INDUSTRIAL RELIGION

The Saucer Pyres of the Athenian Agora

SUSAN I. ROTROFF

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The American School of Classical Studies at Athens
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In memoriam

Evelyn Byrd Harrison
Evelyn Lord Smithson

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project began over 10 years ago, prompted by Lynn Snyder's examination of the seemingly unpromising remnants of burnt bone from the deposits that have come to be known as saucer pyres, and her request that I investigate the ceramic and stratigraphic evidence relevant to the deposits. She reawakened an interest that goes back to my earliest years at the Agora, when Steve Miller and John Camp excavated pyres in Greek Building Δ and the houses in section Ω, respectively. Determined to understand the purpose behind the deposits, I spent my excavation lunch breaks reading the notebook accounts of earlier discoveries. It was a discouraging enterprise, so I set aside thoughts of understanding the ritual and concentrated instead on dating the deposits, part of the project of *Agora* XXIX. Lynn's discovery that the bone from the pyres is exclusively that of animals, and particularly the species and parts of animals appropriate to sacrifice, coupled with the availability of new material from the excavations north of Hadrian Street and elsewhere in Athens, encouraged me to try again to make some sense of the activities of the people who left these deposits behind. This monograph is the result of that effort.

I am grateful, as always, to the staff of the Agora Excavations, who have supported my work in innumerable ways. The director, John Camp, encouraged me to study and publish this material, and conversations with him over the years have helped to shape my ideas about the phenomenon. He also initiated additional excavations in the area outside the southwest corner of the public square, where supervisor Laura Gawlinski spent several seasons clarifying the plans and stratigraphy of buildings where pyres had been found in the early years of excavation. I am particularly grateful to Laura for the energy and attention she devoted to these important but poorly preserved structures. Craig Mauzy and Angelique Sideris undertook the monumental task of photographing the pyres anew and, between them, supplied me with most of the illustrations in this book. Anne Hooton generously responded to a last-minute plea for a drawing, fitting my request into an already overloaded schedule. Charts and graphs are my own unless otherwise indicated; photographs, plans, and drawings were supplied by the Agora Excavations unless otherwise noted. Many of the artifacts required repair and conservation, provided by Karen Lovén

and her colleagues in the conservation lab. In collaboration with secretary Jan Jordan and registrar Sylvie Dumont, they also reorganized and stored the objects more securely. Jan and Sylvie dealt with my requests for access to the material, with the assistance of the guards of the Agora Museum. They cheerfully shouldered the extra work that my inventorying of many new objects visited upon them and often drew my attention to deposits and details I would not otherwise have been aware of. Agora volunteers, especially Joseph Lillywhite and Christine Smith, helped with the task of sorting through material in dusty tins and boxes stored in the basement of the Stoa of Attalos, and foreman George Dervos and his team retrieved and reshelved those same tins and boxes in aid of the project. Essential to it all, of course, was the work of the generations of excavators who devoted meticulous care to the excavation of the deposits—both the supervisors who recorded their discovery and the workers who found them and removed them from the soil.

For financial support I owe thanks to the National Endowment for the Humanities, which supported a year of residence in Athens dedicated to work on this project (2009–2010), and to Washington University, which granted me sabbatical leave for that year. I am grateful to the American School of Classical Studies at Athens for the scholarly support it supplies in the form of the Blegen Library, and for a "home" in Athens populated with talented scholars and students with a wide range of interests, whose questions, comments, and advice contributed materially to the development of the project. In particular I would like to thank the former director of the School, Jack Davis, for his invitation to speak about the pyres in the School's lecture series, giving me the opportunity to draw my ideas together and present them to a knowledgeable audience. The Mobius and Interlibrary Loan systems, together with the Agora website built and maintained by Bruce Hartzler, have made it possible for me to continue my work at home in St. Louis. Bruce's work has revolutionized the study of Agora material, and he deserves the hearty thanks of this and future generations of scholars for making the excavation records available worldwide.

Several colleagues have provided texts or information that I have incorporated into the manuscript. Maria Ntinou contributed Appendix I, on charcoal from the pyres, and Evi Margaritis arranged for the sorting of the organic remains recovered through flotation (carried out under the supervision of Amber Laughy) and contributed her expertise to the identification of the preserved plant material. Lynn Snyder provided me with information about the animal bone, in anticipation of her planned publication on that material. Phyllis Graham supplied a vivid, firsthand account of an exorcism at Archaia Nemea in 1981. To all of them I am grateful for the generous sharing of their knowledge, experience, and expertise.

I am indebted to Elizabeth Pemberton for information about relevant pottery at Corinth, and to Ioulia Tzonou-Herbst and Guy Sanders for facilitating access to it. Jutta Stroszeck kindly enabled me to examine the pottery from pyres at the Kerameikos, which I visited on a stormy day when she had also to deal with major flooding in her offices. Many others have shared information, advice, bibliography, and insights: the list is long, but important among them are Nancy de Grummond, David Jordan, Gudrun

Klebinder-Gauss, Kathleen Lynch, John Papadopoulos, Andrew Stewart, Sara Strack, and Barbara Tsakirgis. I also appreciate the many observations and corrections contributed by the learned anonymous readers tasked by the American School with the evaluation of my manuscript; they have saved me from many errors and prompted me to a fuller consideration of several features of the pyre phenomenon. For the meticulous care they devoted to the manuscript during the publication process, I would like to thank Gene McGarry, whose contribution went far beyond the usual definition of "proofing," and my in-house editior, Michael Fitzgerald, whose wise advice resolved many thorny issues and whose gentle humor made light the work. The mistakes that remain are, of course, my own. Special thanks, as always, are due to my husband, Bob Lamberton, who, among many other kindnesses, has patiently helped me talk and think through the many conundrums that the pyres present.

Finally, I dedicate this volume to the memory of Eve Harrison and Evelyn Smithson, members of the formidable second generation of Agora scholars who joined the excavations after the Second World War. They were at the height of their powers when I first came to the Agora in 1970, and their work has provided models of intellectual acuity, meticulous observation, encyclopedic knowledge, creativity, insight, and daring that I have tried to emulate but can never match. I owe them a special debt for that, and for the support, encouragement, and friendship they offered me. I hope they knew how important they were to me.

Jerusalem

Introduction

On the 10th of March in 1933, with the discovery of a small cache of pots in a Hellenistic layer, Eugene Vanderpool encountered a puzzle that has continued to exercise students of Athenian life for three generations. Vanderpool described the event in typically laconic style: "The following vases . . . were found together in a small pocket in the earth below a Hellenistic fill at KA:5. A few other fragments found with them, including two pieces of a BG skyphos with lines crossing diagonally on the reserved band above the base, discarded."[1] Two similar discoveries followed in May,[2] and in subsequent years the numbers mounted, showing that these simple concentrations of pottery bore witness to a repeated and customary ancient activity. The nature of that activity, however, has remained a mystery. It is the goal of this study to present the complete evidence for such deposits, now numbering about 70, as they are documented at the Agora; to evaluate that evidence in the light of similar deposits discovered in Attica and elsewhere, and against the background of Greek ritual practice as it is known from written and archaeological sources; and to explore the motives that may lie behind the burial of these small but distinctive offerings in the Attic soil.

Buried burnt offerings are by no means rare, at the Agora or elsewhere in the Greek world, and they are not infrequently labeled "pyres."[3] The phenomenon on which I focus here, however, constitutes a specific genus of ritual deposit, clearly defined by its contents and the manner of its deposition. In brief, the deposits consist of a suite of characteristic objects (mostly ceramic) found in shallow pits or clusters, together with burnt bones and other evidence of fire. The presence of burning justifies their traditional designation as "pyres," though the German term *Brandopfer* does them greater justice, suggesting as it does a ritual function and dissociating them from cremation burials, with which they have nothing to do. Although no two pyres are identical in their content, the collection

1. Agora field notebook (hereafter "Notebook") Z II, p. 265; pyre **25**. All dates in this study are B.C. unless otherwise indicated.

2. Pyre **30**, found on May 15 (Notebook Z V, pp. 809–810), and pyre **29**, found on May 20 (Notebook Z VII, p. 1263).

3. E.g., the pyres outside the walls of the sanctuary at Eleusis (Kokkou-Vyridi 1999, 2010). Cf. Van den Eijnde 2010, passim, for early Attic pyres in ritual contexts, which he links with ritual feasting (p. 49). Beyond Attica, see the deposits listed in Appendix IV.

of offerings they contain is repetitive; it is this that defines them and sets them apart from other deposits of possible ritual character. The object that occurs with the greatest frequency, a small, plain saucer, provides a further distinguishing label,[4] and the term "saucer pyre" has become the standard English designation for such deposits.[5] In this specific form, the pyres are a uniquely Attic phenomenon, and with few exceptions they are chronologically limited to the 4th and 3rd centuries.

Since these deposits were first recorded in the 1930s, various hypotheses have been put forward concerning the activities that they document, as I will outline below. The behavior that brought them into being has apparently escaped comment in literary and documentary sources, and the pyres now exist only as an archaeological phenomenon, defined purely by the manner of their deposition and the characteristic objects that they include. This study is therefore limited to deposits that share those characteristics, and it excludes others that may well have been laid down for similar motives but differ either in terms of their contents or the way in which they were deposited.

A perfectly preserved and excavated saucer pyre would lie in a well-defined pit or cluster, and traces of burning in the form of charred wood, ash, and burnt bone would be present. The pots would be nestled closely together and would include the following characteristic forms: one or more drinking cups, one or more lamps, and ribbon-handled and rilled-rim plates, all in functional sizes; miniature saucers and cooking pots (both the shallow lopadion and the deeper chytridion), and a miniature handleless lekanis (Fig. 1). Only eight of the deposits included in this study conform in every detail to this ideal description.[6] Others lack one or more of the distinctive offerings, or have been found dispersed or disturbed, or preserve no evidence of burning or of bone. Whether to include such deposits in the tally has been determined on a case-by-case basis. The most doubtful cases are indicated by a question mark in the Catalogue.

Saucer pyres are limited to Attica but not to the area investigated by the Agora Excavations. In addition to the neighborhoods surrounding the public square, they have been found under private buildings just inside the city wall at the Kerameikos, in shops and houses to the south of the Acropolis (also within the walls), in the Piraeus, on the central plain of Attica, and perhaps on the island of Salamis (see Appendix II and Fig. 125). In this study I refer to these as "settlement" pyres; they are to be distinguished from "graveside" pyres, similar deposits found in close proximity to graves in the cemeteries of Athens and Attica (see Appendix III and Fig. 126), but that differ in some details from pyres within the city. Although the present study focuses on the Agora pyres, for which I have the most complete documentation, it also takes those others deposits into account, insofar as the published record permits.

4. The saucer is present in about 80% of the pyres found at the Agora, and in about 75% of those found elsewhere, as far as one can determine from the published information; see p. 25, below.

5. Other designations include "pyre burial" (Young 1951b, p. 110), "sacrificial pyre" (*Agora* XII, p. 45; Shear 1973a, p. 141; 1984, pp. 45–46), "ritual pyre" (*Agora* XXIX, p. 212), "ceremonial pyre" (Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 92), or just plain "pyre" (*Agora* XIV, p. 16). The standard German terms are *Opferstelle* (e.g., *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 50) or *Brandopferstelle* (Knigge and Kovacsovics 1981, p. 388); in Greek, τελετουργική πυρά (Eleftheratou 1996–1997), and, folding interpretation into terminology, εγκαίνιον, "inauguration" (Andreou and Andreou 2000; Eleftheratou 2006, p. 8), or εναγισμός, "offering to the dead" (Eleftheratou 1996–1997).

6. Pyres **9**, **18**, **19**, **21**, **37**, **40**, **43**, **60**.

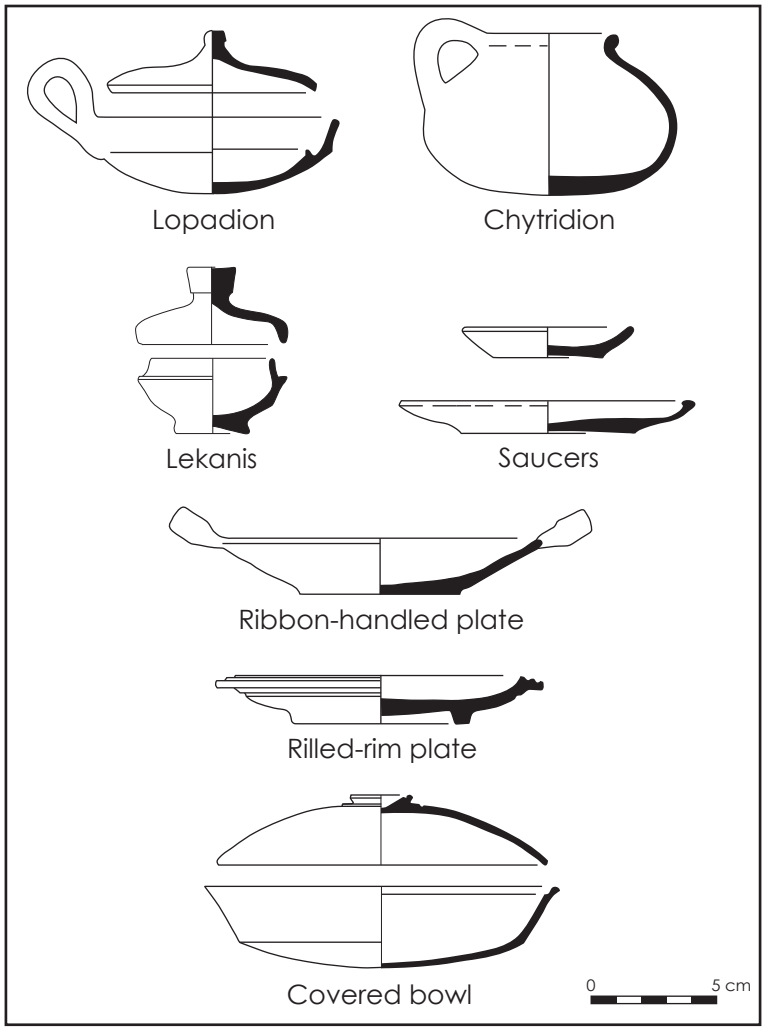


Figure 1. Characteristic pyre shapes: lopadion (P 28508, pyre 60), chytridion (P 17696, pyre[?] 45), lekanis (P 18543, pyre 44), small saucer (P 9717, pyre 21), large saucer (P 19870, pyre 35), ribbon-handled plate (P 28494, pyre 62), rilled-rim plate (P 18545, pyre 44), covered bowl (P 18581, pyre 46). Drawing S. I. Rotroff

CHALLENGES AND METHODOLOGY

Like all archaeological assemblages, the saucer pyres present challenges to those ambitious to understand the behavior that created them. It is only rarely that a pyre has survived without any discernible disturbance, so that we may be confident that we are unearthing the entirety of what was originally buried. In 17 instances there is reason to believe, from the excavation account or the remaining objects, that there has been little or no significant disturbance of the deposit. In other cases the pyre has been partially cut away by later pits, walls, or even by later pyres; and 14 pyres have been thoroughly dispersed, spread throughout fills or dumped into wells, their existence recoverable now only by the presence of the characteristic shapes. A further problem emerges from the manner in which the pyres were buried. It is clear that the people who made these deposits did not take care to bury everything that they had used in the attendant ceremony. Even in pyres that show no evidence of post-depositional disturbance, both cinders and fragments of relevant pottery have sometimes been found outside the pyre itself, at some distance and on the level from which the pyre was dug.[7] In other cases, something is clearly missing (for example, the lekanis that

7. Young 1951b, p. 111; see, e.g., pyres **39** and **52**.

should go with a lid in pyre **49**), or the pottery is quite fragmentary (e.g., in pyre **30**). Therefore we must always keep in mind that what is lacking in the archaeological assemblage was not necessarily absent from the living assemblage.

It would be useful, nonetheless, to have some idea of the degree to which the different vessel types were thought essential to the procedure. To this end, Table 3 presents the types of offerings found in the pyres and the number and percentage of pyres that contain each type (see below, pp. 18–19). The pyres are divided into three categories: the 17 that are most likely to have been substantially undisturbed; those for which varying degrees of disturbance can be inferred; and the dispersed pyres.

Modern recovery also presents problems. The Agora pyres have been excavated over a period of nearly 80 years by a cast of at least 20 different supervisors and uncounted workmen and student volunteers, each with different talents and standards of observation, recovery, and recording. Although a pyre is easy to recognize in the ground, understanding its relationship to the contiguous strata can be difficult, and the experienced Greek workmen of the past often had more success than the student volunteers of the present. Recording also varies. The best accounts include generous and perceptive written description and commentary, and plans, sections, and photographs of the pyres in situ. These, however, are rare. Only about half of the deposits were photographed before removal,[8] almost none were drawn in any detail, and precise information about the orientation and position of individual pots has rarely been provided. In the worst cases, there is no notebook account at all: as, for example, with pyre **63**, found washing out of a scarp by a gardener during the winter,[9] or pyre **64**, the discovery of which was not described.[10]

The apparent absence of written testimonia that could shed light on these deposits forces us to view the pyres themselves as our texts,[11] a procedure that has grown more familiar with the development of cognitive archaeology. Stating what ought to be obvious, but apparently is not, Robin Osborne has written that "archaeologists should not assume that religious practices can be discussed only when there are texts available as guides."[12] In an essay introducing a series of articles on ritual deposits, he lays out a series of fundamental questions that should be addressed. How do we recognize a ritual deposit? How do we account for what was deposited (and, I would add, for the way in which it was deposited)? And why was this place chosen? These are some of the questions that I will attempt to answer in this study of the Agora saucer pyres.

8. Only one excavator (D. B. Thompson) provided an explanation: "Miltiades had them [the pots] out before I could photograph" (Notebook Φ VIII, p. 1518; pyre **58**).

9. Notebook Ψ VII, p. 1379.

10. The deposit is known only from the inventoried pottery and a note in pottery notebook T XXIX, p. 5622: "disturbed pyre burial. Frags of saucer."

11. That so learned a scholar of Athenian religion as Robert Parker could do no more than style them "enigmatic domestic rituals" (2005a, p. 20, n. 55) suggests that they truly are unattested in written sources.

12. Osborne 2004, p. 1.

THE PYRES EXPLAINED: EARLIER SCHOLARSHIP

Over the years, a wide variety of interpretations have been advanced to account for the saucer pyres. As early as 1935, Rodney Young remarked in his field-notebook account of the excavation of pyre **23** that it might be either a cremation burial, on the one hand, or "merely a dump of pottery, perhaps from a kitchen," on the other.[13] The first published account, in Homer Thompson's report of the 1947 excavation season, expands on the first of these hypotheses. Thompson described four pyres found among houses to the southwest of the public square,[14] remarking on the presence of bone and of pottery "obviously made for funerary use." Because of the miniature size of much of the pottery and the "thinness of the bones," he interpreted the pyres as the cremation burials of children and remarked that "the whole series deserves a special study."[15] Such a study was soon undertaken by Young as part of his voluminous examination of the "Industrial District" southwest of the public square, where he had excavated many examples. The pyres, "somewhat reluctantly" interpreted as infant cremations, were published in his 1951 article on burial within the city, most of which was devoted to the Archaic cemetery that lay in the Industrial District.[16] From among the two dozen or so pyres that had been excavated up to that time, Young selected 14 of the least disturbed for full publication.

