85 m, containing very few bones, pieces of burned wood, and one vase as a grave good.

Finds: Black-glaze aryballoid lekythos
Comments: No data
Date: Late Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Smith 1895–6, pp. 22–25; Droop 1905–1906, pp. 80–92; Alexandri 1969, pp. 61, pl. 34; Alexandri 1972b, pp. 165–175; Alexandri 1976, pp. 93–97, drawing 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1977, pp. 30–31, pl. 20δ–ε; Alexandri 1977, pp. 32–33, pl. 20 β–γ; Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ; Spathari 1988, pp. 31–34, pl. 17γ; Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368; Eliopoulos 2010, pp. 85–91, figs. 34–40.

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XI. 3. Theophilopoulou 11

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ.
Excavator: A. Liangouras
Years of excavation: 1972–1973

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Fifteen graves of the fourth and fifth centuries AD. The fill of the plot yielded pottery dating from the Protogeometric period and mainly the Geometric period into Roman times. In the excavator's opinion, this came from a cemetery that existed on the site already from the Protogeometric period. This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that the sherds are from funerary vases. Indeed, it is considered that the most important phases of this cemetery were the end of the Archaic and the Classical period.
Relation to adjacent areas: The neighboring plot to the SE at Theophilopoulou 1–3–5 & Paraskevopoulou, where two Archaic graves and pottery have been found, is a continuation of the cemetery.
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: Smith 1895–1896, pp. 22–25; Droop 1905–1906, pp. 80–92; Alexandri 1969, pp. 61, pl. 34; Alexandri 1972β, pp. 165–175; Alexandri 1976, pp. 62; Alexandri 1976, pp. 93–97, drawing 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1977, pp. 30–31, pl. 20δ–ε; Alexandri 1977, pp. 32–33, pls. 20β–γ; Spathari 1988, pp. 31–34, pl. 17γ; Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368; Eliopoulos 2010, pp. 85–91, figs. 34–40.

XI. 4. Theophilopoulou 1–3–5 & Paraskevopoulou

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1977, pp. 30–1, pl. 20δ–ε.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1972

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 21 x 14 m
Finds: Cluster of six graves, four of them Late Roman–built. The other two were pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock, and in one traces of cremation survive. All the graves had been disturbed. Four black-figure lekythoi dating from ca. late sixth/early fifth century BC were mended from sherds.
Relation to adjacent areas: The neighboring plot to the NW at Theophilopoulou 11 must be the continuation of the cemetery, since there too pottery of early historical times (Protogeometric and Archaic) has been found.
Comments: The excavator refers to the "previously ascertained existence of an extensive cemetery at the site, the earliest use of which dates back to Geometric times."
Relevant bibliography: Smith 1895–1896, pp. 22–25; Droop 1905–1906, pp. 80–92; Alexandri 1969, pp. 61, pl. 34; Alexandri 1972b, pp. 165–175; Alexandri 1976, pp. 62; Alexandri 1976, pp. 93–97, drawings 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1977, pp. 32–33, pl. 20β–γ; Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ; Spathari 1988, pp. 31–34, pl. 17γ; Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368.

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XI. 5. Theophilopoulou 16

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, p. 61, pl. 34.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1967

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 22.10 x 13.90 m
Finds: One Subgeometric grave and eight Classical graves
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the nearby plot to the NE at Kokkini 4–6, where Late Geometric pottery is present
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Subgeometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Grave VII, which was a cremation inside a rectangular cutting

Finds: One unpainted jug with stamped decoration on the shoulder
Comments: According to the excavator, the location of the plot and the large quantity of Geometric pottery indicate the existence of a cemetery in the area, which is corroborated by the finds from other neighboring plots.
Date: Subgeometric period
Relevant bibliography: Smith 1895–1896, pp. 22–25; Droop 1905–1906, pp. 80–92; Alexandri 1972β, pp. 165–175; Alexandri 1976, pp. 62; Alexandri 1976, pp. 93–97, drawings 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1977, pp. 30–31, pl. 20δ–ε; Alexandri 1977, pp. 32–33, pl. 20β–γ; Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ; Spathari 1988, pp. 31–34, pl. 17γ; Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368; Eliopoulos 2010, pp. 85–91, figs. 34–40.

XI. 6. Kallirrois 5 – Perraivou – Kokkini

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Spathari 1988, pp. 31–34, pl. 17γ.
Excavator: E. Spathari
Year of excavation: 1980

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 1,202.50 m^2
Finds: Sixty-five graves spanning the period from the third to the seventh century AD, part of the extensive cemetery to the SE of the city, where continuous use is attested from the Geometric period (tenth century BC) to the seventh century AD. A section of the Late Roman "Hadrianeion" aqueduct was found, as well as a section of an even later aqueduct.
Relation to adjacent areas: Clusters of graves have been located in various excavations in the area.
Comments: No data

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Relevant bibliography: Smith 1895–1896, pp. 22–25; Droop 1905–1906, pp. 80–92; Alexandri 1969, p. 61, pl. 34; Alexandri 1972b, pp. 165–175; Alexandri 1976, p. 62; Alexandri 1976, pp. 93–97, drawing 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1977, pp. 30–31, pl. 20δ–ε; Alexandri 1977, pp. 32–33, pl. 20β–γ; Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ; Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368.

XI. 7. Kokkini 4–6

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1977, pp. 32–3, pl. 20β–γ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1972

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 28.80 x 15.50 m
Finds: Early Byzantine cemetery (42 graves); Late Geometric vases and sherds on the W flank of the plot. Specifically, one cup, one shallow juglet, one high-neck jug, one double jug, one kantharos, and two plates were found. Pottery of the Classical period was also collected from the fill.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: It is possible that the vases originate from a destroyed grave.
Relevant bibliography: Smith 1895–1896, pp. 22–25; Droop 1905–1906, pp. 80–92; Alexandri 1969, pp. 61, pl. 34; Alexandri 1972b, pp. 165–175; Alexandri 1976, p. 62; Alexandri 1976, pp. 93–97, drawings 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1977, pp. 30–31, pl. 20δ–ε; Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ; Spathari 1988, pp. 31–34, pl. 17γ; Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368; Eliopoulos 2010, pp. 85–91, figs. 34–40.

XI. 8. Vourvachi & Vouliagmenis

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Coldstream 2003, pp. 331–346; Smith 2003, pp. 347–368.
Excavator: C. H. Smith
Years of excavation: 1896–1897

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Built on today. Through photographs in the BSA archives, the plot is identified at the intersection of Vourvachi and Vouliagmenis Streets.[1]
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Part of the Geometric/Archaic cemetery of Kynosarges and remains of the Roman gymnasium there (possibly the palaestra)
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plot at Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou[2]
Comments: The number of early graves found is not known. In accordance with the legislation at that time, half of the finds remained in the jurisdiction of the owner of the excavated property[3] and are today considered lost. A part of the finds passed to the ownership of the BSA (44 vases of Dipylon type, one gold funerary band, one iron dagger, one bronze shield boss, the Protoattic Kynosarges amphora, and a few black-figure vases). From these the period of the cemetery's use is dated from MG II/LG I until the end of the Archaic period (and some decades later).

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Relevant bibliography: Smith 1895–1896, pp. 22–25; Droop 1905–1906, pp. 80–92; Alexandri 1969, pp. 61, pl. 34; Alexandri 1972, pp. 165–175; Alexandri 1976, pp. 62; Alexandri 1976 pp. 93–97, drawings 7–8, pls. 62–64; Alexandri 1977, pp. 30–31, pl. 20δ–ε; Alexandri 1977, pp. 32–33, pl. 20β–γ; Liangouras 1979, pp. 38–40, drawing 5, pls. 47–49δ.

Notes

1 Coldstream 2003, p. 331, pl. 39α.
2 IX. 2.
3 Petrakos 1982, p. 133, article 64.

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Area XII
Koukaki

XII. 1. Odyssea Androutsou 32

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1987, p. 17.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 63 m^2
Finds: Destroyed Submycenaean grave (scant traces of bones and two bronze fibulae survived) and Late Roman street with drainage/sewerage system
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Located S of Phaleron Road
Relevant bibliography: Mountjoy 1995, pp. 66–67.

XII. 2. Veikou 39 & Stratigou Kontouli

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1970, pp. 26–27, pl. 88α.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1968

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 11 x 15 m
Finds: Geometric stepped retaining wall
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Stepped retaining walls of this kind have been found elsewhere in the S part of the city and mainly in the Makrygianni area (on the South Slope of the Acropolis, Rovertou Galli 18–20 & Parthenonos, Makrygiannis plot).

Settlement Remains

1. Geometric retaining wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Stepped retaining wall, maximum present height 0.32 m. Its front faced SE, and it was founded at a depth of 2.60–2.10 m in the soft limestone bedrock, which due to the gradient had been cut appropriately to underpin it. Constructed mainly of large stones, with smaller stones in the interstices.

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Finds: No data
Comments: No data
Date: Geometric period (from the sherds collected during its dismantling)
Relevant bibliography: Brouskari 2002, pp. 38–43; Alexandri 1968, pp. 112–114, drawing 56, pl. 96ς.

XII. 3. Veikou 123–125 & Aglavrou

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1972, pp. 44, 47–49, drawings 5–6, pls. 49–53α.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1969

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 18 x 9 m
Finds: Graves of the Classical period, part of the cemetery that developed along either side of the Phaleron Road. Geometric and Archaic sherds were found in the plot, revealing the use of the space in those years too.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the nearby plot at Dimitrakopoulou 116 & Aglavrou, where a destroyed Late Geometric grave has been found, and at Dimitrakopoulou 110, where Geometric graves dating from the Protogeometric to the Late Geometric period have been found.
Comments: Mortuary use of the space is attested from LH IIB: two graves — part of the cemetery at Dimitrakopoulou 106–110 — rectangular pits measuring 2.00 x 0.80 m, may be either Middle Geometric or Late Geometric violated graves.
Relevant bibliography: Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 57–58, drawing 6, pls. 52–54α; Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 58–60, drawing 6, pl. 54β–55; Andreiomenou 1968, pp. 85–88, drawings 26–26, pl. 86; Philippaki 1968, pp. 68–69, pl. 79α; Alexandri 1969, p. 50, drawing 14, pls. 29–30; Alexandri 1969, p. 88, pl. 49.
Mountjoy 1995, pp. 20–21.

XII. 4. Dimitrakopoulou 44–46 & Drakou

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Stavropoulou 1988, p. 28.
Excavator: M. Stavropoulou
Year of excavation: 1980

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Geometric wells, one Hellenistic grave, and two undated graves
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Settlement Remains

1. Geometric wells

Remains	Description
Two wells	Cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Both wells had been sealed in antiquity. They were excavated to a depth of 4.80 m and Geometric sherds were recovered from inside the shafts.

Finds: Geometric pottery
Comments: No data
Date: Geometric period (from the pottery found inside the shafts)
Relevant bibliography: No data

XII. 5. Dimitrakopoulou 50

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Andreiomenou 1968, pp. 85–88, drawings 25–26, pl. 86.
Excavator: A. Andreiomenou
Year of excavation: 1965

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Graves of various periods: prehistoric, Geometric, Classical, Late Roman. Part of the cemetery on either side of Phaleron Road. Marble tomb lekythoi, marble inscribed kioniskoi, and grave stelai — one in the form of a naiskos — were also collected.
Relation to adjacent areas: In the almost adjacent plot at Markou Botsari 35, Submycenaean burials have been found.
Comments: Mortuary use of the space is attested from the Mycenaean period. A chamber tomb was found. Judging by the sherds from its interior, it had probably been disturbed in Geometric times.
Relevant bibliography: Pantelidou 1975, p. 71; Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75, pl. 40β–γ.

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XII. 6. Dimitrakopoulou 95

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

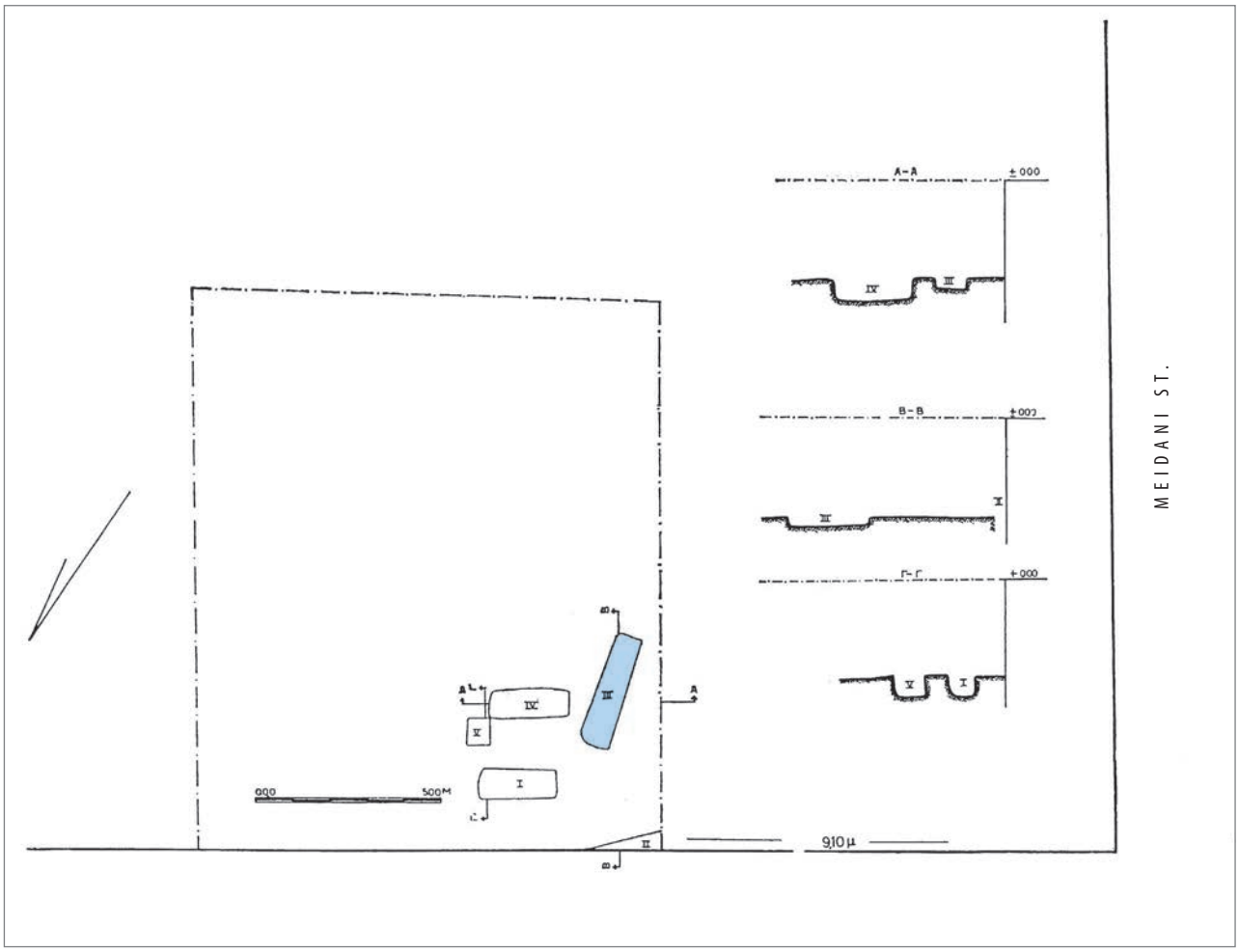

Figure 71. Athens, Koukaki. Plan of Dimitrakopoulou 95 plot. Alexandri 1972, p. 55, drawing 13. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Alexandri 1972, pp. 53, 55, drawing 13.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1969

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 15 x 12.50 m
Finds: Five graves — four of them Classical and one Late Geometric
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plot to the N at Dimitrakopoulou 106, where empty pits have been found. They are most probably remnants of old disturbed graves. It is notable that no Geometric pottery was found on the same plot.
Comments: No data

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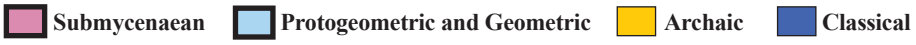
Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Cremation burial inside a bronze cinerary vase (kalpe) with lid

Finds: Upper half of a figurine of a female lamenter and one other figurine, which probably comes from a vase with linear decoration
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Coldstream 2008 [1968], p. 163; Threpsiadis 1971, pp. 10–38; Stavropoulou 1988, pp. 28–31, pl. 17β.

XII. 7. Dimitrakopoulou 106



Bibliography: Stavropoulou 1988, pp. 28–31, pl. 17β.
Excavator: M. Stavropoulou
Year of excavation: 1980

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Two Late Helladic graves (one chamber tomb and one pit grave in use in LH IIIA1, LH IIIA2, and LH IIIB), two Submycenaean burials inside a Mycenaean grave, Classical graves and several empty pits, old graves that had been emptied in a later period
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plots at Dimitrakopoulou 95 and Dimitrakopoulou 110, where there is evidence of Late Geometric mortuary activity
Comments: Part of the ancient cemetery that developed on either side of Phaleron Road
Relevant bibliography: Charitonidis 1958, pp. 1–152; Alexandri 1972, pp. 53, 55, drawing 13; Alexandri 1972, pp. 55–58, drawing 14, pl. 54; Mountjoy and Hankey 1988, p. 26; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 34–35, 41, 61.

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XII. 8. Dimitrakopoulou 110

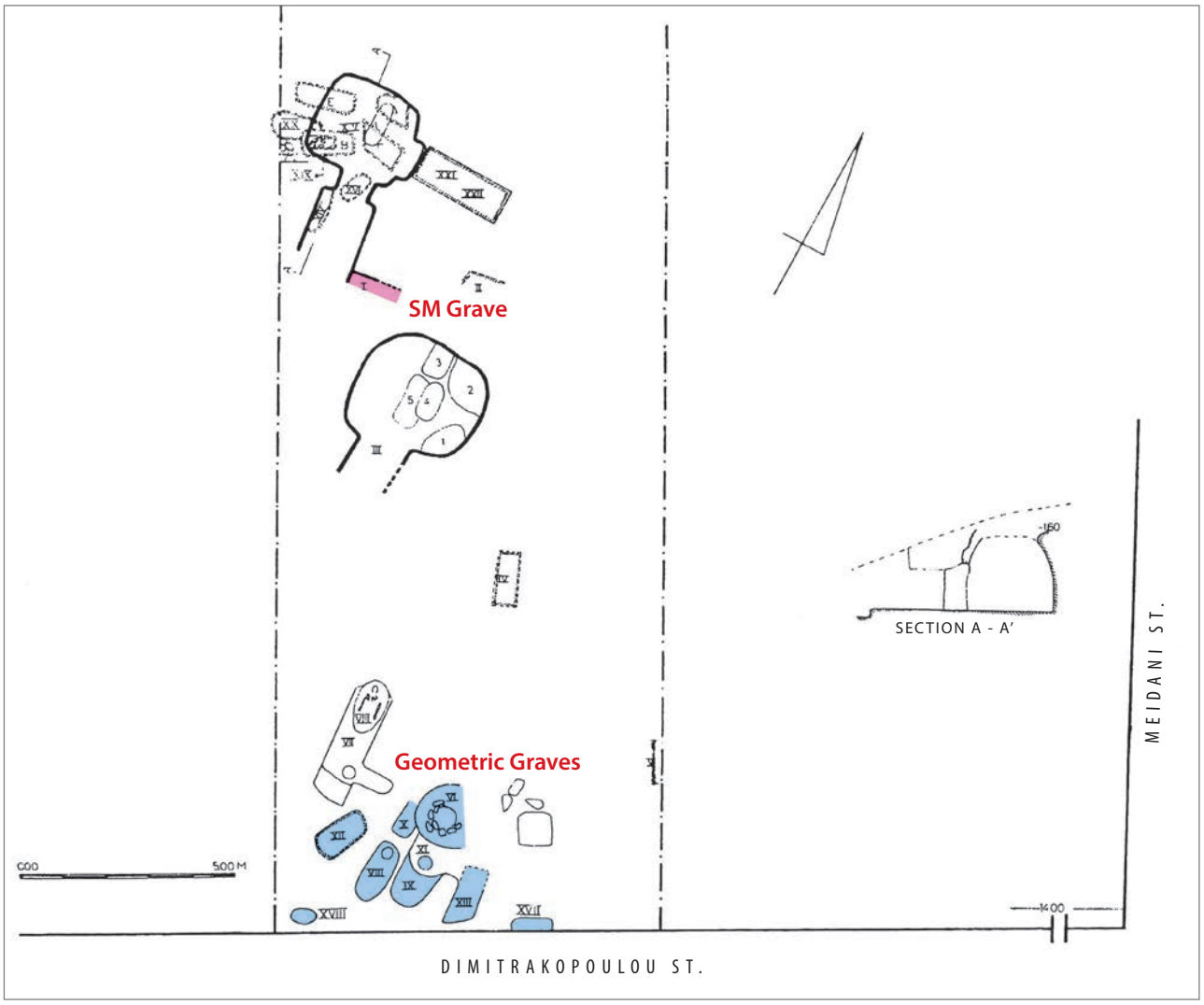

Figure 72. Athens, Koukaki. Plan of Dimitrakopoulou 110 plot. Alexandri 1972, p. 56, drawing 14. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Nikopoulou 1970, pp. 171–179, drawing 1, figs. 1–14; Alexandri 1972, pp. 55–58, drawing 14, pl. 54.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1969

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 17.90 x 9 m
Finds: Twenty-seven graves, of which 24 have been dated: two Mycenaean chamber tombs, which were used also from LH IIA until LH IIIB and in LH IIIC late; one Submycenaean; nine Geometric; and twelve Classical. Of the Geometric graves, two were defined as Protogeometric and the rest are dated by the vases found inside them from the ninth to the end of the eighth century BC.

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Relation to adjacent areas: In the area around this specific plot, an extensive cemetery existed from an early date. This is one of the cemeteries named Phaleric because of its location on the sides of the road leading from Athens to the harbor at Phaleron. It continued in use into Hellenistic times. Regarding its Submycenaean phase, it is examined together with the plot at Dimitrakopoulou 106, and regarding its Late Geometric phase with the plots at Dimitrakopoulou 95, Dimitrakopoulou 106, Dimitrakopoulou 116 & Aglavrou, and Veikou 123–125 & Aglavrou.
Comments: The earliest grave found in this particular site is Grave XV, in the dromos of which the Submycenaean grave was opened. Dated to LH III A1–A2 by a three-handled small pithoid krater found on its floor. Mortuary activity continued uninterrupted into the Geometric period.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Grave I: Pit grave found near the dromos of the LH IIIA1–A2 grave. Half destroyed.

Finds: One trefoil-mouth oenochoe was mended.
Comments: No data
Date: Submycenaean period

2. Protogeometric/Late Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
Nine graves	Nine pit graves: VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XIII, XVII, and XVIII. Only one of these, Grave XVIII, was found undisturbed. It contained a cremation burial, as did Grave VI.
Protogeometric Period	
One grave	Grave IX and one pyre
Early Geometric Period	
Two graves	Graves VI (male cremation burial) and XVII
Middle Geometric Period	
Two graves	Graves XIII and VII
Late Geometric Period	
Four graves	Graves VIII, X, XI, and XVIII (male cremation burial)

Finds
Grave IX: Sixteen vases (five high-footed skyphoi, nine black-glaze one-handled footed cups, oenochoe, lekythos), one terracotta spindle-whorl, and five terracotta spherical beads
Pyre: Black-glaze pyxis with decorative band of meander and checkerboard pattern
Grave VI: Lower half of a cinerary amphora. Inside it were a few bones and fragments of bronze and iron. The mouth was closed by a bronze lopas.
Grave XVII: Black-glaze krater
Grave XIII: Open pyxis without lid
Grave VII: Sherds of the first half of the eighth century BC
Grave VIII: Fruit stand, skyphos fragment, fragment of a trefoil-mouth oenochoe
Grave X: Sherds of the Late Geometric style
Grave XI: Vase sherds of the late eighth century BC
Grave XVIII: It contained one cinerary amphora with bronze lopas for a lid, one iron sword, and one iron javelin tip, as well as two fragments of bronze razors.

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Comments: The Geometric graves of all phases constitute a cluster and are located on the S side of the plot.
Dates
Protogeometric period: Grave IX (end of the period)
Transition from Protogeometric to Middle Geometric period: Pyre XVII
Early Geometric period: Graves VI and XVII
Middle Geometric period: Graves VII and XIII
Late Geometric period: Graves VIII, X, XI, and XVIII (end of eighth century BC)
Relevant bibliography: Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 57–58, drawing 6, pls. 52–54α; Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 58–60, drawing 6, pls. 54β–55; Andreiomenou 1968, pp. 85–88, drawings 26–26, pl. 86; Philippaki 1968, pp. 68–69, pl. 79α; Alexandri 1969, pp. 50, drawing 14, pls. 29–30; Alexandri 1969, pp. 88, pl. 49; Threpsiadis 1971, pp. 10–38; Alexandri 1972, pp. 44, 47–49, drawings 5–6, pls. 49–53α; Alexandri 1972, pp. 53, 55, drawing 13; Alexandri 1972, pp. 55–58, drawing 14, pl. 54; Smithson 1974, pp. 336; Παντελίδου 1975, pp. 80–95; Stavropoulou 1988, pp. 28–31, pl. 17β; Tsouklidou-Penna 1988, pp. 18; Mountjoy and Hankey 1988, pp. 26; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 17, 20, 33, 36, 61, 66–67; Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75, pl. 40β–γ.

XII. 9. Dimitrakopoulou 116 & Aglavrou

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Tsouklidou-Penna 1988, p. 18.
Excavator: D. Tsouklidou-Penna
Year of excavation: 1981

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 14.95 x 11.75 m
Finds: Destroyed Late Geometric grave
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Located at the E end of the plot, at a shallow depth (2.10 m), measuring 1.60 x 0.80 m. Cut in the bedrock. In all probability it housed a cremation burial inside a cinerary vase, since the many sherds collected from the E side of the pit were mended to form a large amphora (height 0.70 m) decorated with modeled snakes on the handles and rim and with a representation of a chariot race.

Finds: Two fruit stands; remains of one indeterminate iron object and one lead vessel
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period, fourth quarter of the eighth century BC
Relevant bibliography: No data

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XII. 10. Drakou 19

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1984, pp. 18–20, pl. 30β.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1977

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 15.35 x 24.20 x 17.30 m
Finds: Twenty-three graves dating from the Submycenaean into the Late Roman period. Remains of walls of the Geometric, Archaic, Classical, and Hellenistic periods.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plot to the SW at Markou Botsari 35, where 12 Submycenaean graves have been found. One other Submycenaean burial has been found a few meters to the S, on the plot at Markou Botsari 41 & Dimitrakopoulou 47.
Comments: Part of a cemetery on either side of the road between Athens and Phaleron

Settlement Remains

1. Geometric wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Constructed of "fired bricks,"[1] measuring 0.45 x 0.20 x 0.10 m, in successive courses. Running E–W, the wall is 0.90 m thick and preserved for a length of 3.50 m. It was founded at a depth of 2.85 m and survives to the height of 11 courses. The W end was destroyed by a Classical grave.

Finds: Very few Geometric sherds and some Archaic ones were found in the fill.
Comments: The excavator does not interpret the find. However, it seems it was a retaining wall supporting a terrace.
Date: Dated by the excavator to the Geometric period

2. Archaic wall

Remains	Description
Wall	Found N of the Geometric wall and built of rubble masonry. Running in the same direction as the previous wall, it is 0.70 m thick and survives for a length of 7.40 m. Founded at a depth of 2.80 m. Its course to the W is interrupted by a Classical grave.

Finds: No data
Comments: This is probably a retaining wall that replaced the previous one of the Geometric period.
Date: Dated by the excavator to the Archaic period

Other Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean cemetery

Remains	Description
10 graves	Pit graves and cist graves cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Their measurements range from 1.65 x 0.35 x 0.20 m (Grave1) to 1.74 x 0.50 x 0.50 m (Grave 7).

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Finds: The grave goods recovered included bronze finger rings, bow fibulae and pins, gold earrings, a silver hair ring (sphekoteras), necklaces of glass/paste beads, and vases (trefoil-mouth oenochoai, small amphorae with vertical handles, stirrup jars, lekythoi).
Comments: No data
Date: Submycenaean period

2. Middle Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Grave 11 is an enchytrismos. A circular pit cut in the soft limestone bedrock (diameter 0.40 m) and covered by flat stones, it contained a cinerary pyxis with the bones of a child.

Finds: Three bronze fibulae
Comments: The earliest known example of a child burial inside a vase
Date: Middle Geometric period (MG II)
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1972, p. 71, drawing 25; Morris 1987, p. 59; Mountjoy 1995, p. 67; Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75.