In support of his conclusions, Young first noted the similarity of the pyres to deposits he had excavated in the nearby Archaic cemetery, in terms of dimensions, the nature of the burning, and the placement of offerings. He pointed also to the funerary character of some of the objects in the pyres: dummy poros alabastra, clearly symbolic and of a shape frequently associated with burials; and ribbon-handled plates, known from earlier graves but almost totally absent from deposits of household pottery. He noted furthermore that pyre lekanides, chytridia, and lopadia had not been found in household deposits and expressed the opinion that their small size was appropriate to children. He was also able to point to a few examples of such shapes that had been found in graves.[17]

Young's (and Thompson's) thesis has met with mixed reviews. Robert Garland accepted the conclusion without reservations,[18] while Jean Rudhardt expanded it further, postulating that the deceased were not ordinary children, but those who had died very young, either naturally or by exposure, and that the pyre ritual did double duty as cremation and purificatory sacrifice.[19] Donna Kurtz and John Boardman, in their survey of Greek burial customs, were more circumspect; they cited the Agora pyres as a possible rare instance of infant cremation, but pointed out that they could also be explained as remains of burnt offerings, and not necessarily of a funerary character.[20]

Most scholars, however, rejected Young's conclusions, though some perpetuated the idea of a funerary element. Brian Sparkes and Lucy Talcott considered the pyres briefly in the context of their 1970 study of the Archaic and Classical pottery of the Agora. Pointing to similar deposits that had, by that time, been found in Attic cemeteries, they preferred to see the pyres as the remains of purificatory or funerary offerings that might

13. Notebook B′ V, p. 811.

14. Probably pyres **37**, **43**, **44**, **46**.

15. Thompson (1948, pp. 166–167, pl. 46:3) illustrated the objects from pyre **37**. He repeated this interpretation in his report for the following year (1949, pp. 215–216).

16. Young 1951b, pp. 110–134. The architectural contexts in which they were discovered were treated in a separate article in the same issue of *Hesperia* (Young 1951a).

17. Young 1951b, pp. 111–112.

18. Garland 1985, pp. 82, 161. Ingrid Metzger put forward the same explanation for similar deposits at Eretria (Metzger 1978a, p. 4).

19. Rudhardt 1963.

20. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, p. 99.

be made either at graveside or in the home.[21] Two years later, Thompson and R. E. Wycherley elaborated on this notion, suggesting that the pyres documented ritual meals in memory of the deceased.[22] T. Leslie Shear Jr., however, divorced the ceremony from burial ritual, associating it purely with activities in the structures within which the pyres were found. The deposits, he believed, were best viewed as the remnants of sacrifices commemorating the construction or remodeling of the building, or purification rituals carried out when old tenants moved out and new ones moved in.[23] John Camp later noted, echoing Thompson's earlier comment, that the presence of animal bones (of which some clear instances had by then been found) and miniature cooking pots pointed to ritual meals, without suggesting their possible purpose.[24]

Meanwhile, similar deposits began to be found outside the area of the Agora Excavations (see Appendix II and Fig. 125). In 1981, Ursula Knigge and Wilfried Kovacsovics reported *Opferstellen* (offering places) with the characteristic combination of drinking cups and miniature vessels, very much like the Agora pyres, under the floors of Building Z, just inside the city wall at the Kerameikos; more pyres subsequently came to light under the floors of two neighboring structures, Building X and Building Y.[25] Knigge and Kovacsovics rejected the funerary connection, insisting that the deposits must be related to events in the history of the building in which they were found.[26] In her final publication of Building Z, Knigge presented these pyres, along with other groups of objects found under the original floors of the building, as undoubted *Bauopfer* (building offerings) documenting rituals associated with the construction and, in one case, minor remodeling of the building.[27] This interpretation has subsequently been applied to the Agora pyres. Two recent dissertations, by Rita Müller-Zeis and by Stefan Weikart, have included the Agora pyres in their catalogues and discussions of *griechische Bauopfer*.[28] Similarly, Ioanna and Elias Andreou have compared them to deposits of miniature vessels frequently found under the original floors of houses in Ambracia, which they associate with the construction of the houses.[29] Because such deposits have been found only in Ambracia, and not in the surrounding settlements, they see the ritual as a Corinthian custom, practiced by the descendants of the original founders of the city, but not shared by the ethnically different population of its hinterland. They attribute the sudden introduction of the custom at Athens (an issue that had not previously been addressed) to the immigration of Corinthian metics into the city at the end of the 5th century.

21. *Agora* XII, p. 45.

22. *Agora* XIV, p. 16.

23. Shear 1973a, p. 151, n. 68; 1984, pp. 45–46. See also Bettalli 1985, pp. 31–32.

24. Camp 1999, p. 278; 2003, pp. 247–249.

25. Knigge and Kovacsovics 1981, p. 388; Knigge et al. 1984, p. 44, fig. 27; Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1987, p. 488, fig. 14; Knigge 1993, pp. 127–129, 134, figs. 3, 17, 18; Knigge, Freytag gen. Loringhoff, and Kuhn 1995, pp. 627–628.

26. Knigge and Kovacsovics 1981, p. 388.

27. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 50. Subfloor deposits of a ritual character were also found in earlier phases of the building, though their contents are not the same as those of the Agora pyres (pp. 6–7, 29). See pp. 57–60, below, for further discussion of foundation deposits and arguments against this interpretation of the pyres in Building Z.

28. Müller-Zeis 1994, pp. 53–57, 92–96; Weikart 2002, pp. 81–102, 171–177.

29. Andreou and Andreou 2000.

More recently, a large number of pyres have also come to light in the course of excavations preparatory to the construction of the Acropolis Metro station and the new Acropolis Museum, among the foundations of private houses and shops.[30] Stamatia Eleftheratou, who published two of the Metro pyres in detail, has reiterated the view that they reflect construction, renovation, or reuse of the relevant structures. She raises again, however, the issue of the funerary character of the deposits, suggesting that the recipients were chthonic divinities. The pyres, in her view, record chthonic rituals associated with the building, and they are purificatory, apotropaic, or expiatory in their intent.[31]

Back at the Agora, Lynn Snyder's zooarchaeological analysis of the burnt bone from the Agora pyres, undertaken in response to the discovery of several new pyres in the late 1990s, has confirmed earlier suspicions that it belongs exclusively to animals, and added the discovery that it represents precisely those parts of the animal that ancient texts stipulate, and that sacrificial deposits elsewhere confirm, were the gods' portion.[32]

In summary, the pyres have generally come to be regarded as building deposits of some sort, associated with construction or renovation of the structures within which they were buried. Before considering the virtues of this conclusion, however, it is necessary to review in full both the contents of the pyres and the stratigraphic evidence for their deposition, as it has been revealed by excavations at the Agora.

30. Nine were unearthed in the Metro station excavations, three of which have been published (Eleftheratou 1996–1997; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 92–103). Pyres from the Acropolis Museum excavations remain unpublished, but one is on display near the entrance of the new museum (Eleftheratou 2006, p. 8).

31. Eleftheratou 1996–1997, pp. 115–116.

32. Snyder and Rotroff 2003.

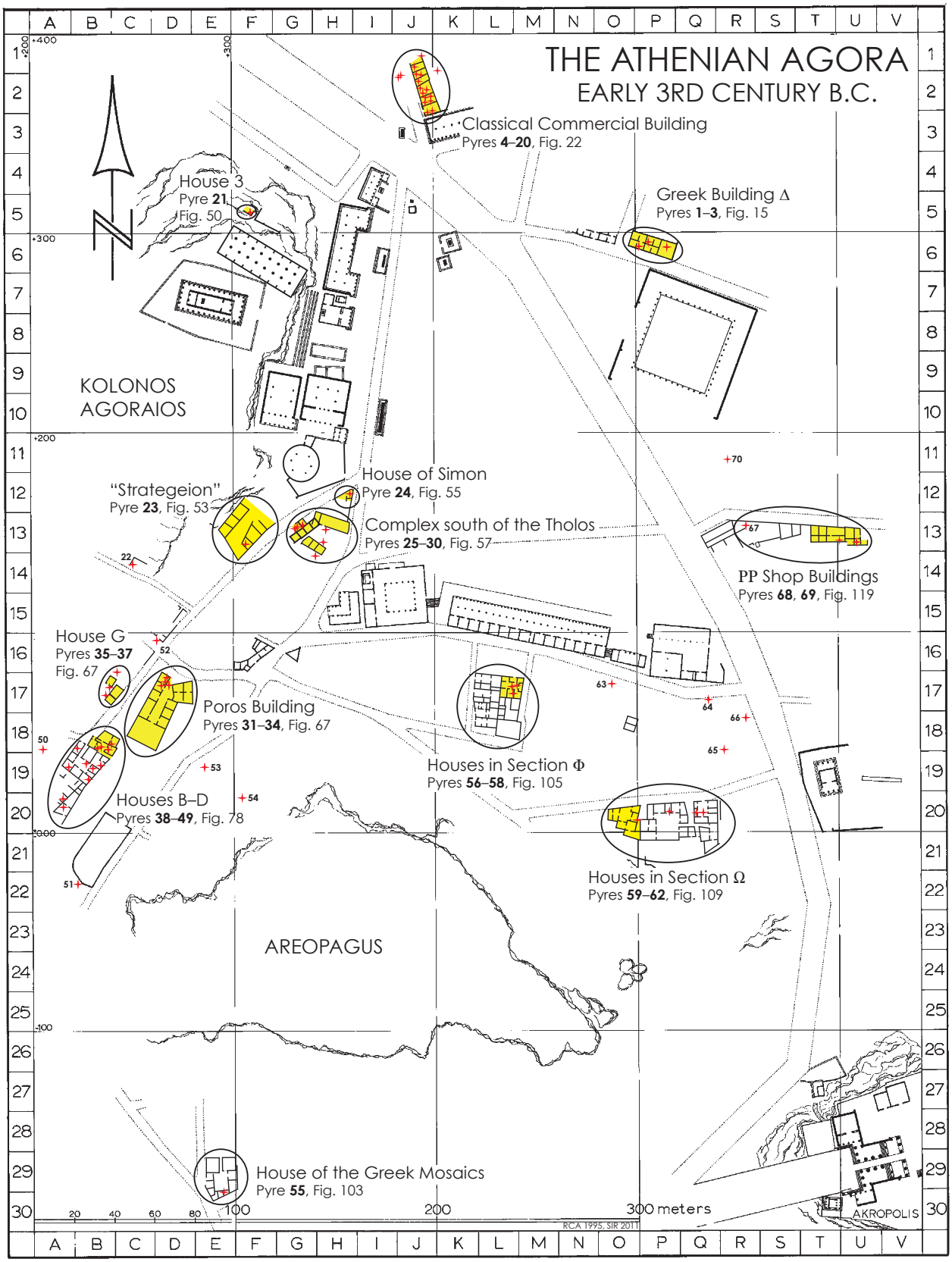
The Agora Pyres: The Data

Seventy deposits have been included in the Catalogue that accompanies this study (pp. 95–182), and it is these that form the basis of the descriptive comments that follow. In most cases, identification as a pyre is straightforward, but doubts may be raised in five instances (**33**, **34**, **45**, **48**, **68**, followed by a question mark in the Catalogue), where characteristic shapes or other indicators are absent or counterindications are present. Several pyres had been removed from their original place of deposit, but their existence can be inferred from characteristic shapes, now dispersed in strata or fills (**10**, **13**, **17**, **28**, **42**, **54**, **55**, **59**, **61**, **65**, **69**), in a pithos (**57**), and in wells (**27** and perhaps **68**). Although they tell us nothing about the process of deposit, these examples usefully expand the amount of data available for chronological and spatial analysis.

Among them, these deposits contain over 1,000 objects, most of them deliberately included as offerings, though items from the surrounding soil may have entered some groups by chance (these instances are discussed case by case in the Catalogue entries). In what follows, I summarize both recurring features and variability in both the stratigraphic situation of the pyres and their contents.

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

Saucer pyres have been found only in the neighborhoods surrounding the public square, never within the confines of the square itself as defined by boundary stones and monumental public buildings (Fig. 2). Their distribution is not uniform. They cluster in two main areas: the industrial and residential district strung along the "Street of the Marble Workers" that departs from the square at its southwestern corner; and in a less well defined area to the north of the square, behind the Stoa Poikile and north of the Square Peristyle Building that preceded the Stoa of Attalos as an eastern boundary of the public area. Smaller concentrations occur in houses south of the square and in shop buildings to its east, and there are isolated instances to the south and east of the square and on the Kolonos Agoraios.


THE ATHENIAN AGORA
EARLY 3RD CENTURY B.C.
Classical Commercial Building
Pyres 4–20, Fig. 22
House 3
Pyre 21
Fig. 50
Greek Building Δ
Pyres 1–3, Fig. 15
KOLONOS
AGORAIOS
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Pyres 31–34, Fig. 67
Houses in Section Φ
Pyres 56–58, Fig. 105
Houses B–D
Pyres 38–49, Fig. 78
Houses in Section Ω
Pyres 59–62, Fig. 109
AREOPAGUS
House of the Greek Mosaics
Pyre 55, Fig. 103
AKROPOLIS
20 40 60 80 100 200 300 meters
RCA 1995, SIR 2011

Figure 2 ***(opposite)*****. Plan of Agora in Early Hellenistic period, with buildings containing pyres labeled. Buildings with craft or commercial associations are shaded yellow.** Drawing R. C. Anderson, with alterations and additions by S. I. Rotroff

About three-quarters of the pyres are associated with buildings; in other cases the contemporary architecture, if it ever existed, has been destroyed by later construction. To the southwest of the square, pyres have been found in the House of Simon and in a complex of three long, narrow buildings of uncertain purpose just to its south; in the so-called Strategeion across the street from this and southwest of the Tholos; in the large Poros Building farther to the south; and in Houses B–D and G, in the heart of the Industrial District excavated and published by Young.[1] Houses C and D illustrate another curious phenomenon, the fact that a few buildings host disproportionately large numbers of pyres: 10 such deposits were found within the walls of these two houses, which at one point in their histories communicated through a connecting door. An even more impressive concentration was unearthed in the Classical Commercial Building to the north of the square, with 13 pyres inside the structure and five more in its immediate vicinity. Three pyres were found in a similar shop building (Greek Building Δ) north of the square but farther to the east.

Pyres have also been found in two groups of houses south of the square: a block of dwellings in excavation section Φ, just south of South Stoa I; and three houses along an east–west road farther to the southeast, in excavation section Ω. The numbers of pyres there are modest, though one of the Φ houses hosted three. Isolated pyres in the same area were probably located in similar structures that have since disappeared. Other single instances occur in a workshop (House 3) on the northern side of the Kolonos Agoraios and under a mosaic floor on the southern side of the hill, both in areas profoundly disturbed by Roman, Byzantine, and modern construction. The House of the Greek Mosaics, south of the Areopagus, also had at least one pyre. Only a few pyres have been found to the east of the square, mostly associated with shop buildings along the street leading east toward the area of the later Roman Agora.

MODES OF DEPOSITION

Nearly three-quarters of the Agora pyres were uncovered in what appear to be their original places of deposit. Nonetheless, they present significant problems of stratigraphic interpretation, for some had been severely disturbed and others were only summarily recorded. A complete sequence preserving the pyre and the stratigraphy around and above it is rarely preserved or documented. In the best cases, however, the excavators' descriptions, along with photographs taken at the time of excavation, make it possible, within limits, to reconstruct the ways in which the deposits were formed.

In his 1951 publication, Young remarked that the "typical pyre . . . was made in a small shallow pit dug for the purpose."[2] The subsequent years of excavation have revealed more diversity than this statement suggests (Table 1). In over half of the cases, excavators were unable to discern a pit, even though their accounts sometimes indicate that they looked for one. Rather, the pyre deposit was perceived as a concentration of objects and burnt material within a stratum that was apparently spread over and

1. Young 1951a.
2. Young 1951b, p. 110.

TABLE 1. STRATIGRAPHIC SITUATIONS OF AGORA PYRES

Stratigraphic Position	*Count*	*Pyre(s)*	*Associated Architecture*	*Area*
In Pit				
Burnt in situ	12	**22**	House	Kolonos Agoraios south
		35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50	Houses C, D, G, and nearby	Industrial District
		52	None	–
Place of burning uncertain	11–12	**4, 7, 11, 15**	Classical Commercial Building	North of Agora
		21	House 3 in section ΛΛ	Kolonos Agoraios north
		26	Building E	Southwest corner
		32	Poros Building	Industrial District
		45(?)	House C	
		56	Northeast house in section Φ	South of Agora
		60	Central house in section Ω	
		66, 70	None	–
Concentration, No Pit Discerned				
Burnt in situ	5	**6, 16, 19**	Classical Commercial Building and nearby	North of Agora
		40, 49	Houses B, D	Industrial District
Place of burning uncertain	19–22	**1–3**	Greek Building Δ	North of Agora
		8, 9, 12, 14, 18, 20	Classical Commercial Building and nearby	
		23	"Strategeion"	Southwest corner
		24	House of Simon	
		25	Building E	
		29, 30	Early Building II	
		31, 33(?), **34**(?)	Poros Building	Industrial District
		37, 48(?)	Near House G, House B	
		58	Northeast house in section Φ	South of Agora
		62	Eastern house in section Ω	
		67	Western PP shop building	East of Agora
Other				
Under channel	1	**5**	Classical Commercial Building	North of Agora
In rock crevice	1	**53**	None	–
Dispersed				
In stratum	9	**10, 13**	Classical Commercial Building	North of Agora
		28	Early Building II	Southwest corner
		42	House C	Industrial District
		54	None	–
		55	House of the Greek Mosaics	Areopagus
		61	Eastern house in section Ω	South of Agora
		65	None	–
		69	Eastern PP shop building	East of Agora
In fill over wall	3	**17a, 17b**	Classical Commercial Building	North of Agora
		59	Western house in section Ω	South of Agora
In well/pithos	2–3	**27**	Early Building I	Southwest corner
		57	Northeast house in section Φ	South of Agora
		68(?)	Central PP shop building	East of Agora

Note: No context is recorded for pyres **51, 63a, 63b, 64**.

TABLE 2. DIMENSIONS OF AGORA PYRES IN PITS AND IN CONCENTRATIONS

		Pit	*Concentration*
Number of pyres		23	24
Number of pyres burnt in situ		12	5
Mean number of objects		16	15
Length	range	40–200 cm	30–115 cm
	mean	80 cm	62 cm
	median	65 cm	60 cm
Width	range	35–90 cm	30–60 cm
	mean	55 cm	40 cm
	median	50 cm	35 cm
Depth	range	10–30 cm	3–16 cm
	mean	17 cm	12 cm
	median	15 cm	10.3 cm

around it after the pyre had been placed on the ground or on a floor. Pits may, of course, have gone undetected, either because of the nature or integrity of the surrounding stratigraphy or the inattention or inexperience of individual excavators. Both types of deposit (in a pit or apparently not) exist throughout the documented period, there is no difference in the types of offerings they contain, and the numbers of offerings and their state of preservation in both is about the same. The concentrations, however, are on average slightly smaller than the pits in all dimensions (Table 2), as would be the case if an enclosing pit (necessarily somewhat larger than the clump of objects within it) had once existed, but had escaped detection. It is hard to believe, however, that so many different excavators overlooked the existence of a pit, and it may be significant that burning in situ was much less frequently reported in the case of concentrations. It is likely, therefore, that at least two different procedures were followed: burning or deposition within a pit, and burning or deposition on a floor or the ground. It also appears that in some cases the pit was dug into a floor and then filled, leaving a patch in the preexisting floor, while in others a whole new floor was laid over the pit when the ceremony was completed. The possibilities, then, are as follows:

1. A pyre is deposited in a pit dug through a floor, which is then patched. Pyre **35** in House G in the Industrial District provides a clear case of this practice. There a pit was dug into a floor, then filled and tamped down after the pyre was deposited, leaving a dark patch in a preexisting floor surface whitened by marble dust.
2. A pyre is deposited in a pit, over which a new floor is laid. Pyres **32** and **52** illustrate this procedure. A new floor directly covered the pit of pyre **32** in the Poros Building, and an unbroken road strosis ran over the pit that contained pyre **52**.
3. A pyre is deposited on a floor or the ground and a new floor is then laid around and over it. Two pyres found north of the public square illustrate this procedure. Pyre **1** lay in a concentrated

mass on a preexisting floor surface, and was covered by the makeup of the succeeding floor (see Fig. 16). Similarly clear is the case of pyre **6**, in room 2 of the Classical Commercial Building, burnt on the ground and embedded in the makeup of the original floor of the room (see Figs. 24, 30).

Burning is a recurring feature of the pyres. Cinders, charcoal, ash, and charred logs, twigs, and bone are almost always present, though in widely varying amounts. Even when the notebook accounts fail to mention it, or when disturbed pyre pottery has been found in secondary deposits, the condition of the vessels bears witness to burning.[3] This effect, however, is usually slight, most commonly consisting of dark patches on the surface or a grayish tinge to the ceramic; rarely is a vessel seriously burnt. Young concluded from this, and he must be right, that the pottery was placed on the embers after the fire had burnt down considerably.[4] It may also mean that in some cases the fire was not a large or a strong one, though the thoroughly calcined bone in others indicates that a high temperature was sometimes reached.

In several cases it was observed that the floor or sides of the pit or the earth below the pyre deposit was very hard and/or red, an indication that the pyre had been burnt in situ (Table 1).[5] Young described this feature repeatedly in his excavation of the pyres in Houses B–D and G in the Industrial District. It has been noted in only two pyres elsewhere, however: one in the Classical Commercial Building (**6**) and one across the street from it to the west (**19**). Young had extensive experience with the excavation of cremation burials, having dug not only the Archaic cemetery southwest of the public square but also many Geometric graves. It is therefore likely that he was particularly sensitive to this nuance of the stratigraphic record. Others may not have noticed it or, if they did, failed to record it or to recognize its significance, and indeed burning in situ can sometimes be inferred from other evidence. In six cases (five in the Industrial District [pyres **22**, **36**, **40**, **49**, **50**] and one in the Classical Commercial Building [pyre **16**]), the pottery lay atop a stratum of burnt material. Even though hardening of the earth was not observed, these pyres must have been burnt in situ, for such a stratigraphic sequence is unlikely to have been preserved if the burnt pyre had been swept up and then dumped elsewhere.

Excavators did not always mention the location of burnt material in the deposit, but in 15 cases it was described as distributed throughout the pyre rather than localized below the offerings. This suggested to some observers that the pyre had been burnt elsewhere and the material subsequently swept up and deposited at the findspot.[6] Two such pyres, however, show by the telltale burning on the walls of the pit that they were burnt in situ

3. Only two pyres lack all evidence for burning: **24** (badly disturbed) and **53**.

4. Young 1951b, p. 111.

5. Pyres **6, 19, 35, 38, 39, 41, 43, 44, 46, 47, 52.**

6. Pyres **5**, **7**, **8**, **14**, **18**, **21**, **23**, **32**, **37**, **38**, **45**(?), **47**, **51**, **56**, **62**. Young thought pyre(?) **45** was more likely a rubbish dump than a pyre, "chiefly because the cinders, though some of them were large, were scattered through this fill and not all in one place—thrown in rather than burned on the spot" (Notebook NN XXII, p. 4348). He also remarked on the lack of hardened, reddened soil in the pit. D. B. Thompson commented of pyre **56**, "The contents had clearly been burned elsewhere and deposited" (Notebook Φ VIII, p. 1504), despite a layer of charcoal below the pottery.

(**38**, **47**). Furthermore, there is little difference in the completeness of the pottery in deposits burnt in situ and those with burning throughout, as there should be if the latter had been transported from the site of the burning. It is thus difficult to establish, as a certainty, the practice of burning in one location and deposition in another. It is an attractive explanation, however, for those pyres where cinders and ash are minimal and scattered throughout the deposit.

The above details suggest that different procedures were followed in different instances, and there is some evidence that different groups of dedicators preferred one or another. As Table 1 shows, most of the pyres with definite evidence of burning in situ are located in the Industrial District, southwest of the public square; the same is true of pyres buried within pits. This raises the possibility of a small difference in ritual behavior between the inhabitants of the Industrial District and others who lived and worked around the square.

In any event, it is clear that many of the pyres were burnt either within pits or on the ground. If, as Snyder's zooarchaeological analysis indicates, the bone of the pyres is that of sacrificial victims, this procedure is unusual, since a raised altar was the normal site for burning sacrificial meat. Sacrifices burnt within pits (bothroi) are rarely attested; they are always directed at chthonic entities, and are most commonly holocausts (which is not the case here).[7] Sacrifices may repeatedly have been burnt in *escharai* on the ground in sanctuaries of the Herakleidai at Athens and Archegetes on Delos, but these are rare instances of the practice.[8] The ritual practice of the pyre dedicators, therefore, is not perfectly aligned with normative Greek sacrificial procedures as we understand them.

No pattern can be observed in the placement of the vessels, which may be upside down, right-side up, or on their sides. Those who observed them in the ground sometimes commented that they had been "thrown in" or lay "higgledy piggledy."[9] This is also the testimony of the excavation photographs, where the pots usually lie in a jumbled mass (e.g., in pyre **18**; see Fig. 47). Sometimes, however, there is evidence of more care: lopadia or lekanides right-side up with their lids in place, indicating that they had been set down rather than tossed, or plates and saucers stacked or nested within one another in a position that does not look haphazard (see Figs. 32, 38, 83, 89, 112).[10]

Most of the pottery found in the pyres is broken. Only about 60 vessels survive intact, 6% of the ceramic corpus, and usually the sturdier forms: chytridion, lopadion lid, lamp, and lekanis. Not a single plate escaped breakage, and only 19 of the 344 saucers recovered from Agora pyres are intact. The question emerges whether this breakage was a deliberate part of the rite or a result of fire, the weight of the earth resting on the pottery, and the passage of time. A definitive answer is not possible, but excavation photographs often show broken vessels with all the fragments in place, a certain sign that breakage occurred after they were deposited (see pyres **12**, **36**, **60**; Figs. 38, 75, 112). Only very rarely do joining fragments of mended vessels show different degrees of burning, indicating that breakage took place before the vessel came in contact with fire.[11] The evidence thus favors the conclusion that breakage was unintentional.

7. Ekroth 2002, pp. 60–74.

8. Ekroth 2002, pp. 35–37, 57–58.

9. Notebooks ΜΣ III, p. 564 (pyre **24**); ΙΙΙΙ VIII, p. 1503 (pyre **35**); ΞΞ I, p. 124 (pyre **49**).

10. Pyres **7**, **12**, **44**, **60** (lopadia or lekanides right-side up with lids in place); pyre **41** (two large saucers stacked); pyre **44** (two saucers and a ribbon-handled plate stacked).

11. E.g., a ribbon-handled plate (P 18547) in pyre **44**. I have also observed this feature on some vessels from graveside pyres in the Kerameikos (*Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 17, 60, nos. 18.1, 60.1, pls. 30, 45).

The presence of bone is documented either by written accounts or physical presence in about two-thirds of the pyres (see pp. 41–42, below). In a number of cases, however, there is no evidence for bone, either in the notebook accounts or in surviving material. Eight such cases are of pyres apparently burnt in situ; if bone was among the items consigned to the fire, it should have left some noticeable trace. These instances include the first three pyres excavated (**25**, **29**, **30**), located in the trapezoidal complex of buildings south of the Tholos. Found in 1933, before this deposit type had been recognized as a recurring phenomenon, they were accorded only terse descriptions of one or two sentences in the notebooks.[12] Excavating another pyre (**26**) in the same area some 20 years later, D. B. Thompson reported "a 'saucer grave' among a little ashes" but no bone.[13] No bone was recorded for the disturbed and somewhat dispersed deposit **28**, probably the remains of a pyre located in the same area.[14] Perhaps in these cases small fragments of well-calcined bone were overlooked or not thought worthy of mention,[15] but it is intriguing that all five deposits are located within the same complex of buildings. Pyre **24**, a disturbed pyre in the nearby House of Simon, apparently contained neither burning nor bone, and it is likely that this is evidence for another instance of diversity in the practice of the pyre ritual, and that the sacrifice of an animal, or the burning of animal parts, was not a universal element of the ritual.[16]

Another detail of interest is the incompleteness of the pyre deposits. Pyres **1** and **44** are rare instances where all of the objects recovered were intact, complete, or nearly so. More frequently, some part of the original assemblage is clearly missing. Pyre **35**, for example, burnt in situ in a pit and apparently undisturbed, contains the lids of a lopadion and a lekanis but lacks the bodies, and half of one of its chytridia is absent. In pyre **43**, burnt in a pit and covered over by a floor strosis, large pieces of a ribbon-handled plate, a skyphos, and a saucer are missing. Many other pyres are even more fragmentary, especially those that were not placed in pits. Although some of the absences may be attributed to undetected disturbance, or even to careless recovery, the recurrence of the phenomenon suggests that it reflects some feature of the ritual activity. It lends weight to the suggestion that pyres could be burnt in one place and deposited in another, and that no special care was taken to collect and deposit all of the material for final burial. Even when a pyre was burnt in situ, some objects escaped the assemblage. Young noted in several cases the presence of both cinders and pottery outside the pit,[17] left on the surface after the pyre was buried.

Finally, there is evidence that in some instances the pyre ceremony was doubled in some way.[18] In two cases, pyre **19** west of the Classical Commercial Building and pyre **46** in House C, excavators noted that the pottery was arranged in two distinct layers. Both of these pyres include unusually large amounts of pottery (38 items each), and several of the offerings appear to be doubles, features that link them to a third instance, pyre **21** on the northern side of the Kolonos Agoraios. In all three cases there are two lekanides instead of one, and the two are unmatched. Pyres **21** and **46** include four chytridia, clearly two pairs. They also contain larger numbers of ribbon-handled plates than the usual assemblage, again easily recognized by their details as pairs: two pairs in pyre **46**, three pairs in pyre

12. Notebooks Z II, p. 265; Z V, pp. 809–810; Z VII, p. 1263.

13. Notebook Z XVIII, p. 3340.

14. Notebook Γ XXII, pp. 4231, 4257.

15. That bone can be present but denied is indicated by the case of pyre **58**: although the excavator explicitly stated that there was "not a shred of bone" (Notebook Φ VIII, p. 1518), a scrap of bone today remains in the lot. The deposit was recovered on two different days, and the bone fragment may have been found after the excavator wrote this comment.

16. Bone is absent from descriptions of two additional pyres. H. A. Thompson's brief account of pyre **70** mentions only ash. Pyre **50** was badly disturbed and excavated by two different archaeologists in two different seasons.

17. Young 1951b, p. 111. Examples include pyres **38** (cinders, small pots), **39** (cinders and a saucer), **43** (cinders), and **52** (charcoal), all excavated by Young.

18. As was also observed of one of the canid deposits documenting ritual dinners at 6th-century Sardis (Greenewalt 1978, pp. 11, 56–57, cd 1–2).

21. In all three cases the number of lopadia is also unusually high (three or four). The stratigraphic situation of pyre **21** is not very clear, but the excavation notes hint at two different concentrations of burning, further support for a double ceremony. Together, the stratigraphy and contents of these deposits suggest a variation from the usual procedure. There is no perceptible difference in date within the objects in each pyre, and it does not seem likely that these instances represent the chance burial of a later pyre directly over an earlier one, as is the case with pyres **14** and **15**. Perhaps two different groups performed the ceremony together, each bringing its own offerings; or the ceremony was performed twice, though within a very short span of time, before the two sets of offerings were buried together. All three of these double pyres date within the first third of the 3rd century, and it is possible that this reduplication of the ceremony was limited to that time.

THE OFFERINGS

Pyre offerings are so regular and so distinctive that the existence of a now widely dispersed pyre can be inferred from their presence alone. Most are ceramic, and the number of shapes that occur regularly is very restricted, although a much longer list of types is occasionally found (Table 3). The "regulars" (Fig. 1) can be classified in two size groups: vessels of utilitarian size, and smaller vessels that I term miniatures, the function of which can only have been symbolic. In what follows, I consider each of the object types offered, investigating their contexts and distribution within the Attic and wider Greek world, with an eye toward a greater understanding of their place within the pyre ritual and in the arena of Greek ritual practice in general.

Miniatures

The miniature vessels were made specifically for ritual use, and at the Agora are found almost exclusively in pyre deposits. While smaller than functional vessels, they should be differentiated from the very tiny miniatures that accumulated in large numbers at some sacred sites[19] and appear in pyres only rarely (pyres **3**, **12**, **28**). The pyre miniatures clearly evoke the service of a meal: two types of cooking pots for its preparation, a covered vessel for its presentation and preservation, and the eponymous saucers on which to serve it (Fig. 1).

Cooking Pots

In a general sense, the cooking pots replicate the full-size vessels used in the contemporary Athenian kitchen: a capacious round-bodied stew pot (chytra) and a shallower lidded pan (lopas). These two shapes dominate the cooking ware of Classical Athens (and elsewhere in Greece as well), and although other shapes occasionally appear, these two were apparently all that was needed for the basics of Greek cooking.[20]

19. E.g., the thousands of tiny cups and bowls in a sanctuary dump of the 4th century in a cistern on the north slope of the Kolonos Agoraios (Rotroff 1983, pp. 268–270, nos. 46–49, pl. 55).

20. For the full-size vessels at Athens, see *Agora* XII, pp. 224–228.

TABLE 3. PYRES AND THEIR CONTENTS ARRANGED BY DEGREE OF DISTURBANCE

Shape	*Number (%) of Undisturbed Pyres (17) Containing the Shape*[1]	*Number (%) of Disturbed Pyres (36) Containing the Shape*[2]	*Number (%) of Dispersed Pyres (14) Containing the Shape*[3]	*Total Number (%) of Pyres (67) Containing the Shape*	*Number (%) of Deposits not Certainly Identified as Pyres (5) Containing the Shape*[4]
Standard Ceramic Shapes					
Miniatures					
Saucer (all sizes)	14 (82%)	30 (83%)	12 (86%)	56 (84%)	1 (20%)
small	14 (82%)	29 (81%)	11 (79%)	54 (81%)	1 (20%)
large	8 (47%)	17 (47%)	3 (21%)	28 (42%)	0
Chytridion	13 (76%)	18 (50%)	4 (29%)	35 (52%)	4 (80%)
Pyre lekanis	12 (71%)	23 (64%)	7 (50%)	42 (63%)	0
Lopadion	11 (65%)	23 (64%)	9 (64%)	43 (64%)	1 (20%)
Full-Size Vessels					
Plate (all forms)	17 (100%)	34 (94%)	12 (86%)	63 (94%)	1 (20%)
ribbon-handled	12 (71%)	25 (69%)	11 (79%)	48 (72%)	1 (20%)
rilled-rim	9 (53%)	18 (50%)	8 (57%)	35 (52%)	0
concave/convex-rim	3 (18%)	2 (6%)	3 (21%)	8 (12%)	0
standard black-gloss	1 (6%)	6 (17%)	0	7 (10%)	0
rolled-rim	1 (6%)	2 (6%)	0	3 (4%)	0
thickened-rim	0	2 (6%)	0	2 (3%)	0
broad-rim	0	1 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	0
fish plate	0	1 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	0
Drinking cup (all forms)	17 (100%)	25 (69%)	4 (29%)	46 (69%)	5 (100%)
Lamp	10 (59%)	19 (53%)	4 (29%)	33 (49%)	2 (40%)
Covered bowl	2 (12%)	2 (6%)	2 (14%)	6 (9%)	0
Rare Ceramic Shapes					
Oil container	2 (12%)	5 (14%)	2 (14%)	9 (13%)	1 (20%)
Small black-gloss bowl/saltcellar	1 (6%)	4 (11%)	2 (14%)	7 (10%)	1 (20%)
bowl, broad-based	0	2 (6%)	1 (7%)	3 (4%)	0
saltcellar	1 (6%)	0	0	1 (1%)	1 (20%)

Shape	*Number (%) of Undisturbed Pyres (17) Containing the Shape*[1]	*Number (%) of Disturbed Pyres (36) Containing the Shape*[2]	*Number (%) of Dispersed Pyres (14) Containing the Shape*[3]	*Total Number (%) of Pyres (67) Containing the Shape*	*Number (%) of Deposits not Certainly Identified as Pyres (5) Containing the Shape*[4]
small bowl	0	1 (3%)	1 (7%)	2 (3%)	0
small bowl, echinus	0	2 (6%)	0	2 (3%)	0
Black-gloss bowl	0	2 (6%)	0	2 (3%)	1 (20%)
echinus	0	0	0	0	1 (20%)
outturned rim	0	1 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	0
saucer, projecting rim	0	1 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	0
Other lekanis/pyxis	1 (6%)	3 (8%)	1 (7%)	5 (7%)	0
Jug	1 (6%)	1 (3%)	0	2 (3%)	0
Thymiaterion	0	1 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	1 (20%)
Kernos (plemochoe)	0	2 (6%)	0	2 (3%)	0
Miniature cup/bowl/plate	0	2 (6%)	1 (7%)	3 (4%)	0
Miniature votive vessel with central depression	0	0	1 (7%)	1 (1%)	0
Lebes	0	1 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	0
Other Offerings					
Alabastron	4 (24%)	2 (6%)	0	6 (9%)	0
Coin	3 (18%)	5 (14%)	0	8 (12%)	2 (40%)
Clay ball	1 (6%)	1 (3%)	0	2 (3%)	1 (20%)
Bronze object	1 (6%)	1 (3%)	0	2 (3%)	0
Lead object	0	3 (8%)	0	3 (4%)	0
Bone object	0	1 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	2 (40%)
Glass bead	1 (6%)	0	0	1 (1%)	0
Figurine	0	1 (3%)	0	1 (1%)	0
Loomweight	0	0	2 (14%)	2 (3%)	0
Clay button/bead	0	0	1 (7%)	1 (1%)	0

[1] Undisturbed pyres: **1, 2, 4, 6, 21, 23, 32, 35, 38, 43, 44, 46, 49, 60, 62, 66, 70.**

[2] Disturbed pyres: **3, 5, 7–9, 11, 12, 14–16, 18–20, 22, 24–26, 29–31, 36, 37, 39–41, 47, 50–53, 56, 58, 63a, 63b, 64, 67.**

[3] Dispersed pyres: **10, 13, 17a, 17b, 27, 28, 42, 54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65, 69.**

[4] Not certainly pyres: **33, 34, 45, 48, 68.**

The small chytra, or chytridion, is of a flattened globular shape with a constricted mouth and a single vertical handle running from shoulder to rim; it mirrors the lidless chytra that was the simplest, oldest, and most common stewpot of Classical Athens.[21] Other than dimensions (the pyre chytridia are less than 8 cm in height), the only difference between chytridia and the full-size vessels is in the handle: in full-size chytrai, a fairly thin, broad strap; in the miniatures, thicker and oval in section.