Note

1 In this place there is a problem regarding the material from which the wall was constructed. In the excavation report of the plot, the wall is said to be built of fired bricks in successive courses; Alexandri 1984, p. 18. However, the use of fired bricks as a building material is not known prior to the Roman period, during which they replaced mud bricks, which were not fired and were until then widely used. Orlandos 1955–1956, fasc. 1, pp. 9–85. Orlandos 1959–1960, fasc. 2, pp. 203–207. Orlandos and Travlos 1986, s.v. οπτόπλινθον, οπτός και ωμόπλινθος. *Therefore* we think that the word οπτόπλινθος ("fired brick") is used here erroneously instead of ωμόπλινθος ("mud brick"). Consequently, in the present study, information on the construction material of the wall at Drakou 19 is used with reservation.

XII. 11. Erechtheiou 9–11

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Philippaki 1968, pp. 69, 71, drawing 13.
Excavator: V. Philippaki
Year of excavation: 1965

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Cuttings in the soft limestone bedrock, of various sizes and in irregular arrangement. "Possibly violated graves" according to the excavator.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plot to the S at Erechtheiou 15, where a Late Archaic grave was found; with the plot to the E at Renti 8, where eight Submycenaean graves were found; and the plots and trenches to the N on Erechtheiou Street (nos. 18–20, 21–23, 25, 24–26), where numerous Submycenaean and Geometric graves have come to light. See gazetteer drawing X. 4 (Erechtheiou 20).

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Comments: This plot and the plot at Renti 8 are the S limits of the cemetery that developed in the environs of the Classical South Phaleron Gate (XIII), on both sides of the road that passed through it, linking Athens and Phaleron. The Submycenaean graves indicate that use of this road had begun already in the Early Iron Age, if not earlier. (See Erechtheiou 24–26, where LH IIIA graves have been found.) Traces of this early cemetery have been revealed up to 100 m to the N, on the plot at Erechtheiou 24–26, which is to date its northernmost limit.
Relevant bibliography: Miliadis 1955, pp. 5–14, figs. 1–8; Miliadis 1957a, pp. 36–52, figs. 1–2, pl. 1–9; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 84–87, drawing 29, pls. 49β–51; Alexandri 1968, pp. 76–78, drawing 31, pl. 77; Alexandri 1968, p. 78, pl. 74β–γ; Philippaki 1968, p. 71, drawing 14, pl. 79γ M; Alexandri 1969, pp. 55–57, drawing 17, pl. 31α–ζ O; Alexandri 1979, pp. 131–132, pl. 103α–δ; Brouskari 1980, pp. 13–31, drawing 1, pls. 1–5; Spathari 1987, pp. 16–17; Tsouklidou 1990, pp. 13–14; Parlama 1995, pp. 33–37, drawing 2.

XII. 12. Erechtheiou (13–)15

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, p. 78, pl. 74β–γ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 16 x 16 m
Finds: Late Archaic grave
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

1. Archaic grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Found in the NE corner of the plot, at a depth of 1.70 m below the present road surface

Finds: The grave contained 10 black-figure lekythoi[1] (eight intact and two broken), one of them from the workshop of the Diosphos Painter.[2]
Comments: No data
Date: No data
Relevant bibliography: Miliadis 1955, pp. 5–14, figs. 1–8; Miliadis 1955, pp. 36–52, figs. 1–2, pls. 1–9; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 84–87, drawing 29, pls. 49β–51; Philippaki 1968, p. 69, 17, drawing 13; Alexandri 1968, p. 78, pl. 74β–γ; Philippaki 1968, p. 69, 17, drawing 13; Philippaki 1968, p. 71, drawing 14, pl. 79γ M; Alexandri 1969, pp. 55–57, drawing 17, pl. 31α–ζ; Alexandri 1979, pp. 131–132, pl. 103α–δ; Brouskari 1980, pp. 13–31, drawing 1, pls. 1–5; Spathari 1987, pp. 16–17; Tsouklidou 1990, pp. 13–14; Parlama 1995, pp. 33–37, drawing 2; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 61, 66; *Kerameikos* 2007, p. 247.

Notes
1 Alexandri 1968, pl. 74γ.
2 Alexandri 1968, pl. 74γ.

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XII. 13. Zacharitsa & Alopekis (present-day Zinni; E Kontopoulos property)

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Kourouniotis 1911, pp. 251–252.
Excavator: No data
Year of excavation: 1911 (?)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Basement of a house
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Four Protogeometric vases (three lekythia, one oenochoe) from a destroyed grave, which were confiscated by the state
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Alopekis Street has been renamed and is identified as present-day Zinni Street.[1] Even so, it was not possible to identify the property in question because its number is not given. For this reason the indication of mortuary activity is marked on Map XIII (Γ1) at the junction of Zacharitsa and Zinni Streets.
Kourouniotis does not date the vases, but he does illustrate them in fig. 20. With reservations due to the poor quality of the photograph, the vases are dated to the Protogeometric period.[2]
Relevant bibliography: Kalligas 2000, pp. 44–45, fig. 9.

Notes
1 Information kindly provided by Ourania Vizyinou.
2 See also Styrenius 1967, p. 88.

XII. 14. Meidani 12–14

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1966, pp. 68–60.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1963

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Three Late Geometric graves
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Three graves	Located near the SE corner of the plot, the graves were simple oblong pits opened in the bedrock and arranged parallel to one another. They contained two inhumation burials and a cremation burial inside a cinerary vase.

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Finds: Oenochoai, kantharoid skyphoi, handmade jug, thelastron, pxyis-like small kraters, and cups. Inside the cinerary vase of the cremation burial were terracotta horse figurines, a Centaur figurine, and a model of a two-horse chariot (biga) driven by a charioteer.
Comments: The find reinforces the antiquity of the ancient road linking Athens with Phaleron.
Date: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: No data

XII. 15. Markou Botsari 35

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75.
Excavator: Ch. Stoupa
Year of excavation: 1998

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 21 x 7.50 m
Finds: Cemetery with 31 burials dating from the Submycenaean period and from Classical to Roman times. Of these, 12 are dated to the Submycenaean period.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plot to the NE at Drakou 19, where 10 richly furnished Submycenaean graves have been found. Additionally, on the plot to the SE at Markou Botsari 39 and Dimitrakopoulou 50, a Mycenaean chamber tomb has been found. A short distance to the S on the plot at Markou Botsari 41 and Dimitrakopoulou 47, another Submycenaean burial has been located.
Comments: The graves mark the beginning of mortuary use of the space of the so-called Phaleric cemeteries — that is, the cemeteries that developed along either side of the road linking Athens and Phaleron and its side roads.

Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean cemetery

Remains	Description
12 graves	Three pit graves and nine cist graves. Most had been disturbed and violated, except one that housed a female inhumation with rich grave goods. This was cut in the soft limestone bedrock and lined inside with schist slabs.

Finds: Found inside the intact Submycenaean grave were one small amphora, one small conical stirrup jar, seven bronze finger rings, three bronze pins and fragments of a fourth, one bronze strip, and one bronze spiral strip. Recovered from the other graves were one small amphora, ovoid stirrup jars, one conical and one biconical stirrup jar, one lekythos, one two-handled skyphos, six bronze finger rings (intact and in fragments), fragments of one bronze pin, and two bronze earrings.
Comments: The Submycenaean graves are those closest to the ancient road, which passed a few meters to the S in the direction of Phaleron. This was a wealthy cemetery.
Date: Submycenaean period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1972, p. 71, drawing 25; Pantelidou 1975, pp. 71–77, drawing 8; Alexandri 1984, pp. 18–20, pl. 30β; Mountjoy 1995, p. 6.

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XII. 16. Markou Botsari 41 & Dimitrakopoulou 47

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1972, p 71, drawing 25.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1969

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 16.40 x 17.20 m
Finds: Indication of a Submycenaean burial inside a Mycenaean chamber tomb. An amphora was found; it was interpreted either as a grave good or as a vase that contained an infant burial (enchytrismos).
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plot to the N at Markou Botsari 35, where other Submycenaean graves have been found
Comments: Part of the same cemetery located from the Submycenaean period along the sides of the road linking Athens with Phaleron
Relevant bibliography: Pantelidou 1975, pp. 71–77, drawing 8; Mountjoy 1995, p. 67; Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75.

XII. 17. Renti 8

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Spathari 1987, pp. 16–17.
Excavator: E. Spathari
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 175 m^2
Finds: Eight Submycenaean graves
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the plot to the W at Erechtheiou 9–11, where empty pits in the soft limestone bedrock have been revealed (they were probably early graves), and with the plots and trenches to the N on Erechtheiou Street (nos. 18–20, 21–23, 25, 24–26), where numerous Submycenaean and Geometric graves have been located. See the gazetteer: XI. 4 (Erechtheiou 20).
Comments: Together with the plot at Erechtheiou 9–11, they constitute the S limit of the cemetery that developed in the environs of the Classical South Phaleron Gate XIII, on either side of the road that passed through it, linking Athens and Phaleron. The Submycenaean graves prove that use of this road began in the Early Iron Age, if not earlier (see Erechtheiou 24–26, where LH IIIA graves have been found). Traces of this early cemetery have been uncovered as far as about 100 m to the N, on the plot at Erechtheiou 24–26, which is to date its northernmost boundary. The graves on this particular plot have an unusual wealth of grave goods for the period.

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Examined Remains

1. Submycenaean cemetery

Remains	Description
Eight graves	Found in the SW of the plot. Cist graves, varying in size from 1.40 x 0.55 m to 2.20 x 0.45 x 0.40 m, cut in the soft limestone bedrock. Most were destroyed, with the exception of Grave VII.

Finds: Inside some of the graves preserved in good condition were found not only vases (small stirrup jars and lekythoi) but also jewelry (bronze finger rings and lentoid beads of steatite). In Grave VII there were two large pins, two bow fibulae, and two finger rings, all of bronze, as well as one silver ring and four iron rings.
Comments: No data
Date: Submycenaean period
Relevant bibliography: Miliadis 1955, pp. 5–14, figs. 1–8; Miliadis 1955, pp. 36–52, figs. 1–2, pls. 1–9; Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 84–87, drawing 29, pls. 49β–51; Alexandri 1968, pp. 76–78, drawing 31, pl. 77; Alexandri 1968, p. 78, pl. 74β–γ; Philippaki 1968, p. 69, 17, drawing 13; Philippaki 1968, p. 71, drawing 14, pl. 79γ M; Alexandri 1969, pp. 55–57, drawing 17, pl. 31α–ζ; Alexandri 1979, pp. 131–132, pl. 103α–δ; Brouskari 1980, pp. 13–31, drawing 1, pls. 1–5; Tsouklidou 1990, pp. 13–14; Parlama 1995, pp. 33–37, drawing 2; Mountjoy 1995, pp. 61, 67; Stoupa 2004, pp. 73–75.

XII. 18. Petmezas shaft

Submycenaean Protogeometric and Geometric Archaic Classical

Bibliography: Lygouri-Tolia 2009, pp. 81–83, figs. 14–15.
Excavator: E. Lygouri-Tolia
Years of excavation: 1996–1997

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench of a shaft for the Athens Metro
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 515 m^2
Finds: Part of the cemetery that had developed on the S side of the road linking Athens and Phaleron. Sixty-four graves were found. They date from the Archaic to the Early Christian period, with a hiatus in the Hellenistic period, from which there is not one grave.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Archaic grave

Remains	Description
Four graves	Cutting for a pyre and three pit graves, found in the NW part of the plot

Finds: Pottery of the late sixth/early fifth century BC, with works by great vase painters
Comments: No data
Date: Late sixth/early fifth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Lygouri-Tolia 2000, pp. 119–122.

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Area XIII
Theseion

XIII. 1. Aktaiou – Eptachalkou – Ephestion

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Lygouri-Tolia 1990, pp. 25–27.
Excavator: E. Lygouri-Tolia
Year of excavation: 1985

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 2,500 m^2
Finds: Fragments of obsidian blades in the SW part of the plot, two Geometric burials in the NW corner, one cistern with a Hellenistic well to the SE of the graves, and one Roman pottery kiln on the W side of the plot
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Middle Geometric burials

Remains	Description
Grave 1	Cremation burial. Pit grave cut in the soft limestone bedrock, measuring 1.60 x 0.60 m and oriented NW–SE. Nine Geometric vases were found inside the burial pit, along with a few disintegrated bones and pieces of gold jewelry.
Grave 2	Cremation burial. Found S of Grave 1. Small irregular pit in the soft limestone bedrock, measuring 1.00 x 1.40 m. It contained four Geometric vases.

Finds
Grave 1: Large cinerary belly amphora, two smaller amphorae, five skyphoi, and a kantharos. Inside the belly amphora were very few disintegrated bones, one gold band-diadem with impressed decoration, and two gold finger rings. The alloy of the three gold objects has a high silver content.
Grave 2: Cinerary amphora with earth and traces of ash inside, trefoil-mouth oenochoe, amphora, and skyphos
Comments: Both burials were found in the NW corner of the plot, a short distance from the junction of Ephestion and Eptachalkou Streets.
Date: Middle Geometric period (ca. 800 BC from the vases)
Relevant bibliography: Chatzipanagiotou-Panagou 2006, pp. 59–94, pls. 1–7.

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XIII. 2. Aktaiou & Nileos

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 36–38, drawings 3–4, pl. 23; Lygouri–Tolia 1999, pp. 39–40.
Excavators: 1967: O. Alexandri; 1993: E. Lygouri–Tolia
Years of excavation: 1967, 1993

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot and trench for a drain
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 19.50 x 24.20 m and trench along Aktaiou Street, between Irakleidon and Nileos Streets
Finds: Late Geometric burial and Geometric vases from the fill of the plot, Archaic funerary vases, and remains of Classical houses
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Geometric phase of the use of the space as a cemetery, the plot is examined together with the neighboring plots at Igiou 2 and Aktaiou 24.
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Infant burial inside a large vase, possibly a krater (enchytrismos). Found inside a trench at the junction of Aktaiou and Nileos Streets, at a depth of 1.65 m. The burial vase had been placed with the mouth to the NW.

Finds: Open vase of the same period as the burial vases, which had been used as a lid, two pyxides, one one-handled cup, and very few bones
Comments: It is possible that a Subgeometric juglet found in the plot at Aktaiou and Nileos is associated with a destroyed nearby grave, part of the same Geometric mortuary space.
Date: The excavator does not specify to which phase of the Geometric period the grave dates. In the present study it is considered, with reservation, as Late Geometric, because of the existence of other Late Geometric graves in the neighboring plot at Aktaiou 24.

2. Archaic burial

Remains	Description
Funerary vase	Black-figure amphora, height 0.50 m, with depiction of a horseman

Finds: No data
Comments: According to Alexandri, this is “clear evidence of the mortuary use of the space.”
Date: Mid-sixth century BC
Relevant bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 44–47, drawings 2–4; Alexandri 1969, pp. 58–60, drawing 20, pl. 32α; Tsouklidou–Penna 1988, pp. 19–20.

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XIII. 3. Aktaiou 24

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Tsouklidou-Penna 1988, pp. 19–20.
Excavator: D. Tsouklidou-Penna
Year of excavation: 1981

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 9.40 x 15.60 m
Finds: Three Late Geometric graves; a building of the mid-fifth century BC, possibly a workshop; a conduit of the first quarter of the fifth century BC, destroyed by the workshop, and one of the third century BC, which was in use until at least the first century BC, when it was repaired.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the neighboring plots at Nileos 32 and Igiou 3, where the pottery found is perhaps related to mortuary activity in the Late Geometric period
Comments: It is part of the extensive Geometric cemetery to the S of the road leading from the hill and through Gate II in the direction of the Piraeus, whose graves have been located in Erysichthonos, Aktaiou, Igiou and Nileos Streets.

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Three graves	Found all together at the NE edge of the plot. Rectangular pits cut in the ground and in the soft limestone bedrock, they had been violated in Classical times. The first grave, measuring 2.30 x 1.00 x 1.28 m, was oriented N–S. The second had the same orientation but was only partly revealed. One of its schist covering slabs was also found. The third grave was oriented NE–SW. Halfway up the height of its long sides is a ledge.

Finds: Two vases, one bronze oenochoe, and one clay fruit stand of the late eighth century BC were recovered from the first grave. Geometric sherds were found in the fill and the two other graves; in the third grave they were mixed with Classical sherds.
Comments: No data
Date: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 44–47, drawings 2–4; Alexandri 1969, pp. 36–38, drawings 3–4, pl. 23; Alexandri 1969, pp. 58–60, drawing 20, pl. 32α; Lygouri-Tolia 1998, pp. 39–40.

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XIII. 4. Amphiktyonos 8

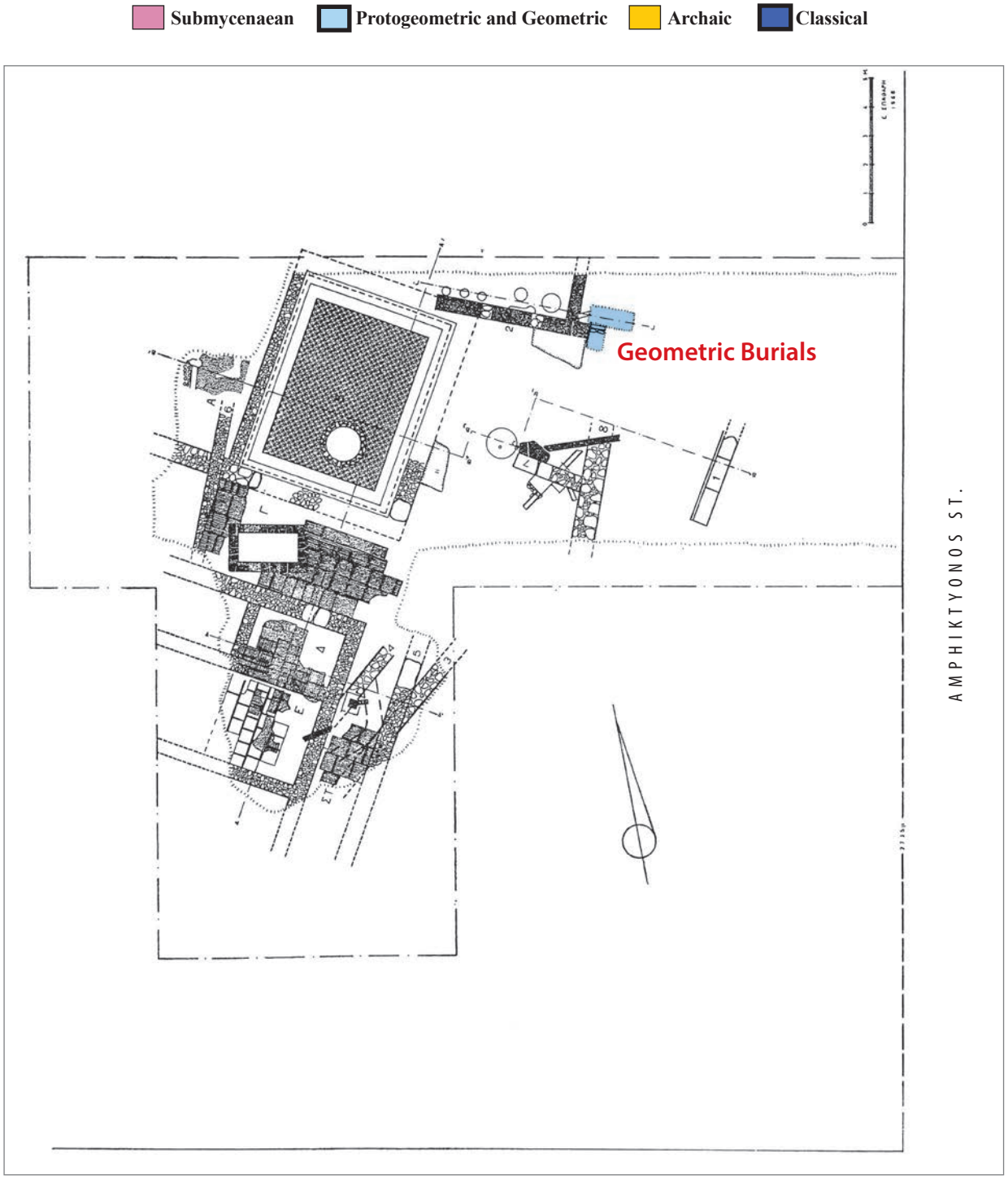

Figure 73. Athens, Theseion. Plan of Amphiktyonos 8 plot. Alexandri 1968, p. 50, drawing 10. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 49–51, drawings 10–11, pl. 70.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

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General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 11.30 x 30 m
Finds: Two Protogeometric graves, Classical wall, Hellenistic building, and Roman house with traces of alterations in Late Roman times
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Mortuary activity in Geometric times is evident also in the neighboring plot to the S at Poulopoulou 10.

Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric graves

Remains	Description
Grave I	Found near the N party wall of the plot. A pit cut in the soft limestone bedrock, measuring 1.00 x 1.80 x 1.00 m and containing the bones of one individual. No covering preserved.
Grave II	Found near the previous grave, also cut in the bedrock. Measuring 0.80 x 1.50 x 1.10 m, it housed a child burial. No covering preserved.

Finds
Grave I: No data
Grave II: Two one-handled cups with conical bases, one horse figurine on wheels (toy)
Comments: Inhumation burials, deviating from the custom of cremation
Date: Protogeometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1968, p. 110, pl. 96α; Desborough 1995 [1972], p. 165.

XIII. 5. Vasilis 18–20

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Spathari 1987, pp. 26–27.
Excavator: E. Spathari
Year of excavation: 1979

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 24 x 13 m
Finds: Archaic open-air shrine-heroon of the late sixth century BC, Late Classical house of the early fourth century BC, Hellenistic house of the second century BC
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Use of the space from Geometric to Byzantine times (as deduced from pottery recovered in the stratigraphical study)
Relevant bibliography: No data

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XIII. 6. Dimophontos 5

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1970, pp. 37–40.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1968

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Late Geometric grave, Late Roman pottery workshop
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Late Roman phase, the plot is examined together with that at Poulopoulou 45–47, in which the continuation of the remains is located.
Comments: No data

Examined Remains

1. Late Geometric grave

Remains	Description
One grave	Destroyed grave. A cinerary amphora was found after the dismantling of the Late Roman buildings in the NE corner of the plot, at a depth of 1.80 m below the present ground surface.

Finds: Cinerary amphora in fragments and one plate
Comments: The Late Geometric grave is associated with the existence of a nearby ancient road linking Athens with the Piraeus.
Date: Late Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1970, pp. 65–68.

XIII. 7. Erysichthonos 23

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Zachariadou 1989, p. 11.
Excavator: O. Zachariadou
Year of excavation: 1984

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 15.30 x 8.65 m
Finds: Classical and Late Classical buildings, a well and a cistern
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the plot to the S at Erysichthonos 27, where an ancient road, two Protogeometric graves, and part of a tower of the Themistoclean fortification had been found in 1983, as well as with the corner plot at Erysichthonos and Nileos, where the continuation of the road, the fortification wall, and the Geometric cemetery had been found in 1966. A pronounced presence of Geometric sherds in the fill.
Comments: According to the excavator, the abundant Geometric pottery in the fill "attests perhaps an earlier use of the space, which, however, was not confirmed by the excavation." However, it is confirmed indirectly by the presence of the two Protogeometric graves in the plot at Erysichthonos 27 and by the Protogeometric jug found in the plot at Erysichthonos and Nileos.
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 79–31, drawings 34–36, pls. 78–81; Alexandri 1969, pp. 57–58; Tsouklidou-Penna 1989b, p. 19, drawing 2; Chatzipouliou 1997, p. 30.

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XIII. 8. Erysichthonos 27

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Tsouklidou-Penna 1989b, p. 19, drawing 2.
Excavator: D. Tsouklidou-Penna
Year of excavation: 1983

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 162 m^2
Finds: Part of a ring road of the interior of the fortification wall. Two Protogeometric graves, Classical and Late Classical buildings, one well, and one cistern.
Relation to adjacent areas: Examined together with the adjacent plot to the S at Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos 38, where a Protogeometric jug was found.

Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric graves

Remains	Description
Two graves	Found in the SW corner of the plot at a depth of 2.35 m below the present ground surface. Pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock, covered by flat stones.

Finds: Two lekythoi and one juglet, all dated to the Protogeometric period
Comments: Inhumation burials, deviating from the custom of cremation.
Date: Protogeometric period

2. Ancient road

Remains	Description
Road	Width 1.20 m. Five road surfaces were found. Intersects the plot obliquely, running SE–NW, and slopes steeply from S to N.

Finds: No data
Comments: This is the continuation of the road located in the corner plot at Erysichthonos and Nileos Streets.
Date: Not dated by the excavator. Geometric graves were found under its surface.
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 79–31, drawings 34–36, pls. 78–81; Alexandri 1969, pp. 57–58; Zachariadou 1989, p. 11; Chatzipouliou 1997, p. 30.

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XIII. 9. Erysichthonos 29 & Nileos 38

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

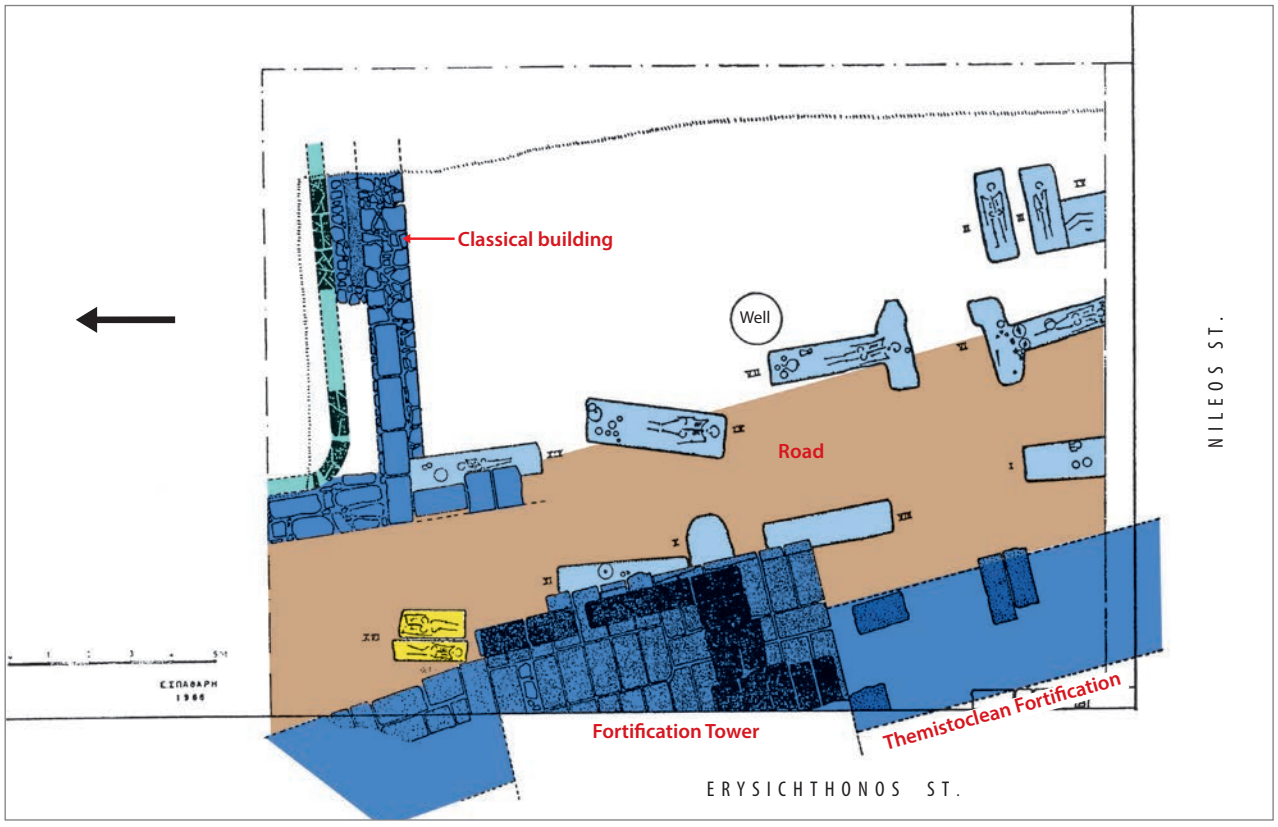

Figure 74. Athens, Theseion. Plan of Erysichthonos 29 and Nileos 38 plot. Alexandri 1968, p. 79, drawing 34. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 79–83, drawings 34–36, pls. 78–81.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 20.50 x 15.20 m
Finds: Late Geometric cemetery, Archaic grave, part of the Classical city wall that passes over the Late Geometric cemetery and its fortification tower, road, part of a Classical building, well.[1] The fill of the plot yielded a large number of Geometric sherds, one Protogeometric jug, two Panathenaic amphorae and a third in fragments, 12 stamped amphora handles, and numerous loom-weights.
Relation to adjacent areas: In 1967 the surface of the street in front of the sides of the plot was investigated and the other half of the tower was uncovered. The plot is examined together with the adjacent plot at Erysichthonos 27 and the trench for a drain in Nileos Street. In the first plot, the continuation of the ancient inner ring road and the continuation of the Geometric cemetery were found in 1983, along with Classical and Late Classical buildings, a well and a cistern. In the second, a Late Geometric pyre was found outside the property at no. 38 in 1992.
Comments: The Geometric phase of use of the space is detected farther N, but only through pottery, in the plot at Erysichthonos 23.