The chytridion enters the archaeological record as a grave gift. From about 500 onward, it regularly occurs in burials, almost without exception the burials of children.[22] The association is so strong that, when the shape does occur with an adult, it is tempting to conjecture that an undetected newborn shared the grave.[23] It was also at least once used as the place of deposition for a curse tablet, an association that underlines its connection with the powers below.[24] At the Agora, chytridia have also been found in the Crossroads Enclosure and the Crossroads Well on the north side of the public square, with their rich deposits of votive objects dedicated to an unknown, but perhaps female and probably chthonic divinity.[25] The shape does occur in domestic contexts of the 5th century, but not commonly;[26] sooting on two of these shows, however, that chytridia could be functional vessels, despite their small size.

The history of the miniature lopas (conventionally designated as a lopadion) is quite different, though it also involves the graveyard. Unlike the chytridion, the lopadion does not imitate large-scale models in detail, and its origin is a bit of a puzzle. The vessel is broad and shallow and fitted with a marked flange on the inside of the rim to receive a lid (Fig. 1; see also Fig. 6); a lid is often present as well. Details of the profile vary, but

21. See *Agora* XII, pp. 224–225, where it is called "common type." The similarities between the full-size vessels and the chytridia can be appreciated on pl. 93.

22. The earliest are *Kerameikos* IX, p. 87, no. 10.4, pl. 14:4 (ca. 500, cremation), p. 92, no. 26.4, pl. 38:1 (ca. 490, child's larnax grave); *Kerameikos* VII.2, p. 31, no. 76.5, pl. 21:1 (ca. 490, child's amphora grave), p. 33, no. 81.4, pl. 21:4 (ca. 500–490, child's amphora grave). Other graves with chytridia at the Kerameikos (of children, unless otherwise noted): *Kerameikos* VII.2, pp. 13–14, 61, 94, 104–105, 109, 110–111, 148, 151–152, nos. 15 (ca. 480–470), 223 (ca. 480), 353 (ca. 420), 409 (adult, ca. 440–430), 433 (450–425), 442 (ca. 410), 605 (450–425), 622 (450–425); *Kerameikos* IX, p. 143, no. 239, pl. 60:7 (475–450); Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 52–53, 82–83, 89–90, 106, nos. 104 (just after 400, cremation), 139 (shortly after ca. 338, adult inhumation), 155 (ca. 300, adult inhumation), 194 (early 3rd century), pls. 41:1, 53:4, 58:2, 61:6; Knigge 1972, pp. 603–604, figs. 23, 24 (433/2, adult male inhumation); Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1976, pp. 49–51, grave 8, pl. 11 (ca. 430–420, adult cremation); Knigge, Stichel, and Woyski 1978, p. 55, fig. 19 (late 5th century, adult female? inhumation). At the Syntagma cemetery: Charitonides 1958, p. 79, no. 2, fig. 136, in tomb V (4th century).

23. For example, a chytridion was found in an adult inhumation in the Eridanos cemetery, together with a feeder, a shape found exclusively in children's graves (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 89–90, no. 155, pl. 58:2); she speculates that a newborn was buried with the adult.

24. The rolled tablet was placed in a chytridion and buried in a two-room structure in grid O 18, south of the public square (north of the houses in section Ω; Fig. 2). In its publication, David Jordan and I stressed the similarities of this deposit to pyres (Jordan and Rotroff 1999), but it lacks the defining features of a pyre as described in this study and has therefore been omitted from the Catalogue.

25. P 29457 and P 29891 from the Enclosure (last third of 5th century); P 29219 from the well (late 5th century). For the deposits, see Shear 1973a, pp. 126–134; 1973b, pp. 360–369. The chthonic character of the shrine is suggested by its position at a crossroads and the white-ground lekythoi (a common funerary gift) that have been found there.

26. *Agora* XII, p. 372, no. 1937, pl. 93 (P 13238); Lynch 2011, pp. 282–283, no. 186, fig. 145 (P 32400); P 6740; all are from Late Archaic deposits. P 8960, P 16514, and P 16515 are from deposits dating later in the 5th century. Several are imports from Aigina (I owe this insight to Gudrun Klebinder-Gauss and Sara Strack, who are preparing a description of the fabrics of Archaic and Classical cooking pots at the Agora).

the vessel is always fully open, not constricted below the rim as is always the case with full-size Classical lopades, and while lopades always have two horizontally placed handles, round in section, lopadia have a single vertically placed loop or pinched handle. These differences are too great to be dismissed as attempts at simplification, and the evidence is that the lopadion did not originate as an imitation of the familiar lopas of the Athenian kitchen.

Chronology supports this conclusion. The first full-size lopades of the familiar form at the Agora occur in deposits dating ca. 440–425, when the shape was introduced as an import from Aigina and was quickly copied by local potters.[27] Smaller lopades, however, with a single vertical handle and a plain profile like that of many of the lopadia of the pyres, may appear slightly earlier. Probably the earliest examples are two vessels from a household well that was filled around 440.[28] They are a bit larger than the pyre lopadia (14.5 cm in diameter in comparison to no more than 12.5 cm for pyre lopadia) and have a flattened bottom, but otherwise are quite similar to them. A fragmentary example, again slightly larger than pyre lopadia but closer to them in shape, comes from a pit filled with pottery from a public dining place in the wake of an earthquake in 426.[29] The shape continues to appear, sometimes in large quantities, in deposits of the last quarter of the 5th century, including at least 22 in a well containing debris from the Tholos, another place of public dining.[30] It would be difficult to dismiss these and other examples of the same period as strays from undiscovered pyres; clearly the lopadion arose and developed independently of the full-size lopas as a functional vessel before being adopted for use in the pyre ritual and concurrently abandoned as a secular vessel.

Possible models exist at the Agora in the form of two larger vessels of the same profile, but with two horizontal handles attached to the rim (Fig. 3). Both are imports, probably from Aigina, and one is Archaic in date;[31] there is no indication that the shape in its larger version was ever imitated locally. The pyre lopadion, however, is not simply a smaller version of that shape; rather, it has been redesigned with a single handle, since two would have been superfluous for handling the smaller vessel. It is difficult to imagine its function, however, since the lopadion seems too small for

27. *Agora* XII, p. 373, no. 1960, pl. 95 (P 2360, Aiginetan); Talcott 1935, p. 513, no. 78, fig. 16 (P 2359, probably Attic). Another Aiginetan example from a context of the third quarter of the 5th century: P 23679, from deposit R 11:3 (Rotroff, forthcoming, where the sequence of introduction and imitation is discussed). Klebinder-Gauss (2012, pp. 174–178) discusses the Aiginetan models and the relationship between Aiginetan and Attic pottery.

28. Boulter 1953, p. 95, no. 113, pl. 35 = *Agora* XII, p. 374, no. 1973, pl. 95 (P 21951), and an uninventoried example from the same deposit (N 7:3).

29. Rotroff and Oakley 1992, pp. 29, 121, 137, no. 327, fig. 25, pl. 58 (P 31661, Diam. 13.0 cm), one of three in the deposit; for the date of the deposit, see pp. 51–57. A lopadion from Building Z at the Kerameikos is about contemporary (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 161, no. 403, pl. 94); it was found in a possible *Opferstelle* of the second phase of the structure.

30. Well H 12:6 (ca. 425–400), with P 11791 (Diam. 10.5 cm) and uninventoried fragments of at least 21 more; for the well, see Thompson 1940, pp. 95–96, 129–131. Other examples known to me are: P 11665 from well M 18:8 (ca. 430–420), Diam. 12.3 cm; P 16517 from the middle fill of well G 18:1 (ca. 450–410), est. Diam. 13.0 cm; P 2554 (*Agora* XII, p. 374, no. 1974, pl. 95) and P 36051 (unpublished) from well G 16:1 (ca. 410–390), Diam. 10.5 and ca. 11.5 cm, respectively; and P 16970 from deposit A–B 21–22:1 (ca. 420–390; the lid is published with a different lopadion as *Agora* XII, no. 1974), with additional fragments of the shape reported from the deposit. Cf. an example from a late-5th-century well at Corinth (Pease 1937, p. 304, no. 206, fig. 36).

31. P 2229 (context unknown); P 36672 from well E 14:5, probably Persian destruction debris (*Agora* XII, p. 388; Shear 1993, pp. 439–440).

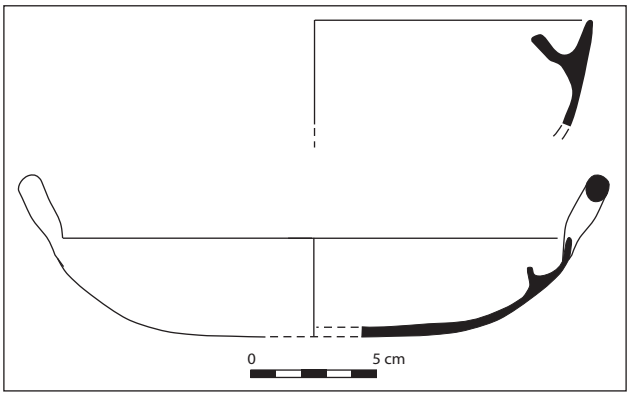


Figure 3. Possible forerunners of the lopadion (P 36672, P 2229).
Drawings S. I. Rotroff

the preparation of a satisfying portion of food. The early examples show little trace of burning, and it is possible, despite the ware of which they were fashioned, that they were not used for cooking at all.

Although the above account demonstrates that the lopadion had a place (however ill-defined) in daily life, the shape also has clear connections with the cemetery. A lopadion of standard pyre shape was found in a late-5th-century cremation in the Eridanos cemetery,[32] and a possibly much earlier example was found in a child's larnax grave dated to the decade 480–470.[33] Small lopades of different shapes, often more closely resembling the full-size cooking pot, occasionally furnished graves there as early as the second decade of the 5th century.[34]

In terms of raw numbers, slightly more lopadia than chytridia have been found in pyres at the Agora; precise counts are difficult because of the fragmentary state of the material, but the ratio appears to be about 7:6 in favor of lopadia. Similarly, more pyres contain lopadia than chytridia (43 vs. 35), but the difference is not large. The same is true of published pyres elsewhere within the city. Curiously, however, the lopadion is more commonly included in graveside pyres, while the chytridion is by far the more common gift of the two within the grave itself, at least to judge from the published cemeteries at the Kerameikos. Lopadia and chytridia occur together in slightly less than half of the Agora pyres, and in many cases they were probably given in pairs, with equal numbers of each of the two shapes (e.g., in pyres **1**, **21**, **32**, **35**, **37**, **41**, **43**, **44**, **49**, **60**, **62**). The two occasionally occur separately, although in most settlement pyres this might be explained by disturbance,[35] and in some cases they are lacking altogether. The latter scenario is most commonly the case in the earliest (e.g., **38**) and latest pyres (e.g., **2**, **23**, **66**). A pyre may contain anywhere from one to four examples of either shape, though it is rare to find more than two (e.g., in pyres **21** and **46** there are two matching pairs of chytridia, indicating possible double pyres; see pp. 16–17, above).

Because the earliest chytridia and lopadia are made of cooking ware, a special fabric adapted for contact with fire, rather than the more common ordinary household ware, and because they resemble the two basic cooking shapes of the Greek kitchen, it seems clear that their symbolic meaning is as tools for food preparation. It has been suggested, however, that the chytridion is a miniature pitcher rather than a cooking pot, and therefore refers to pouring rather than meal preparation.[36] Classical Athenians did occasionally make round-bottomed jugs out of cooking ware; Sparkes

32. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 51, no. 102.14, pl. 41:2.

33. *Kerameikos* VII.2, p. 14, no. 15.9, pl. 8:1, Diam. 13.1 cm. The lopadion was apparently part of a disturbance, however (*Kerameikos* VII.1, p. 25, no. 15), and could date later than other objects found with it.

34. *Kerameikos* IX, p. 101, no. 50.3, pl. 49:1 (two horizontal handles, ca. 490–480); *Kerameikos* VII.2, p. 55, no. 194.2, pl. 31:8 (two horizontal handles, ca. 480–470).

35. E.g., **8**, **20**, **36**, **39** (lopadion only), **6**, **25** (chytridion only). A lesser degree of disturbance makes this more convincing in the case of cemetery pyres: e.g., *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 57, 71–72, nos. 54, 79, pls. 43, 47 (lopadia only); *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 43, no. 35, pl. 39, and Stichel 1990, p. 42, *Opferstelle* 1932 Eukoline 104, pl. 4 (chytridia only).

36. Eleftheratou 1996–1997, p. 102, n. 24.

and Talcott published two dating to the last quarter of the 5th century.[37] They are puzzling anomalies, however, and the authors speculated that they may have been scoops for dry goods, or that the feet were omitted by mistake. In view of this, it is more likely that the chytridia replicate the chytra, which they more closely resemble in profile and proportions. Many preserve traces of burning, but this is as likely to be the result of having been cast into the fire as it is to be evidence that they were used to heat food.

Lekanides

About three-quarters of the Agora pyres include some form of covered bowl among the offerings, most commonly a small (Diam. 5.0–7.7 cm), handleless lekanis, the rim offset on the outside to receive a lid that slips down over the vertical lip.[38] The earliest examples are well glazed and have a ring foot, and their lids have a neatly profiled knob on a low stem (e.g., P 15882, P 19468, P 35592, in pyres **53**, **42**, **18**; see Fig. 6). Although the pyre lekanis replicates no full-size shape precisely, models exist in a variety of small covered bowls current in the 5th and 4th centuries, mostly as grave furniture. The only one that had much currency in domestic pottery is the Lykinic lekanis, a small, elegant vessel with two upcurved handles, made from the mid-5th to the mid-4th century.[39] Aside from the handles, the shape is the same as that of the pyre lekanis, and its lid sometimes had a profiled knob similar to those of the earliest pyre lekanides.[40] The connection is further supported by the inclusion of a Lykinic lekanis in the earliest of the Agora pyres (**38**) and of two in a graveside pyre at the Kerameikos dating to ca. 430.[41] Another possible source of inspiration for the pyre lekanis, however, is the handleless covered bowl. This occurs in two versions: one with a ring foot, the other with a low stem and a projecting rim.[42] The former resembles the pyre lekanis in both shape and the absence of handles, although it is usually slightly larger (Diam. 7.4–12.2 cm) and differs in the forms of the knob. The shape is often found in Athenian graves, especially graves of children, from ca. 490 to the end of the 5th century,[43] surviving just long enough to have had a possible impact on the development of the pyre shape.

Small lekanides of other types also occur in early pyres (black-gloss ribbon-handled lekanides in pyres **22** and **25** and a wishbone-handled lekanis in pyre **38**), and a larger handleless lekanis appears once (in pyre **56**),

37. *Agora* XII, pp. 206, 352, nos. 1657, 1658, pl. 76.

38. *Agora* XII, p. 173 (covered bowl, pyre type); *Agora* XXIX, p. 214.

39. *Agora* XII, pp. 168–170, 323–324, nos. 1242–1246, pl. 42.

40. *Kerameikos* VII.2, pp. 142–143, no. 567, pl. 94:2 (from a child's amphora grave, late 5th century). Cf. White 1966, p. 264, pl. 68 (from tombs 8 and ε at Apollonia in Cyrenaica, second quarter of 4th century and mid-4th century); Thorn 2005, pp. 675, 706, 773, figs. 320, 351, 418 (also from graves, at Cyrene).

41. Knigge 1975, p. 124, nos. 2, 3, pl. 43:1, from *Brandopfergrube* WRb 17.

42. *Agora* XII, pp. 172–173, 325, nos. 1267 (ring foot), 1268, 1269 (stemmed), pl. 42.

43. *Kerameikos* IX, graves 45, 199, 297, 301, 302, pls. 48:4, 57:8, 66:1, 2, 6 (ca. 490–425, all graves of children); *Kerameikos* VII.2, graves 44, 52, 66, 68, 111, 130, 156, 187, 253, 273, 440, pls. 13:1, 14:8, 17:1, 3, 25:6, 26:7, 29:3, 31:3, 43:6, 50:4, 79:1 (ca. 480–425, all but two the grave of a child); Boulter 1963, pp. 119, 121, graves B 8, D 5, pls. 37, 39 (mid- to third quarter of 5th century; D 5 is from a child's grave); Mylonas 1975, vol. 2, p. 62, no. 681, pl. 344:α (child's grave, last quarter of 5th century); Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 366–367, no. 407 (last quarter of 5th century, probably the grave of a child). An example painted in West Slope technique from a grave at the Kerameikos shows the use of the form as a grave gift as late as the 3rd century (Vierneisel 1964, col. 456, fig. 50).

but after the first quarter of the 4th century, only the pyre lekanis was dedicated. It is found in about two-thirds of the Agora pyres; published accounts suggest that the incidence is less (about one-half) in pyres elsewhere within the city and pyres in the cemetery. It is unusual for more than one lekanis to be included among the offerings;[44] when this does happen, the two are not twins; they often differ from one another considerably, something that is generally not true of items that occur in multiples. It is possible that in these cases the ceremony was doubled in some way (see pp. 16–17, above).