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Examined Remains

1. Protogeometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	A Protogeometric jug found in the vicinity of Grave VIII is possibly from a destroyed grave.

Finds: No data
Comments: The finding of the Protogeometric vase on the site of the later Late Geometric cemetery indicates that mortuary use of the wider space dates to before the eight century BC. This hypothesis is confirmed by the presence of a Protogeometric grave in the adjacent plot to the N at Erysichthonos 27.
Date: Protogeometric period

2. Late Geometric cemetery

Remains	Description
11 graves	Pits cut in the soft limestone bedrock. The measurements ranged, approximately, from 2.10 x 0.85 m (Grave II) to 3.20 x 1.00 x 0.80 m (Grave IX). Found inside two graves were large pieces of carbonized wood. Only four of the 11 graves were undisturbed, whereas the other seven had been destroyed or violated. No covering slabs survived.

Finds: The undisturbed graves yielded a large number of vases (large amphorae, but not used as cinerary vases; oenochoai; skyphoi; pyxides; small kalathos); gold jewelry; gold funerary bands-diadems, mainly with impressed or repoussé decoration; and solid hair rings (sphekoterai).
Comments: The fortification wall and part of its inner ring road pass over the graves.
Date: Late Geometric period

3. Archaic burial

Remains	Description
Grave	This is Grave XVI. Found in the NW corner of the plot and almost abutting the fortification wall. It contained two dead.

Finds: Archaic small kalathos from inside the grave
Comments: Part of an Archaic marble Sphinx/tomb marker from a destroyed grave was found near Geometric Grave X.
Date: Archaic period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 57–58; Zachariadou 1989, p. 11; Tsouklidou–Penna 1989b, p. 19, drawing 2; Chatzipouliou 1997, p. 30.

Note

1 It is marked on drawing 34 but is not mentioned in the excavation report.

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XIII. 10. Igiou 3

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Alexandri 1969, pp. 58–60, drawing 20, pl. 32α.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1963

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 15 x 9 m
Finds: Corner of a Hellenistic building and part of a floor with fine tesserae. The fill yielded pottery dating from Geometric to Roman times, one unpainted lamp of the third century BC, and one bronze coin of the third or second century BC.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Geometric phase of use of the space, from the pottery recovered it is related possibly to the archaeological sites at Erysichthonos, Nileos, and Aktaiou Streets, where Geometric graves have been found.
Comments: The numbering of the plot given in *ArchDelt* is erroneous. Igiou is a small street delimited by the perpendicular streets Aktaiou and Karydi, and its numbering begins from 1 and ends at 9 on the left pavement. Consequently, this is the plot at Igiou no. 3 and not no. 30.
Relevant bibliography: Lygouri-Tolia 1998, pp. 39–40; Tsouklidou-Penna 1988, pp. 19–20.

XIII. 11. Nileos 38 & Erysichthonos 29

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Chatzipouliou 1997, p. 30.
Excavator: E. Chatzipouliou
Year of excavation: 1992

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Trench for a drain
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: Width 0.60 m; between Aktaiou and Erysichthonos Streets
Finds: A Late Geometric pyre with six vases was found at the corner of Nileos 38 and Erysichthonos, at a depth of 1.45–1.62 m.
Relation to adjacent areas: Regarding the Geometric cemetery, the plot is examined together with the corner plot at Erysichthonos 29 & Nileos 38, where part of a Geometric cemetery has been located, as well as with the neighboring plots to the N at Erysichthonos 27 and Erysichthonos 27 and Nileos 32–34.
Comments: The number 32 given to the corner plot at Nileos and Erysichthonos is erroneous. This is Nileos 38 and Erysichthonos. Also wrong is the numbering of the plot referred to in note 14 — it is actually the plot at Nileos 32–34, not 32–38.
Relevant bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 44–47, drawings 2–4; Alexandri 1968, pp. 79–83, drawings 34–36, pls. 78–81; Alexandri 1969, pp. 57–58; Zachariadou 1989, pp. 11; Tsouklidou-Penna 1989b, p. 19, drawing 2; Chatzipouliou 1997, p. 30.

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XIII. 12. Nileos 32–34

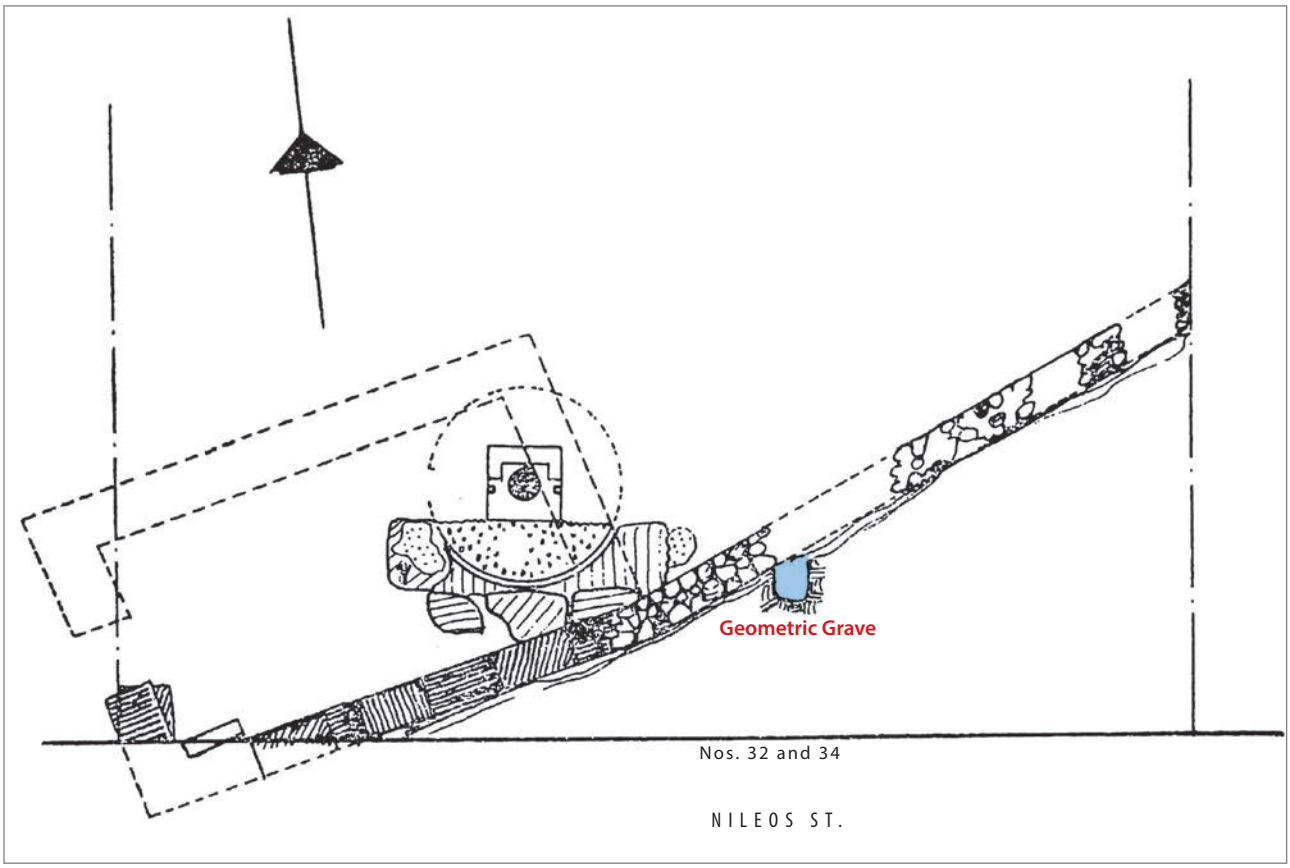

Figure 75. Athens, Theseion. Plan of Nileos 32–34 plot. Stavropoullos 1967, p. 44, drawing 2. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

Bibliography: Stavropoullos 1967, pp. 44–47, drawings 2–4.
Excavator: Ph. Stavropoullos
Year of excavation: 1964 (?)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: No data
Finds: Middle Geometric grave, indeterminate building of the Classical or Hellenistic period, building of the Hellenistic or Roman period, Roman grave
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data

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Examined Remains

1. Middle Geometric burial

Remains	Description
One grave	Found near the line of building facades in Nileos Street, in about the middle of the street. Partly destroyed by an overlying Roman wall in its N part. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock, it contained remnants of bones. The grave was covered by schist slabs.

Finds: Pyxis with figurines of little horses on the lid
Comments: No data
Date: Middle Geometric period (?)
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 79–31, drawings 34–36, pls. 78–81; Alexandri 1969, pp. 57–58; Alexandri 1969, pp. 58–60, drawing 20, pl. 32α; Tsouklidou-Penna 1989b, p. 19, drawing 2; Zachariadou 1989, p. 11; Chatzipouliou 1997, p. 30.

XIII. 13. Poulopoulou 10

Submycenaean **Protogeometric and Geometric** **Archaic** **Classical**

Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, p. 110, pl. 96α.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 9 x 16 m
Finds: Two Protogeometric vases, part of a Hellenistic wall, corner of a Roman building, Late Roman cistern
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: Geometric graves have been found in the neighboring plot to the N at Amphiktyonos 8 and farther W at Poulopoulou 20.

Examined Remains

1. Remains of a Protogeometric grave

Remains	Description
Grave	Obviously destroyed. Only two vases from it survived.

Finds: One oenochoe decorated with concentric semicircles and one lekythos
Comments: The vases were found near the SE party wall.
Date: Protogeometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 49–51, drawings 10–11, pl. 70; Alexandri 1968, pp. 110–112, drawing 55, pl. 96β–δ.

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XIII. 14. Poulopoulou 20

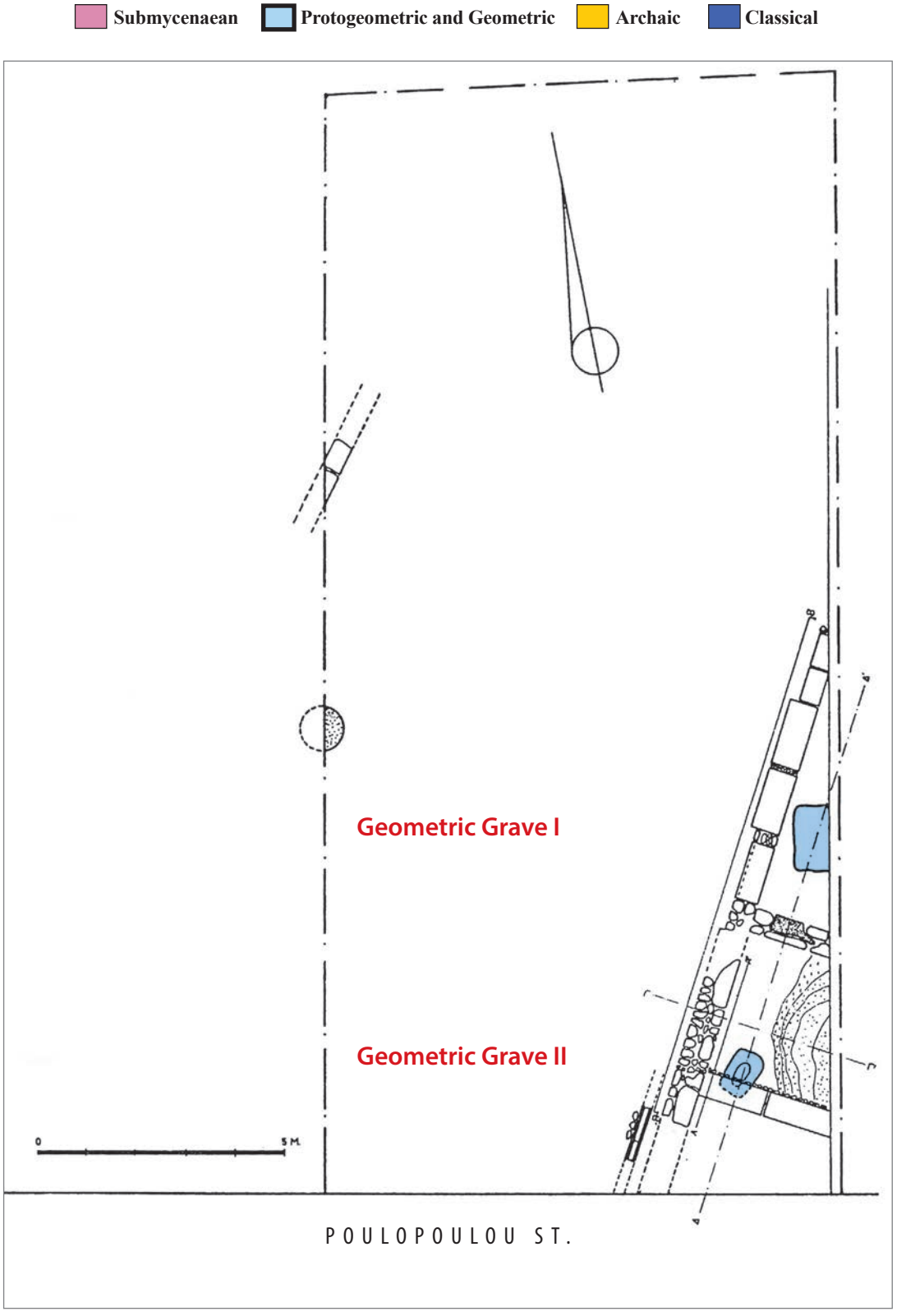

Figure 76. Athens, Theseion. Plan of Poulopoulou 20 plot. Alexandri 1968, p. 111, drawing 55. Ephorate of Antiquities of the City of Athens. Copyright © Hellenic Ministry of Culture and Sports/Archaeological Receipts Fund.

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Bibliography: Alexandri 1968, pp. 110–112, drawing 55, pl. 96β–δ.
Excavator: O. Alexandri
Year of excavation: 1966

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 10.50 x 17 m
Finds: Two Early Geometric burials; part of a Hellenistic house, conduit, well, wall
Relation to adjacent plots: No data
Comments: Geometric burials have also been found farther W, at Poulopoulou 10.

Examined Remains

1. Early Geometric graves

Remains	Description
Grave I	Found under the floor of the middle room of the Hellenistic house and specifically under its S wall. Disturbed. A pit cut in the soft limestone bedrock, measuring 0.95 x 0.60 x 0.65 m.
Grave II	Found under the floor of the northernmost room of the Hellenistic house. Cut in the soft limestone bedrock and measuring 1.35 x 0.75 x 0.60 m, it had rich grave goods.

Finds
Grave I: A few Early Geometric sherds
Grave II: Pyxis, intact oenochoe, two kalathoi (one of them intact), thelastron, necklace of 183 intact faience beads, terracotta disk-shaped pendant, nine terracotta beads with incised decoration, one bronze fibula, one iron fibula, one bronze finger ring
Comments: It is deduced from the kind of grave goods that Grave II housed a female and not a child, as Coldstream proposed, presumably because of the presence of the thelastron among them.[1]
Date: Early Geometric period
Relevant bibliography: Alexandri 1968, p. 110, pl. 96α; Smithson 1974, p. 347; Coldstream 1977, p. 42; Kalligas 2000, p. 48.

Note
1 Coldstream 1977, p. 42.

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XIII. 15. Poulopoulou 29

Submycenaean | Protogeometric and Geometric | Archaic | Classical

Bibliography: Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou 1985, pp. 10–12, drawing 1, pl. 11α.
Excavator: Th. Karagiorga-Stathakopoulou
Year of excavation: 1978 (?)

General Information on the Archaeological Site

Type of archaeological site: Building plot
Dimensions of plot/area of excavation: 160 m^2
Finds: Remains indicating use of the space from Geometric into Late Roman times. In the S part of the plot, a small folk shrine of the Late Archaic period (end of sixth/beginning of fifth century BC). It was destroyed in 480 BC, during the Persian invasion of Athens, and was bedded on a layer of manmade fill consisting of rejects from an abandoned coroplastic workshop in the environs. Found in the rest of the space were scant remains of foundations of indeterminate buildings, a fourth-century BC conduit of elliptical cross-section, and a destruction level with abundant burned pottery of the Late Roman period.
Relation to adjacent areas: No data
Comments: No data
Relevant bibliography: No data

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All English translations are from Loeb Classical Library editions, unless stated otherwise.

ΑΙΛΙΑΝΟΣ
Ποικίλη Ἱστορία
(13. 12) Μέτων ὁ ἀστρονόμος, μελλόντων ἐπὶ τὴν Σικελίαν πλεῖν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἤδη, καὶ αὐτὸς εἷς ἦν τοῦ καταλόγου. σαφῶς δὲ ἐπιστάμενος τὰς μελλούσας τύχας τὸν πλοῦν ἐφυλάττετο, δεδιὼς καὶ σπεύδων τῆς ἐξόδου ἑαυτὸν ῥύσασθαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν ἔπραττεν, ὑπεκρίνατο μανίαν· καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα ἔδρασε πιστώσασθαι τὴν τῆς νόσου δόξαν βουλόμενος, ἐν δὲ τοῖς καὶ τὴν συνοικίαν τὴν αὐτοῦ κατέπρησεν· ἐγειτνία δὲ αὕτη τῇ Ποικίλῃ. καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἀφῆκαν αὐτὸν οἱ ἄρχοντες. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ ὁ Μέτων ἄμεινον ὑποκρίνασθαι τὴν μανίαν τοῦ Ὀδυσσέως τοῦ Ἰθακησίου· ἐκεῖνον μὲν γὰρ ὁ Παλαμήδης κατεφώρασε, τοῦτον δὲ Ἀθηναίων οὐδείς.

Aelian
Historical Miscellany
Translation N. G. Wilson, 1997
When the Athenians were on the point of sailing to Sicily, the astronomer Meton was one of those enlisted. Knowing full well what was going to happen he was wary of making the voyage. Though afraid and making efforts to save himself from the expedition, he had no success, so he pretended to be mad. He did a great deal in his attempts to strengthen the impression that he was ill, and among other things burned down his own apartment house. This was near the Stoa Poikile. As a result, the archons released him. In my opinion, Meton feigned madness better than Odysseus of Ithaca; the latter was detected by Palamedes, but no Athenian detected Meton.

ΑΙΣΧΥΛΟΣ
Πέρσαι
(809–812) Οἳ γῆν μολόντες Ἑλλάδ’ οὐ θεῶν βρέτη ἠδοῦντο συλᾶν οὐδὲ πιμπράναι νεώς· βωμοὶ δ’ ἀιστοι, δαιμόνων θ’ ἱδρύματα πρόρριζα φύρδην ἐξανίσταται βάθρων.

Aeschylus
Persians
Translation A. H. Sommerstein, 2008
When they came to the land of Greece, they did not scruple to plunder the images of the gods and set fire to temples: altars have vanished, and the abodes of deities have been ruined, uprooted, wrenched from their foundations.

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ΑΝΔΟΚΙΔΗΣ
Περὶ τῶν μυστηρίων
(108–109) Τοιγάρτοι διὰ ταῦτα, τὴν πόλιν ἀνάστατον παραλαβόντες ἱερά τε κατακεκαυμένα τείχη τε καὶ οἰκίας καταπεπτωκυίας, ἀφορμήν τε οὐδεμίαν ἔχοντες, διὰ τὸ ἀλλήλοις ὁμονοεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων κατηργάσαντο καὶ τὴν πόλιν ὑμῖν τοιαύτην καὶ τοσαύτην παρέδοσαν.

Andocides
On the Mysteries
Translation K. J. Maidment, 1960
And that is how men who found their city a waste, her temples burnt to the ground, and her walls and houses in ruins, men who were utterly without resources, brought Greece under their sway and handed on to you the glorious and mighty Athens of to-day — by living in unity.

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΣ
Βιβλιοθήκη
(3. 15. 8) … ἦν γὰρ ἀρχιτέκτων ἄριστος καὶ πρῶτος ἀγαλμάτων εὑρετής. οὗτος ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν ἔφυγεν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως βαλὼν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς [Πέρδικος] υἱὸν Τάλω, μαθητὴν ὄντα, δείσας μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐφυΐαν αὐτὸν ὑπερβάλῃ·

Apollodorus
The Library
Translation J. G. Frazer, 1931
... for he was an excellent architect and the first inventor of images. He had fled from Athens, because he had thrown down from the acropolis Talos, the son of his sister Perdix; for Talos was his pupil, and Daedalus feared that with his talents he might surpass himself.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ
Πολιτικὰ

Aristotle
Politics
Translation H. Rackham, 1959
(7. 1330a 40) … (αἵ τε γὰρ πρὸς ἕω τὴν ἔγκλισιν ἔχουσαι καὶ πρὸς τὰ πνεύματα τὰ πνέοντα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὑγιεινότεραι, δεύτερον δὲ κατὰ βορέαν, εὐχείμεροι γὰρ αὗται μᾶλλον)·

(for cities whose site slopes east or towards the breezes that blow from the sunrise are more healthy, and in the second degree those that face away from the north wind, for those are milder in winter);

(7. 1330b 5–10) … ὑδάτων τε καὶ ναμάτων μάλιστα μὲν ὑπάρχειν πλῆθος οἰκεῖον, εἰ δὲ μή, τοῦτό γ' εὕρηται διὰ τοῦ κατασκευάζειν ὑποδοχὰς ὀμβρίοις ὕδασιν ἀφθόνους καὶ μεγάλας, ὥστε μηδέποτε ὑπολείπειν εἰργομένους τῆς χώρας διὰ πόλεμον· ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ περὶ ὑγιείας φροντίζειν τῶν ἐνοικούντων, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ κεῖσθαι τὸν τόπον ἔν τε τοιούτῳ καὶ πρὸς τοιοῦτον καλῶς, δεύτερον δὲ ὕδασιν ὑγιεινοῖς χρῆσθαι, καὶ τούτου τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχειν μὴ παρέργως.

… and it must possess if possible a plentiful natural supply of pools and springs, but failing this, a mode has been invented of supplying water by means of constructing an abundance of large reservoirs for rain-water, so that a supply may never fail the citizens when they are debarred from their territory by war. And since we have to consider the health of the inhabitants, and this depends upon the place being well situated both on healthy ground and with a healthy aspect, and secondly upon using wholesome water-supplies, the following matter also must be attended to as of primary importance.

(7. 1330b 15) … διόπερ ἐν ταῖς εὖ φρονούσαις δεῖ διωρίσθαι πόλεσιν, ἐὰν μὴ πάνθ' ὅμοια μηδ' ἀφθονία τοιούτων ᾖ ναμάτων, χωρὶς τά τε εἰς τροφὴν ὕδατα καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἄλλην χρείαν.

Hence in wise cities if all the sources of water are not equally pure and there is not an abundance of suitable springs, the water-supplies for drinking must be kept separate from those for other requirements.

(7. 1330b 20–30) … ἡ δὲ τῶν ἰδίων οἰκήσεων διάθεσις ἡδίων μὲν νομίζεται καὶ χρησιμωτέρα πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας πράξεις ἂν εὔτομος ᾖ καὶ κατὰ τὸν νεώτερον καὶ τον Ἱπποδάμειον τρόπον, πρὸς δὲ τὰς πολεμικὰς ἀσφαλείας τοὐναντίον ὡς εἶχον κατὰ τὸν ἀρχαῖον χρόνον· δυσείσοδος γὰρ ἐκείνη τοῖς ξενικοῖς καὶ δυσεξερεύνητος τοῖς ἐπιτιθεμένοις. διὸ δεῖ τούτων ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν (ἐνδέχεται γὰρ, ἄν τις οὕτως κατασκευάζῃ καθάπερ ἐν τοῖς γεωργίοις ἃς καλοῦσί τινες τῶν ἀμπέλων συστάδας), καὶ τὴν μὲν ὅλην μὴ ποιεῖν πόλιν εὔτομον, κατὰ μέρη δὲ καὶ τόπους· οὕτω γὰρ καὶ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ πρὸς κόσμον ἕξει καλῶς.

The arrangement of the private dwellings is thought to be more agreeable and more convenient for general purposes if they are laid out in straight streets, after

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the modern fashion, that is, the one introduced by Hippodamus; but it is more suitable for security in war if it is on the contrary plan, as cities used to be in ancient times; for that arrangement is difficult for foreign troops to enter and to find their way about in when attacking. Hence it is well to combine the advantages of both plans (for this is possible if the houses are laid out in the way which among the farmers some people call "on the slant" in the case of vines), and not to lay out the whole city in straight streets, but only certain parts and districts, for in this way it will combine security with beauty.

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ
Ἀθηναίων πολιτεία

Aristotle
Athenian constitution
Translation H. Rackham, 1952
(1. 1)…[κατηγοροῦντος] Μύρωνος, καθ' ἱερῶν ὀμόσαντες, ἀριστίνδην. καταγνωσθέντος δὲ τοῦ ἄγους, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τάφων ἐξεβλήθησαν, τὸ δὲ γένος αὐτῶν ἔφυγεν ἀειφυγίαν. Ἐπιμενίδης δ' ὁ Κρὴς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐκάθηρε τὴν πόλιν.

[The Alcmaeonids were tried, on the prosecution] of Myron, [by jurymen] solemnly sworn in, selected according to noble birth. The charge of sacrilege having been confirmed by the verdict, the bodies of the guilty men themselves were cast out of their tombs, and their family was sentenced to everlasting banishment. Thereupon Epimenides of Crete purified the city.

(14. 1–2) … λαβὼν δὲ τοὺς κορυνηφόρους καλουμένους, ἐπαναστὰς μετὰ τούτων τῷ δήμῳ, κατέσχε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔτει δευτέρῳ καὶ τριακοστῷ μετὰ τὴν τῶν νόμων θέσιν, ἐπὶ Κωμέου ἄρχοντος.

He was given the retainers called Club-bearers, and with their aid he rose against the people and seized the Acropolis, in the thirty-second year after the enactment of his laws, in the archonship of Comeas.

(15. 4) … ἐξοπλασίαν ἐν τῷ Θησείῳ ποιησάμενος ἐκκλησιάζειν ἐπεχείρει, τῆς δε φωνῆς ἐχάλασεν μικρόν, οὐ φασκόντων δὲ κατακούειν, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτοὺς προσαναβῆναι πρὸς τὸ πρόπυλον τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, ἵνα γεγώνῃ μᾶλλον, ἐν ᾧ δ' ἐκεῖνος διέτριβε δημηγορῶν, ἀνελόντες οἱ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τεταγμένοι τὰ ὅπλα, καὶ κατακλήσαντες εἰς τὰ πλησίον οἰκήματα τοῦ Θησείου …

… he held an armed muster at the Temple of Theseus, and began to hold an Assembly, but he lowered his voice a little, and when they said they could not hear him, he told them to come up to the forecourt of the Acropolis, in order that his voice might carry better; and while he used up time in making a speech, the men told off for this purpose gathered up the arms, locked them up in the neighbouring buildings of the temple of Theseus …

(19. 5–6) … Κλεομένην ἐξέπεμψαν τὸν βασιλέα στόλον ἔχοντα μείζω κατὰ γῆν, ὃς ἐπεὶ τοὺς τῶν Θετταλῶν ἱππεῖς ἐνίκησεν, κωλύοντας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀττικὴν παριέναι, κατακλείσας τὸν Ἱππίαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Πελαργικὸν τεῖχος, ἐπολιόρκει μετὰ τῶν Ἀθηναίων. προσκαθημένου δ' αὐτοῦ συνέπεσεν ὑπεξιόντας ἁλῶναι τοὺς τῶν Πεισιστρατιδῶν υἱεῖς· ὧν ληφθέντων ὁμολογίαν ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παίδων σωτηρίᾳ ποιησάμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἑαυτῶν ἐν πένθ' ἡμέραις ἐκκομισάμενοι, παρέδωκαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις …

… they dispatched their king Cleomenes by land with a larger army; he won a victory over the Thessalian cavalry who tried to prevent his reaching Attica, and so shut up Hippias in the fortress called the Pelargicum and began to lay siege to it with the aid of the Athenians. While he was sitting down against it, it occurred that the sons of the Peisistratidae were caught when trying secretly to get away; and these being taken they came to terms on the condition of the boys' safety, and conveyed away their belongings in five days, surrendering the Acropolis to the Athenians;

(20. 3) … οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Κλεομένην καὶ Ἰσαγόραν κατέφυγον εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὁ δὲ δῆμος δύο μὲν ἡμέρας προσκαθεζόμενος ἐπολιόρκει, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ …

…so the forces of Cleomenes and Isagoras took refuge in the Acropolis, and the people invested it and laid siege to it for two days. On the third day …

(50. 2) … καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς κωλύουσι κατοικοδομεῖν καὶ δρυφάκτους ὑπὲρ τῶν ὁδῶν ὑπερτείνειν καὶ ὀχετοὺς μετεώρους εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἔκρουν ἔχοντας ποιεῖν, καὶ τὰς θυρίδας εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνοίγειν·

… and they prevent the construction of buildings encroaching on and balconies overhanging the roads, of overhead conduits with an overflow into the road, and of windows opening outward on to the road;

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ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ
Οἰκονομικὰ
(2. 2. 4) Ἱππίας [ὁ] Ἀθηναῖος τὰ ὑπερέχοντα τῶν ὑπερῴων εἰς τὰς δημοσίας ὁδοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἀναβαθμοὺς καὶ τὰ προφράγματα καὶ τὰς θύρας τὰς ἀνοιγομένας ἔξω ἐπώλησεν·

Aristotle
Oeconomica
Translation H. Tredennick, 1958
Hippias of Athens offered for sale upper stories that projected over the public streets, together with flights of steps, railings, and doors that opened outwards.