In antiquity, the larger covered bowl that the pyre vessels imitate was probably designated by the word λεκανίς or a closely related term, so we are justified in turning to the written sources in an investigation of its function.[45] Those sources indicate that its primary use was as a receptacle or container, and a wide variety of contents are attested, ranging from jewelry and toys to foodstuffs. References to food are particularly numerous: the lekanis and its cognates held cooked food, rabbit meat, fowl, and honey cakes.[46] In published scholarship, the glazed and figured versions are generally associated with toiletries, the larger household-ware vessels with food—but this is a modern distinction, and the black-gloss surface of the pyre lekanis need not classify it as a jewel box or a powder bowl. Given that it is in the company of vessels for cooking and eating, it is likely that the pyre lekanis represents a food container. Sanne Houby-Nielsen has come to the same conclusion about the small black-gloss covered bowls discussed above, based on the fact that they occur so commonly in children's graves in the company of shapes used for eating and drinking.[47]

Saucers

The saucer, the eponymous shape of the deposits, is the most common pyre offering, with over 340 instances. Most are extremely simple, with a flat, string-cut base, a nearly vertical or spreading wall (depending on the diameter), and a plain rim. Diameters range from 4.5 to 12.0 cm, with smaller saucers (Diam. <8.5 cm) more common, and larger ones very rare before the last quarter of the 4th century. Within individual pyres deposited after that date, there are often groups of smaller and larger saucers (e.g., in pyres **1**, **35**, **41**, **46**), often present in even numbers. Although there is little variation in shape, a group of larger saucers from three pyres have profiled rims, concave on top (in pyres **12**, **30**, **51**), and two have rilled rims (in pyres **44**, **49**); both probably imitate the larger plates with these features. Bases are normally flat, but small saucers from three pyres have a low disk foot (in pyres **6**, **8**, **39**). The earliest saucers have a good coat of gloss, but

44. This is documented with assurance in four pyres (**18**, **19**, **21**, **46**), though small fragments of a second lekanis have been found in some other instances (**40**, **57**, **60**). See also the multiple lekanides in graveside pyres: *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 17–18, nos. 18.4, 5, pl. 30 (two lekanis lids), p. 38, nos. 25.33, 34, pl. 36 (two lekanides), p. 40, nos. 28.2, 3, pl. 37 (a lekanis-lid pair and an additional lid), p. 126, nos. 159.28–30, pl. 54 (three lekanides); Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 91–92, nos. 160.3, 4, pl. 58:3 (two lekanides). In some of these cases the lekanides are not mismatched, suggesting another possible difference in practice between cemetery and settlement.

45. Testimonia are cited and discussed in Richter and Milne 1935, pp. xxi, 23–24; Amyx 1958, pp. 202–205; *Agora* XII, p. 164.

46. Ar. *Ach.* 1110; Ath. 6.268c; Phot. *Bibl.*, s.v. λεκάνη; Poll. *Onom.* 6.85–86; Xen. *Cyr.* 1.3.4.

47. Houby-Nielsen 1997, p. 254.

a thin wash can be substituted as early as ca. 385. Unglazed saucers are common after 325 but also occur earlier in the 4th century.

Saucers have been found in over 80% of the Agora pyres, where anywhere from one to 17 may be present, and this is consistent with other pyres found within the city. They are more frequently absent in graveside pyres, where they are sometimes replaced by small black-gloss bowls,[48] but when present, they may be even more numerous there.[49] They were omitted from some late pyres, where offerings are typically restricted to a cup, a lamp, and a rilled-rim plate (pyres **2**, **3**, **23**, **47**, **52**, **66**). Other pyres from which they are absent show signs of disturbance, and they were probably a very regular item through the first third of the 3rd century.

Taken in conjunction with the other miniatures—two cooking pots and a food container—the saucers are most obviously to be read as serving plates, completing the equipment necessary for a meal in miniature.

Other Miniatures

The tiny miniatures that are common in some other votive deposits were apparently not thought appropriate to the pyre ritual, for they appear only rarely in pyres. Pyre **12** includes a miniature two-handled cup of a type very common in 4th- and 3rd-century votive deposits.[50] Here, however, only a tiny fragment is preserved, and it is likely to be an intrusion in the deposit, which was considerably disturbed. It is noteworthy, however, that similar cups are included in two other pyres: one discovered in the Acropolis Metro station excavations, the other a graveside pyre in the Kerameikos.[51] A miniature two-handled bowl in pyre **3** is largely complete and may be part of the original assemblage (see Fig. 21).[52] Whether such simple miniatures were intended as symbolic gifts in their own right or as containers for some small offering (grain, seeds) is of course unknown. A much more puzzling piece was found in the dispersed pyre **28**: a shallow plate with two ribbon handles, a ring foot, and a small ring in the center of the floor, like the cup of a kernos (P 35723, left of center in Fig. 63). The yellow clay resembles Corinthian fabric, and a similar vessel was found at Corinth in a votive deposit excavated in 1937, together with covered bowls similar to those found in some of the Athenian pyres,[53] perhaps a hint of an elusive Corinthian element in the custom (see p. 88, below). In Athens, another parallel comes from a 4th-century grave along the Hiera Odos, suggesting a chthonic dimension for the shape.[54] An unusually small miniature plate was another unique find in pyre **28**.

48. E.g., Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 45–47, no. 92, pl. 39:1; *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 19–20, 70, nos. 21, 73, pls. 32:1, 46:8.

49. E.g., Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 91–92, no. 160, pl. 58:4 (22 saucers); *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 17–18, 38–39, 126–127, nos. 18 (21 saucers), 25 (21 saucers), 159 (49 saucers), pls. 30:6, 36:1, 55:4.

50. Cf. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 379–380, nos. 1408–1415, pl. 108, with comments on p. 209.

51. Eleftheratou 1996–1997, pp. 103, 107, no. 4, fig. 3, pl. 39 (though the vessel was found in the upper part of the pyre and was not burnt, and so possibly is not part of the deposit); Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 103, no. 188.5, pl. 61:5.

52. P 33105; cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 381, nos. 1421, 1422, pl. 108.

53. Inventory no. C-37-2603 from pit 1937-1, of the second and early third quarter of the 4th century; see *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 221–222, deposit 90, and n. 98, below. Cf. *Corinth* XV.3, pp. 332–333, nos. 1985–1991, pl. 72, with multiple cups within each saucer. What may be the same shape, though without handles, also occurs once in an Ambracian subfloor deposit (Andreou and Andreou 2000, pl. 150:β, lower left).

54. Kapetanaki 1973, p. 278, no. 1, fig. 4:α.

Full-Size Vessels

The other ceramic pyre offerings are vessels of functional size. Plates, drinking cups, and lamps recur regularly, while a few more shapes are found in one or a few examples. Many of the vessels are indistinguishable from pottery of daily use found in domestic deposits, though some had a more restricted ritual function.

Plates

Among vessels of normal size, the plate is the functional type that occurs most frequently, present in one form or another in about 90% of the pyres. Its function as a vessel for the presentation of food seems beyond doubt, enabling or at least alluding to the worshipers' participation in the meal signified by the miniature assemblage, whether or not such sharing actually took place. Occasionally a standard black-gloss form will be used (with a rolled, broad, or thickened rim), but the ribbon-handled and the rilled-rim plate are the standard offerings (Fig. 1).

While the rilled-rim plate makes up part of the normal Classical and Hellenistic ceramic assemblage, the ribbon-handled plate is exclusively a cult shape during the period under consideration. It is a simple vessel with a flat or disk base, a straight wall, a plain rim, and two ribbon handles attached horizontally at the rim. Exteriors are unglazed and, except in late examples, interiors are decorated with concentric gloss bands (see Fig. 7). Diameters of plates in the Agora pyres range from 11.4 to 22.0 cm, and examples larger than 15.0 cm are rare and early. The shape is virtually unknown at the Agora except in pyres; in 1951, Young could point to only three examples found in non-pyre contexts,[55] and I am aware of only two more that have been discovered since;[56] all are probably displaced from pyres.

This simple shape has an extraordinarily long history. Its ancestors can be recognized in large vessels with well-formed ribbon handles that emerged in the second half of the 8th century.[57] While the interiors are occasionally banded,[58] like those of later pyre plates, serious decoration is concentrated on the outside of the vessel: bands, swastikas, or leaves on the wall, and stars, wheels, or rosettes on the underside. Although they are a staple of the cemetery, ribbon-handled plates are also well represented in domestic deposits of the time, and the decorated exteriors suggest that they were intended for proud display, hung by the handles on the wall.[59] The shape continued through the 7th century, sometimes smaller in size, and increasingly simple in decoration: bands or wavy lines outside, glazed

55. P 781 and P 782, found together in a dumped fill in the mouth of Roman well I 16:1; and P 6032 in a disturbed 4th-century context.

56. P 30209 and P 30652, from well **68**, an enormous deposit of pottery in a well west of the public square; other pyre shapes were found there as well, and the dump may include a dispersed pyre.

57. In graves: Young 1939, pp. 30, 97, nos. VI 3, XX 6, figs. 18, 67; *Kerameikos* V.1, pls. 103, 104; Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1974, p. 18, nos. 27–31, pls. 4, 7; *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 105, no. 3:2, pl. 42; Coldstream 2008, pp. 49, 87, pls. 10:m, 15:k. In domestic contexts: Young 1939, pp. 113, 135, 162–163, nos. B 14, B 15, B 76, C 77, C 78, figs. 80, 94, 115; Brann 1961a, pp. 112, 123, 135, 145, nos. I 54–I 56, L 40, O 33–O 35, R 18, pls. 21, 23; *Agora* VIII, pp. 44–46, nos. 105, 115, 117, 118, pls. 6, 7.

58. Brann 1961a, p. 123, no. L 40, pl. 21; Mylonas 1975, vol. 2, pp. 176–177, no. 862, pl. 395.

59. Young 1939, pp. 97, 205; Papadopoulos 2007, p. 124.

with reserved bands or centers inside.[60] It is still found in both graves and well deposits, but Eva Brann remarks on its rarity at the Agora, suggesting that it was not at that time a common household item.[61] Sixth-century examples are few, and as far as I have discovered, limited to the settlement,[62] but both a revival and a significant change took place in the 5th century, when the plates moved to the cemetery and the decoration moved to the interior: registers of black-patterned motifs[63] or wide gloss bands on the floor, with an elaborate starburst in a reserved circle at the center, and patterns in gloss silhouette on the rim (large dots, blobs, myrtle, squiggles).[64] Datable examples cluster in the second half of the 5th century, but there may be precedents over a century earlier.[65] They are now rare in the city,[66] but common in cemeteries, especially as offerings outside the grave, rarely as grave gifts. Plates with simple banded interiors, perhaps arising as a further simplification, first appear in graves and their attendant offering places shortly before the end of the 5th century.[67] They show up in Agora pyres within the next decade.

Ribbon-handled plates appear in nearly three-quarters of the Agora pyres, most commonly as a matched pair, though single instances are not unusual, and as many as six may be present. They are also common in graveside pyres and occur occasionally in graves.[68] The plates found in the cemetery are on average a bit larger than those in settlement pyres; many measure over 20.0 cm in diameter, some as much as 46.5 cm.[69]

The other standard plate offering (the rilled-rim plate) first arose around 430 as a delicate and fully black-gloss vessel, distinguished by a

60. Young 1938, pp. 415–416, 424, no. D 12, fig. 2; 1939, pp. 163, 165, nos. C 79–C 81, fig. 114; Brann 1961b, p. 336, no. F 29, pl. 77; *Agora* VIII, pp. 45–46, nos. 116, 119, pl. 7; *ArchDelt* 20, B′1, 1965, p. 114, pl. 79:ε (used as a lid for an amphora in a grave).

61. *Agora* VIII, p. 45. Some of the plates found in the Agora area come from the waste from potter's shops, not from domestic contexts (Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 149–151, 157, nos. 124, 131, figs. 2.83, 2.90).

62. *Agora* XII, pp. 148, 311, nos. 1077–1080, pl. 37.

63. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 44, no. 89.2, pl. 39:5, from an *Opferstelle* dated ca. 420–410; *Agora* XII, p. 312, no. 1083, pl. 37, from a modern dealer's dump.

64. Vierneisel 1964, col. 433, fig. 24, from an *Opferstelle* of ca. 430–420; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 36, no. 66.1, pl. 29:3, from an *Opferstelle* of ca. 440, p. 42, nos. 82.4, 5, pl. 34:3, in a cremation grave(?) dated ca. 420–410, p. 53, no. 105, pl. 42:6, from an early-4th-century *Opferstelle; ArchDelt* 22, B′1, 1967, p. 97, pl. 90:δ, from a 5th-century cremation grave; *Agora* XII, p. 311, no. 1081, pl. 37, unstratified find from the cemetery on Lenormant Street; Knigge 1975, p. 126, nos. 11, 12, pl. 43: 3, 4, from an *Opferstelle* of ca. 430; Mylonas 1975, vol. 1, p. 41, no. 53, pl. 200, from pyre Bη at Eleusis.

65. Cf. two fragments with the same starburst medallion, from an *Opferstelle* dated in the first half of the 6th century (Brückner and Pernice 1893, pp. 89–90, figs. 2, 3). A plainer but very large banded example was found in the "Tumulus of the Plataeans" at Marathon (Marinatos 1970, p. 361, fig. 20).

66. An exception is the unpublished P 33664, from well J 2:14, north of the public square, filled early in the second half of the 5th century. The presence in that well of one-handled lekanides and a number of lekythoi (including fragments of a white-ground lekythos) suggests that some material intended for the cemetery may be included in the deposit. For the well and some of its contents, see Camp 2003, pp. 250–254.

67. Early examples are: Charitonides 1958, p. 72, fig. 122, among offerings in a pyre outside a grave, with lekythoi of the Triglyph Painter, last quarter of 5th century (Charitonides remarks that they are rare in graves but common in offering pyres); Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 45–48, nos. 92.2, 3, 94.1, pl. 39:1, 3 (in late-5th-century *Opferstellen*), p. 51, no. 102.3, pl. 41:2 (in a late-5th-century cremation grave).

68. In pyres: Vierneisel 1964, col. 433, fig. 24; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, nos. 66, 89, 92, 94, 105, 108, 109, 112, 114, 115, 136, 138, 160, 168, pls. 29, 39, 41, 42, 45, 47, 49, 58, 59; Knigge 1975, p. 126, nos. 11, 12, pl. 43:3, 4; Petrakos 1989, p. 6, pl. 2:β; *Kerameikos* XIV, nos. 4, 17, 18, 21, 25, 28, 35–37, 41, 54, 57, 60, 62, 79, 159, pls. 28, 30–32, 36, 38–41, 43–46, 48, 55. In graves: *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 47, no. 46, pl. 42; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 41–42, 50–51, 54–55, 96, nos. 82, 102, 107, 171, pls. 34, 41, 42, 59; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 169, no. 142.

69. E.g., Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 75, nos. 138.20, 21, pl. 49:3; *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 40, no. 28.20, pl. 38.

wide rim decorated with two grooves, a wide, flat floor offset from the wall, and a delicately molded underside.[70] Some of the earliest have been found in cemeteries[71] and in pyres, including the earliest pyre at the Agora (**38**), suggesting a connection with cult that goes back to the origins of the shape, but rilled-rim plates are also well documented in domestic deposits of the 4th century. A derivative version, with a reserved rim and lacking the offsets and moldings of the original plates, was common in pyres from ca. 375 onward and may have been developed especially for ritual use. If so, it was soon adopted for domestic use as well and developed into a common household shape of the Hellenistic period.[72] The rilled-rim plate thus counts as the only plate of the standard household assemblage that is regularly associated with pyres. The association was clearly a strong one, for the plate is included in a group of small 3rd-century pyres where the characteristic miniatures are absent (pyres **2**, **5**, **23**, **47**, **52**, **66**). Overall the rilled-rim plate occurs in about half of the Agora pyres and is reported from about a third of the graveside pyres at the Kerameikos.[73] Most commonly there is only a single example, but nine Agora pyres preserve two, and larger numbers (up to five) were occasionally dedicated. Simpler forms of the plate, where the rim is concave or convex on top, could be substituted (e.g., in pyres **24**, **54**; see Figs. 56, 102);[74] these are rare and probably were made only for ritual use.

Other plates from the standard black-gloss repertoire are rarely found in pyres. The rolled-rim plate—probably the most common table form of the 4th century—occurs three times (in pyres **7**, **12**, **35**).[75] Pyre **25** includes a broad-rim plate, largely an Archaic shape and rare even in the 5th century;[76] its presence in so late a context (ca. 375) is surprising and possibly deliberately archaizing. Pyre **40** contains an unglazed plate with a thickened rim—a normal household shape, despite the lack of gloss.[77] An unusual variant of the same form, this time glazed, was included in pyre **63a**. A fragment of a fish plate was found in pyre **18**, of the first half of the 4th century, but it may be intrusive from surrounding soil.

Drinking Cups

Drinking cups are very common, occurring in all of the undisturbed pyres and in over 70% of the Agora pyres as a whole. It is these vessels, most frequently, that supply the date for a pyre, since parallels can be found in the well-dated sequences of table ware published in *Agora* XII and *Agora* XXIX. The varieties change with the times; Figure 4 illustrates the various

70. For profiles of early examples, see *Agora* XII, p. 308, nos. 1022–1024, fig. 10, pl. 36. For the history of the plate in the Classical and Hellenistic periods, see *Agora* XII, pp. 146–147, 199; *Agora* XXIX, pp. 151–152.

71. Charitonides 1958, p. 58, figs. 97, 97a; Boulter 1963, p. 134, nos. 31–33, pl. 52, miscellaneous finds from the cemetery in Lenormant Street (P 10276, P 10362, P 10409).

72. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 151–152. The possibility that it retained a ritual function and can thus serve as an indicator of ritual activity later in the Hellenistic period would be worth investigating.

73. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, nos. 105, 112, 114, 115, 138, 167, 188; *Kerameikos* XIV, nos. 12, 33, 35, 37, 54, 57, 60, 62, 126. Surprisingly, only three published settlement pyres outside the area of the Agora include the shape: Eleftheratou 1996–1997, p. 106, no. 3, fig. 3, pl. 39:α; 2006, p. 8; Knigge 1993, p. 134, fig. 18.

74. See *Agora* XXIX, p. 152, for the concave-rim plate.

75. For the shape, see *Agora* XII, p. 147, fig. 10, pl. 36.

76. *Agora* XII, pp. 144–145, fig. 9, pl. 36.

77. *Agora* XII, pp. 145–146, 307–308, nos. 1012–1014, 1017, 1020, 1021, fig. 9, pl. 36.

types, and Figure 5 places them in their chronological sequence. A Rheneia cup (Fig. 4:1) occurs only once, in the earliest pyre (pyre **38**), dating within the 5th century. One-handlers too appear in the 5th century but continue throughout the 4th (Fig. 4:5). Bolsals and cup-skyphoi (Fig. 4:4, 6) join them in the first quarter of the 4th century, to be replaced by the varieties of kantharoi and cup-kantharoi and the related calyx cup introduced in the course of the century (Fig. 4:7–13). Skyphoi (Fig. 4:2, 3) are the most common cup offerings, documented from the 5th century to the first quarter of the 3rd, with a slight preference for the Corinthian type. A Corinthian skyphos occurs in the Agora's earliest pyre (**38**), the Attic version only a little later, in the last quarter of the 5th century (in pyre[?] **48**). Both continue into the 3rd century (e.g., in pyres **21, 62**) but are then replaced by Hellenistic shapes: the West Slope skyphos (in pyre **66**; Fig. 4:14) or, more commonly, small Hellenistic kantharoi with either angular or baggy contours (e.g., in pyres **2**, **37**; Fig. 4:15, 16).