CICERO
Ad Familiares
(IV. 12. 3) Ab Atheniensibus, locum sepulturae intra urbem ut darent, impetrare non potui, quod religione se impediri dicerent; neque tamen id antea euiquam concesserant.

Cicero
The letters to his friends
Translation W. G. Williams, 1958
I could not prevail upon the Athenians to make a grant of any burial ground within the city, as they alleged that they were prevented from doing so by their religious regulations; anyhow, we must admit that it was a concession they had never yet made to anybody.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ
Ὀλυνθιακὸς Γ΄

Demosthenes
Third Olynthiac
Translation J. H. Vince, 1930

(25–26) … ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν αὐτὴν θεάσασθ' ὁποῖοι, ἔν τε τοῖς κοινοῖς καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. δημοσίᾳ μὲν τοίνυν οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κάλλη τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα κατεσκεύασαν ἡμῖν ἱερῶν καὶ τῶν ἐν τούτοις ἀναθημάτων, ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι· ἰδίᾳ δ' οὕτω σώφρονες ἦσαν καὶ σφόδρ' ἐν τῷ τῆς πολιτείας ἤθει μένοντες, ὥστε τὴν Ἀριστείδου καὶ τὴν Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν οἰκίαν εἴ τις ἄρ' οἶδεν ὑμῶν ὁποία ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῆς τοῦ γείτονος οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς περιουσίαν ἐπράττετ' αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς πόλεως, ἀλλὰ τὸ κοινὸν αὔξειν ἕκαστος ᾤετο δεῖν.

… what manner of men they were at home, in public or in private life, look round you and see. Out of the wealth of the state they set up for our delight so many fair buildings and things of beauty, temples and offerings to the gods, that we who come after must despair of ever surpassing them; yet in private they were so modest, so careful to obey the spirit of the constitution, that the houses of their famous men, of Aristides or of Miltiades, as any of you can see that knows them, are not a whit more splendid than those of their neighbours. For selfish greed had no place in their statesmanship, but each thought it his duty to further the common weal.

(29) … τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἃς κονιῶμεν, καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἃς ἐπισκευάζομεν, καὶ κρήνας, καὶ λήρους; ἀποβλέψατε δὴ πρὸς τοὺς ταῦτα πολιτευομένους, ὧν οἱ μὲν ἐκ πτωχῶν πλούσιοι γεγόνασιν, οἱ δ' ἐξ ἀδόξων ἔντιμοι, ἔνιοι δὲ τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας τῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας εἰσὶ κατεσκευασμένοι, ὅσῳ δὲ τὰ τῆς πόλεως ἐλάττω γέγονεν, τοσούτῳ τὰ τούτων ηὔξηται.

To the walls we are whitewashing, the streets we are paving, the waterworks, and the balderdash? Look rather at the men whose statesmanship has produced these results: some of them were poor and now are rich, some were obscure and now are eminent, some have reared private houses more stately than our public buildings, while the lower the fortunes of the city have sunk, the higher have their fortunes soared.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ
Κατ' Ἀριστοκράτους

Demosthenes
Against Aristocrates
Translation J. H. Vince, 1956
(206–208) … καὶ γὰρ τοι τότε τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἦν εὔπορα καὶ λαμπρὰ δημοσίᾳ, ἰδίᾳ δ' οὐδεὶς ὑπερεῖχε τῶν πολλῶν. τεκμήριον δέ· τὴν Θεμιστοκλέους μὲν οἰκίαν καὶ τὴν Μιλτιάδου καὶ τῶν τότε λαμπρῶν, εἴ τις ἄρ' ὑμῶν οἶδεν ὁποία ποτ' ἐστίν, ὁρᾷ τῶν πολλῶν οὐδὲν σεμνοτέραν οὖσαν, τὰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως οἰκοδομήματα καὶ κατασκευάσματα τηλικαῦτα καὶ τοιαῦθ' ὥστε μηδενὶ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ὑπερβολὴν λελεῖφθαι, προπύλαια ταῦτα, νεώσοικοι, στοαί, Πειραιεύς, τἄλλ' οἷς κατασκευασμένην ὁρᾶτε τὴν πόλιν. νῦν δ' ἰδίᾳ μὲν ἑκάστῳ τῶν τὰ κοινὰ πραττόντων τοσαύτη περιουσία ἐστὶν ὥστε τινὲς μὲν αὐτῶν πολλῶν δημοσίων οἰκοδομημάτων σεμνοτέρας

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τὰς ἰδίας κατεσκευάκασιν οἰκίας, γῆν δ' ἔνιοι πλείω πάντων ὑμῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρίῳ συνεώνηνται· δημοσίᾳ δ' ὑμεῖς ἃ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖτε καὶ κονιᾶτε, ὡς μικρὰ καὶ γλίσχρα, αἰσχύνη λέγειν.

In those old times the State was wealthy and splendid, but in private life no man held his head higher than the multitude. Here is the proof: if any of you know the sort of house that Themistocles or Miltiades or any of those distinguished men of old lived in, you may observe that it is no grander than the common run of houses. On the other hand, both the structure and the equipment of their public buildings were on such a scale and of such quality that no opportunity of surpassing them was left to coming generations. Witness those gatehouses, docks, porticoes, the great harbour, and all the edifices with which you see our city adorned. But to-day every man who takes part in public life enjoys such superfluity of wealth that some of them have built private dwelling-houses more magnificent than many public buildings; and others have bought larger estates than all you people in this court possess between you; while, as for the public buildings that you put up and whitewash, I am ashamed to say how mean and shabby they are.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ
Πρὸς Καλλικλέα περὶ χωρίου βλάβης

Demosthenes
Against Callicles
Translation A. T. Murray, 1956

(11–12) … διὸ δὴ ταῦθ' ὁ πατὴρ ὁρῶν, ὡς ἐγὼ τῶν εἰδότων ἀκούω, καὶ τῶν γειτόνων ἐπινεμόντων ἅμα καὶ βαδιζόντων διὰ τοῦ χωρίου, τὴν αἰμασιὰν περιῳκοδόμησεν ταύτην.

For this reason my father, when he saw it (so I am informed by those acquainted with the circumstances), inasmuch as the neighbours also began to encroach upon the property and walk across it, built around it this enclosing wall.

(13–14) … εἰ μὲν οὖν μὴ συνεχωρεῖθ' ἡμέτερον ἴδιον εἶναι, τάχ' ἂν τοῦτ' ἠδικοῦμεν, εἴ τι τῶν δημοσίων ᾠκοδομοῦμεν· νῦν δ' οὔτε τοῦτ' ἀμφισβητοῦσιν, ἔστιν τ' ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ δένδρα πεφυτευμένα, ἄμπελοι καὶ συκαῖ. καίτοι τίς ἂν ἐν χαράδρᾳ ταῦτα φυτεύειν ἀξιώσειεν; οὐδείς γε. τίς δὲ πάλιν τοὺς αὐτοῦ προγόνους θάπτειν; οὐδὲ τοῦτ' οἶμαι. ταῦτα τοίνυν ἀμφότερ', ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, συμβέβηκεν· καὶ γὰρ τὰ δένδρα πεφύτευται πρότερον ἢ τὸν πατέρα περιοικοδομῆσαι τὴν αἰμασιάν, καὶ τὰ μνήματα παλαιὰ καὶ πρὶν ἡμᾶς κτήσασθαι τὸ χωρίον γεγενημέν' ἐστίν.

If it were not admitted to be our private property, we should perhaps be guilty of this wrongdoing, if we had fenced off a piece of public land; but as it is, they do not dispute this, and on the land there are trees planted, vines and figs. Yet who would think of planting these in a watercourse? Nobody, surely. Again, who would think of burying his own ancestors there? No one, I think, would do this either. Well, both these things have been done. For not only were the trees planted before my father built the wall, but the tombs are old, and were built before we acquired the property.

(15) … καὶ χωρίον εἶναι δένδρων μεστὸν καὶ μνήματ' ἔχειν τινὰ καὶ τἄλλ' ἅπερ καὶ τοῖς πλείστοις χωρίοις συμβέβηκεν, …

… that it is a place full of trees, and that it contains some tombs and other things which are to be found in most private pieces of land …

(17) … ἔπειτα τίς ἂν ὑμῶν εἴτ' ἐν ἀγρῷ νὴ Δί' εἴτ' ἐν ἄστει τὸ διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ῥέον ὕδωρ εἰς τὸ χωρίον ἢ τὴν οἰκίαν δέξαιτ' ἂν; ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτό τοὐναντίον, …
And what one of you, whether in the country or the city would allow water passing along the highway to flow into his farm or his house? On the contrary …

(19) … εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, χαράδρα πάλιν ὑποδεχομένη, τάχ' ἂν ἠδίκουν ἐγὼ μὴ δεχόμενος, ὥσπερ ἀν' ἕτερ' ἄττα τῶν χωρίων εἰσὶν ὁμολογούμεναι χαράδραι· καὶ ταύταις δέχονται μὲν οἱ πρῶτοι, καθάπερ τοὺς ἐκ τῶν οἰκιῶν χειμάρρους, παρὰ τούτων δ' ἕτεροι παραλαμβάνουσιν ὡσαύτως·

If, men of the jury, there had been a watercourse below me to receive the water, I should perhaps have been wrong in not letting it in on my land, just as on certain other farms there are recognized watercourses in which the first landowners let the water flow (as they do the gutter-drains from the houses), and others again receive it from them in like manner.

(22) … πρῶτον μὲν τὴν ὁδὸν στενοτέραν ποιήσας, ἐξαγαγὼν ἔξω τὴν αἰμασιάν, ἵνα τὰ δένδρα τῆς ὁδοῦ ποιήσειεν εἴσω, ἔπειτα δὲ τὸν χλῆδον ἐκβαλὼν εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν, ἐξ ὧν ὑψηλοτέραν τὴν αὐτὴν καὶ στενοτέραν πεποιῆσθαι συμβέβηκεν, …

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… he made the road narrower by extending his wall beyond the property line, in oreder to enclose the trees of the road, and, secondly, in that he threw the rubbish into it, from which actions it resulted that he made the road higher as well as narrower …

(27) … Ἵνα δ' εἰδῆθ' ὅτι καὶ τὸν χλῆδον εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκβεβλήκασιν, καὶ τὴν αἰμασιὰν προαγαγόντες στενοτέραν τὴν ὁδὸν πεποιήκασιν, …
However, to prove to you that they have thrown the rubbish into the road, and by advancing the wall have made the road narrower;

(28) … οἵτινες αὐτοὶ τὴν αἰμασιὰν προαγαγόντες καὶ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀνακεχωκότες …
… men who, after advancing their own wall and raising the level of the road …

(29) … τῆς ὁδοῦ στενοτέρας καὶ μετεωροτέρας γεγενημένης, ἡσυχίαν ἔχω·
… their having made the road narrower and raised its level, [I] keep quiet.

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ
Πρὸς Πολυκλέα περὶ τοῦ ἐπιτριηραρχήματος

Demosthenes
Against Polycles
Translation A. T. Murray, 1956

(61) … ἡ δὲ γῆ οὐχ ὅπως τινὰ καρπὸν ἤνεγκεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ, ὡς πάντες ἴστε, ἐκ τῶν φρεάτων ἐπέλιπεν, ὥστε μηδὲ λάχανον γενέσθαι ἐν τῷ κήπῳ·

… my land not only produced no crops, but that year, as you all know, the water even dried up in the wells, so that not a vegetable grew in the garden;

ΔΗΜΟΣΘΕΝΗΣ
Πρὸς Φορμίωνα περὶ δανείου

Demosthenes
Against Phormio
Translation A. T. Murray, 1958
(37) … ἔτι δ' ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ ἐν ᾧ ὑμῶν οἱ μὲν ἐν τῷ ἄστει οἰκοῦντες διεμετροῦντο τὰ ἄλφιτα ἐν τῷ ᾠδείῳ, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἐν τῷ νεωρίῳ ἐλάμβανον κατ' ὀβολὸν τοὺς ἄρτους καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς μακρᾶς στοᾶς τὰ ἄλφιτα, καθ' ἡμίεκτον μετρούμενοι καὶ καταπατούμενοι.

… at a critical time, when those of you who dwelt in the city were having their barley-meal measured out to them in the Odeum, and those who dwelt in Peiraeus were receiving their loaves at an obol each in the dockyard and in the long-porch, having their meal measured out to them a gallon at a time, and being nearly trampled to death.

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ ΛΑΕΡΤΙΟΣ
Ἐπιμενίδης

Diogenes Laertius
Epimenides
Translation R. D. Hicks, 1959
(1. 10. 110) Τότε καὶ Ἀθηναίοις [τότε] λοιμῷ κατεχομένοις ἔχρησεν ἡ Πυθία καθῆραι τὴν πόλιν· οἱ δὲ πέμπουσι ναῦν τε καὶ Νικίαν τὸν Νικηράτου εἰς Κρήτην, καλοῦντες τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην. καὶ ὃς ἐλθὼν Ὀλυμπιάδι τεσσαρακοστῇ ἕκτῃ ἐκάθηρεν αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ἔπαυσε τὸν λοιμὸν τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. λαβὼν πρόβατα μέλανά τε καὶ λευκὰ ἤγαγε πρὸς τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον· κἀκεῖθεν εἴασεν ἰέναι οἷ βούλοιντο, προστάξας τοῖς ἀκολούθοις ἔνθα ἂν κατακλίνοι αὐτῶν ἕκαστον, θύειν τῷ προσήκοντι θεῷ· καὶ οὕτω λῆξαι τὸ κακόν. ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔστιν εὑρεῖν κατά τοὺς δήμους τῶν Ἀθηναίων βωμοὺς ἀνωνύμους, ὑπόμνημα τῆς τότε γενομένης ἐξιλάσεως. οἱ δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν τοῦ λοιμοῦ τὸ Κυλώνειον ἄγος σημαίνειν τε τὴν ἀπαλλαγήν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀποθανεῖν δύο νεανίας, Κρατῖνον καὶ Κτησίβιον, καὶ λυθῆναι τὴν συμφοράν.

Hence, when the Athenians were attacked by pestilence, and the Pythian priestess bade them purify the city, they sent a ship commanded by Nicias, son of Niceratus, to Crete to ask the help of Epimenides. And he came in the 46th Olympiad, purified their city and stopped the pestilence in the following way. He took sheep, some black and others white, and brought them to the Areopagus; and there he let them go whither they pleased, instructing those who followed them to mark the spot where each sheep lay down and offer a sacrifice to the local divinity. And thus, it is said, the plague was stayed. Hence even to this day altars may be found in different parts of Attica with no name inscribed upon them, which are memorials of this atonement. According to some writers he declared the plague to have been caused by the pollution which Cylon brought on the city and showed them how to remove it. In consequence two young men, Cratinus and Ctesibius, were put to death and the city was delivered from the scourge.

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ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΣΕΥΣ
Ρωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία

Dionysius of Halicarnassus
The Roman Antiquities
Translation E. Cary, 1948
(1. 23. 2–3) Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τῆς οἰκοφθορίας ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐδόκει αὐχμῷ ἡ γῆ κακωθεῖσα ἄρξαι, ἡνίκα οὔτ' ἐπὶ τοῖς δένδρεσι καρπός οὐδεὶς ὡραῖος γενέσθαι διέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ὠμοὶ κατέρρεον, οὔθ' ὁπόσα σπερμάτων ἀνέντα βλαστοὺς ἀνθήσειεν ἕως στάχυος ἀκμῆς τοὺς κατὰ νόμον ἐξεπλήρου χρόνους, οὔτε πόα κτήνεσιν ἐφύετο διαρκής, τῶν τε ναμάτων τὰ μὲν οὐκέτι πίνεσθαι σπουδαῖα ἦν, τὰ δ' ὑπελίμπανε θέρους, τὰ δ' εἰς τέλος ἀπεσβέννυτο.

The first cause of the desolation of their cities seemed to be a drought which laid waste the land, when neither any fruit remained on the trees till it was ripe, but dropped while still green, nor did such of the seed corn as sent up shoots and flowered stand for the usual period till the ear was ripe, nor did sufficient grass grow for the cattle; and of the waters some were no longer fit to drink, others shrank during the summer, and others were totally dried up.

ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΗΣ Ο ΚΡΗΤΙΚΟΣ
Περὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι πόλεων

Heraclides Creticus
On the Cities of Greece
Translation M. M. Austin, 1981
(I. 1) Ἐντεῦθεν εἰς τὸ Ἀθηναίων… ἄστυ. ὁδὸς δὲ ἡδεῖα, γεωργουμένη πᾶσα, ἔχουσά τι τῇ ὄψει φιλάνθρωπον, ἡ δὲ πόλις ξηρὰ πᾶσα, οὐκ εὔυδρος, κακῶς ἐρρυμοτομημένη διὰ τὴν ἀρχαιότητα αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ τῶν οἰκιῶν εὐτελεῖς ὀλίγαι δὲ χρήσιμαι, ἀπιστηθείη δ' ἂν ἐξαίφνης ὑπὸ τῶν ξένων θεωρουμένη, εἰ αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ προσαγορευομένη τῶν Ἀθηναίων πόλις· μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ πιστεύσειεν ἂν τις. ὧδὲ ἦν τῶν ἐν τῇ οἰκουμένῃ κάλλιστον· θέατρον ἀξιόλογον, μέγα καὶ θαυμαστόν, Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν πολυτελές, ἀπόβιον, ἄξιον θέας, ὁ καλούμενος Παρθενών, ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ θεάτρου, μεγάλην κατάπληξιν ποιεῖ τοῖς θεωροῦσιν. Ὀλύμπιον ἡμιτελὲς μὲν κατάπληξιν δ' ἔχον τὴν τῆς οἰκοδομίας ὑπογραφήν, γενόμενον δ' ἂν βέλτιστον εἴπερ συνετελέσθη. γυμνάσια τρία, Ἀκαδημία, Λύκειον, Κυνόσαργες· πάντα κατάδενδρά τε καὶ τοῖς ἐδάφεσι ποώδη. ἑορταὶ παντοδαπαί· φιλοσόφων παντοδαπῶν ψυχῆς ἀπάται καὶ ἀνάπαυσις· σχολαὶ πολλαί, θέαι συνεχεῖς.

From here to the city of Athens [is a distance of …] The road is pleasant, passes through countryside that is all cultivated, and offers pleasing scenery. The city itself is all dry and does not have a good water supply; the streets are narrow and winding, as they were built long ago. Most of the houses are cheaply built, and only a few reach a higher standard; a stranger would find it hard to believe at first sight that this was the famous city of Athens, though he might soon come to believe it. There you will see the most beautiful sites on earth: a large and impressive theatre, a magnificent temple of Athena, something out of this world and worth seeing, the so-called Parthenon, which lies above the theatre; it makes a great impression on sightseers. There is the Olympieum, which though only half-completed is impressively designed, though it would have been most magnificent if completed. There are three gymnasia: the Academy, the Lyceum and the Cynosarges; they are all planted with trees and laid out with lawns. They have festivals of all sorts, and philosophers from everywhere pull the wool over your eyes and provide recreation; there are many opportunities for leisure and spectacles without interruption.

(I. 2) Τὰ γινόμενα ἐκ τῆς γῆς πάντα ἀτίμητα καὶ πρῶτα τῇ γεύσει, μικρῷ δὲ σπανιώτερα. Αλλ' ἡ τῶν ξένων ἑκάστοις συνοικ(ει)ουμένη ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εὐάρμοστος διατριβὴ περισπῶσα τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀρέσκον λήθην τῆς † βουλιμίας ἐργάζεται. ἔστι δὲ ταῖς μὲν θέαις ἡ πόλις καὶ σχολαῖς τοῖς δημοτικοῖς ἀνεπαίσθητος λιμοῦ, λήθην ἐμποιοῦσα τῆς τῶν σίτων προσφορᾶς, ἐφόδια δὲ ἔχουσιν οὐδεμία τοιαύτη πρὸς ἡδονήν. καὶ ἕτερα δὲ ἡ πόλις ἡδέα ἔχει καὶ πολλά· καὶ γὰρ αἱ σύνεγγυς αὐτῆς πόλεις προάστεια τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰσίν.

The produce of the land is all priceless and delicious to taste, though in rather short supply. But the presence of foreigners, which they are all accustomed to and which fits in with their inclinations, causes them to forget about their stomach by diverting their attention to pleasant things. Because of the spectacles and entertainments in the city, the common people have no experience of hunger, as they are made to forget about food, but for those who have money there is no city comparable in the pleasures it offers. The city also has many other delights; tge cities which neighbor it are suburbs of Athens.

(3) Ἀγαθοὶ δὲ οἱ κατοικοῦντες αὐτὴν παντὶ τεχνίτῃ περιποιῆσαι δόξαν μεγάλην, ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐντυγχανομένοις ἐκβάλλοντες τὰς εὐημερίας· θαυμαστὸν πλινθίνων ζῴων ἀνθρώπων διδασκάλιον.

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(4) Τῶν δ' ἐνοικούντων οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Ἀττικοὶ οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι. οἱ μὲν Ἀττικοὶ περίεργοι ταῖς λαλαῖς, ὕπουλοι, συκοφαντώδεις παρατηρηταὶ τῶν ξενικῶν βίων. οἱ δ' Ἀθηναῖοι μεγαλόψυχοι, ἁπλοῖ τοῖς τρόποις, φιλίας γνήσιοι φύλακες. διατρέχουσι δὲ τινες ἐν τῇ πόλει λογογράφοι, σείοντες τοὺς παρεπιδημοῦντας καὶ εὐπόρους τῶν ξένων, οὕς ὅταν ὁ δῆμος λάβῃ σκληραῖς περιβάλλει ζημίαις. οἱ δὲ εἰλικρινεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι δριμεῖς τῶν τεχνῶν ἀκροαταί, θεαταὶ συνεχεῖς.

ΗΡΟΔΟΤΟΣ
Ἱστορία

Herodotus
Translation A. D. Godley, 1946, 1957
(1. 59) Ὁ δὲ δῆμος ὁ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἔδωκέ οἱ τῶν ἀστῶν καταλέξας ἄνδρας τούτους οἳ δορυφόροι μὲν οὐκ ἐγένοντο Πεισιστράτου, κορυνηφόροι δέ· ξύλων γὰρ κορύνας ἔχοντες εἵποντό οἱ ὄπισθε. συνεπαναστάντες δὲ οὗτοι ἅμα Πεισιστράτῳ ἔσχον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

Thus deceived, the Athenian people gave him a chosen guard of cititzens, of whom Pisistratus made not spearmen but clubmen: for the retinue that followed him bore wooden clubs. These with Pisistratus rose and took the Acropolis;

(2. 13) Δοκέουσί τέ μοι Αἰγυπτίων οἱ ἔνερθε τῆς λίμνης τῆς Μοίριος οἰκέοντες τά τε ἄλλα χωρία καὶ τὸ καλεόμενον Δέλτα, ἢν οὕτω ἡ χώρη αὕτη κατὰ λόγον ἐπιδιδῷ ἐς ὕψος καὶ τὸ ὅμοιον ἀποδιδῷ ἐς αὔξησιν, μὴ κατακλύζοντος αὐτὴν τοῦ Νείλου πείσεσθαι τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὸν ἐπίλοιπον Αἰγύπτιοι τό κοτὲ αὐτοὶ Ἕλληνας ἔφασαν πείσεσθαι. πυθόμενοι γὰρ ὡς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατά περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πεινήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἱρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δή σφι ἐστί ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον.
And, to my thinking, the Egyptians who dwell lower down the river than the lake Moeris, and chiefly those who inhabit what is called the Delta — these, if thus this land of theirs rises in such proportion and likewise increases in extent, will (the Nile no longer flooding it) be ever after in the same plight which they themselves once said would be the case of the Greeks; for learning that all the Greek land is watered by rain, and not, like theirs, by river, they said that some day the Greeks would be disappointed of their high hopes, and miserably starve: signifying thereby that should it be heaven's will to send the Greeks no rain and afflict them with drought, famine must come upon them, as receiving all this water from Zeus and having no other resource.

(5. 64) Κλεομένης δὲ ἀπικόμενος ἐς τὸ ἄστυ ἅμα Ἀθηναίων τοῖσι βουλομένοισι εἶναι ἐλευθέροισι ἐπολιόρκεε τοὺς τυράννους ἀπεργμένους ἐν τῷ Πελασγικῷ τείχεϊ.

Then Cleomenes, when he and the Athenians that desired freedom came before the city, drove the despots' family within the Pelasgic wall and there beleaguered them.

(5. 65) Καὶ οὐδέν τι πάντως ἂν ἐξεῖλον τοὺς Πεισιστρατίδας οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι· οὔτε γὰρ ἐπέδρην ἐπενόεον ποιήσασθαι, οἵ τε Πεισιστρατίδαι σίτοισι καὶ ποτοῖσι εὖ παρεσκευάδατο, πολιορκήσαντές τε ἂν ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Σπάρτην· [...] ἄρξαντες μὲν Ἀθηναίων ἐπ' ἔτεα ἕξ τε καὶ τριήκοντα, ἐόντες δὲ καὶ οὗτοι ἀνέκαθεν Πύλιοί τε καὶ Νηλεῖδαι, ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γεγονότες καὶ οἱ ἀμφὶ Κόδρον τε καὶ Μέλανθον, οἳ πρότερον ἐπήλυδες ἐόντες ἐγένοντο Ἀθηναίων βασιλέες. ἐπὶ τούτου δὲ καὶ τὠυτὸ οὔνομα ἀπεμνημόνευσε Ἱπποκράτης τῷ παιδὶ θέσθαι τὸν Πεισίστρατον, ἐπὶ τοῦ Νέστορος Πεισιστράτου ποιεύμενος τὴν ἐπωνυμίην.

And assuredly the Lacedaemonians would never have taken the Pisistratid stronghold; for they had no mind to blockade it, and the Pisistratids were well furnished with food and drink; and the Lacedaemonians would but have besieged the place for a few days and then returned back to Sparta.

[...] They had ruled the Athenians for six-and-thirty years; they too were in lineage of the house of Pylos and Neleus, born of the same ancestors as the families of Codrus and Melanthus, who had formerly come from foreign parts to be kings of Athens. Hence it was that Hippocrates gave his son for a remembrance the name Pisistratus, calling him after Pisistratus the son of Nestor.