Occasionally these contexts shed further light on the function or even the dating of the cups. It has been debated whether the one-handler was used to serve food or drink;[78] its repeated presence in the pyres argues strongly that here, at least, it was a drinking cup. In another case, the pyre assemblages suggest a small adjustment in the terminal date of the squat-rimmed cup-kantharos. Sparkes and Talcott limited this uncommon variant of the shape to the second and third quarters of the 4th century.[79] The cup in pyre **1** (see Fig. 17) is similar in profile to their latest example, which they dated ca. 325,[80] but it was found with chytridia and lopadia made of household fabric,[81] an innovation that was not introduced until ca. 315. The cup's resting surface is slightly worn, allowing a few years of use before deposit ca. 315, but the likelihood is that it was made after 325.

Although some of these cups are identical in all respects to those found in ordinary domestic debris, many are smaller than the average. All of the Hellenistic kantharoi belong to the small series of the shape, under 9.0 cm in height, in contrast to 11.0 cm or more for the shape in general. None of the bolsals measures over 10.0 cm in diameter, which puts them among the smaller of the Agora examples, overall,[82] and the bolsal in pyre **39** (Diam. 6.4 cm) almost qualifies as a miniature. Most of the Classical kantharoi and cup-kantharoi are of normal size, but those in pyre **46** are small in comparison to contemporary examples. The cup-skyphos in pyre **7** is also much smaller than normal, and the one-handlers in pyres **25** and **39** are near miniatures. The Corinthian skyphos of the 4th century is a small shape; the average height of those published in *Agora* XII is a little over 9 cm. Some of those in pyres, however, take this to an extreme (e.g., those in pyre **21**), and conform to what was clearly a simplified, votive version of the shape. Two of the Attic skyphoi are full-size (in pyres **7** and **33**[?]), but most examples are small, of a size paralleled in votive deposits (e.g., in pyres **16**, **42**, **43**, **62**).[83] In sum, there is a range from ordinary vessels that would not look out of place on the table, to small but functional vessels, to a few that seem to be true votive or miniature versions of standard shapes. Perhaps people selected smaller vessels when they chose cups for use in the pyre ceremony, but more probably all of these smaller versions were intended from the beginning for cult purposes. The cups suggest libations,[84] but they could also have functioned to provide a small drink of

78. *Agora* XII, p. 124; *Agora* XXIX, p. 155.

79. *Agora* XII, p. 120.

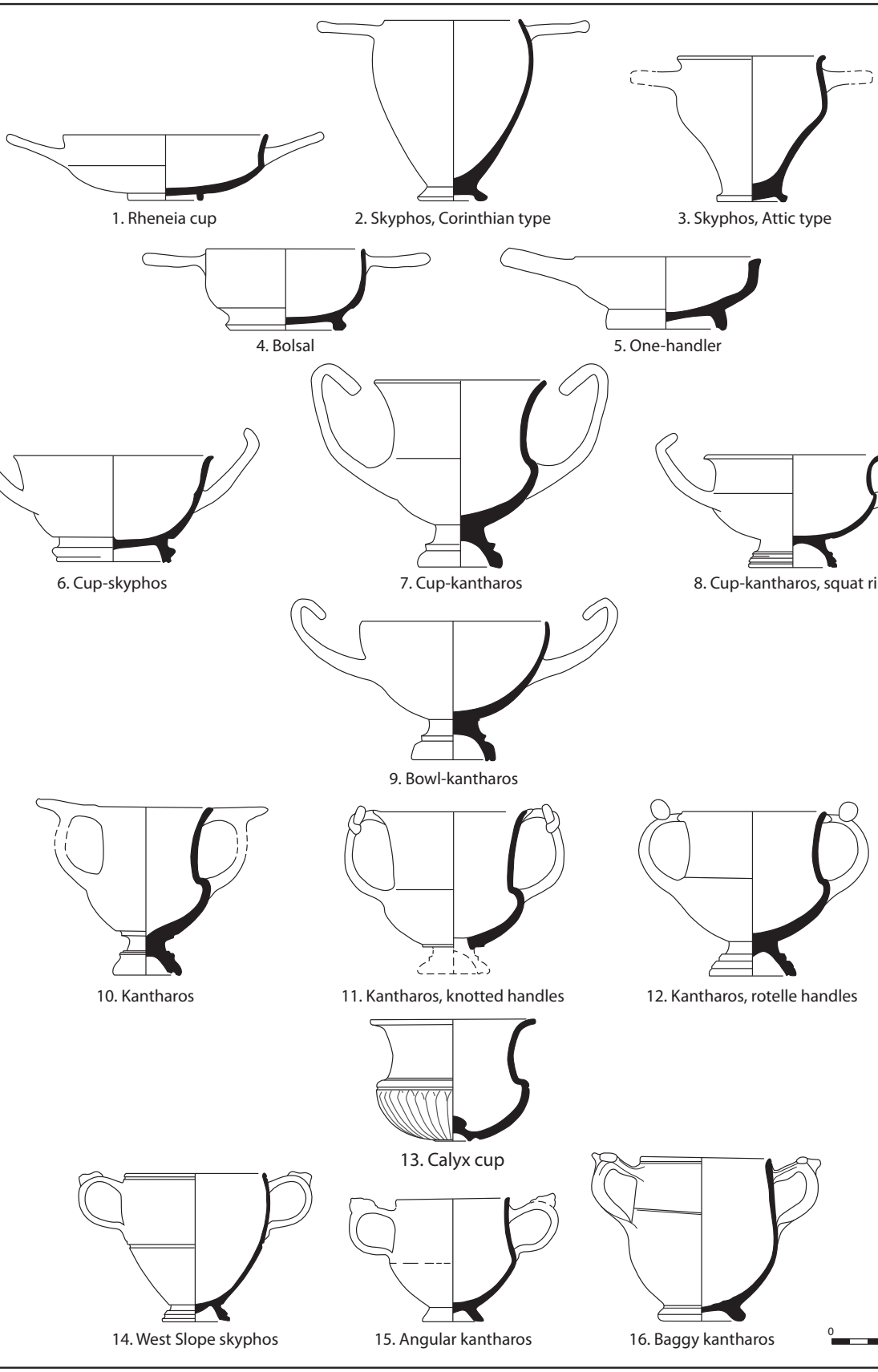
80. P 28557, cf. *Agora* XII, p, 285, no. 685, pl. 28.

81. Three more pyres at the Kerameikos preserve the same association: Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 95, no. 168, pl. 59:4, in the Eridanos cemetery; Knigge 1993, p. 134, fig. 18, in Building Y; *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 172–173, no. 455, pl. 102:1–4, in Building Z.

82. To appreciate the size, see *Agora* XII, pl. 24; the pyre bolsals are equivalent in size to nos. 534, 540, 542, 556.

83. For votive skyphoi, of both Corinthian and Attic types, see *Agora* XXIX, pp. 207–208.

84. Vase paintings frequently illustrate this function; Van Straten 1995, figs. 122, 133, 136, 137, 139, 140, 143, 145–149; Gebauer 2002, figs. 244, 245, 257, 258, 265, 291.


1. Rheneia cup
2. Skyphos, Corinthian type
3. Skyphos, Attic type
4. Bolsal
5. One-handler
6. Cup-skyphos
7. Cup-kantharos
8. Cup-kantharos, squat rim
9. Bowl-kantharos
10. Kantharos
11. Kantharos, knotted handles
12. Kantharos, rotelle handles
13. Calyx cup
14. West Slope skyphos
15. Angular kantharos
16. Baggy kantharos
0
5 cm

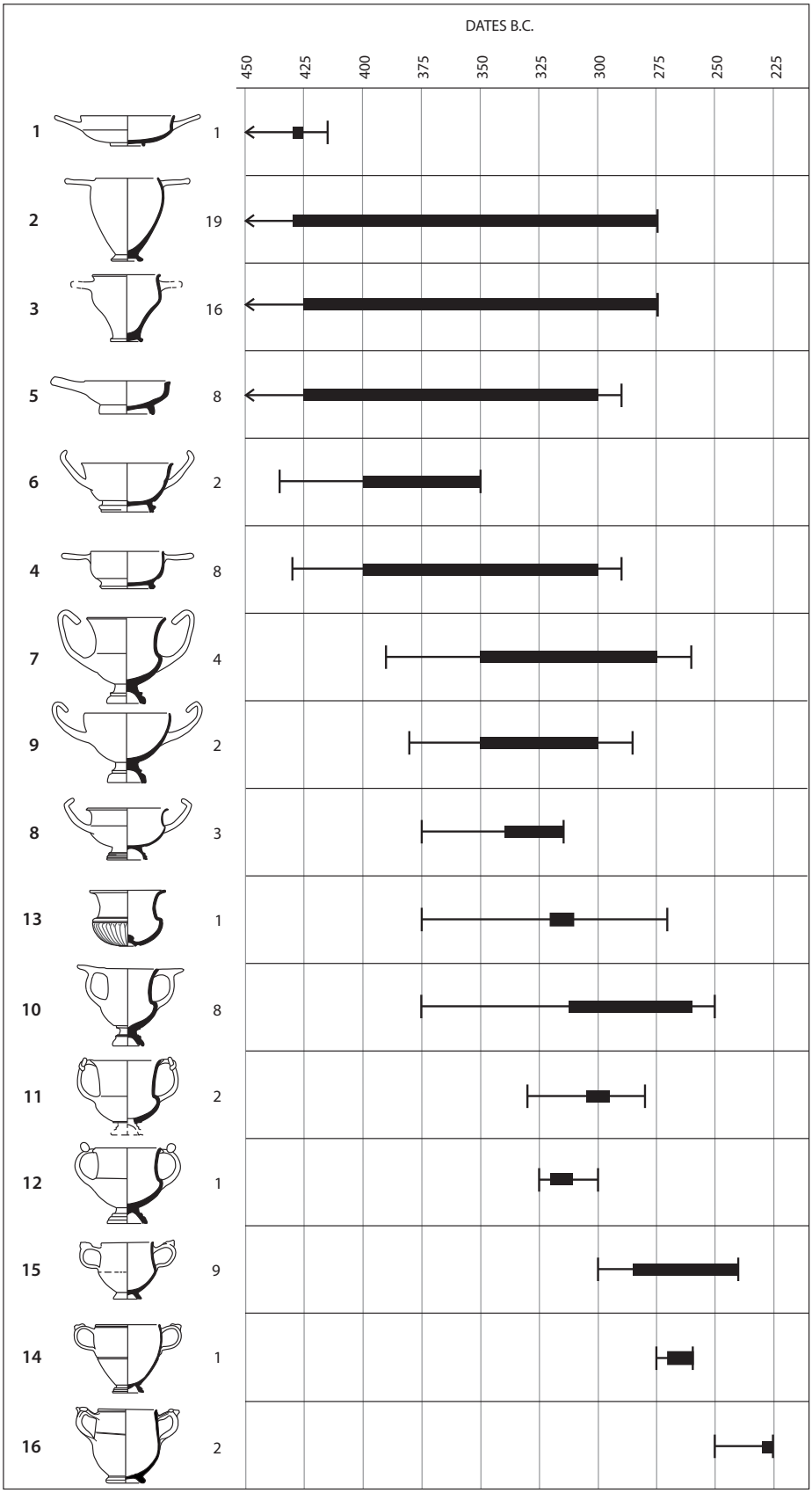


Figure 4 *(opposite)*. **Types of drinking cups found in Agora pyres.** *1:* **P 2290 (*Agora* XII, no. 460); *2:* P 19049 (pyre 41); *3:* P 29200 (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1393); *4:* P 16138 (*Agora* XII, no. 557); *5:* P 28744 (*Agora* XXIX, no. 856); *6:* P 6373 (*Agora* XII, no. 608); *7:* P 17694 (pyre[?] 45); *8:* P 13530 (*Agora* XII, no. 684); *9:* P 20141 (pyre 36); *10:* P 18571 (pyre 46); *11:* P 16732 (pyre 51); *12:* P 18542 (pyre 44); *13:* P 18539 (pyre 44); *14:* P 13372 (pyre 66); *15:* P 18455 (pyre 37); *16:* P 28582 (pyre 2).** Drawings S. I. Rotroff and A. Hooton

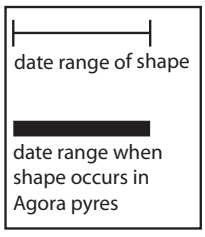


Figure 5 *(right)*. **Chronological ranges of drinking-cup types found in Agora pyres, with type number (see Fig. 4) to left of each shape drawing, and number of occurrences to right of each.** Drawing S. I. Rotroff

wine, thus shared by the dedicant and the entities to which the ceremony was directed. Most of the cups show no trace of wear on their resting surfaces; they were new (a stipulation that occurs in some sacred laws for more canonical rituals),[85] and, like the rest of the assemblage, purchased specifically for the pyre ceremony.

Lamps

Lamps are a regular feature of the pyres, present in 10 of the 17 undisturbed pyres and in about half of all pyres excavated at the Agora. Although this percentage indicates that they were not essential to the assemblage, it is noteworthy that when, in the latest pyres, the assemblage is reduced to only a few shapes, the lamp is almost always present (pyres **2**, **23**, **47**, **52**, **66**, **69**), Usually there is only one lamp in the assemblage, but five pyres contain two (pyres **3**, **9**, **21**, **31**, **46**).[86] The pattern is about the same for settlement pyres found elsewhere in Athens and Attica.[87] Lamps are surprisingly rare, however, in graveside pyres,[88] which again points to differences between the cemetery and settlement pyres; nor are they common offerings in contemporary Athenian graves.[89] They are, however, found in large numbers in sanctuaries, particularly of Demeter, Artemis, and Athena. There they are generally classed as "votives," but may also have played a role in ceremonies and provided light for ritual dining.[90]

The practical function of a lamp is unambiguous—it provides light—and it has been suggested that the presence of lamps in the pyres indicates that the ritual took place at night.[91] Lamps might also have been called for if the ceremony or some part of it took place in a closed and therefore dark space. Among undisturbed pyres, only four that were located within buildings are lacking lamps (**1**, **32**, **44**, **62**), and one of those may have been buried when the house was in a ruinous state and perhaps roofless. But whether activities took place inside or at night, a single lamp could hardly have shed enough light for the sacrifice and butchering of an animal and the attendant activities. Torches would have been needed for any significant

85. Sokolowski 1969, pp. 252–261, no. 151, a sacred calendar from Kos, mid-4th century: lines A 60–61, two new κύλικες to be given to Demeter on occasion of sacrifice; lines B 25, 26, two new πρόχοι and three new κύλικες for Athena Machanis; line C 6, three new κύλικες. Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993, pp. 14–15, col. A, line 15, a sacred law from Selinous, a honey mixture to be offered in καιναῖς ποτερίδε[σ]ι, with commentary on pp. 35–36.

86. Two more lamps in pyre **21** (L 2898, L 2899) are much earlier than the rest of the deposit and probably do not belong to the pyre assemblage.

87. Lamps are reported from nine settlement pyres within the city: three pyres in the third phase of Building Z (*Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 170, 172, 175, nos. 450.9, 453.13, 460.22, fig. 52, pls. 100, 101, 103), one in Building Y in the Kerameikos (Knigge 1993, p. 134, fig. 18), three from the Acropolis Metro station excavations (Eleftheratou 1996–1997, p. 107, nos. 5, 6, fig. 3, pls. 39, 40, p. 113, nos. 3, 4, fig. 4, pl. 42; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 99, no. 77), one from the Acropolis Museum excavations (Eleftheratou 2006, p. 8), and a possible pyre on Erechtheion Street, south of the Acropolis (*ArchDelt* 23, B′1, 1968, p. 57). A lamp is also included in a probable pyre found in the Piraeus (*ArchDelt* 29, B′1, 1973–1974, p. 149, pl. 110:β) and in an unpublished pyre on display at the Athens International Airport.

88. In only three published pyres known to me: Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 95, no. 167.3, pl. 59:2; *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 38, 126, nos. 25.3, 159.1–3, fig. 82, pls. 36, 55.

89. Only a few examples are published from the Eckterrasse, the Südhügel, and the Eridanos cemeteries: *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 58–59, 73, 121, nos. 56.6, 87.1, 129.2, fig. 82, pls. 44, 48, 52; *Kerameikos* IX, p. 161, no. 371.4, pl. 68:7; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 88, no. 151.5, pl. 58:1.

90. Parisinou (2000, pp. 136–157) summarizes the archaeological evidence of lamp deposits in sanctuaries.

91. Camp 2003, p. 249.

illumination, and then discarded or used to light the way back home again, hence leaving no traces at the site. Observation of signs of use on the lamps raises further questions about how they were utilized in the ceremony. A few have battered bodies and worn resting surfaces, suggesting extensive past use[92] and indicating that those lamps were chosen from among the furnishings of the home. Most, however, lack any trace of wear on their resting surfaces, and, like most of the other offerings, must have been purchased specifically for the ritual. While post-deposition burning often makes it difficult to determine whether these lamps were ever lighted, it is rare that extensive traces of burning can be detected on the nozzles.[93] A similar absence of burning has been observed on lamps found in the sanctuaries of the Eleusinian goddesses. Eva Parisinou speculates that they may have been lit only once, at the time of their presentation, and that the light itself, rather than the lamp, was the gift.[94] The pyre lamps, then, may be more symbolic than utilitarian; if they were lighted, it was only briefly and in the context of the ritual, not to provide lasting illumination for the activities involved.

Covered Bowls

A broad, shallow bowl with a rounded bottom and a rim fitted for a lid (Fig. 1) occurs as a singleton or pair in three pyres (**4**, **41**, **46**), and small fragments have been found in two or three others (pyres **54**, **55**, and perhaps **3**).[95] The shape is found in graveside pyres and in at least one grave as well,[96] but also in household debris, so its association with the pyres is not exclusive. It probably served as a food container, paralleling the symbolic function of the pyre lekanis, in the same way that full-size plates parallel the miniature saucers. The ware is unusual: hard and very thin-walled, with gloss on the inside only, features that associate it with the banded lebes, another shape that is found in both pyres and domestic deposits. The two were probably made in the same shops. Surprisingly, closely similar vessels frequently furnish graves and votive deposits on the Lipari islands,[97] and they have also been found at Corinth.[98] Roger Edwards thought the latter were of

92. E.g., L 6133 in pyre **19**, the surface and resting surface worn; L 1727 (*Agora* IV, p. 96, no. 415, pls. 15, 41) in pyre **23**, battered and lacking the end of the nozzle; L 4021 (*Agora* IV, p. 75, no. 318, pls. 11, 39) in pyre **49**, with traces of burning on the nozzle and a somewhat worn resting surface.