(5. 70) Ἐν τῷ μέρεϊ δὲ ἐσσούμενος ὁ Ἰσαγόρης ἀντιτεχνᾶται τάδε· ἐπικαλέεται Κλεομένεα τὸν Λακεδαιμόνιον γενόμενον ἑωυτῷ ξεῖνον ἀπὸ τῆς Πεισιστρατιδέων πολιορκίης· τὸν δὲ Κλεομένεα εἶχε

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αἰτίη φοιτᾶν παρὰ τοὺ Ἰσαγόρεω τὴν γυναῖκα. τὰ μὲν δὴ πρῶτα πέμπων ὁ Κλεομένης ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας κήρυκα ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἄλλους πολλοὺς Ἀθηναίων, τοὺς ἐναγέας ἐπιλέγων· ταῦτα δὲ πέμπων ἔλεγε ἐκ διδαχῆς τοῦ Ἰσαγόρεω. οἱ μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκμεωνίδαι καὶ οἱ συστασιῶται αὐτῶν εἶχον αἰτίην τοῦ φόνου τούτου, αὐτὸς δὲ οὐ μετεῖχε οὐδ' οἱ φίλοι αὐτοῦ.

Then Isagoras, being on the losing side in his turn, devised a counter-plot, and invited the aid of Cleomenes, who had been his friend since the besieging of the Pisistratids; nay, it was laid to Cleomenes' charge that he resorted to Isagoras' wife. Then Cleomenes first sent a herald to Athens demanding the banishment of Cleisthenes and many other Athenians with him, the Accursed, as he called them; and this he said in his message by Isagoras' instruction; for the Alcmeonidae and their faction were held guilty of that bloody deed, but Isagoras and his friends had no part therein.

(5. 71) Οἱ δ' ἐναγέες Ἀθηναίων ὧδε ὠνομάσθησαν. Ἦν Κύλων τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης· οὗτος ἐπὶ τυραννίδι ἐκόμησε, προσποιησάμενος δὲ ἑταιρηίην τῶν ἡλικιωτέων καταλαβεῖν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἐπειρήθη, οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ ἐπικρατῆσαι ἱκέτης ἵζετο πρὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα. τούτους ἀνιστᾶσι μὲν οἱ πρυτάνιες τῶν ναυκράρων, οἵ περ ἔνεμον τότε τὰς Ἀθήνας, ὑπεγγύους πλὴν θανάτου· φονεῦσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς αἰτίη ἔχει Ἀλκμεωνίδας. ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς Πεισιστράτου ἡλικίης ἐγένετο.

Now the Accursed at Athens got their name on this wise. There was an Athenian named Cylon, that had been a winner at Olympia. This man put on the brave air of one that aimed at despotism; and gathering a company of men of like age he essayed to seize the citadel; but when he could not win it he took sanctuary by the goddess' statue. Then he and his men were brought away by the presidents of the naval boards (who then ruled Athens), being held liable to any penalty save death; but they were slain, and the slain of them was laid to the door of the Alcmeonidae. All this befel before the time of Pisistratus.

(5. 72) Κλεομένης δὲ ὡς πέμπων ἐξέβαλλε Κλεισθένεα καὶ τοὺς ἐναγέας, Κλεισθένης μὲν αὐτὸς ὑπεξέσχε, μετὰ δὲ οὐδὲν ἧσσον παρῆν ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας ὁ Κλεομένης οὐ σὺν μεγάλῃ χειρί, ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἀγηλατέει ἑπτακόσια ἐπίστια Ἀθηναίων, τά οἱ ὑπέθετο ὁ Ἰσαγόρης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας δεύτερα τὴν βουλὴν καταλύειν ἐπειρᾶτο, τριηκοσίοισι δὲ τοῖσι Ἰσαγόρεω στασιώτῃσι τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐνεχείριζε. ἀντισταθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς καὶ οὐ βουλομένης πείθεσθαι ὅ τε Κλεομένης καὶ ὁ Ἰσαγόρης καὶ οἱ στασιῶται αὐτοῦ καταλαμβάνουσι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. Ἀθηναίων δὲ οἱ λοιποὶ τὰ αὐτὰ φρονήσαντες ἐπολιόρκεον αὐτοὺς ἡμέρας δύο· τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ὑπόσπονδοι ἐξέρχονται ἐκ τῆς χώρης ὅσοι ἦσαν αὐτῶν Λακεδαιμόνιοι. ἐπετελέετο δὲ τῷ Κλεομένεϊ ἡ φήμη. ὡς γὰρ ἀνέβη ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν μέλλων δὴ αὐτὴν κατασχήσειν, ἤιε ἐς τὸ ἄδυτον τῆς θεοῦ ὡς προσερέων· ἡ δὲ ἱρείη ἐξαναστᾶσα ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου πρὶν ἢ τὰς θύρας αὐτὸν ἀμεῖψαι εἶπε· «Ὦ ξεῖνε Λακεδαιμόνιε, πάλιν χώρεε μηδὲ ἔσιθι ἐς τὸ ἱρόν· οὐ γὰρ θεμιτὸν Δωριεῦσι παριέναι ἐνθαῦτα.» ὁ δὲ εἶπε «Ὦ γύναι, ἀλλ' οὐ Δωριεύς εἰμι ἀλλ' Ἀχαιός.» ὃ μὲν δὴ τῇ κληδόνι οὐδὲν χρεώμενος ἐπεχείρησέ τε καὶ τότε πάλιν ἐξέπιπτε μετὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων·

Cleomenes then having sent and demanded the banishment of Cleisthenes and the Accursed, Cleisthenes himself privily departed; but none the less did Cleomenes presently appear before Athens, with no great force; and having come he banished seven hundred Athenian households named for him by Isagoras, to take away the curse. Having so done he next essayed to dissolve the Council, entrusting the offices of governance to Isagoras' faction. But the Council resisted him and would not consent; whereupon Cleomenes and Isagoras and his partisans seized the acropolis. The rest of the Athenians united and besieged them for two days; and on the third day they departed out of the country under treaty, as many of them as were Lacedaemonians. Thus the prophetic voice that Cleomenes heard had its fulfilment; for when he went up to the acropolis with intent to take possession of it, he approached the shrine of the goddess to address himself to her; but the priestess rose up from her seat, and said, before he had passed through the doorway: "Go back, Lacedaemonian stranger, and enter not into the holy place; for it is not lawful that Dorians should pass in here." "Nay, lady," he answered, "no Dorian am I, but an Achaean." So he took no heed to the word of omen, but essayed to work his will, and was, as I have said, then again cast out, with his Lacedaemonians.

(5. 77) Τᾶς δὲ πέδας αὐτῶν, ἐν τῇσι ἐδεδέατο, ἀνεκρέμασαν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν· αἵ περ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ ἦσαν περιεοῦσαι, κρεμάμεναι ἐκ τειχέων περιπεφλευσμένων πυρὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μήδου, ἀντίον δὲ τοῦ μεγάρου τοῦ πρὸς ἑσπέρην τετραμμένου.

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The fetters in which the prisoners had been bound they hung up in the acropolis, where they were still to be seen in my time, hanging from walls that the Medes' fire had charred, over against the cell that faces westwards.

(5. 81) Αἰγινῆται δὲ εὐδαιμονίῃ τε μεγάλῃ ἐπαερθέντες καὶ ἔχθρης παλαιῆς ἀναμνησθέντες ἐχούσης ἐς Ἀθηναίους, τότε Θηβαίων δεηθέντων πόλεμον ἀκήρυκτον Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπέφερον· ἐπικειμένων γὰρ αὐτῶν Βοιωτοῖσι, ἐπιπλώσαντες μακρῇσι νηυσὶ ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν κατὰ μὲν ἔσυραν Φάληρον κατὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης παραλίης πολλοὺς δήμους, ποιεῦντες δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλως Ἀθηναίους ἐσικνέοντο.

But the Aeginetans were uplifted by great prosperity, and had in mind an ancient feud with Athens; wherefore now at the entreaty of the Thebans, without sending of herald they made war at the Athenians; while these were busied with the Boeotians, they descended on Attica in ships of war, and ravaged Phaleron and many other seaboard townships. By so doing they dealt the Athenians a very shrewd blow.

(5. 82) Ἡ δὲ ἔχθρη ἡ προοφειλομένη ἐς Ἀθηναίους ἐκ τῶν Αἰγινητέων ἐγένετο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοιῆσδε.

Now this was the beginning of the Aeginetans' long-standing arrears of enmity against the Athenians.

(5. 86) … Αἰγινῆται δὲ οὐ μιῇ νηὶ ἀπικέσθαι Ἀθηναίους· μίαν μὲν γὰρ καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλεῦνας μιῆς, καὶ εἰ σφίσι μὴ ἔτυχον ἐοῦσαι νέες, ἀπαμύνασθαι ἂν εὐπετέως· ἀλλὰ πολλῇσι νηυσὶ ἐπιπλέειν σφίσι ἐπὶ τὴν χώρην, αὐτοὶ δέ σφι εἶξαι καὶ οὐ ναυμαχῆσαι. οὐκ ἔχουσι δὲ τοῦτο διασημῆναι ἀτρεκέως, οὔτε εἰ ἥσσονες συγγινωσκόμενοι εἶναι τῇ ναυμαχίῃ κατὰ τοῦτο εἶξαν, οὔτε εἰ βουλόμενοι ποιῆσαι οἷόν τι καὶ ἐποίησαν. [...] Αἰγινῆται λέγουσι πυθομένους τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ὡς μέλλοιεν ἐπὶ σφέας στρατεύεσθαι, ἑτοίμους Ἀργείους ποιέεσθαι. τούς τε δὴ Ἀθηναίους ἀποβεβάναι ἐς τὴν Αἰγιναίην, καὶ ἥκειν βοηθέοντας σφίσι τοὺς Ἀργείους καὶ λαθεῖν τε ἐξ Ἐπιδαύρου διαβάντας ἐς τὴν νῆσον καὶ οὐ προακηκοόσι τοῖσι Ἀθηναίοισι ἐπιπεσεῖν ὑποταμομένους τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν νεῶν, ἅμα τε ἐν τούτῳ τὴν βροντήν τε γενέσθαι καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν αὐτοῖσι.

… but the Aeginetans say that the Athenians came not in one ship only; "for," they say, "even if we had had no ships of our own, we could right easily have defended ourselves against one ship, or a few more; but the truth is that they descended upon our coasts with many ships, and we yielded to them and made no fight of it at sea." But they can never show with exact plainness whether it was because they confessed themselves to be the weaker at sea-fighting that they yielded, or because they purposed to do somewhat such as in the event they did. [...] the Aeginetans say that they learnt that the Athenians were about to make war upon them, and therefore they assured themselves of help from the Argives. So when the Athenians disembarked on the land of Aegina, the Argives came to aid the Aeginetans, crossing over from Epidaurus to the island privily, and then falling upon the Athenians unawares and cutting them off from their ships; and it was at this moment that the thunderstorm came upon them, and the earthquake withal.

(5. 87) Λέγεται μέν νυν ὑπ' Ἀργείων τε καὶ Αἰγινητέων τάδε, ὁμολογέεται δὲ καὶ ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων ἕνα μοῦνον τὸν ἀποσωθέντα αὐτῶν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν γενέσθαι· πλὴν Ἀργεῖοι μὲν λέγουσι αὐτῶν τὸ Ἀττικὸν στρατόπεδον διαφθειράντων τὸν ἕνα τοῦτον περιγενέσθαι, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ τοῦ δαιμονίου·

This, then, is the story told by the Argives and Aeginetans, and the Athenians too acknowledge that it was only one man of them who came safe back to Attica; but the Argives say that it was they, and the Athenians that it was divine power, that destroyed the Attic army when this one man was saved alive;

(6. 103) Τέθαπται δὲ Κίμων πρὸ τοῦ ἄστεος, πέρην τῆς διὰ Κοίλης καλεομένης ὁδοῦ·

Cimon lies buried outside the city, beyond the road that is called Through the Hollow;

(7. 161) Μάτην γὰρ ἂν ὧδε πάραλον Ἑλλήνων στρατὸν πλεῖστον εἴημεν ἐκτημένοι, εἰ Συρηκοσίοισι ἐόντες Ἀθηναῖοι συγχωρήσομεν τῆς ἡγεμονίης, ἀρχαιότατον μὲν ἔθνος παρεχόμενοι, μοῦνοι δὲ ἐόντες οὐ μετανάσται Ἑλλήνων·

For it were vain that we should possess the greatest multitude of sea-faring men in Hellas, if, being Athenians, we yield up our command to Syracusans, — we who can show of all the longest lineage, and who alone among Greeks have never changed our dwelling;

(7. 171) Ἀπὸ τούτων δέ σφι ἀπονοστήσασι ἐκ Τροίης λιμόν τε καὶ λοιμὸν γενέσθαι καὶ αὐτοῖσι καὶ τοῖσι

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προβάτοισι, ἔστε τὸ δεύτερον ἐρημωθείσης Κρήτης μετὰ τῶν ὑπολοίπων τρίτους αὐτὴν νῦν νέμεσθαι Κρῆτας.

After this when they returned from Troy they and their flocks and herds were afflicted by famine and pestilence, till Crete was once more left desolate; then came a third people of Cretans, and it is they who, with those that were left, now dwell there.

(8. 44) Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν Πελασγῶν ἐχόντων τὴν νῦν Ἑλλάδα καλεομένην ἦσαν Πελασγοί, ὀνομαζόμενοι Κραναοί, ἐπὶ δὲ Κέκροπος βασιλέος ἐκλήθησαν Κεκροπίδαι, ἐκδεξαμένου δὲ Ἐρεχθέος τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀθηναῖοι μετωνομάσθησαν, Ἴωνος δὲ τοῦ Ξούθου στρατάρχεω γενομένου Ἀθηναίοισι ἐκλήθησαν ἀπὸ τούτου Ἴωνες.

The Athenians, while the Pelasgians ruled what is now called Hellas, were Pelasgians, bearing the name of Cranai; in the time of their king Cecrops they came to be called Cecropidae, and when the kingship fell to Erechtheus they changed their name and became Athenians, but when Ion son of Xuthus was made leader of their armies they were called after him Ionians.

(8. 50) Ταῦτα τῶν ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου στρατηγῶν ἐπιλεγομένων, ἐληλύθεε ἀνὴρ Ἀθηναῖος ἀγγέλλων ἥκειν τὸν βάρβαρον ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτὴν πυρπολέεσθαι. ὁ γὰρ διὰ Βοιωτῶν τραπόμενος στρατὸς ἅμα Ξέρξῃ, ἐμπρήσας Θεσπιέων τὴν πόλιν, αὐτῶν ἐκλελοιπότων ἐς Πελοπόννησον, καὶ τὴν Πλαταιέων ὡσαύτως, ἦκέ τε ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας καὶ πάντα ἐκεῖνα ἐδηίου· ἐνέπρησε δὲ Θέσπειάν τε καὶ Πλάταιαν πυθόμενος Θηβαίων ὅτι οὐκ ἐμήδιζον.

While the Peloponnesian captains held this argument, there came a man of Athens, bringing news that the foreigner was arrived in Attica, and was wasting it all with fire. For the army which followed Xerxes through Boeotia had burnt the town of the Thespians (who had themselves left it and gone to the Peloponnese) and Platea likewise and was arrived at Athens, laying waste all the country round. They burnt Thespia and Plataea because they learnt from the Thebans that those towns had not taken the Persian part.

(8. 51) Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς διαβάσιος τοῦ Ἑλλησπόντου, ἔνθεν πορεύεσθαι ἤρξαντο οἱ βάρβαροι, ἕνα αὐτοῦ διατρίψαντες μῆνα ἐν τῷ διέβαινον ἐς τὴν Εὐρώπην, ἐν τρισὶ ἑτέροισι μησὶ ἐγένοντο ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, Καλλιάδεω ἄρχοντος Ἀθηναίοισι. καὶ αἱρέουσι ἔρημον τὸ ἄστυ, καὶ τινας ὀλίγους εὑρίσκουσι τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐν τῷ ἱρῷ ἐόντας, ταμίας τε τοῦ ἱροῦ καὶ πένητας ἀνθρώπους, οἳ φραξάμενοι τὴν ἀκρόπολιν θύρῃσί τε καὶ ξύλοισι ἠμύνοντο τοὺς ἐπιόντας, ἅμα μὲν ὑπ' ἀσθενείης βίου οὐκ ἐκχωρήσαντες ἐς Σαλαμῖνα, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοὶ δοκέοντες ἐξευρηκέναι τὸ μαντήιον τὸ ἡ Πυθίη σφι ἔχρησε, τὸ ξύλινον τεῖχος ἀνάλωτον ἔσεσθαι· αὐτὸ δὴ τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ κρησφύγετον κατὰ τὸ μαντήιον καὶ οὐ τὰς νέας.

Now after the crossing of the Hellespont whence they began their march, the foreigners had spent one month in their passage into Europe, and in three more months they arrived in Attica, Calliades being then archon at Athens. There they took the city, then left desolate; but they found in the temple some few Athenians, temple-stewards and needy men, who defended themselves against the assault by fencing the acropolis with doors and logs; these had not withdrawn to Salamis, partly by reason of poverty, and also because they supposed themselves to have found out the meaning of the Delphic oracle that the wooden wall should be impregnable, and believed that this, and not the ships, was the refuge signified by the prophecy.

(8. 52) Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἱζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν καταντίον τῆς ἀκροπόλιος ὄχθον, τὸν Ἀθηναῖοι καλέουσι Ἀρήιον πάγον, ἐπολιόρκεον τρόπον τοιόνδε· ὅκως στυππεῖον περὶ τοὺς ὀιστοὺς περιθέντες ἄψειαν, ἐτόξευον ἐς τὸ φράγμα. ἐνθαῦτα Ἀθηναίων οἱ πολιορκεόμενοι ὅμως ἠμύνοντο, καίπερ ἐς τὸ ἔσχατον κακοῦ ἀπιγμένοι καὶ τοῦ φράγματος προδεδωκότος· οὐδὲ λόγους τῶν Πεισιστρατιδέων προσφερόντων περὶ ὁμολογίης ἐνεδέκοντο, ἀμυνόμενοι δὲ ἄλλα τε ἀντεμηχανῶντο καὶ δὴ καὶ προσιόντων τῶν βαρβάρων πρὸς τὰς πύλας ὀλοιτρόχους ἀπίεσαν, ὥστε Ξέρξην ἐπὶ χρόνον συχνὸν ἀπορίῃσι ἐνέχεσθαι οὐ δυνάμενόν σφέας ἑλεῖν.

The Persians sat down on the hill over against the acropolis, which is called by the Athenians the Hill of Ares, and besieged them by shooting arrows wrapped in lighted tow at the barricade. There the Athenians defended themselves against their besiegers, albeit they were in extremity and their barricade had failed them; nor would they listen to the terms of surrender proposed to them by the Pisistratids, but defended themselves by counter-devices, chiefly by rolling great stones down on the foreigners when they assaulted the gates; insomuch that for a long while Xerxes could not take the place, and knew not what to do.

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(8. 53) Χρόνῳ δ' ἐκ τῶν ἀπόρων ἐφάνη δή τις ἔξοδος τοῖσι βαρβάροισι· ἔδεε γὰρ κατὰ τὸ θεοπρόπιον πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀττικὴν τὴν ἐν τῇ ἠπείρῳ γενέσθαι ὑπὸ Πέρσῃσι. ἔμπροσθε ὦν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὄπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου, τῇ δὴ οὔτε τις ἐφύλασσε οὔτ' ἂν ἤλπισε μὴ κοτέ τις κατὰ ταῦτα ἀναβαίη ἀνθρώπων, ταύτῃ ἀνέβησάν τινὲς κατὰ τὸ ἱρὸν τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς Ἀγλαύρου, καίτοι περ ἀποκρήμνου ἐόντος τοῦ χώρου. ὡς δὲ εἶδον αὐτοὺς ἀναβεβηκότας οἱ Ἀθηναίοι ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οἳ μὲν ἐρρίπτεον ἑωυτοὺς κατὰ τοῦ τείχεος κάτω καὶ διεφθείροντο, οἳ δὲ ἐς τὸ μέγαρον κατέφευγον. τῶν δὲ Περσέων οἱ ἀναβεβηκότες πρῶτον μὲν ἐτράποντο πρὸς τὰς πύλας, ταύτας δὲ ἀνοίξαντες τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐφόνευον· ἐπεὶ δέ σφι πάντες κατέστρωντο, τὸ ἱρὸν συλήσαντες ἐνέπρησαν πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκρόπολιν.

But at the last in their quandary the foreigners found an entrance; for the oracle must needs be fulfilled, and all the mainland of Attica be made subject to the Persians. In front of the acropolis, and behind the gates and the ascent thereto, there was a place where none was on guard and none would have thought that any man would ascend that way; here certain men mounted near the shrine of Cecrops' daughter Aglaurus, though the way led up a sheer cliff. When the Athenians saw that they had ascended to the acropolis, some of them cast themselves down from the wall and so perished, and others fled into the inner chamber. Those Persians who had come up first betook themselves to the gates, which they opened, and slew the suppliants; and when they had laid all the Athenians low, they plundered the temple and burnt the whole of the acropolis.

(8. 109) … καί τις οἰκίην τε ἀναπλασάσθω καὶ σπόρου ἀνακῶς ἐχέτω, παντελέως ἀπελάσας τὸν βάρβαρον·

…let us build our houses again and be diligent in sowing, when we have driven the foreigner wholly away;

(9. 13) Ὁ μὲν δὴ εἴπας ταῦτα ἀπαλλάσσετο ὀπίσω, Μαρδόνιος δὲ οὐδαμῶς ἔτι πρόθυμος ἦν μένειν ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, ὡς ἤκουσε ταῦτα. πρὶν μὲν νυν ἢ πυθέσθαι ἀνεκώχευε, θέλων εἰδέναι τὸ παρ' Ἀθηναίων, ὁκοῖόν τι ποιήσουσι, καὶ οὔτε ἐπήμαινε οὔτε ἐσίνετο γῆν τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐλπίζων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου ὁμολογήσειν σφέας· ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐκ ἐπειθε, πυθόμενος πάντα λόγον, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς μετὰ Παυσανίεω ἐς τὸν Ἰσθμὸν ἐσβαλεῖν, ὑπεξεχώρεε ἐμπρήσας τε τὰς Ἀθήνας, καὶ εἴ κού τι ὀρθὸν ἦν τῶν τειχέων ἢ τῶν οἰκημάτων ἢ τῶν ἱρῶν, πάντα καταβαλὼν καὶ συγχώσας.

So spoke the herald, and departed back again; and when Mardonius heard that, he was no longer desirous of remaining in Attica. Before he had word of it, he had held his hand, desiring to know the Athenians' plan and what they would do, and neither harmed nor harried the land of Attica, for he still ever supposed that they would make terms with him; but when he could not move them, and learnt all the truth of the matter, he drew off from before Pausanias' army ere it entered the Isthmus; but first he burnt Athens, and utterly overthrew and demolished whatever wall or house or temple was left standing.

ΗΣΙΟΔΟΣ
Ἔργα καὶ ἡμέραι

Hesiod
Works and Days
Translation G. W. Most, 2006

(238–243) Οἷς δ' ὕβρις τε μέμηλε κακὴ καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα, τοῖς δὲ δίκην Κρονίδης τεκμαίρεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς. πολλάκι καὶ ξύμπασα πόλις κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀπηύρα, ὅστις ἀλιτραίνει καὶ ἀτάσθαλα μηχανάαται. τοῖσιν δ' οὐρανόθεν μέγ' ἐπήγαγε πῆμα Κρονίων, λιμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ λοιμόν· ἀποφθινύθουσι δὲ λαοί·

But to those who care only for evil outrageousness and cruel deeds, far-seeing Zeus, Cronus' son, marks out justice. Often even a whole city suffers because of an evil man who sins and devises wicked deeds. Upon them, Cronus' son brings forth woe from the sky, famine together with pestilence, and the people die away;

ΗΣΥΧΙΟΣ

λ. Κλεψύδρα· κρήνη ἥτις τὸ πρότερον Ἐμπεδὼ προσηγορεύετο· ἔχει δὲ τὰς ῥύσεις ἀνατελλούσας εἰς τὸν Φαληρέων δῆμον.

λ. κλεψίρρυτον ὕδωρ· τὸ τῆς Κλεψύδρας· αὕτη δὲ ἐστι κρήνη Ἀθήνησιν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ἐπὶ σταδίους εἴκοσιν ὑπὸ γῆν φερομένη, εἰς ἣν τὰ ἐμβαλλόμενα πάλιν θεωρεῖται ἀρχομένων τῶν ἐτησίων.

λ. Πεδώ· ἡ νῦν καλουμένη Κλεψύδρα κρήνη ἐν ἄστει.

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ΘΟΥΚΥΔΙΔΗΣ
Ἱστορία

Thucydides
History of the Peloponnesian War
Translation C. F. Smith, 1959

(1. 2. 4–6) … διὰ γὰρ ἀρετὴν γῆς αἵ τε δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποίουν ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο, καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο. τὴν γοῦν Ἀττικὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον διὰ τὸ λεπτόγεων ἀστασίαστον οὖσαν ἄνθρωποι ᾤκουν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεί. καὶ παράδειγμα τόδε τοῦ λόγου οὐκ ἐλάχιστόν ἐστι διὰ τὰς μετοικήσεις τὰ ἄλλα μὴ ὁμοίως αὐξηθῆναι· ἐκ γὰρ τῆς ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος οἱ πολέμῳ ἢ στάσει ἐκπίπτοντες παρ' Ἀθηναίους οἱ δυνατώτατοι ὡς βέβαιον ὂν ἀνεχώρουν, καὶ πολῖται γιγνόμενοι εὐθὺς ἀπὸ παλαιοῦ μείζω ἔτι ἐποίησαν πλήθει ἀνθρώπων τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε καὶ ἐς Ἰωνίαν ὕστερον ὡς οὐχ ἱκανῆς οὔσης τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἀποικίας ἐξέπεμψαν.

For the greater power that accrued to some communities on account of the fertility of their land occasioned internal quarrels whereby they were ruined, and at the same time these were more exposed to plots from outside tribes. Attica, at any rate, was free from internal quarrels from the earliest times by reason of the thinness of its soil, and therefore was inhabited by the same people always. And here is an excellent illustration of the truth of my statement that it was owing to these migrations that the other parts of Hellas did not increase in the same way as Attica; for the most influential men of the other parts of Hellas, when they were driven out of their own countries by war or sedition, resorted to Athens as being a firmly settled community, and, becoming citizens, from the very earliest times made the city still greater in the number of its inhabitants; so that Attica proved too small to hold them, and therefore the Athenians eventually sent out colonies even to Ionia.

(1. 89. 3) Ἀθηναίων δὲ τὸ κοινόν, ἐπειδὴ αὐτοῖς οἱ βάρβαροι ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἀπῆλθον, διεκομίζοντο εὐθὺς ὅθεν ὑπεξέθεντο παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν περιοῦσαν κατασκευήν, καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀνοικοδομεῖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὰ τείχη· τοῦ τε γὰρ περιβόλου βραχέα εἱστήκει καὶ οἰκίαι αἱ μὲν πολλαὶ ἐπεπτώκεσαν, ὀλίγαι δὲ περιῆσαν, ἐν αἷς αὐτοὶ ἐσκήνωσαν οἱ δυνατοὶ τῶν Περσῶν.

But the Athenian people, when the Barbarians had departed from their territory, straightway began to fetch back their wives and their children and the remnant of their household goods from where they had placed them for safety, and to rebuild the city and the walls; for of the encircling wall only small portions were left standing, and most of the houses were in ruins, only a few remaining in which the chief men of the Persians had themselves taken quarters.

(1. 90. 3) … ἑαυτὸν δ' ἐκέλευεν ἀποστέλλειν ὡς τάχιστα ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς ἐς τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, ἄλλους δὲ πρὸς ἑαυτῷ ἑλομένους πρέσβεις μὴ εὐθὺς ἐκπέμπειν, ἀλλ' ἐπίσχειν μέχρι τοσούτου ἕως ἂν τὸ τεῖχος ἱκανὸν ἄρωσιν ὥστε ἀπομάχεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ ἀναγκαιοτάτου ὕψους· τειχίζειν δὲ πάντας πανδημεὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει, καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας, φειδομένους μήτε ἰδίου μήτε δημοσίου οἰκοδομήματος ὅθεν τις ὠφελία ἔσται ἐς τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλὰ καθαιροῦντας πάντα.

Themistocles then proposed that they should send himself as speedily as possible to Lacedaemon; that they should then choose other ambassadors in addition, but, instead of sending them immediately, should wait until they should have raised the wall to such a height as was absolutely necessary for defence; and that the whole population of the city, men, women, and children, should take part in the wall-building, sparing neither private nor public edifice that would in any way help to further the work, but demolishing them all.

(1. 93. 1–3) Τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὴν πόλιν ἐτείχισαν ἐν ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ, καὶ δήλη ἡ οἰκοδομία ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὅτι κατὰ σπουδὴν ἐγένετο. οἱ γὰρ θεμέλιοι παντοίων λίθων ὑπόκεινται καὶ οὐ ξυνειργασμένων ἔστιν ἥ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἕκαστοί ποτε προσέφερον, πολλαί τε στῆλαι ἀπὸ σημάτων καὶ λίθοι εἰργασμένοι ἐγκατελέγησαν. μείζων γὰρ ὁ περίβολος πανταχῇ ἐξήχθη τῆς πόλεως, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ὁμοίως κινοῦντες ἠπείγοντο.

It was in this manner that the Athenians got their wall built in so short a time, and even to-day the structure shows that it was put together in haste. For the lower courses consist of all sorts of stones, in some cases not even hewn to fit but just as they were when the several workers brought them, and many columns from grave monuments and stones wrought for other purposes were built in. For the circuit-wall of the city was extended in every direction, and on this account they laid hands upon everything alike in their haste.

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(1. 126. 2–12) Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν πρέσβεις πέμψαντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐκέλευον τοὺς Ἀθηναίους τὸ ἄγος ἐλαύνειν τῆς θεοῦ. τὸ δὲ ἄγος ἦν τοιόνδε. Κύλων ἦν Ἀθηναῖος ἀνὴρ Ὀλυμπιονίκης τῶν πάλαι εὐγενής τε καὶ δυνατός· ἐγεγαμήκει δὲ θυγατέρα Θεαγένους Μεγαρέως ἀνδρός, ὃς κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον ἐτυράννει Μεγάρων. χρωμένῳ δὲ τῷ Κύλωνι ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀνεῖλεν ὁ θεὸς ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τῇ μεγίστῃ ἑορτῇ καταλαβεῖν τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν. ὁ δὲ παρά τε τοῦ Θεαγένους δύναμιν λαβὼν καὶ τοὺς φίλους ἀναπείσας, ἐπειδὴ ἐπῆλθεν Ὀλύμπια τὰ ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ, κατέλαβε τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὡς ἐπὶ τυραννίδι, νομίσας ἑορτήν τε τοῦ Διὸς μεγίστην εἶναι καὶ ἑαυτῷ τι προσήκειν Ὀλύμπια νενικηκότι. […] οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι αἰσθόμενοι ἐβοήθησάν τε πανδημεὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ προσκαθεζόμενοι ἐπολιόρκουν. χρόνου δὲ ἐγγιγνομένου οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τρυχόμενοι τῇ προσεδρίᾳ ἀπῆλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἐπιτρέψαντες τοῖς ἐννέα ἄρχουσι τήν τε φυλακὴν καὶ τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι ᾗ ἂν ἄριστα διαγιγνώσκωσιν· […] οἱ δὲ μετὰ τοῦ Κύλωνος πολιορκούμενοι φλαύρως εἶχον σίτου τε καὶ ὕδατος ἀπορίᾳ. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κύλων καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκδιδράσκουσιν· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ὡς ἐπιέζοντο καί τινες καὶ ἀπέθνῃσκον ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἱκέται τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ἀναστήσαντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐπιτετραμμένοι τὴν φυλακήν, ὡς ἑώρων ἀποθνῄσκοντας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ἐφ' ᾧ μηδὲν κακὸν ποιήσουσιν, ἀπαγαγόντες ἀπέκτειναν· καθεζομένους δέ τινας καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν σεμνῶν θεῶν τοῖς βωμοῖς ἐν τῇ παρόδῳ ἀπεχρήσαντο. καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐναγεῖς καὶ ἀλιτήριοι τῆς θεοῦ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐκαλοῦντο καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνων. ἤλασαν μὲν οὖν καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς τούτους, ἤλασε δὲ καὶ Κλεομένης ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος ὕστερον μετὰ Ἀθηναίων στασιαζόντων, τούς τε ζῶντας ἐλαύνοντες καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων τὰ ὀστᾶ ἀνελόντες ἐξέβαλον· κατῆλθον μέντοι ὕστερον, καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ἔστιν ἔτι ἐν τῇ πόλει.

And first the Lacedaemonian envoys bade the Athenians drive out the "curse of the goddess." The curse was as follows: There was an Athenian in days of old named Cylon, a victor at Olympia, of noble birth and powerful; and he had married a daughter of Theagenes, a Megarian, who was at that time tyrant of Megara. Now Cylon consulted the oracle at Delphi, and the god in answer told him to seize the Acropolis of Athens "at the greatest festival of Zeus." So he obtained a force from Theagenes and, persuading his friends to help, when the Olympic festival in the Peloponnesus came on he seized the Acropolis with a view to making himself tyrant; for he thought that the Olympic festival was not only the greatest festival of Zeus, but also in a manner was connected with him as having won an Olympic victory. […] And the Athenians, when they were aware of it, came in a body from the fields against them and sitting down before the Acropolis laid siege to it. But as time passed the Athenians grew weary of the siege and most of them went away, commiting the task of guarding to the nine Archons, to whom they also gave full power to settle the whole matter as they might determine to be best; […] But Cylon and those who were being besieged with him were in hard straits through lack of food and water. So Cylon and his brother escaped; but the rest, when they were in great distress and some of them were even dying of hunger, sat down as suppliants at the altar on the Acropolis. And the Athenians who had been charged with guarding them, when they saw them dying in the temple, caused them to arise on promise of doing them no harm, and leading them away put them to death; and some who in passing by took refuge at the altar of the Awful Goddesses they dispatched even there. For this act both they and their descendants were called accursed and sinners against the Goddess. Accordingly the accursed persons were driven out not only by the Athenians but also at a later time by Cleomenes the Lacedaemonian, with the help of a faction of the Athenians, during a civil strife, when they drove out the living and disinterred and cast out the bones of the dead. Afterwards, however, they were restored, and their descendants are still in the city.

(2. 14) Οἱ δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἀκούσαντες ἀνεπείθοντό τε καὶ ἐσεκομίζοντο ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην κατασκευὴν ᾗ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο, καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκιῶν καθαιροῦντες τὴν ξύλωσιν· πρόβατα δὲ καὶ ὑποζύγια ἐς τὴν Εὔβοιαν διεπέμψαντο καὶ ἐς τὰς νήσους τὰς ἐπικειμένας. χαλεπῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ αἰεὶ εἰωθέναι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς διαιτᾶσθαι ἡ ἀνάστασις ἐγίγνετο.

After the Athenians had heard his words they were won to his view, and they began to bring in from the fields their children and wives, and also their household furniture, pulling down even the woodwork of the houses themselves; but sheep and draught-animals they sent over to Euboea and the adjacent islands. And the removal was a hard thing for them to accept, because most of them had always been used to live in the country.

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(2. 15) Ξυνεβεβήκει δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ πάνυ ἀρχαίου ἑτέρων μᾶλλον Ἀθηναίοις τοῦτο. ἐπὶ γὰρ Κέκροπος καὶ τῶν πρώτων βασιλέων ἡ Ἀττικὴ ἐς Θησέα αἰεὶ κατὰ πόλεις ᾠκεῖτο πρυτανεῖά τε ἔχουσα καὶ ἄρχοντας, καὶ ὁπότε μή τι δείσειαν, οὐ ξυνῆσαν βουλευσόμενοι ὡς τὸν βασιλέα, ἀλλ' αὐτοὶ ἕκαστοι ἐπολίτευον καὶ ἐβουλεύοντο· καὶ τινες καὶ ἐπολέμησάν ποτε αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ Ἐλευσίνιοι μετ' Εὐμόλπου πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ Θησεὺς ἐβασίλευσε, γενόμενος μετὰ τοῦ ξυνετοῦ καὶ δυνατὸς τά τε ἄλλα διεκόσμησε τὴν χώραν καὶ καταλύσας τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων τά τε βουλευτήρια καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐς τὴν νῦν πόλιν οὖσαν, ἓν βουλευτήριον ἀποδείξας καὶ πρυτανεῖον, ξυνῴκισε πάντας, καὶ νεμομένους τὰ αὑτῶν ἑκάστους ἅπερ καὶ πρὸ τοῦ ἠνάγκασε μιᾷ πόλει ταύτῃ χρῆσθαι, ἣ ἁπάντων ἤδη ξυντελούντων ἐς αὐτὴν μεγάλη γενομένη παρεδόθη ὑπὸ Θησέως τοῖς ἔπειτα· καὶ ξυνοίκια ἐξ ἐκείνου Ἀθηναῖοι ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῇ θεῷ ἑορτὴν δημοτελῆ ποιοῦσιν. Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστι, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου, ᾧ τὰ ἀρχαιότερα Διονύσια τῇ δωδεκάτῃ ποιεῖται ἐν μηνὶ Ἀνθεστηριῶνι, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἀπ' Ἀθηναίων Ἴωνες ἔτι καὶ νῦν νομίζουσιν. ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτως σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρόῃ ὠνομασμένῃ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. καλεῖται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.

And this kind of life had been the characteristic of the Athenians, more than of any other Hellenes, from the very earliest times. For in the time of Cecrops and the earliest kings down to Theseus, Attica had been divided into separate towns, each with its town hall and magistrates, and so long as they had nothing to fear they did not come together to consult with the king, but separately administered their own affairs and took counsel for themselves. Sometimes they even made war upon the king, as, for example, the Eleusinians with Eumolpus did upon Erechtheus. But when Theseus became king and proved himself a powerful as well as a prudent ruler, he not only re-organized the country in other respects, but abolished the councils and magistracies of the minor towns and brought all their inhabitants into union with what is now the city, establishing a single council and town hall, and compelled them, while continuing to occupy each his own lands as before, to use Athens as the sole capital. This became a great city, since all were now paying their taxes to it, and was such when Theseus handed it down to his successors. And from his time even to this day the Athenians have celebrated at the public expense a festival called the Synoecia, in honour of the goddess. Before this what is now the Acropolis was the city, together with the region at the foot of the Acropolis toward the south. And the proof of this is as follows: On the Acropolis itself are the sanctuaries of the other gods as well as of Athena, and the sanctuaries which are outside the Acropolis are situated more in that quarter of the city, namely those of Olympian Zeus, of Pythian Apollo, of Earth, and of Dionysus in Limnae, in whose honour are celebrated the more ancient Dionysia the twelfth of the month Anthesterion, just as the Ionian descendants of the Athenians also are wont even now to celebrate it. In that quarter are also situated still other ancient sanctuaries. And the fountain now called Enneacrunus, from the fashion given it by the tyrants, but which anciently, when the springs were uncovered, was named Callirrhoe, was used by people of those days, because it was close by, for the most important ceremonials; and even now, in accordance with the ancient practice, it is still customary to use its waters in the rites preliminary to marriages and other sacred ceremonies. And, finally, the Acropolis, because the Athenians had there in early times a place of habitation, is still to this day called by them Polis or city.

(2. 16) Τῇ δ' οὖν ἐπὶ πολὺ κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτονόμῳ οἰκήσει μετεῖχον οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ξυνῳκίσθησαν, διὰ τὸ ἔθος ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὅμως οἱ πλείους τῶν τε ἀρχαίων καὶ τῶν ὕστερον μέχρι τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου πανοικησίᾳ γενόμενοί τε καὶ οἰκήσαντες, οὐ ῥᾳδίως τὰς ἀναστάσεις ἐποιοῦντο, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἄρτι ἀνειληφότες τὰς κατασκευὰς μετὰ τὰ Μηδικά· ἐβαρύνοντο δὲ καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφερον οἰκίας τε καταλείποντες καὶ ἱερὰ ἃ διὰ παντὸς ἦν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς κατὰ τὸ ἀρχαῖον πολιτείας πάτρια, δίαιτάν τε μέλλοντες μεταβάλλειν καὶ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πόλιν τὴν αὑτοῦ ἀπολείπων ἕκαστος.

Because, then, of their long-continued life of independence in the country districts, most of the Athenians of early times and of their descendants down to the time of this war, from force of habit, even after their political union

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with the city, continued to reside, with their households, in the country where they had been born; and so they did not find it easy to move away, especially since they had only recently finished restoring their establishments after the Persian war. They were dejected and aggrieved at having to leave their homes and the temples which had always been theirs, — relics, inherited from their fathers, of their original form of government — and at the prospect of changing their mode of life, and facing what was nothing less for each of them than forsaking his own town.

(2. 17. 1–4) Ἐπειδή δε ἀφίκοντο ἐς τὸ ἄστυ, ὀλίγοις μέν τισιν ὑπῆρχον οἰκήσεις καὶ παρὰ φίλων τινὰς ἢ οἰκείων καταφυγή, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ τά τε ἐρῆμα τῆς πόλεως ᾤκησαν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἡρῷα πάντα πλὴν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως καὶ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο βεβαίως κλῃστὸν ἦν· τό τε Πελαργικὸν καλούμενον τὸ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, ὃ καὶ ἐπάρατόν τε ἦν μὴ οἰκεῖν καί τι καὶ Πυθικοῦ μαντείου ἀκροτελεύτιον τοιόνδε διεκώλυε, λέγον ὡς «Τὸ Πελαργικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον», ὅμως ὑπὸ τῆς παραχρῆμα ἀνάγκης ἐξῳκήθη. καὶ μοι δοκεῖ τὸ μαντεῖον τοὐναντίον ξυμβῆναι ἢ προσεδέχοντο, οὐ γὰρ διὰ τὴν παράνομον ἐνοίκησιν αἱ ξυμφοραὶ γενέσθαι τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ ἀνάγκη τῆς οἰκήσεως, ὃν οὐκ ὀνομάζον τὸ μαντεῖον προῄδε μὴ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ποτε αὐτό κατοικισθησόμενον. κατεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τῶν τειχῶν πολλοὶ καὶ ὡς ἕκαστός που ἐδύνατο· οὐ γὰρ ἐχώρησε ξυνελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἡ πόλις, ἀλλ' ὕστερον δὴ τά τε μακρὰ τείχη ᾤκησαν κατανειμάμενοι καὶ τοῦ Πειραιῶς τὰ πολλά.

And when they came to the capital, only a few of them were provided with dwellings or places of refuge with friends and relatives, and most of them took up their abode in the vacant places of the city and the sanctuaries and the shrines of heroes, all except the Acropolis and the Eleusinium and any other precinct that could be securely closed. And the Pelargicum, as it was called, at the foot of the Acropolis, although it was under a curse that forbade its use for residence, and this was also prohibited by a verse-end of a Pythian oracle to the following effect: "The Pelargicum unoccupied is better," nevertheless under stress of the emergency was completely filled with buildings. And the oracle, as it seems to me, came true, but in a sense quite the opposite of what was expected; for it was not on account of the unlawful occupation of the place that the city was visited by the calamities, but it was on account of the war that there was the necessity of its occupation, and the oracle, although it did not mention the war, yet foresaw that the place would never be occupied for any good. Many also established themselves in the towers of the city walls, and wherever each one could find a place; for the city did not have room for them when they were all there together. But afterwards they distributed into lots and occupied the space between the Long Walls and the greater part of the Peiraeus.

(2. 36. 1–2) Τὴν γὰρ χώραν οἱ αὐτοὶ αἰεὶ οἰκοῦντες διαδοχῇ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων μέχρι τοῦδε ἐλευθέραν δι' ἀρετὴν παρέδοσαν.

For this land of ours, in which the same people have never ceased to dwell in an unbroken line of successive generations, they by their valour transmitted to our times a free state.

(2. 48. 2) Ἐς δὲ τὴν Ἀθηναίων πόλιν ἐξαπιναίως ἐνέπεσε, καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ Πειραιεῖ ἥψατο τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε καὶ ἐλέχθη ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς οἱ Πελοποννήσιοι φάρμακα ἐσβεβλήκοιεν ἐς τὰ φρέατα· κρῆναι γὰρ οὔπω ἦσαν αὐτόθι.

Then it suddenly fell upon the city of Athens, and attacked first the inhabitants of the Peiraeus, so that the people there even said that the Peloponnesians had put poison in their cisterns; for there were as yet no public fountains there.

(2. 54. 2–3) «Ἦξει Δωριακὸς πόλεμος καὶ λοιμὸς ἅμ' αὐτῷ». ἐγένετο μὲν οὖν ἔρις τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μὴ λοιμὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἐν τῷ ἔπει ὑπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν, ἀλλὰ λιμόν, ἐνίκησε δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος εἰκότως λοιμὸν εἰρῆσθαι· οἱ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς ἃ ἔπασχον τὴν μνήμην ἐποιοῦντο.

"A Dorian war shall come and pestilence with it." A dispute arose, however, among the people, some contending that the word used in the verse by the ancients was not λοιμός, "pestilence," but λιμός, "famine," and the view prevailed at the time that "pestilence" was the original word; and quite naturally, for men's recollections conformed to their sufferings.

(6. 54. 5–7) Οὐδὲ γὰρ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρχὴν ἐπαχθὴς ἦν ἐς τοὺς πολλούς, ἀλλ' ἀνεπιφθόνως κατεστήσατο· καὶ ἐπετήδευσαν ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὴ τύραννοι οὗτοι ἀρετὴν καὶ ξύνεσιν, καὶ Ἀθηναίους εἰκοστὴν μόνον πρασσόμενοι τῶν γιγνομένων τήν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν καλῶς διεκόσμησαν καὶ τοὺς πολέμους διέφερον καὶ ἐς τὰ ἱερὰ ἔθυον. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα αὐτὴ ἡ πόλις τοῖς πρὶν κειμένοις νόμοις ἐχρῆτο, πλὴν καθ' ὅσον αἰεί τινα ἐπεμέλοντο σφῶν αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι. καὶ

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ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἦρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἱππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοὔνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίου.

For he did not generally so exercise his authority as to be oppressive to the mass of the people, but maintained it without giving offence. And indeed the Peisistratidae carried the practice of virtue and discretion to a very high degree, considering that they were tyrants, and although they exacted from the Athenians only five per cent of their incomes, not only had they embellished their city, but they also carried on its wars and provided sacrifices for the temples. In other respects the city itself enjoyed the laws before established, except in so far that the tyrants took precaution that one of their own family should always be in office. Amongst others of them who held the annual archonship at Athens was Peisistratus, a son of the Hippias who had been tyrant. He was named after his grandfather and, when he was archon, dedicated the altar of the twelve gods in the Agora and that of Apollo in the Pythian precinct.

(6. 57. 1) Καὶ ὡς ἐπῆλθεν ἡ ἑορτή, Ἱππίας μὲν ἔξω ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ καλουμένῳ μετὰ τῶν δορυφόρων διεκόσμει ὡς ἕκαστα ἐχρῆν τῆς πομπῆς προϊέναι, ὁ δὲ Ἁρμόδιος καὶ ὁ Ἀριστογείτων ἔχοντες ἤδη τὰ ἐγχειρίδια ἐς τὸ ἔργον προῆσαν.

And when the festival came on, Hippias with his bodyguard was outside the walls, in the place called the Cerameicus, arranging the order in which the several parts of the procession were to go forward; and Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who were ready with their daggers, stepped forward to put their scheme in effect.

ΙΣΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ
Πανηγυρικὸς

Isocrates
anegyricus
Translation G. Norlin, 1954
(23) Ὁμολογεῖται μὲν γὰρ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἀρχαιοτάτην εἶναι καὶ μεγίστην καὶ παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ὀνομαστοτάτην·

For it is admitted that our city is the oldest and the greatest in the world and in the eyes of all men the most renowned.

(24–25) Ταύτην γὰρ οἰκοῦμεν οὐχ ἑτέρους ἐκβαλόντες οὐδ' ἐρήμην καταλαβόντες οὐδ' ἐκ πολλῶν ἐθνῶν μιγάδες συλλεγέντες, ἀλλ' οὕτω καλῶς καὶ γνησίως γεγόναμεν, ὥστ' ἐξ ἧσπερ ἔφυμεν, ταύτην ἔχοντες ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον διατελοῦμεν, αὐτόχθονες ὄντες καὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τοῖς αὐτοῖς, οἷσπερ τοὺς οἰκειοτάτους, τὴν πόλιν ἔχοντες προσειπεῖν·

For we did not become dwellers in this land by driving others out of it, nor by finding it uninhabited, nor by coming together here a motley horde composed of many races; but we are of a lineage so noble and so pure that throughout our history we have continued in possession of the very land which gave us birth, since we are sprung from its very soil and are able to address our city by the very names which we apply to our nearest kin;

(25) Μόνοις γὰρ ἡμῖν τῶν Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τροφὸν καὶ πατρίδα καὶ μητέρα καλέσαι προσήκει.

For we alone of all the Hellenes have the right to call our city at once nurse and fatherland and mother.

ΚΛΕΙΔΗΜΟΣ
λ. Ἄπεδον: τὸ ἰσόπεδον καὶ τὸ ὁμαλόν. Θουκυδίδης. τὰ ἰσόπεδα. Κλείδημος· καὶ ἠπέδιζον τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, περιέβαλλον δὲ ἐννεάπυλον τὸ Πελαργικόν.

ΛΟΥΚΙΑΝΟΣ
Ἀναβιοῦντες ἢ Ἁλιεὺς

Lucian
The Dead Come to Life or The Fisherman
Translation A. M. Harmon, 1960
(42) Πλήρης μὲν ἡ ἄνοδος ὠθιζομένων ἐπὶ τὰς δύο μνᾶς, ὡς ἤκουσαν μόνον· παρὰ δὲ τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἄλλοι καὶ κατὰ τὸ Ἀσκληπιεῖον ἕτεροι καὶ παρὰ τὸν Ἄρειον πάγον ἔτι πλείους, ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸν Τάλω τάφον, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ Ἀνακεῖον προσθέμενοι κλίμακας ἀνέρπουσι βομβηδὸν νὴ Δία καὶ βοτρυδὸν ἐσμοῦ δίκην, ἵνα καὶ καθ' Ὅμηρον εἴπω·

The road up to the gate is full of men hustling after the two minas, as soon as they heard of them; others are coming up beside the Pelasgicon; others by the precinct of Asclepius; even more of them along the Areopagus; some, too, by the tomb of Talus; and some have set ladders against the temple of the Twin Brethren and are climbing up with a hum, by Heaven, and "in clusters" like swarming bees, to use the words of Homer;

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ΛΥΚΟΥΡΓΟΣ
Κατὰ Λεωκράτους
Lycurgus
Against Leocrates
Translation J. O. Burtt, 1954
(84) Ἐπὶ Κόδρου γὰρ βασιλεύοντος Πελοποννησίοις γενομένης ἀφορίας κατὰ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἔδοξε στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν, καὶ ἡμῶν τοὺς προγόνους ἐξαναστήσαντας κατανείμασθαι τὴν χώραν. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀποστείλαντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπηρώτων εἰ λήψονται τὰς Ἀθήνας· ἀνελόντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτοῖς ὅτι τὴν πόλιν αἱρήσουσιν ἂν μὴ τὸν βασιλέα τὸν Ἀθηναίων Κόδρον ἀποκτείνωσιν, ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας.

Remember the reign of Codrus. The Peloponnesians, whose crops had failed at home, decided to march against our city and, expelling our ancestors, to divide the land amongst themselves. They sent first to Delphi and asked the god if they were going to capture Athens, and when he replied that they would take the city so long as they did not kill Codrus, the king of the Athenians, they marched out against Athens.

(85) Κλεόμαντις δὲ τῶν Δελφῶν τις πυθόμενος τὸ χρηστήριον δι' ἀπορρήτων ἐξήγγειλε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις· οὕτως οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ τοὺς ἔξωθεν ἀνθρώπους εὔνους ἔχοντες διετέλουν. ἐμβαλόντων δὲ τῶν Πελοποννησίων εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, τί ποιοῦσιν, οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί; οὐ καταλιπόντες τὴν χώραν ὥσπερ Λεωκράτης ᾤχοντο οὐδ' ἔκδοτον τὴν θρεψαμένην καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τοῖς πολεμίοις παρέδοσαν, ἀλλ' ὀλίγοι ὄντες κατακληισθέντες ἐπολιορκοῦντο καὶ διεκαρτέρουν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα.

But a Delphian Cleomantis, learning of the oracle, secretly told the Athenians. Such, it seems, was the goodwill which our ancestors always inspired even among aliens. And when the Peloponnesians invaded Attica, what did our ancestors do, jentlemen of the jury? They did not desert their country and retire as Leocrates did, nor surrender to the enemy the land that reared them and its temples. No. Though they were few in number, shut inside the walls, they endured the hardships of a siege to preserve their country.

(86) καὶ οὕτως ἦσαν, ὦ ἄνδρες, γενναῖοι οἱ τότε βασιλεύοντες ὥστε προῃροῦντο ἀποθνῄσκειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν ἀρχομένων σωτηρίας μᾶλλον ἢ ζῶντες ἑτέραν μεταλλάξαι χώραν. φασὶ γοῦν τὸν Κόδρον παραγγείλαντα τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσέχειν ὅταν τελευτήσῃ τὸν βίον, λαβόντα πτωχικὴν στολὴν ὅπως ἂν ἀπατήσῃ τοὺς πολεμίους, κατὰ τὰς πύλας ὑποδύντα φρύγανα συλλέγειν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, προσελθόντων δ' αὐτῷ δυοῖν ἀνδρῶν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου καὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν πυνθανομένων, τὸν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἀποκτεῖναι τῷ δρεπάνῳ

And such was the nobility, gentlemen, of those kings of old that they preferred to die for the safety of their subjects rather than to purchase life by the adoption of another country. That at least is true of Codrus, who, they say, told the Athenians to note the time of his death and, taking a beggar's clothes to deceive the enemy, slipped out by the gates and began to collect firewood in front of the town. When two men from the camp approached him and inquired about conditions in the city he killed one of them with a blow of his sickle.

(87) παίσαντα τὸν δὲ περιλελειμμένον, παροξυνθέντα τῷ Κόδρῳ καὶ νομίσαντα πτωχὸν εἶναι, σπασάμενον τὸ ξίφος ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν Κόδρον. τούτων δὲ γενομένων οἱ μὲν Ἀθηναῖοι κήρυκα πέμψαντες ἠξίουν δοῦναι τὸν βασιλέα θάψαι, λέγοντες αὐτοῖς ἅπασαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν· οἱ δὲ Πελοποννήσιοι τοῦτον μὲν ἀπέδοσαν, γνόντες δ' ὡς οὐκέτι δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς τὴν χώραν κατασχεῖν ἀπεχώρησαν. τῷ δὲ Κλεομάντει τῷ Δελφῷ ἡ πόλις αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἐκγόνοις ἐν πρυτανείῳ ἀίδιον σίτησιν ἔδοσαν.

The survivor, it is said, enraged with Codrus and thinking him a beggar drew his sword and killed him. Then the Athenians sent a herald and asked to have their king given over for burial, telling the enemy the whole truth; and the Peloponnesians restored the body but retreated, aware that it was no longer open to them to secure the country. To Cleomantis of Delphi the city made a grant of maintenance in the Prytaneum for himself and his descendants for ever.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ
Ἀπομνημονεύματα

Xenophon
Memorabilia
Translation E. C. Marchant, 1959
(3. 8. 9) Οὐκοῦν ἐν ταῖς πρὸς μεσημβρίαν βλεπούσαις οἰκίαις τοῦ μὲν χειμῶνος ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὰς παστάδας ὑπολάμπει, τοῦ δὲ θέρους ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν στεγῶν πορευόμενος σκιὰν παρέχει. οὐκοῦν, εἴ γε καλῶς ἔχει ταῦτα οὕτω γίγνεσθαι, οἰκοδομεῖν δεῖ

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ὑψηλότερα μὲν τὰ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν, ἵνα ὁ χειμερινὸς ἥλιος μὴ ἀποκλείηται, χθαμαλώτερα δὲ τὰ πρὸς ἄρκτον, ἵνα οἱ ψυχροὶ μὴ ἐμπίπτωσιν ἄνεμοι·

Now in houses with a south aspect, the sun's rays penetrate into the porticoes in winter, but in summer the path of the sun is right over our heads and above the roof, so that there is shade. If, then, this is the best arrangement, we should build the south side loftier to get the winter sun and the north side lower to keep out the cold winds.