93. The same is true of lamps from pyres at the Acropolis Metro station excavations (Eleftheratou 1996–1997, p. 116), and of the three lamps from the Building Z pyres, in contrast to lamps found elsewhere in the building (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 75).

94. Parisinou 2000, p. 140.

95. For the shape, see *Agora* XII, pp. 198–199, pl. 69; *Agora* XXIX, p. 217 (with details of distribution within the Agora).

96. Pyres: *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 19, 40, 60, nos. 21.18, 19, 28.8, 60.9 (with small lug handles), pls. 31, 38, 45. Grave: Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 96, no. 171.17, pl. 59:6.

97. *Meligunìs-Lipára* II, pp. 37, 93, 94, 96, 114, 146, 148, pls. CXX:1:b, c, CXXX1:2:b, 4:d, CXXXII:3:f, g, 4:d, e, CXXXIII:1:b, c, 2:c, CXXXV:1:f, g (from tombs); *Meligunìs-Lipára* X, p. 394, pl. XV; *Meligunìs-Lipára* XI, pp. 630–631, figs. 103:d, 105:1–3 (from a votive deposit); pp. 602–603, pls. CCLXVI:2, CCLXVII:1 (from tombs). Some are unglazed, but many have thin gloss on the interior, like the covered bowls at Athens. The profile (fig. 103:d) suggests a heavier shape, at least for that example. Other parallels cited by Sparkes and Talcott (*Agora* XII, p. 199, n. 4) are either unpublished or not as close.

98. C-37-2578 to C-37-2581, found in pit 1937-1 in the company of many miniatures. For the deposit, see *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 221–222, deposit 90, second to early third quarter of 4th century. For these and other examples at Corinth, see *Corinth* VII.6, pp. 216–217, 226–227, nos. VIII-48–VIII-52, figs. 44, 74, pl. 36. They are closely similar in fabric and gloss to those at the Agora, but more angular in profile and with a more highly domed lid.

Corinthian manufacture, but more recently Ian McPhee and Elizabeth Pemberton have regarded them as Attic imports.[99] Whichever is the case, they constitute a hint of some connection with Corinth (see p. 88, below).

Other Ceramic Shapes

Other shapes show up in only one or a few examples. A variety of small bowls and saltcellars, about the same size as saucers, may have served as upscale versions of the same. Shallow bowls with a broad resting surface ("broad-based bowls")[100] occur in single examples in three Agora pyres (**7**, **11**, **57**; see Fig. 36). They are much more common, however, in Kerameikos graveside pyres, where they often appear in multiples.[101] Saltcellars, with single examples in pyre(?) **45** and pyre **49** (see Figs. 90, 97), again are represented more abundantly in the graveyard.[102] Small bowls with thinner walls, distinguished from saucers only by their ring feet, occur in pyres **22** and **28** (see Figs. 52, 63) and are also found occasionally in cemetery pyres.[103] Diminutive echinus bowls, larger than saltcellars but smaller than the usual table size, are found twice as well (in pyres **7**, **15**; see Figs. 31, 42).

Larger black-gloss bowls, probably duplicating the function of the plates, are rare: the Agora pyres preserve one example each of a large saucer with a projecting rim (in pyre **5**), a bowl with an outturned rim (in pyre **30**), and an echinus bowl (in pyre[?] **45**) (see Figs. 27, 66, 90).[104]

Another dimension of the offerings, however, is suggested by a small number of ceramic oil containers: squat lekythoi (in pyres **6**, **38**, **42**, **45**[?]; see Figs. 29, 84, 90), gutti (in pyre **41** and perhaps in pyre **14**; see Figs. 41, 82), and an askos (in pyre **59**; see Fig. 110) in the Classical pyres, and gray unguentaria in Hellenistic ones (**3**, **19**, **37**; see Figs. 21, 48, 76). Although they crop up in no more than 15% of the pyres, they demonstrate that the offerings of oil referred to symbolically by the dummy alabastra (see pp. 35–37, below) were sometimes made in earnest. Oil vessels are occasionally reported from settlement pyres elsewhere,[105] but are more common and diverse in shape in graveside pyres,[106] and the squat lekythos and unguentarium are of course extremely common grave gifts.[107]

99. *Agora* XII, p. 199, n. 4; *Corinth* VII.6, pp. 216–217.

100. See *Agora* XII, p. 135, and *Agora* XXIX, p. 165, for the history of the shape.

101. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 71, 75, nos. 136.3, 138.41–77, pl. 47:1; *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 19, 39, 43, 60, 72, nos. 21.3–13, 25.37–44, 35.3–6, 60.5, 79.5, fig. 77, pls. 32, 36, 39, 45, 48.

102. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 63, 74, 92, nos. 114.3, 4, 138.11, 160.2, pls. 45:4, 49:1, 58:3; *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 17, 19, 38, 40, 60, 72, 120, 126, nos. 18.2, 3, 21.14, 25.25–27, 28.5, 60.3, 4, 79.6, 126.3–5, 159.10–15, fig. 77, pls. 30, 32, 36, 37, 45, 48, 52, 54.

103. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 56, no. 108.5, pl. 42:2; Knigge 1975, p. 124, no. 9, pl. 43:1.

104. For examples from graveside pyres, see Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 103, nos. 188.2, 3, fig. 10, pl. 61:5 (bowl with outturned rim, saucer with projecting rim); Knigge 1988, pp. 152–153, no. 56, fig. 147 (echinus bowls).

105. An unglazed askos from a probable pyre south of the Acropolis (*ArchDelt* 23, B′1, 1968, p. 57); a guttus from one of the pyres in Building Z (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 174, no. 456.2, pl. 102); a side-pouring lekythos from a Late Hellenistic pyre found in the Acropolis Metro station excavations (Eleftheratou 1996–1997, p. 112, no. 2, fig. 4, pl. 42), and unguentaria from another pyre there (pp. 107–108, nos. 7–12, fig. 3, pl. 40).

106. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 74, 92, nos. 138.10 (guttus), 160.1 (aryballos), pls. 49:1, 58:3; Petrakos 1989, p. 6, pl. 2:β; *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 17, 43, 44, 61, nos. 17.1, 2, 36.1, 37.17, 18, 62.4 (squat lekythoi), 159.16–18 (aryballos), 159.4 (unguentarium), pls. 30, 40, 41, 46, 55. For functional alabastra from graveside pyres, see n. 123, below.

107. E.g., *Kerameikos* XIV, passim.

Harder to interpret are the single instances of unglazed jugs found in two 3rd-century pyres (**37**, **46**; see Figs. 76, 91); although small, they are recognizably of the same shape as the standard Athenian water jug of the Hellenistic period (form 1).[108] Since the full-size shape is a water vessel, these smaller versions may refer to lustrations or purification.

A single lebes, glazed inside and banded outside, comes from pyre **7** (see Fig. 31). It is a rare shape, and other examples from the Agora were not found in ritual contexts.[109] The extremely thin walls, however, make one wonder about the functionality of these vessels, and Sparkes and Talcott point out that the fabric is similar to that of the covered bowls closely associated with pyres, and like them they are glazed only on the interior.

Occasionally a vessel of more general ritual function furnishes a pyre. Two fragmentary thymiateria, vessels used for burning incense in both ritual and secular contexts,[110] have been found in Agora pyres. One, preserved as fragments of the hollow stand, rim, and lid of a common Hellenistic form,[111] comes from pyre(?) **45** (see Fig. 90, lower right), a deposit that deviates significantly from the canonical; the only exclusively pyre vessels it contains are two chytridia, and it is possible that it reflects a different ceremony. The thymiaterion in pyre **12** (see Fig. 37, front row, second from left) is of the Classical form, where the bowl rests on a thinner, solid stem.[112] Only the lower stem and foot are preserved, and it may be an intrusion from the surrounding soil. The thymiateria can therefore not be used as firm evidence for the burning of incense as part of the pyre ritual. Single kernoi, also fragmentary, were found in pyres **15** and **26** (see Fig. 42, middle row, second from left, and Fig. 61, left). Margaret Miles has recently reasserted Frank Brommer's argument that these vessels, which are closely associated with the Eleusinian divinities, are properly termed *plemochoai,* and were used for libations.[113] They could well have fulfilled that function in the pyre ceremony.

Other Types of Offerings

Alabastra

Young pointed to alabastra as indicators of the chthonic character of the pyres,[114] an observation that remains valid, although they occur in only six pyres at the Agora (**21**, **36**, **41**, **43**, **44**, **49**; see Figs. 51, 82, 85, 87, 97) and, among published settlement pyres elsewhere, in three at the Kerameikos.[115] Their representation is limited to the span of ca. 350–275, and thus they do not appear to have been part of the original pyre assemblage as constituted 50 or more years earlier. All of the alabastra from the Agora pyres are local products made of poros, rather than the more costly and usually imported

108. For the form, see *Agora* XXXIII, pp. 73–76. None have been reported from pyres elsewhere, though a few pyres at the Kerameikos contain small glazed or banded jugs: *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 59, 60, 71, nos. 57.3, 60.6, 79.2, pls. 44, 45, 48 (glazed); p. 60, no. 60.29 (banded).

109. *Agora* XII, pp. 57, 242, nos. 85–87, pl. 4; *Agora* XXIX, pp. 140, 306, nos. 609, 610, fig. 44, pl. 58.

110. *Agora* XXIX, p. 210.

111. For the form, see *Agora* XXIX, pp. 211, 382, nos. 1435 (the thymiaterion in pyre[?] **45**) and 1436, fig. 86, pl. 109.

112. For the form, see *Agora* XXIX, pp. 211, 382, nos. 1431–1434, fig. 86, pl. 109.

113. Brommer 1980; *Agora* XXXI, pp. 95–103.

114. Young 1951b, pp. 111–112.

115. Knigge 1993, p. 134, fig. 17 (Building Y); *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 173, 175, nos. 455.29, 460.21, pls. 102, 103 (Building Z).

alabaster or marble containers. Furthermore, they are solid dummies, cheaper stand-ins for the real thing, implying but not delivering a gift of scented oil. Only eight poros alabastra have been found at the Agora; the two that were not found in pyres come from the industrial area southwest of the public square, where many pyres were found.[116] They may either come from disturbed pyre deposits or from workshops producing such objects. The alabastra in the Building Z pyres differ: one is solid but made of clay, another marble and apparently hollow.

The connection of the stone alabastron to funerary ritual is very strong. Although the shape is frequently represented in scenes of women's activities on Athenian figured vases, and ceramic alabastra with figured decoration are common in domestic deposits, the stone vessels are almost never found within settlements, either in Athens or elsewhere.[117] Hollow alabastra made of alabaster[118] furnished graves throughout the Greek Mediterranean from the mid-6th century on, included there as containers of gifts of perfumed oil, often imported.[119] They occur with some frequency (though they cannot be called common) in both male and female graves in Athenian cemeteries of the later 5th through the early 3rd centuries, and occasionally earlier.[120] Judging from published cemetery contexts, the solid substitutes were rarely deposited within the grave itself,[121] though they do occur alongside functional vessels in other funerary deposits, as a way of expanding display without excessive cost.[122] Alabastra are also an occasional item in graveside

116. ST 404 (found ca. six meters east of pyre **37**), ST 630 (found five meters north of pyre **26** and tentatively associated with it by the excavator).

117. In a review of the diffusion of these objects throughout the Mediterranean, Elia and Cavallo (2002, p. 11, n. 5) cite only three instances: *Olynthus* XIII, pp. 422–423, nos. 1068–1069 A, pl. 256; *Himera* II, p. 84, no. 1, pl. XIII:1; and an unpublished alabastron at Epizephyrian Lokris. Six alabastra are listed among furniture and textiles on the Attic stelai, documenting their presence in a house (Amyx 1958, pp. 213–217). I know of five fragments of alabaster alabastra from the Agora: ST 343 (from a 5th-century sacrificial pit); ST 565, in the Middle Stoa building fill, which was brought into the area from elsewhere; ST 808 and ST 816, fragments found in a commercial area east of the public square, possibly awaiting sale; ST 1018, a small fragment in fill under the southern end of the Stoa of Attalos and (coincidentally?) found in the layer into which pyre **70** was dug. The latter three may be related to the perfume trade that operated outside the southeast corner of the square (*Agora* XXXIII, pp. 139–140). An unfinished alabastron and a core drilled out to form one (ST 465 and ST 753, both made of marble) show that marble alabastra were manufactured at Athens (see also n. 119, below).

118. The term is used loosely to refer to either true Egyptian alabaster (calcite, onyx) or gypsum, similar in appearance but softer; distinctions between the two are not generally made in the archaeological literature (Carter 1998, p. 761).

119. Carter 1998, pp. 757–761; Elia and Cavallo 2002; Cavallo 2004. Import of the vessels and their contents from Egypt is likely, but tubes of alabaster representing cores drilled out for the manufacture of the vessels have been found on the Pnyx, indicating local manufacture from imported material (Davidson and Thompson 1943, p. 99, no. 11, fig. 44).

120. E.g., they are reported from about one-sixth of the graves published in *Kerameikos* XIV (nos. 8, 13, 16, 22–24, 27, 31, 32, 42, 46, 47, 53, 55, 59, 64, 65, 68, 88, 89, 92, 101, 107, 110, 114, 133, 142), dating between ca. 400 and 275, but from only seven of the ca. 140 Classical graves in the Eridanos cemetery (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, nos. 74, 131, 132, 141, 145–147), with a date range of ca. 440–325. They are listed in only three of the over 600 graves published in *Kerameikos* VII.2, pp. 63–66, 73–74, 82–83, nos. 234, 261, 282 (525–430). See Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 334, no. 352, for another early instance (480–470).

121. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 47, nos. 46.2, 3, pl. 42 (poros), in a cremation grave; p. 114, nos. 110:6–17 (poros) and 18–25 (alabaster), pl. 49, in the fill over a cremation grave; and p. 122, no. 133.2, pl. 53 (clay), in an inhumation.

122. E.g., in the "grosse Grube," a very large deposit in precinct XIII of the Eckterrasse cemetery, with 11 functional alabaster alabastra and 44 solid ones—two of alabaster, two of marble, and 40 of poros (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 118, nos. 119.36–90, pl. 51). Cf. a smaller deposit with one hollow and six solid alabastra, five of alabaster and one of poros (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 46, nos. 43.1–7, pl. 41).

pyres, occurring in five pyres in the Eckterrasse cemetery.[123] In contrast to the single, solid poros vessels in the settlement pyres, alabastra in graveside pyres are almost always functional hollow vessels of alabaster, and they usually occur in multiples, indicating that more resources were expended on these than on the household ritual.

These observations strengthen the argument for a chthonic element in the settlement pyres, and the use of ersatz vessels suggests a concern with economy and perhaps an imitative or secondary quality to the ritual. It is tempting to conclude that alabastra were added to the assemblage only when the introduction of the poros dummy alabastron—which is not, to my knowledge, documented before the middle of the 4th century—made available a cheap substitute for a more expensive offering.

Coins

Coins have been found in association with 10 undisturbed or minimally disturbed pyres at the Agora (**2**, **3**, **5**, **15**, **18**, **34**[?], **44**, **45**[?], **58**, **62**), though they have rarely been published from pyres elsewhere.[124] Most are single instances, but the number may be as high as five or six, and all are small change, bronze coins of local, Athenian issues. Such coins often come to light in domestic floors and other strata and could easily have found their way into a pyre with the earth that covered it over. They occur with sufficient regularity, however, to suggest that the coins were deliberately included.

Coin votives are well attested throughout the Greek world and in Athens in particular. The Acropolis inventories list them in large numbers, and they made up about one-sixth of the votives listed in the Asklepieion inscriptions.[125] Coins are documented as building dedications, beginning with the famous deposit of early coinage at the Temple of Artemis in Ephesos,[126] but also in less elevated circumstances, under the floors of ordinary houses.[127] More relevant to the case at hand, they have been found in mixed deposits of ash, burnt bone, and votive vessels that clearly represent the residue of sacrifice.[128] Viewed in this light, the deposit of coins would not be inappropriate to the pyre ritual.

123. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 41, 44, 45, 59, nos. 28.25–27, 36.7, 8, 37.16, 41.4, 5, 57.15–17, pl. 37. The cemetery also contained two offerings consisting exclusively of alabastra (*Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 42–43, 46, nos. 34, 43, pls. 39, 41).

124. Two coins are listed among the contents of a possible pyre south of the Acropolis, on Erechtheion Street (*ArchDelt* 23, B′1, 1968, p. 57). A subfloor deposit in Building Z contained a bronze coin and a skyphos; due to the lack of the characteristic pyre shapes, it has been excluded from the present study, though it may reflect a similar ritual (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 174, no. 457). Four bronze coins were found in the large deposit, "grosse Grube," in precinct XIII of the Eckterrasse, clearly a funerary offering of some sort, but with no trace of burning and lacking the distinctive pyre assemblage (*Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 117–118, nos. 119.93–96).

125. For a useful summary of the practice of dedicating coins, see *Nemea* III, pp. 34–35. Athenian temple inventories listing coins are collected in Melville Jones 1993, nos. 135–137, 157–167, 194, 195; for the Asklepieion, see Aleshire 1989, p. 43.

126. Hogarth 1908, pp. 42–43, 74–76; Müller-Zeis 1994, pp. 27–35, with a list of building deposits containing coins on pp. 110–111; Hunt 2006, pp. 35–36. Weikart (2002, pp. 133–147) dismisses some such deposits as security hoards rather than building offerings.

127. Donderer (1984) discusses coins as offerings in Hellenistic and Roman contexts.

128. E.g., Shear 1984, p. 31, pl. 8:b, c; *Agora* XXVI, pp. 18–19, nos. 12g, 13c (ash deposit inside Altar of Aphrodite Ourania in Athens); *Nemea* III, p. 35, n. 143 (two sacrificial deposits at Nemea).

Clay Balls

Among the most intriguing recurrent finds in the Agora pyres are small, solid clay balls measuring between 0.9 and 1.6 cm in diameter. These have been found in three pyres: single instances in pyres **12** and **33**(?) (see Figs. 37, 71), and a pair in pyre **4**. The two single instances are smooth spheres, while the pair is more irregular, more like pellets than true balls. Such objects are rare enough at the Agora to suggest that their occurrence in the pyres is not haphazard, and that they should be considered as part of the votive deposit.

Similar but larger balls have been found in graves and wells of the Geometric period and the 7th century,[129] where they have been interpreted as toys, weights, or marking crayons. John Papadopoulos has published three smaller, unglazed clay balls from the dump of a 7th-century potter's workshop;[130] he makes no suggestion about their function, but their context opens the possibility that they had something to do with the potter's craft.