ΞΕΝΟΦΩΝ
Οἰκονομικὸς

Xenophon
Oeconomicus
Translation E. C. Marchant, 1959
(9. 4–5) Καὶ σύμπασαν δὲ τὴν οἰκίαν ἐπέδειξα αὐτῇ ὅτι πρὸς μεσημβρίαν ἀναπέπταται, ὥστε εὔδηλον εἶναι, ὅτι χειμῶνος μὲν εὐήλιός ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ θέρους εὔσκιος.

I showed her that the whole house fronts south, so that it was obvious that it is sunny in winter and shady in summer.

ΟΜΗΡΟΣ
Ἰλιὰς

Homer
Iliad
Translation A. T. Murray (revision W. F. Wyatt), 1999
(B 546–549) Οἳ δ' ἄρ' Ἀθήνας εἶχον, ἐυκτίμενον πτολίεθρον, δῆμον Ἐρεχθῆος μεγαλήτορος, ὅν ποτ' Ἀθήνη θρέψε Διὸς θυγάτηρ, τέκε δὲ ζείδωρος ἄρουρα· κὰδ' δ' ἐν Ἀθήνῃς εἷσεν, ἑῷ ἐν πίονι νηῷ·

And they who held Athens, the well-built citadel, the land of great-hearted Erechtheus, whom Athene, daughter of Zeus, once nurtured, but the earth, the giver of grain, bore him; and she settled him in Athens, in her own rich sanctuary…

ΟΜΗΡΟΣ
Ὀδύσσεια

Homer
The Odyssey
Translation A. T. Murray, 1953
(η 78–81) Ὣς ἄρα φωνήσασ' ἀπέβη γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη πόντον ἐπ' ἀτρύγετον, λίπε δὲ Σχερίην ἐρατεινήν, ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην, δῦνε δ' Ἐρεχθῆος πυκινὸν δόμον.

So saying, flashing-eyed Athene departed over the unresting sea, and left lovely Scheria. She came to Marathon and broad-wayed Athens, and entered the well-built house of Erectheus;

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ
Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις

Pausanias
Description of Greece
Translation W. H. S. Jones, 1969
(1. 18. 8) Τοῦ δὲ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς Δευκαλίωνα οἰκοδομῆσαι λέγουσι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν, σημεῖον ἀποφαίνοντες ὡς Δευκαλίων Ἀθήνῃσιν ᾤκησε τάφον τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ νῦν οὐ πολὺ ἀφεστηκότα.

The ancient sanctuary of Olympian Zeus the Athenians say was built by Deucalion, and they cite as evidence that Deucalion lived at Athens a grave which is not far from the present temple.

ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑΣ
Ἑλλάδος περιήγησις
(1. 19. 3) ἔστι δὲ Ἡρακλέους ἱερὸν καλούμενον Κυνόσαργες· καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐς τὴν κύνα, εἰδέναι τὴν λευκὴν ἐπιλεξαμένοις ἔστι τὸν χρησμόν…

There is also the place called Cynosarges, sacred to Heracles; the story of the white dog may be known by reading the oracle…

(1. 19. 5) Ἐθέλουσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἱερὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἰλισόν, καὶ Μουσῶν βωμὸς ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἐστιν Ἰλισιάδων· δείκνυται δὲ καὶ ἔνθα Πελοποννήσιοι Κόδρον τὸν Μελάνθου βασιλεύοντα Ἀθηναίων κτείνουσι.

The Athenians hold that the Ilisus is sacred to other deities as well, and on its bank is an altar of the Ilisian Muses. The place too is pointed out where the Peloponnesians killed Codrus, son of Melanthus and king of Athens.

(1. 21. 4) Ἰόντων δὲ Ἀθήνῃσιν ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεάτρου τέθαπται Κάλως· τοῦτον τὸν Κάλων ἀδελφῆς παῖδα ὄντα καὶ τῆς τέχνης μαθητὴν φονεύσας Δαίδαλος ἐς Κρήτην ἔφυγε…

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On the way to the Athenian Acropolis from the theater is the tomb of Calos. Daedalus murdered this Calos, who was his sister's son and a student of his craft, and therefore he fled to Crete;

(1. 22. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ταύτῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἰοῦσι Θέμιδος ναός ἐστι. Κέχωσται δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ μνῆμα Ἱππολύτῳ·

After the sanctuary of Asclepius, as you go by this way towards the Acropolis, there is a temple of Themis. Before it is raised a sepulchral mound to Hippolytus.

(1. 36. 4–5) Ἐλευσινίοις πολεμοῦσι πρὸς Ἐρεχθέα ἀνὴρ μάντις ἦλθεν ἐκ Δωδώνης ὄνομα Σκῖρος, ὃς καὶ τῆς σκιράδος ἱδρύσατο Ἀθηνᾶς ἐπὶ Φαλήρῳ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν· πεσόντα δὲ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ θάπτουσιν Ἐλευσίνιοι πλησίον ποταμοῦ χειμάρρου, καὶ τῷ τε χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥρωός ἐστι καὶ τῷ ποταμῷ.

The Eleusinians were making war against Erechtheus when there came from Dodona a seer called Scirus, who also set up at Phalerum the ancient sanctuary of Athena Sciras. When he fell in the fighting the Eleusinians buried him near a torrent, and the hero has given his name to both place and torrent.

(1. 14. 4) Πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦδε, ἔνθα καὶ τοῦ Τριπτολέμου τὸ ἄγαλμα, ἔστι βοῦς χαλκοῦς οἷα ἐς θυσίαν ἀγόμενος, πεποίηται δὲ καθήμενος Ἐπιμενίδης Κνώσσιος, ὃν ἐλθόντα ἐς ἀγρὸν κοιμᾶσθαι λέγουσιν ἐσελθόντα ἐς σπήλαιον· ὁ δὲ ὕπνος οὐ πρότερον ἀνῆκεν αὐτὸν πρὶν ἢ οἱ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γενέσθαι καθεύδοντι, καὶ ὕστερον ἔπη τε ἐποίει καὶ πόλεις ἐκάθηρεν ἄλλας τε καὶ τὴν Ἀθηναίων. Θάλης δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν νόσον παύσας οὔτε ἄλλως προσήκων οὔτε πόλεως ἦν Ἐπιμενίδῃ τῆς αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Κνώσσιος, …

In front of this temple, where is also the statue of Triptolemus, is a bronze bull being led as it were to sacrifice, and there is a sitting figure of Epimenides of Cnossus, who they say entered a cave in the country and slept. And the sleep did not leave him before the fortieth year, and afterwards he wrote verses and purified Athens and other cities. But Thales who stayed the plague for the Lacedaemonians was not related to Epimenides in any way, and belonged to a different city. The latter was from Cnossus, …

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ
Κριτίας

Plato
Critias
Translation W. R. M. Lamb, 1925
(111E–112A) Πρῶτον μὲν τὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἶχε τότε οὐχ ὡς τὰ νῦν ἔχει. νῦν μὲν γὰρ μία γενομένη νὺξ ὑγρὰ διαφερόντως γῆς αὐτὴν ψιλὴν περιτήξασα πεποίηκε, σεισμῶν ἅμα καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος φθορᾶς τρίτου πρότερον ὕδατος ἐξαισίου γενομένου·

In the first place, the acropolis, as it existed then, was different from what it is now. For as it is now, the action of a single night of extraordinary rain has crumbled it away and made it bare of soil, when earthquakes occurred simultaneously with the third of the disastrous floods which preceeded the destructive deluge in the time of Deucalion.

(112 D) ... κρήνη δ' ἦν μία κατὰ τὸν τῆς νῦν ἀκροπόλεως τόπον, ἧς ἀποσβεσθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν τὰ νῦν νάματα μικρὰ κύκλῳ καταλέλειπται, τοῖς δὲ τότε πᾶσιν παρεῖχεν ἄφθονον ῥεῦμα, εὐκρὰς οὖσα πρὸς χειμῶνά τε καὶ θέρος.

And near the place of the present Acropolis there was one spring — which was choked up by the earthquakes so that but small tricklings of it are now left round about; but to the men of that time it afforded a plentiful stream for them all, being well tempered both for winter and summer.

ΠΛΑΤΩΝ
Νόμοι

Plato
Laws
Translation R. G. Bury, 1952
(1. 642 D–E) Τῇδε γὰρ ἴσως ἀκήκοας ὡς Ἐπιμενίδης γέγονεν ἀνὴρ θεῖος, ὃς ἦν ἡμῖν οἰκεῖος, ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸ τῶν Περσικῶν δέκα ἔτεσι πρότερον παρ' ὑμᾶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μαντείαν θυσίας τε ἐθύσατό τινας, ἃς ὁ θεὸς ἀνεῖλε, καὶ δὴ καὶ φοβουμένων τὸν Περσικὸν Ἀθηναίων στόλον εἶπεν ὅτι δέκα μὲν ἐτῶν οὐχ ἥξουσιν, ὅταν δὲ ἔλθωσιν, ἀπαλλαγήσονται πράξαντες οὐδὲν ὧν ἤλπιζον παθόντες τε ἢ δράσαντες πλείω κακά.

You have probably heard how that inspired man Epimenides, who was a family connexion of ours, was born in Crete; and how ten years before the Persian War,

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in obedience to the oracle of the god, he went to Athens and offered certain sacrifices which the god had ordained; and how, moreover, when the Athenians were alarmed at the Persians' expeditionary force, he made this prophecy — "They will not come for ten years, and when they do come, they will return back again with all their hopes frustrated, and after suffering more woes than they inflict."

(6. 761 A) ... ὁδῶν τε ἐπιμελουμένους, ὅπως ὡς ἡμερώταται ἔκασται γίγνωνται, καὶ τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ὑδάτων ...

… by attending to the roads, that they all may become as level as possible, and to the rain-waters …

(8. 844 A–D) … ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν ὑδάτων πέρι γεωργοῖσι παλαιοὶ καὶ καλοὶ νόμοι κείμενοι οὐκ ἄξιοι παροχετεύειν λόγοις, ἀλλ' ὁ βουληθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ τόπον ἄγειν ὕδωρ ἀγέτω μὲν ἀρχόμενος ἐκ τῶν κοινῶν ναμάτων, μὴ ὑποτέμνων πηγὰς φανερὰς ἰδιώτου μηδενός, ᾗ δ' ἂν βούληται ἄγειν, πλὴν δι' οἰκίας ἢ ἱερῶν τινων ἢ καὶ μνημάτων, ἀγέτω, μὴ βλάπτων πλὴν αὐτῆς τῆς ὀχεταγωγίας. ἀυδρία δὲ εἴ τισι τόποις σύμφυτος ἐκ γῆς τὰ ἐκ Διὸς ἰόντα ἀποστέγει νάματα, καὶ ἐλλείπει τῶν ἀναγκαίων πωμάτων, ὀρυττέτω μὲν ἐν τῷ αὐτοῦ χωρίῳ μέχρι τῆς κεραμίδος γῆς, ἐὰν δ' ἐν τούτῳ τῷ βάθει μηδαμῶς ὕδατι προστυγχάνῃ παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων ὑδρευέσθω μέχρι τοῦ ἀναγκαίου πώματος ἑκάστοις τῶν οἰκετῶν· ἐὰν δὲ δι' ἀκριβείας ᾖ καὶ τοῖς γείτοσι, τάξιν τῆς ὑδρείας ταξάμενος παρὰ τοῖς ἀγρονόμοις, ταύτην ἡμέρας ἑκάστης κομιζόμενος, οὕτω κοινωνείτω τοῖς γείτοσιν ὕδατος, ἐὰν δὲ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδατα γιγνόμενα, τὸν ἐπάνω γεωργοῦντα ἢ καὶ ὁμότοιχον οἰκοῦντα τῶν ὑποκάτω βλάπτῃ τις μὴ διδοὺς ἐκροήν, ἢ τοὐναντίον ὁ ἐπάνω μεθιεὶς εἰκῇ τὰ ῥεύματα βλάπτῃ τὸν κάτω, καὶ περὶ ταῦτα μὴ ἐθέλωσιν διὰ ταῦτα κοινωνεῖν ἀλλήλοις, ἐν ἄστει μὲν ἀστυνόμον, ἐν ἀγρῷ δὲ ἀγρονόμον ἐπάγων ὁ βουλόμενος ταξάσθω τί χρὴ ποιεῖν ἑκάτερον· ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐμμένων ἐν τῇ τάξει φθόνου θ' ἅμα καὶ δυσκόλου ψυχῆς ὑπεχέτω δίκην, καὶ ὀφλὼν διπλάσιον τὸ βλάβος ἀποτινέτω τῷ βλαφθέντι, μὴ ἐθελήσας τοῖς ἄρχουσιν πείθεσθαι.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ
Σόλων

Plutarch
Solon
Translation B. Perrin, 1959
(12) Τὸ δὲ Κυλώνειον ἄγος ἤδη μὲν ἐκ πολλοῦ διετάραττε τὴν πόλιν, ἐξ οὗ τοὺς συνωμότας τοῦ Κύλωνος ἱκετεύοντας τὴν θεὸν Μεγακλῆς ὁ ἄρχων ἐπὶ δίκῃ κατελθεῖν ἔπεισεν· ἐξάψαντας δὲ τοῦ ἔδους κρόκην κλωστὴν καὶ ταύτης ἐχομένους, ὡς ἐγένοντο περὶ τὰς σεμνὰς θεὰς καταβαίνοντες, αὐτομάτως τῆς κρόκης ῥαγείσης, ὥρμησε συλλαμβάνειν ὁ Μεγακλῆς καὶ οἱ συνάρχοντες, ὡς τῆς θεοῦ τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἀπολεγομένης· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἔξω κατέλευσαν, οἱ δὲ τοῖς βωμοῖς προσφυγόντες ἀπεσφάγησαν· μόνοι δ' ἀφείθησαν οἱ τὰς γυναῖκας αὐτῶν ἱκετεύσαντες. ἐκ τούτου δὲ κληθέντες ἐναγεῖς ἐμισοῦντο· καὶ τῶν Κυλωνείων οἱ περιγενόμενοι πάλιν ἦσαν ἰσχυροί, καὶ στασιάζοντες ἀεὶ διετέλουν πρὸς τοὺς ἀπό τοῦ Μεγακλέους. ἐν δὲ τῷ τότε χρόνῳ τῆς στάσεως ἀκμὴν λαβούσης μάλιστα καὶ τοῦ δήμου διαστάντος, ἤδη δόξαν ἔχων ὁ Σόλων παρῆλθεν εἰς μέσον ἅμα τοῖς ἀρίστοις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ δεόμενος καὶ διδάσκων ἔπεισε τοὺς ἐναγεῖς λεγομένους δίκην

Now the Cylonian pollution had for a long time agitated the city, ever since Megacles the archon had persuaded Cylon and his fellow-conspirators, who had taken sanctuary in the temple of Athena, to come down and stand their trial. They fastened a braided thread to the image of the goddess and kept hold of it, but when they reached the shrine of the Erinyes on their way down, the thread broke of its own accord, upon which Megacles and his fellow-archons rushed to seize them, on the plea that the goddess refused them the rights of suppliants. Those who were outside of sacred precincts were stoned to death, and those who took refuge at the altars were slaughtered there; only those were spared who made supplication to the wives of the archons. Therefore the archons were called polluted men and were held in execration. The survivors of the followers of Cylon also recovered strength, and were forever at variance with the descendants of Megacles. At this particular time the quarrel was at its height and the people divided between the two factions. Solon, therefore, being now in high repute, interposed between them, along with the noblest of the Athenians, and by his entreaties and injunctions persuaded the men who were held to be polluted to submit to a trial, and to

ὑποσχεῖν καὶ κριθῆναι τριακοσίων ἀριστίνδην δικαζόντων. Μύρωνος δὲ τοῦ Φλυέως κατηγοροῦντος ἑάλωσαν οἱ ἄνδρες, καὶ μετέστησαν οἱ ζῶντες· τῶν δ' ἀποθανόντων τοὺς νεκροὺς ἀνορύξαντες ἐξέρριψαν ὑπὲρ τοὺς ὅρους. ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ταραχαῖς καὶ Μεγαρέων συνεπιθεμένων ἀπέβαλόν τε Νίσαιαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι καὶ Σαλαμῖνος ἐξέπεσον αὖθις. καὶ φόβοι τινὲς ἐκ δεισιδαιμονίας ἅμα καὶ φάσματα κατεῖχε τὴν πόλιν, οἵ τε μάντεις ἄγη καὶ μασμοὺς δεομένους καθαρμῶν

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προφαίνεσθαι διά τῶν ἱερῶν ἠγόρευον. Οὕτω δὴ μετάπεμπτος αὐτοῖς ἦκεν ἐκ Κρήτης Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ Φαίστιος, ὃν ἕβδομον ἐν τοῖς σοφοῖς καταριθμοῦσιν ἔνιοι τῶν οὐ προσιεμένων τὸν Περίανδρον. ἐδόκει δε τις εἶναι θεοφιλὴς καὶ σοφὸς περὶ τὰ θεῖα τὴν ἐνθουσιαστικὴν καὶ τελεστικὴν σοφίαν, διὸ καὶ παῖδα νύμφης ὄνομα Βάλτης καὶ Κούρητα νέον αὐτὸν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι προσηγόρευον. ἐλθὼν δὲ καὶ τῷ Σόλωνι χρησάμενος φίλῳ πολλὰ προσυπειργάσατο καὶ προωδοποίησεν αὐτῷ τῆς νομοθεσίας. καὶ γὰρ εὐσταλεῖς ἐποίησε τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ περὶ τὰ πένθη πραοτέρους, θυσίας τινὰς εὐθὺς ἀναμίξας πρὸς τὰ κήδη, καὶ τὸ σκληρὸν ἀφελὼν καὶ τὸ βαρβαρικὸν ᾧ συνείχοντο πρότερον αἱ πλεῖσται γυναῖκες. τὸ δὲ μέγιστον, ἱλασμοῖς τισι καὶ καθαρμοῖς καὶ ἱδρύσεσι κατοργιάσας καὶ καθοσιώσας

abide by the decision of three hundred jurors selected from the nobility. Myron of Phlya conducted the prosecution, and the family of Megacles was found guilty. Those who were alive were banished, and the bodies of the dead were dug up and cast forth beyond the borders of the country. During these disturbances the Megarians also attacked the Athenians, who lost Nisaea, and were driven out of Salamis once more. The city was also visited with superstitious fears and strange appearances, and the seers declared that their sacrifices indicated pollutions and defilements which demanded expiation.

Under these circumstances they summoned to their aid from Crete Epimenides of Phaestus, who is reckoned as the seventh Wise Man by some of those who refuse Periander a place in the list. He was reputed to be a man beloved of the gods, and endowed with a mystical and heaven-sent wisdom in religious matters. Therefore the men of his time said that he was the son of a nymph named Balte, and called him a new Cures. On coming to Athens he made Solon his friend, assisted him in many ways, and paved the way for his legislation. For he made the Athenians decorous and careful in their religious services, and milder in their rites of mourning, by attaching certain sacrifices immediately to their funeral ceremonies, and by taking away the harsh and barbaric practices in which their women had usually indulged up to that time. Most important of all, by sundry rites of propitiation and purification, and by sacred foundations, he hallowed and consecrated the city,

τὴν πόλιν ὑπήκοον τοῦ δικαίου καὶ μᾶλλον εὐπειθῆ πρὸς ὁμόνοιαν κατέστησε. λέγεται δὲ τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἰδὼν καὶ καταμαθὼν πολὺν χρόνον, εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ὡς τυφλόν ἐστι τοῦ μέλλοντος ἄνθρωπος· ἐκφαγεῖν γὰρ ἂν Ἀθηναίους τοῖς αὑτῶν ὀδοῦσιν, εἰ προῄδεσαν ὅσα τὴν πόλιν ἀνιάσει τὸ χωρίον· ὅμοιον δὲ τι καὶ Θαλῆν εἰκάσαι λέγουσι· κελεῦσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Μιλησίας φαύλῳ καὶ παρορωμένῳ τελευτήσαντα θεῖναι, προειπὼν ὡς ἀγορά ποτε τοῦτο Μιλησίων ἔσται τὸ χωρίον. Ἐπιμενίδης μὲν οὖν μάλιστα θαυμασθείς, καὶ χρήματα διδόντων πολλὰ καὶ τιμὰς μεγάλας τῶν Ἀθηναίων, οὐδὲν ἢ θαλλὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερᾶς ἐλαίας αἰτησάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἀπῆλθεν.

and brought it to be observant of justice and more easily inclined to unanimity.

It is said that when he had seen Munychia and considered it for some time, he remarked to the bystanders that man was indeed blind to the future; for if the Athenians only knew what mischiefs the place would bring upon their city, they would devour it with their own teeth. A similar insight into futurity is ascribed to Thales. They say that he gave directions for his burial in an obscure and neglected quarter of the city's territory, predicting that it would one day be the market-place of Miletus. Well then, Epimenides was vastly admired by the Athenians, who offered him much money and large honours; but he asked for nothing more than a branch of the sacred olive-tree, with which he returned home.

(23. 5) Ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ὕδωρ οὔτε ποταμοῖς ἐστιν ἀενάοις οὔτε λίμναις τισὶν οὔτ' ἀφθόνοις πηγαῖς ἡ χώρα διαρκής, ἀλλ' οἱ πλεῖστοι φρέασι ποιητοῖς ἐχρῶντο, νόμον ἔγραψεν, ὅπου μέν ἐστι δημόσιον φρέαρ ἐντὸς ἱππικοῦ, χρῆσθαι τούτῳ· τὸ δ' ἱππικὸν διάστημα τεσσάρων ἦν σταδίων· ὅπου δὲ πλεῖον ἀπέχει, ζητεῖν ὕδωρ ἴδιον· ἐὰν δ' ὀρύξαντες ὀργυιῶν δέκα βάθος παρ' ἑαυτοῖς μὴ εὕρωσι, τότε λαμβάνειν παρὰ τοῦ γείτονος ἑξάχουν ὑδρίαν δὶς ἑκάστης ἡμέρας πληροῦντας·

Since the country was not supplied with water by ever-flowing rivers, or lakes, or copious springs, but most of the inhabitants used wells which had been dug, he made a law that where there was a public well within a "hippikon," a distance of four furlongs, that should be used, but where the distance was greater than this, people must try to get water of their own; if, however, after digging to a depth of ten fathoms on their own land, they could not get water, then they might take it from a neighbour's well, filling a five gallon jar twice a day;

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ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ
Θησεὺς

Plutarch
Theseus
Translation B. Perrin, 1959
(12. 3) Λέγεται δὲ τῆς κύλικος πεσούσης ἐκχυθῆναι τὸ φάρμακον ὅπου νῦν ἐν Δελφινίῳ τὸ περίφρακτόν ἐστιν, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ὁ Αἰγεὺς ᾤκει, καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν πρὸς ἕω τοῦ ἱεροῦ καλοῦσιν ἐπ' Αἰγέως πύλαις.

And it is said that as the cup fell, the poison was spilled where now is the enclosure in the Delphinium, for that is where the house of Aegeus stood, and the Hermes to the east of the sanctuary is called the Hermes at Aegeus's gate.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ
Θεμιστοκλής

Plutarch
Themistocles
Translation B. Perrin, 1959
(1. 2) Διό καὶ τῶν νόθων εἰς Κυνόσαργες συντελούντων (τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ἔξω πυλῶν γυμνάσιον Ἡρακλέους, ἐπεὶ κἀκεῖνος οὐκ ἦν γνήσιος ἐν θεοῖς, ἀλλ' ἐνείχετο νοθείᾳ διὰ τὴν μητέρα θνητὴν οὖσαν) ἔπειθέ τινας ὁ Θεμιστοκλῆς τῶν εὖ γεγονότων νεανίσκων καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὸ Κυνόσαργες ἀλείφεσθαι μετ' αὐτοῦ. καὶ τούτου γενομένου δοκεῖ πανούργως τὸν τῶν νόθων καὶ γνησίων διορισμὸν ἀνελεῖν.

It was for the reason given, and because the aliens were wont to frequent Cynosarges, — this is a place outside the gates, a gymnasium of Heracles; for he too was not a legitimate god, but had something alien about him, from the fact that his mother was a mortal, — that Themistocles sought to induce certain well-born youths to go out to Cynosarges and exercise with him; and by his success in this bit of cunning he is thought to have removed the distinction between aliens and legitimates.

(22. 1–2) … καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος, ἣν Ἀριστοβούλην μὲν προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς ἄριστα τῇ πόλει, καὶ τοῖς Ἕλλησι βουλευσάμενος, πλησίον δὲ τῆς οἰκίας κατεσκεύασεν ἐν Μελίτῃ τὸ ἱερὸν …

… by building the temple of Artemis, whom he surnamed Aristoboulé, or Best Counsellor, intimating thus that it was he who had given the best counsel to the city and to the Hellenes. This temple he established near his house in Melité …

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ
Κίμων
(13. 8) πρῶτος δὲ ταῖς λεγομέναις ἐλευθερίοις καὶ γλαφυραῖς διατριβαῖς, αἳ μικρὸν ὕστερον ὑπερφυῶς ἠγαπήθησαν, ἐκαλλώπισε τὸ ἄστυ, τὴν μὲν ἀγορὰν πλατάνοις καταφυτεύσας, τὴν δ' Ἀκαδήμειαν ἐξ ἀνύδρου καὶ αὐχμηρᾶς κατάρρυτον ἀποδείξας ἄλσος ἡσκημένον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δρόμοις καθαροῖς καὶ συσκίοις περιπάτοις.

Plutarch
Cimon
Translation B. Perrin, 1959
He was the first to beautify the city with the so-called "liberal" and elegant resorts which were so excessively popular a little later, by planting the market-place with plane trees, and by converting the Academy from a waterless and arid spot into a well watered grove, which he provided with clear running-tracks and shady walks.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ
Φωκίων
(18. 5) Ἡ δὲ οἰκία τοῦ Φωκίωνος ἔτι νῦν ἐν Μελίτῃ δείκνυται, χαλκαῖς λεπίσι κεκοσμημένη, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα λιτὴ καὶ ἀφελής.

Plutarch
Phocion
Translation B. Perrin, 1959
And even to the present day Phocion's house is pointed out in Melité, adorned with bronze disks, but otherwise plain and simple.

ΠΛΟΥΤΑΡΧΟΣ
Περὶ φυγῆς
(6) ἆρα οὖν ξένοι καὶ ἀπόλιδές εἰσιν Ἀθηναίων οἱ μεταστάντες ἐκ Μελίτης εἰς Διόμεια, ὅπου καὶ μῆνα Μεταγειτνιῶνα καὶ θυσίαν ἐπώνυμον ἄγουσι τοῦ μετοικισμοῦ τὰ Μεταγείτνια, τὴν πρὸς ἑτέρους γειτνίασιν εὐκόλως καὶ ἱλαρῶς ἐκδεχόμενοι, καὶ στέργοντες; οὐκ ἂν εἴποις.

Plutarch
On Exile
Translation P. H. De Lacy and B. Einarson, 1959
Are those Athenians foreigners and men without a country who removed from Melitê to the region of Diomeia, where they observe both the month Metageitnion and a festival, "the Metageitnia," named for their migration, accepting this change of neighbours in a serene and joyful spirit, and remaining content with their condition? You would not say so.

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ΣΟΥΔΑ
Suda
Translation David Whitehead (www.stoa.org/sol/)
λ. Κλεψύδρα· ἡ πηγή· διὰ τὸ ποτὲ μὲν πλημμυρεῖν ποτὲ δὲ ἐνδεῖν·
Klepsydra, Clepsydra: The spring. [So named] because of the fact that [its water] is sometimes abundant and sometimes lacking.

ΣΤΡΑΒΩΝ
Γεωγραφικὰ

Strabo
Geography
Translation H. L. Jones, 1949
(8. 1. 2) Τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις συνέβη, λεπτόγεών τε καὶ τραχεῖαν οἰκοῦντας χώραν ἀπορθήτους μεῖναι διὰ τοῦτο, καὶ αὐτόχθονας νομισθῆναι φησὶν ὁ Θουκυδίδης, κατέχοντας τὴν αὐτὴν ἀεί, μηδενὸς ἐξελαύνοντος αὐτοὺς μηδ' ἐπιθυμοῦντος ἔχειν τὴν ἐκείνων· τοῦτο τοίνυν αὐτὸ καὶ τοῦ ἑτερογλώττου καὶ τοῦ ἑτεροεθοῦς αἴτιον, ὡς εἰκός, ὑπῆρξε καίπερ ὀλίγοις οὖσιν.

And this was precisely the case with the Athenians; that is, they lived in a country that was both thin-soiled and rugged, and for this reason, according to Thucydides, their country remained free from devastation, and they were regarded as an indigenous people, who always occupied the same country, since no one drove them out of their country or even desired to possess it. This, therefore, as one may suppose, was precisely the cause of their becoming different both in speech and in customs, albeit they were few in number.

(9. 1. 7) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν κάθοδον καὶ τὸν τῆς χώρας μερισμόν, ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν συγκατελθόντων αὐτοῖς Δωριέων ἐκπεσεῖν τῆς οἰκείας συνέβη πολλοὺς εἰς τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ τῆς Μεσσήνης βασιλεὺς Μέλανθος· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἐβασίλευσεν ἑκόντων, νικήσας ἐκ μονομαχίας τὸν τῶν Βοιωτῶν βασιλέα Ξάνθον. εὐανδρούσης δὲ τῆς Ἀττικῆς διὰ τοὺς φυγάδας, φοβηθέντες οἱ Ἡρακλεῖδαι, παροξυνόντων αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ τῶν ἐν Μεσσήνῃ, τῶν μὲν διὰ τὴν γειτνίασιν, τῶν δὲ, ὅτι Κόδρος τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐβασίλευε τότε ὁ τοῦ Μελάνθου παῖς, ἐστράτευσαν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἀττικήν· ἡττηθέντες δὲ μάχῃ τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ἐξέστησαν γῆς, τὴν Μεγαρικὴν δὲ κατέσχον καὶ τήν τε πόλιν ἔκτισαν τὰ Μέγαρα καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους Δωριέας ἀντὶ Ἰώνων ἐποίησαν·

But after the return of the Heraclidae and the partitioning of the country, it came to pass that many of the former inhabitants were driven out of their home-lands into Attica by the Heraclidae and the Dorians who came back with them. Among these was Melanthus, the king of Messene. And he reigned also over the Athenians, by their consent, after his victory in single combat over Xanthus, the king of the Boeotians. But since Attica was now populous on account of the exiles, the Heraclidae became frightened, and at the instigation chiefly of the people of Corinth and the people of Messene — of the former because of their proximity and of the latter because Codrus, the son of Melanthus, was at that time king of Attica — they made an expedition against Attica. But being defeated in battle they retired from the whole of the land except the Megarian territory; this they occupied and not only founded the city Megara but also made its population Dorians instead of Ionians.

(9. 1. 8) Ἔστι δ' ἡ χώρα τῶν Μεγαρέων παράλυπρος, καθάπερ καὶ ἡ Ἀττική, …
The country of the Megarians, like Attica, has rather poor soil, …

(9. 1. 19) Οἷον ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν ποταμῶν ὁ Καλλίμαχος γελᾶν φησίν, εἴ τις θαρρεῖ γράφειν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρθένους

ἀφύσσεσθαι καθαρὸν γάνος Ἠριδανοῖο,

οὗ καὶ τὰ βοσκήματα ἀπόσχοιτ' ἄν. εἰσὶ μὲν νῦν αἱ πηγαὶ καθαροῦ καὶ ποτίμου ὕδατος, ὥς φασιν, ἐκτὸς τῶν Διοχάρους καλουμένων πυλῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Λυκείου· πρότερον δὲ καὶ κρήνη κατεσκεύαστό τις πλησίον πολλοῦ καὶ καλοῦ ὕδατος· εἰ δὲ μὴ νῦν, τί ἂν εἴη θαυμαστόν, εἰ πάλαι πολὺ καὶ καθαρὸν ἦν ὥστε καὶ πότιμον εἶναι μετέβαλε δὲ ὕστερον;

For example, in his Collection of the Rivers, Callimachus says that it makes him laugh if anyone makes bold to write that the Athenian virgins "draw pure liquid from the Eridanus," from which even cattle would hold aloof. Its sources are indeed existent now, with pure and potable water, as they say, outside the Gates of Diochares, as they are called, near the Lyceium; but in earlier times there was also a fountain near by which was constructed by man, with abundant and excellent water; and even if the water is not so now, why should it be a thing to wonder at, if in early times the water was abundant and pure, and therefore also potable, but in later times underwent a change?

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(9. 1. 20) … Κέκροπα πρῶτον εἰς δώδεκα πόλεις συνοικίσαι τὸ πλῆθος, ὧν ὀνόματα Κεκροπία, Τετράπολις, Ἐπακρία, Δεκέλεια, Ἐλευσίς, Ἄφιδνα (λέγουσι δὲ καὶ πληθυντικῶς Ἀφίδνας), Θόρικος, Βραυρών, Κύθηρος, Σφηττός, Κεφισιά, πάλιν δ' ὕστερον εἰς μίαν πόλιν συναγαγεῖν λέγεται τὴν νῦν τὰς δώδεκα Θησεύς.

… Cecrops first settled the multitude in twelve cities, the names of which were Cecropia, Tetrapolis, Epacria, Deceleia, Eleusis, Aphidna (also called Aphidnae, in the plural), Thoricus, Brauron, Cytherus, Sphettus, Cephisia. And at a later time Theseus is said to have united the twelve into one city, that of to-day.

(9. 1. 23) Τῶν δ' ὀρῶν τὰ μὲν ἐν ὀνόματι μάλιστά ἐστιν ὅ τε Ὑμηττὸς καὶ Βριλησσὸς καὶ Λυκαβηττός, ἔτι δὲ Πάρνης καὶ Κορυδαλλός.

Of the mountains, those which are most famous are Hymettus, Brilessus, and Lycabettus; and also Parnes and Corydallus.

(9. 1. 24) Ποταμοὶ δ' εἰσὶν ὁ μὲν Κηφισσὸς ἐκ Τρινεμέων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχων, ῥέων δὲ διὰ τοῦ πεδίου, [...] χειμαρρώδης τὸ πλέον, θέρους δὲ μειοῦται τελέως. ἔστι δὲ τοιοῦτος μᾶλλον ὁ Ἰλισσός, ἐκ θατέρου μέρους τοῦ ἄστεος ῥέων εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν παραλίαν, ἐκ τῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἄγρας καὶ τοῦ Λυκείου μερῶν …

The rivers of Attica are the Cephissus, which has its source in the deme Trinemeis; it flows through the plain [...] being a torrential stream most of the time, although in summer it decreases and entirely gives out. And such is still more the case with the Ilissus, which flows from the other part of the city into the same coast, from the region above Agra and the Lyceium, …

(17. 3. 10) ... διὸ πολλάκις λοιμικὰ ἐμπίπτειν ὑπὸ αὐχμῶν καὶ τὰς λίμνας τελμάτων πίμπλασθαι καὶ τὴν ἀκρίδα ἐπιπολάζειν.

… and therefore pestilences often ensue because of droughts, and the lakes are filled with mud, and the locust is prevalent.

ΦΩΤΙΟΣ

No translation

λ. Κλεψύδρα· κρήνη ἐν ἀκροπόλει οὕτως καλεῖται.

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Appendix of Tables

Development of Sites with Settlement and Mortuary Activity by Areas and Periods

Area II: Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki

Settlement or Other Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
N of the Agora	II. 10. N bank of Eridanos – Stoa Poikile			X		X
	II. 16. Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos plot)					
Central Square	II. 11, II. 6. Stoa Basileios – Temple of Ares			X		
	II. 3. Stoa of Attalos	X		X	X	X
	II. 5. Tholos	X	X	X	X	X
	II. 7. Odeion of Agrippa	X	X	X	X	X
	II. 9. Middle and South Stoa	X	X	X	X	
	II. 21. SW corner of Agora – House of Simon					X
Agoraios Kolonos	II. 8. Flat hilltop & SE lower slopes				X	
	II. 20. W side of Agora					X
SE of the Agora	II. 2. Library of Pantainos & Polygnotou St.					
	II. 18. Eleusinion			X	X	X
SW of the Agora Areopagus	II. 1. Heliaia/Aiakeion					X
	II. 4. W slope – Industrial District		X	X	X	X
	II. 12. N slope		X		X	X
	II. 13. NE slope				X	X
	II. 14. NW slope					
	II. 15. SW slope – area of Dörpfeld's excavation					

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Area II: Agora – Areopagus – Monastiraki

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
N of the Agora	II. 10. N bank of Eridanos – Stoa Poikile	X				
	II. 16. Adrianou 3 (Phinopoulos plot)			X		
Central Square	II. 11, II. 6. Stoa Basileios – Temple of Ares	X	X	X		
	II. 3. Stoa of Attalos	X	X			
	II. 5. Tholos				X	X
	II. 7. Odeion of Agrippa				X	
	II. 9. Middle & South Stoa				X	
	II. 21. SW corner of Agora – House of Simon					
Agoraios Kolonos	II. 8. Flat hilltop & SE lower slopes	X	X	X		
	II. 20. W side of Agora					
SE of the Agora	II. 2. Library of Pantainos & Polygnotou St.	X	X		X	
	II. 18. Eleusinion			X		
SW of the Agora Areopagus	II. 1. Heliaia/Aiakeion					
	II. 4. W slope – Industrial District				X	X
	II. 12. N slope	X	X	X	X	
	II. 13. NE slope			X	X	
	II. 14. NW slope				X	
	II. 15. W slope – area of Dörpfeld's excavation	X	X	X		

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Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
Eriai Gate Cemetery	III. 13. Kal. Samouil & Peiraios 59			
	III. 23, III. 24. Sapountzakis plot/Peiraios 57			
	III. 26. Peiraios (ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench)			
	III. 25. Peiraios 68			
	III. 28. Eleftheria Square 25 (Kriezi 25)			
	III. 19. Kriezi 23–24			
	III. 18. Kriezi 22 & Psaromilingou			
	III. 17. Kriezi Trench			
NE	III. 6. Aischylou 31			
	III. 8. Aristophanous 14–16			
	III. 30. Sarri 4			
	III. 3. Agiou Dimitriou 20			
N of the Eridanos	III. 1. Agion Anargyron 5			
	III. 4. Agias Theklas 11 & Pittaki			
	III. 27. Pittaki 11–13			
	III. 15. Karaiskaki 16–18			
	III. 7. Aisopou & Mikonos 18			
	III. 14. Karaiskaki 1 & Arionos 2		X	
	III. 10. Arionos 4 & Ermou		X	
	III. 9. Arionos 12			
	III. 10. Avliton 10			
Elsewhere	III. 16. Kranaou & Sarri			
	III. 12. Ivis & Lepeniotou			
	III. 29. Agioi Asomatoi Square			
	III. 2. Agioi Asomatoi Square & Tournavitou 1			X

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Area III: Psyrri – Koumoundouros Square

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
Eriai Gate Cemetery	III. 13. Kal. Samouil & Peiraios 59				X	X
	III. 23, III. 24. Sapountzakis plot/Peiraios 57			?	X	X
	III. 25. Peiraios 68	X			X	
	III. 26. Peiraios (ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench)				X	X
	III. 28. Eleftheria Square 25 (Kriezi 25)					
	III. 19. Kriezi 23–24	X		X	X	X
	III. 18. Kriezi 22 & Psaromilingou	X			X	X
	III. 17. Kriezi Trench	X	X	X	X	
NE	III. 6. Aischylou 31			X		
	III. 8. Aristophanous 14–16			X		
	III. 30. Sarri 4			X		
	III. 3. Αγ. Dimitriou 20			X		
N of the Eridanos	III. 1. Αγ. Anargyron 5				X	
	III. 4. Αγ. Theklas 11 & Pittaki	X			X	
	III. 27. Pittaki 11–13		X			
	III. 15. Karaiskaki 16–18		X			
	III. 7. Aisopou & Mikonos 18		X			
	III. 14. Karaiskaki 1 & Arionos 2					
	III. 10. Arionos 4 & Ermou	X				
	III. 9. Arionos 12	X				
	III. 11. Avliton 10	X				
Elsewhere	III. 16. Kranaou & Sarri		X			
	III. 12. Ivis & Lepeniotou		X			
	III. 29. Agioi Asomatoi Square		X			
	III. 2. Agioi Asomatoi Square & Tournavitou 1					

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Area IV: Varvakeios – Omonoia Square*

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
E Part	IV. 4. Lykourgou			
	IV. 5. Kotzias Square			
	IV. 2. Aiolou 93 & Sophokleous			
	IV. 1. Aiolou 72			
W Part	IV. 6. Sapphous 10			
	IV. 7. Sapphous 12			

***No data**

Area IV: Varvakeios – Omonoia Square

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
E Part	IV. 4. Lykourgou		X			
	IV. 5. Kotzias Square		X		X	X
	IV. 2. Aiolou 93 & Sophokleous	X				
	IV. 1. Aiolou 72	X				
W Part	IV. 6. Sapphous 10				X	X
	IV. 7. Sapphous 12				X	X

Area V: Commercial Center

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
NE and E Part	V. 7. Panepistimiou 31			
	V. 4. Panepistimiou 9			
	V. 3. Karagiorgi Servias 4		X	
	V. 6. Stadiou & Omirou			
Center	V. 1. Agiou Markou 6–8–10–12		X	
	V. 2. Evripidou 5 & Praxitelous 42–44			
	V. 5. Praxitelous 25 & Miltiadou 2			

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Area V: Commercial Center

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
NE and E Part	V. 7. Panepistimiou 31				X	X
	V. 4. Panepistimiou 9				X	X
	V. 3. Karagiorgi Servias 4		X	X		
	V. 6. Stadiou & Omirou					X
Center	V. 1. Agiou Markou 6–8–10–-12			X		
	V. 2. Evripidou 5 & Praxitelous 42–44	X				
	V. 5. Praxitelous 25 & Miltiadou 2					

Area VI: Plaka

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
	VI. 1. Adrianou 146–148–150			
	VI. 2. Voulis – Mitropoleos – Pentelis & Apollonos			
	VI. 3. Metropolis Church of Athens			
	VI. 4. Kodrou 15			X
	VI. 5. Amalias Ave. opposite nos. 32–34			
	VI. 6. Lysikratous 15			

Area VI: Plaka

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
	VI. 1. Adrianou 146–148–150					
	VI. 2. Voulis – Mitropoleos – Pentelis & Apollonos		X			
	VI. 3. Metropolis Church of Athens		X			
	VI. 4. Kodrou 15					
	VI. 5. Amalias Ave. opposite nos. 32–34					X
	VI. 6. Lysikratous 15					

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Area VII: National Garden – Syntagma Square*

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
N Part	VII. 2. Amalias Ave.			
	VII. 1. Parliament: Forecourt – Tomb of the Unknown Soldier			
	VII. 3. National Garden: Vas. Sophias Ave. & Irodou Attikou			

***No data**

Area VII: National Garden – Syntagma Square

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
N Part	VII. 2. Amalias Ave.	X				
	VII. 1. Parliament: Forecourt – Tomb of the Unknown Soldier	X				
	VII. 3. National Garden: Vas. Sophias Ave. & Irodou Attikou	X	X			

Area VIII: Hill of the Acropolis

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
	VIII. 1. Flat summit	X		
Slopes	VIII. 2. N Slope – Klepsydra	X		X
	VIII. 3. W Slope – Beulé Gate			X
	VIII. 4. S Slope – S of the Herodeion			X

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Area VIII: Hill of the Acropolis

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
	VIII. 1. Flat summit	X			X	
Slopes	VIII. 2. N Slope – Klepsydra					
	VIII. 3. W Slope – Beulé Gate					
	VIII. 4. S Slope – S of the Herodeion		X	X	X	

Area IX: Olympieion

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
Olympieion	IX. 4. N of temple of Zeus			
	IX. 5. S of temple of Zeus			X
S Bank of Ilissos	IX. 2. Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou			
	IX. 3. Diakou & Anapafseos			
	IX. 1. Aristonikou 4			

Area IX: Olympieion

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
Olympieion	IX. 4. N of temple of Zeus		X	X		X
	IX. 5. S of temple of Zeus	X	X	X	X	X
S Bank of Ilissos	IX. 2. Vouliagmenis – Trivonianou – Efpompou			X	X	X
	IX. 3. Diakou & Anapafseos				X	
	IX. 1. Aristonikou 4				X	

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Area X: Makrygianni

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
NW Part	X. 12. Dionysiou Areopagitou & Propylaion		X	X
	X. 14. Dionysiou Areopagitou 41 – Parthenonos 32–34 – Kallisperi 20 (Angelopoulos plot)			X
	X. 13. Dionysiou Areopagitou 35 & Kallisperi 16			
	X. 25. Karyatidon & Kallisperi (S. Kougeas residence)			
	X. 5. Rovertou Galli 10 & Karyatidon 14			
	X. 7. Rovertou Galli 18-20 & Parthenonos			X
SW Part	X. 26. Karyatidon 9–11		X	
	X. 39. Promachou 4–6			
	X. 40. Promachou 5–7			X
	X. 19. Erechtheiou 30 & Kavalotti 21			
	X. 22. Kavalloti 18		X	X
	X. 24. Kavalloti (between Propylaion & Erechtheiou)			
	X. 23. Kavalloti 27			
	X. 3. Garivaldi 28, Sophroniskou & Phaineretis			
	X. 41. Propylaion 34			
	X. 15. Erechtheiou 20			X
	X. 16. Erechtheiou 21–23			
	X. 17. Erechtheiou 24–26			
	X. 18. Erechtheiou 25			
	X. 37. Parthenonos 12			
SE Part	X. 36. Mitsaion & Zitrou			
	X. 1. Veikou 5–7			
	X. 8. Dimitrakopoulou 7 & Phalirou 8			
	X. 30. Syngrou Ave. 13 & Lembesi		X	
	X. 31. Syngrou Ave. 25			
	X. 29. Syngrou Ave. (between Misaraliotou & Hadjichristou)		X	X
	X. 20. Iosiph ton Rogon 6			X
NE Part	X. 11. Dionysiou Areopagitou 5 & Makri 1			
	X. 35. Makrygiannis plot (Weiler building)		X	X
	X. 32. Makrygianni 15–17 – Porinou – Diakou			
	X. 33. Makrygianni 19–21			
	X. 34. Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou			
	X. 27. Lembesi 9 & Porinou 15			

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Area X: Makrygianni

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
NW Part	X. 12. Dionysiou Areopagitou – Propylaion					X
	X. 14. Dionysiou Areopagitou 41 – Parthenonos 32–34 – Kallisperi 20 (Angelopoulos plot)			X	X	
	X. 13. Dionysiou Areopagitou 35 & Kallisperi 16			X		
	X. 25. Karyatidon & Kallisperi (S. Kougeas residence)			X	X	
	X. 5. Rovertou Galli 10 & Karyatidon 14		X			
	X. 7. Rovertou Galli 18–20 & Parthenonos		X			
SW Part	X. 26. Karyatidon 9–11					
	X. 39. Promachou 4–6				X	
	X. 40. Promachou 5–7				X	
	X. 19. Erechtheiou 30 & Kavalotti 21				X	
	X. 22. Kavalloti 18					
	X. 24. Kavalloti (between Propylaion & Erechtheiou)				X	X
	X. 23. Kavalloti 27				X	
	X. 3. Garivaldi 28, Sophroniskou & Phaineretis		X		X	
	X. 41. Propylaion 34	X	X			X
	X. 15. Erechtheiou 20	X		X	X	
	X. 16. Erechtheiou 21–23	X	X			
	X. 17. Erechtheiou 24–26	X	X			
	X. 18. Erechtheiou 25	X	X	X	X	
	X. 37. Parthenonos 12			X		
SE Part	X. 36. Mitsaion & Zitrou			X		
	X. 1.Veikou 5–7		X			
	X. 8. Dimitrakopoulou 7 & Phalirou 8	X				
	X. 30. Syngrou Ave. 13 & Lembesi					
	X. 31. Syngrou Ave. 25		X			
	X. 29. Syngrou Ave. (between Misaraliotou & Hadjichristou)		X			
	X. 20. Iosiph ton Rogon 6					X
NE Part	X. 11. Dionysiou Areopagitou & Makri 1		X	X		
	X. 35. Makrygiannis plot (Weiler building)	X	X	?		X
	X. 32. Makrygianni 15–17 – Porinou & Diakou				X	
	X. 33. Makrygianni 19–21	X	X		X	
	X. 34. Makrygianni 23–25–27 & Porinou	X	X		X	
	X. 27. Lembesi 9 & Porinou 15	X				

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Area XI: Kynosarges*

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
S Bank of Ilissos	XI. 1. Diamantopoulou 10			
	XI. 3. Theophilopoulou 11			
	XI. 5. Theophilopoulou 16			
	XI. 2. Theophilopoulou, ΥΔΡΕΞ Trench (between Menaichmou & Kokkini)			
	XI. 4. Dimitrakopoulou 1–3–5 & Paraskevopoulou			
	XI. 6. Kallirrois 5 – Perraivou – Kokkini			
	XI. 7. Kokkini 4–6			

*No data

Area XI: Kynosarges

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
S Bank of Ilissos	XI. 1. Diamantopoulou 10			X		X
	XI. 3. Theophilopoulou 11		X	X		X
	XI. 5. Theophilopoulou 16				X	
	XI. 2. Theophilopoulou (between Menaichmou & Kokkini)			X		X
	XI. 4. Dimitrakopoulou 1–3–5 & Paraskevopoulou					X
	XI. 6. Kallirrois 5 – Perraivou – Kokkini					X
	XI. 7. Kokkini 4–6				X	

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Area XII: Koukaki

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
N Part	XII. 13. Zacharitsa & Alopekis (present-day Zinni)			
	XII. 11. Erechtheiou 9–11			
	XII. 17. Renti 8			
	XII. 2. Veikou 39 & Stratigou Kontouli		X	
	XII. 12. Erechtheiou 13–15			
	XII. 18. Petmeza Shaft			
Central Part	XII. 4. Dimitrakopoulou 44–46 & Drakou		X	
	XII. 10. Drakou 19		X	X
	XII. 15. Botsari 35			
	XII. 16. Botsari 41 & Dimitrakopoulou 47			
W Part	XII. 1. Androutsou 32			
	XII. 14. Meidani 12–14			
	XII. 6. Dimitrakopoulou 95			
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	XII. 3. Veikou 123–125 & Aglavrou			

Area XII: Koukaki

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
N Part	XII. 13. Zacharitsa & Alopekis (present-day Zinni)		X			
	XII. 11. Erechtheiou 9–11	X	X			
	XII. 17. Renti 8	X				
	XII. 2. Veikou 39 & Stratigou Kontouli	X				
	XII. 12. Erechtheiou 13–15					X
	XII. 18. Petmeza Shaft					X
Central Part	XII. 4. Dimitrakopoulou 44–46 & Drakou					
	XII. 10. Drakou 19	X		X		
	XII. 15. Botsari 35	X				
	XII. 16. Botsari 41 & Dimitrakopoulou 47	X				
W Part	XII. 1. Androutsou 32	X				
	XII. 14. Meidani 12–14				X	
	XII. 6. Dimitrakopoulou 95				X	
	XII. 7. Dimitrakopoulou 106	X			X	
	XII. 8. Dimitrakopoulou 110	X	X	X	X	
	XII. 9. Dimitrakopoulou 116 & Aglavrou				X	
	XII. 3. Veikou 123–125 & Aglavrou				X	X

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Area XII: Theseion*

Settlement or Other Activity				
	Sites	Periods		
		SM	Geometric	Archaic
N Part	XIII. 1. Aktaiou – Eptachalkou – Ephestion			
	XIII. 4. Amphiktyonos 8			
	XIII. 13. Poulopoulou 10			
	XIII. 14. Poulopoulou 20			
W Part	XIII. 6. Dimophontos 5			
	XIII. 7. Erysichthonos 23			
	XIII. 8. Erysichthonos 27			
	XIII. 9. Erysichthonos 29 & Nileos 38 (trench and plot)			
	XIII. 12. Nileos 32			
	XIII. 10. Igiou 3			
	XIII. 3. Aktaiou 24			
	XIII. 2. Aktaiou & Nileos (trench and plot)			

***No data**

Area XIII: Theseion

Mortuary Activity						
	Sites	Periods				
		SM	PG	EG/MG	LG	Archaic
N Part	XIII. 1. Aktaiou – Eptachalkou – Ephestion			X		
	XIII. 4. Amphiktyonos 8		X			
	XIII. 13. Poulopoulou 10		X			
	XIII. 14. Poulopoulou 20			X		
W Part	XIII. 6. Dimophontos 5				X	
	XIII. 7. Erysichthonos 23		X			
	XIII. 8. Erysichthonos 27		X			
	XIII. 9. Erysichthonos 29 & Nileos 38 (trench and plot)		X		X	X
	XIII. 12. Nileos 32			X		
	XIII. 10. Igiou 3				X	
	XIII. 3. Aktaiou 24				X	
	XIII. 2. Aktaiou & Nileos (trench and plot)				X	

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Gazetteer

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Above: Rollout of Oenochoe P 4885 from Grave XIII of the Late Geometric Tholos cemetery. Courtesy of the Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

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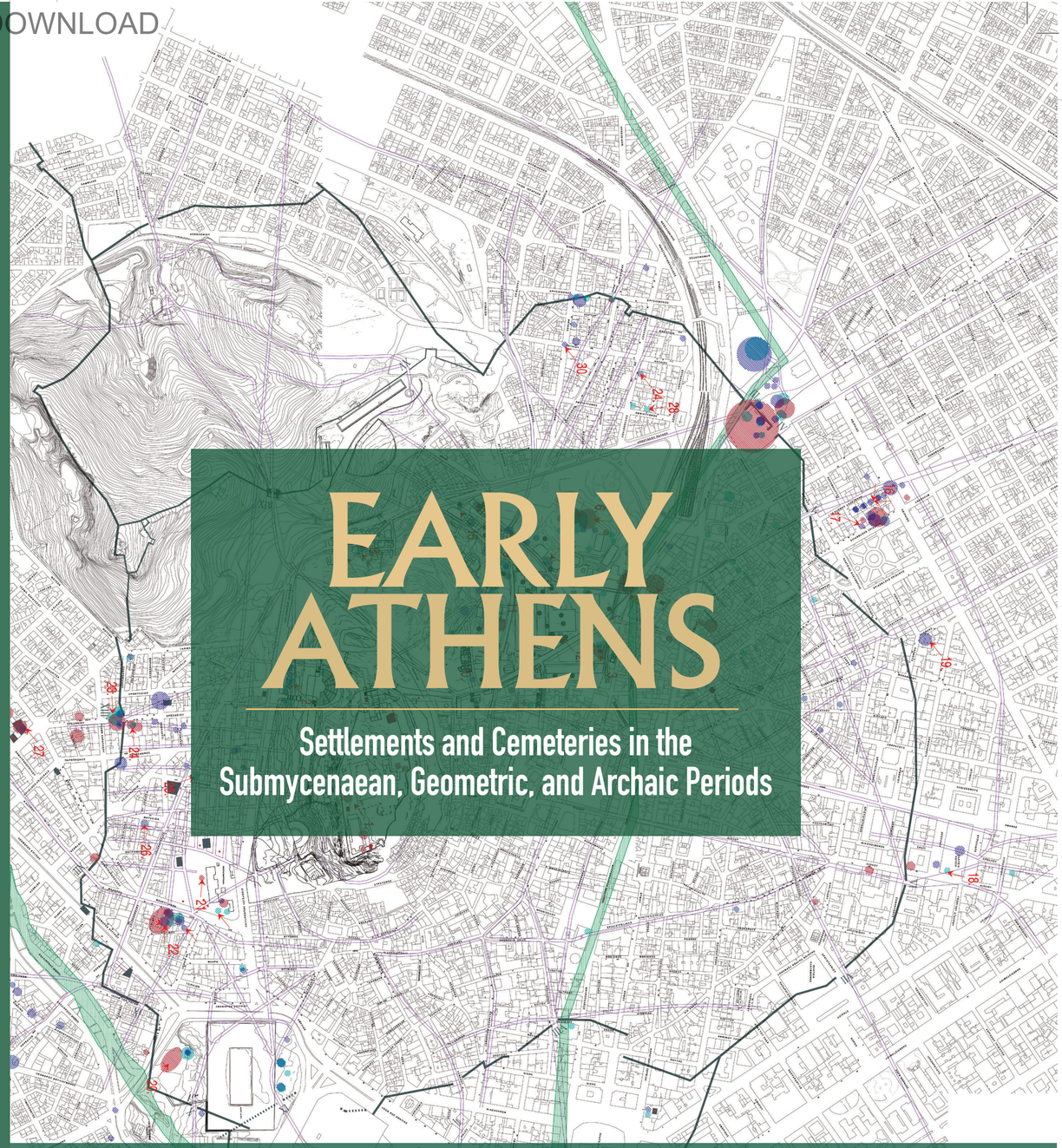

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