Classical and Hellenistic examples are rare but enjoy the same diversity of context and interpretation. Eight small clay balls, about a centimeter in diameter, were found in a male cremation grave in the Kerameikos, dating to about 340,[131] and four of poros, ranging from 1.8 to 2.1 cm in diameter and interpreted as possible gaming pieces, in the sarcophagus burial of a child(?) of the mid-5th century there.[132] A similar marble ball was found in the cistern and well associated with the House of Menon and Mikion, which was occupied by marbleworkers and coroplasts, possibly suggesting its use in an industrial setting.[133] Marble balls ranging in size from 1.5 to 2.2 cm in diameter and found in both domestic and funerary contexts on Delos and Rheneia have been interpreted as gaming pieces.[134] Finally, a clay ball from the Agora measuring 1.7 cm in diameter (like the largest of the pyre balls) has been published as a kleroterion ball; the sole support for this is its size, the same as that of bronze balls associated with allotment both by their inscribed letters and their findspots.[135] Funerary and craft associations might make sense with the pyres, but the function of the balls remains obscure; possibly they are the only physical remains of some object largely constructed of perishable materials.

Loomweights

Loomweights have not been found in undisturbed Agora pyres, but in two instances occur in association with dispersed pyre material. A chytridion, a lopadion, and fragments of pyre lekanides, ribbon-handled plates, and pyre saucers testify to the existence of a pyre, redeposited in the fill over and around the east wall of a house south of the Agora square (pyre **59**; see Fig. 110). Two loomweights were found with them. To the southwest of the public square, in Early Building II, a lopadion, ribbon-handled plates, pyre saucers, and fragments of a pyre lekanis were found together with three mismatched loomweights (in pyre **28**; see Fig. 63). Loomweights are very common and need not in these two cases be part of the original assemblage. One of the pyres in Building Z, however, and four of those in the Eckterrasse cemetery at the Kerameikos include loomweights,[136] so we should not dismiss the Agora finds out of hand. Loomweights are

129. *Kerameikos* V.1, p. 213, pl. 15 (Geometric child's grave); Brann 1961a, p. 123, no. L 44, pl. 22 (Geometric well); Young 1939, p. 192, no. C 176, fig. 142 (7th-century well). Additional unpublished examples from Geometric wells at the Agora: MC 1480 from well K 5:1; MC 1443 from well I 13:4. Persson (1932) interprets inscribed clay spheres as weights for small amounts of metal.

130. Papadopoulos 2003, p. 183, fig. 2.118.

131. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 114, no. 109.3, pl. 49.

132. *Kerameikos* VII.2, p. 73, no. 261.16, pl. 46:1.

133. ST 773 (unpublished).

134. *Délos* XVIII, p. 331, d, fig. 419; Zaphiropoulou 1973, pp. 614, 632–633, nos. 16–21, fig. 17.

135. *Agora* XXVIII, pp. 65–66, no. CB 1, pl. 9. Another of the same size, unpublished, was originally covered with black gloss (MC 1381).

136. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 174, no. 456.10, pl. 102 (Building Z); *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 45, 72, 120, 127, nos. 41.3, 79.31, 126.25, 26, 159.96, 97, pls. 41, 47 (Eckterrasse cemetery).

practical tools, but they apparently also enjoyed a symbolic value. They are occasionally found in graves and, although weaving is generally associated with women, occur in both male and female burials.[137] In the former case, it has been suggested that they refer to the profession of the deceased,[138] and it may be that the loomweights found in pyres, if they are not strays, refer to craft activities.

Metal Objects

Metal objects are rarely reported from published pyres,[139] but items made of bronze, iron, and lead were recovered from five Agora pyres (**2**, **3**, **11**, **18**, **24**). The more frequently occurring metal is lead, and it is perhaps worth mentioning that lead objects, when present, sometimes appear in multiples: two in pyre **24** and five in pyre **18**. All of the pyres in question were located in industrial areas, where metal waste was not uncommon, and small metal pieces may have come from the surrounding fill: e.g., three small pieces of lead cut into curved forms in pyre **18**, a small sheet of iron in pyre **3**, and a piece of bronze in pyre **2**. The two bronze tacks in pyre **18** and an iron nail in pyre **3** could also have strayed from the workbench, but tacks and nails are also found in some of the graveside pyres at the Kerameikos.[140] That a certain amount of magical symbolism was attached to the nail is witnessed by its use in the preparation of curse tablets, through which nails were often driven, perhaps to make the spell more painful to the recipient, or simply to increase its binding and fixative power.[141]

Some of the larger metal items must be intentional inclusions in the votive deposit. A fragmentary lead lamp holder found in the badly disturbed pyre **24** (see Fig. 56) bears witness to an absent lamp.[142] The same pyre contained a small cylindrical lead vessel, probably a pyxis.[143] A small lead disk from pyre **11** may be a pyxis lid (see Fig. 36, center), and an unequivocal pyxis lid, with a downturned edge and a knob handle (IL 2044), lay not far away. Although it was not found in direct association with the pyre, it was accompanied by fragments of a pyre saucer and may ultimately come from that pyre or another. It is intriguing that a parallel situation exists elsewhere, in House D to the southwest of the public square; there a pyxis lid (IL 1009) was found in the layer just above pyre **39**, where a lamp belonging to the pyre was also unearthed (L 4440). This gives us three pyres with some association with a lead pyxis, a shape that is not

137. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 106, 107, nos. 194.2, 198.1, pl. 61:6 (sex unknown); *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 62, 70, 72, 117–119, 128, nos. 68.2 (male), 74.3 (sex unknown), 82.1 (female), 118.2 (male), 121.2 (female), 122.2 (male), 123.3 (female), 169.1 (sex unknown), pls. 47, 50, 52, 53.

138. Houby-Nielsen 1997, p. 236.

139. In addition to the nails and pin listed in the following note: a small gilded bronze plate (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 18, no. 18.36) and an iron box (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 39, no. 25.47).

140. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 43, no. 35.20 (bronze nail); pp. 17, 60, 127, nos. 17.11, 60.31, 159.100–101 (iron nails and pin).

141. Gager 1992, p. 18; Preisendanz 1935, pp. 162–163 (on magical nails more generally).

142. Lamp holders—shallow metal saucers with a vertical loop handle—are known in lead, iron, and bronze. They served to contain oil seepage and to catch overflow when a lamp was filled, and they provided a handle for carrying the lamp. Cf. *Olynthus* X, p. 482, no. 2538, pl. CLX (lead), and perhaps p. 199, no. 625, pl. LI (bronze); *Agora* IV, pp. 78, 134, 150, nos. 346 (lead), 542, 596 (iron), pls. 39, 46, 47; Robinson 1962, p. 126, pl. 47 (bronze); Miller 1974, p. 239, no. 77, pl. 34 (lead). Unpublished examples from the Agora: IL 9 (iron, 3rd century), IL 173 (iron), IL 907 (lead), IL 1738 and IL 1739 (iron, from well R 13:10, Roman).

143. Cf. Breccia 1912, pp. 174–175, no. 564, fig. 105; *Délos* XVIII, p. 237, nos. B 681, B 5799, pl. LXXVII:632, 633.

very common at the Agora.[144] Possibly the vessels contained something appropriate to the ritual.[145]

The inclusion of lead objects in several pyres invites speculation that some magical quality was attached to this metal, which was also preferred for curse tablets and figurines. There is some ancient evidence to indicate that the coldness, heaviness, and color of lead sometimes associated it with death and the underworld;[146] most such indications are Roman in date, however, and it is uncertain that these concepts existed in our period. Lead was a cheap, common, and malleable material, which provides sufficient explanation for its presence in pyres.

Textiles

Microscopic examination of vessels from two recently found pyres (**4**, **15**) has revealed evidence of textiles.[147] The structure of the textile is preserved in pseudomorphs, in which it appears that soil minerals have replaced the textile through a process that is not yet understood. Conservator Julie Unruh, who first noticed this phenomenon, reports that the textile documented on pottery in pyre **4** has a thread count of about 10 × 13 threads per cm, probably a plain weave of Z-spun yarns with a diameter of about 0.6 mm.[148] Some of the pyre ceramics, it seems, were wrapped in cloth before they were deposited.[149] In some cases the textile appears to extend onto a broken edge, which may indicate that the pot in question was already broken when it was wrapped and laid to rest. Since these fragile traces survive only in the soil on the surface of the pot and are completely removed by the conventional washing with which pyres found earlier in the history of the excavation were treated, it is possible that such wrapping was a more common feature of burial than we can now document. A mid-5th-century law from Selinous describing rituals for purification stipulates the laying of a table with a clean cloth for the entertainment of divinities;[150] such a practice could explain the textiles here, though this is admittedly speculative, and other roles for the cloth could be imagined.

Miscellaneous Objects

A miscellany of artifacts made of bone, glass, and clay may be chance inclusions intrusive from the surrounding soil. A small fragment preserving the lower leg of a frontal Pan, perhaps from a terracotta plaque, was found in the earth surrounding pyre **9**. Although figurines are represented in subfloor

144. A search through the records reveals only four analogous lids, none of them published (IL 565, IL 626, IL 1304, IL 1779).

145. A lead pyxis from the necropolis of Chatby in Alexandria contained a greasy blackish substance, presumed to be some sort of cosmetic or toiletry (Breccia 1912, p. 174), but the shape no doubt served to hold a variety of substances.

146. Scholars have discussed the significance of the use of lead for curse tablets for over a century (Watson 1991, p. 195, with references to ancient sources and earlier bibliography). Recent opinion is skeptical about any special resonance of the material, at least before the Roman period (Gager 1992, pp. 3–4).

147. Unruh 2002, pp. 31–33. Such traces have been observed on a ribbon-handled plate and a small unglazed saucer in pyre **4** (P 34058, P 34089) and on a ribbon-handled plate in pyre **15** (P 35428).

148. Unruh 2002, pp. 31–33.

149. Cf. the wrapping of a late-5th-century bronze cremation urn in fabric (Hundt 1969, pp. 66–71; *Kerameikos* VII.2, pp. 74–75, no. 264, pl. 48:5).

150. Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993, pp. 14–15, col. A, line 14.

offerings in Building Z at the Kerameikos,[151] they are not there accompanied by the distinctive suite of pyre vessels, and presumably represent some different variety of offering. Probably also chance inclusions are a brown glass bead in pyre **49**, a bone cylinder, perhaps a furniture joint,[152] in pyre **9** (see Fig. 34, lower right), and a bone disk decorated with concentric ridges in pyre(?) **45** (see Fig. 90, center, bottom), perhaps a furniture appliqué or a large button.[153] Two bone rings in a possible pyre (**33**; see Fig. 71) may also be buttons or eyelets for shoes or armor.[154] A single ring of the same type was deposited with seven alabastra as a graveside offering at the Kerameikos,[155] hinting that the inclusion of the rings in pyre(?) **33** could be intentional.

Organic Material

The recovery of organic material was not a priority in the earlier years of the Agora excavations, so it was something of a surprise to discover that a fair amount of bone and charcoal from pyres had been saved along with the uninventoried context pottery. Flotation of the earth from some of the pyres excavated since the 1980s has recovered more bone and charcoal, along with a small collection of other organic remains. A sample of this material has been examined, enabling a preliminary discussion of the organic contents of some of the pyres.

The presence of bone is documented either by written account or physical presence in two-thirds of the pyres, and in well over half of these instances it is still extant. It is currently under study by Snyder and will form the basis of a future publication. Often the bone had been so thoroughly burnt that only small fragments remained, suggesting that it was placed on the fire well before the other, more lightly burnt offerings joined it. Preliminary results indicate that the burnt bone is exclusively that of ovicaprids[156]—a common choice for private offerings[157]—and represents the meat-poor parts of the animal that were routinely burnt in Greek sacrificial practice.[158] Although simple pieces of meat could have been burnt as offerings, the uniformity of species and the selection of body parts is a strong indication that the pyre ritual included the sacrifice of an animal, at least in some cases. The price of such an animal would have been in the range of 10 to 17 drachmas,[159] perhaps a considerable outlay for an

151. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 124, 146–147, 168–169, nos. 112.1 (Building Z, first phase), 275.3–9, 277.1 (Building Z, second phase), 447.1, 448.1, 2 (Building Z, third phase), pls. 58, 80, 81, 99, 100.

152. Cf. *Corinth* XII, p. 128, no. 865, pl. 64.

153. Cf. *Délos* XVIII, p. 240, pl. LXXVII:640, 2–5, interpreted as furniture ornaments, gaming pieces, counters, or lids for small boxes. Somewhat similar items found at Corinth are Roman and Byzantine gaming pieces (e.g., *Corinth* XII, pp. 219–220, nos. 1679–1682, 1701–1703).

154. Many similar rings were found in the floors of the House of Simon, together with abundant tacks (Thompson 1960, p. 237; *Agora* XIV, pp. 173–174, pl. 88); cf. *Corinth* XII, p. 299, nos. 2514–2518, pl. 122. For Greek buttons, see Elderkin 1928.

155. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 46, no. 43.8, pl. 41.

156. Sheep *(Ovis aries)* was the only animal positively identifiable to species. Other bones were identified more generally as domestic caprine (sheep or goat), but preliminary analysis revealed no definite instance of goat; see Snyder and Rotroff 2003.

157. Van Straten 1995, pp. 170–180; Bremmer 2007, p. 134.

158. Primarily the lower limbs and feet, some skull fragments, and, more rarely, ribs and vertebrae (Snyder and Rotroff 2003).

159. Van Straten 1995, pp. 176–177.

ordinary person. At least one victim was far from the "perfect" animal one envisions for sacrifice: a sheep with a damaged leg and an abscessed jaw in pyre **4**. If price was the most important consideration in a choice of victim, the sacrificer in this instance must have been very constrained for funds. Snyder has also noted a bias toward the left side of the animal.[160] This may be a reference to the chthonic character of the recipients of the sacrifice. Greek sacred laws, however, often stipulate the right side of an offering for officiating priests or priestesses,[161] so the statistics may instead reflect a desire to retain the right, and more auspicious side, for the living. Whatever the motive, a preference for the left side of the victim has also been attested in the zooarchaeological record elsewhere.[162]

Maria Ntinou has examined the charcoal from eight pyres (**3**, **4**, **7**, **8**, **12**, **32**, **35**, **49**). Details of her analysis are given in Appendix I, but the most striking result is the high representation of olive. Given the ubiquity of the tree and its intensive cultivation in the Attic countryside, this is perhaps to be expected. As Ntinou points out, however, the association of the olive with Athena and the history of Athens may also have made it particularly appropriate for ritual use.[163] Other fuel includes other agricultural products (grapevine, perhaps pear tree), but wild species (evergreen oak) also occur.

Further plant material has been identified in flotation samples from pyres **4**, **5**, **11**, **12**, **16**, and **18**. Evi Margaritis examined these and was able to identify, along with a few fish scales and bones, the remains of fruits in four pyres (fig, grape [raisin?], and olive), nuts in three (almond, walnut, pine nut, and acorn), grains of wheat and/or barley in four, and single instances of pea and perhaps broad bean. All of the fruits could have been dried, so they give no clue to the season in which the offering was made. Whether these should be considered as offerings or as remnants of a real meal following the sacrifice is uncertain, but these findings contribute to the richness of our picture of the pyre phenomenon and add specificity to comments made by one excavator about the possible presence of food remains in two pyres.[164]

160. Out of 16 deposits where reconstruction was possible, 12 included only elements of the left side. Only the right side was represented in a single deposit, and a mixture of left and right in the other three (Snyder and Rotroff 2003).

161. Puttkammer 1912, p. 24; Sokolowski 1955, p. 37, no. 12, line 14, p. 40, no. 13, line 14, p. 58, no. 21, line 3; 1969, p. 58, no. 30, line 4, p. 82, no. 45, line 5, pp. 106–107, no. 55, lines 9–10, 22–23, p. 216, no. 120, lines 6–8, p. 221, no. 125, line 10; Lupu 2005, p. 220, no. 9, line 4. A fragment of Old Comedy awards the priest the left side of the head, though perhaps in jest (Ameipsias, fr. 7, *apud* Ath. 9.368e: Kassel and Austin 1991, p. 201).

162. MacKinnon (2010) has reported on the left-sidedness of offerings to the hero Opheltes at Nemea. He contrasts this with offerings to gods, which often favor the right side, arguing that the left side was deliberately chosen for underworld deities. Note, however, that the left horns of goats predominate in the remains of sacrifices to the very Olympian god Apollo at Dreros (Marinatos 1936, pp. 241–244; Deonna 1940). One-sidedness is also attested for the Keraton at Delos, an interwoven altar made of horns, supposedly built by Apollo himself, using exclusively either the left (Plut. *Thes.* 21.2) or the right (Plut. *De soll. an.* 35.9) horns. For the possible identification of this monument, see *Délos* XL, pp. 59–79.

163. Preference for a particular wood for sacrifice is documented, for example, at Olympia, where only white poplar was acceptable (Paus. 5.13.3, 5.14.2).

164. D. B. Thompson listed "some carbonized wheat(?)" among the contents of pyre **21** (Notebook ΛΛ IV, p. 704) and "some carbonized food" in pyre **58** (Notebook Φ VIII, p. 1518).

Chronology

THE EVIDENCE FOR DATING

When present, full-size, black-gloss vessels—especially drinking cups and, to a lesser degree, lamps—provide the surest evidence for the dating of saucer pyres. The chronology presented here is largely based on that evidence, occasionally bolstered by coins. Even when such indicators are lacking, details of selected votive shapes can help define the probable chronological range to which a given pyre belongs. The following chronological indicators are drawn from observation of the Agora pyres and from published details of pyres excavated elsewhere in Athens.

Chytridion and Lopadion

Fabric and potting technique are decisive chronological pointers for the miniature cooking shapes. The earliest were handmade of gritty cooking ware, while the latest were made on the wheel of plain household fabric, and the switch from one to the other fabric can be pinpointed with some accuracy. The occurrence in pyre **44** (see Fig. 87) of cooking-ware chytridia together with household ware lopadia, one of them with a cooking-ware lid, demonstrates that this was a period of transition. Fortunately, a kantharos and a calyx cup provide robust evidence for the date of the pyre, which must have been buried in the course of the last quarter of the 4th century. Further evidence comes from the pyres of the third phase of Building Z at the Kerameikos. Lopadia and probably also chytridia in the earliest pyres there, associated with the construction and the earlier part of phase 3 in the third quarter of the 4th century, are of cooking ware, while those in two later pyres, dating shortly before the destruction of the building no later than 307, are made of household ware.[1] Vessels of plain household ware

1. Pyres with cooking-ware lopadia: *Kerameikos* XVII, nos. 449, 450, 453, 454, 456. Pyres with household-ware lopadia: *Kerameikos* XVII, nos. 455, 460, the latter directly under the later floor 5 of the phase. The pattern appears to be the same for chytridia, but the fabrics are more difficult to determine from photographs in this case, since the forms of cooking-ware and household-ware chytridia can be similar.

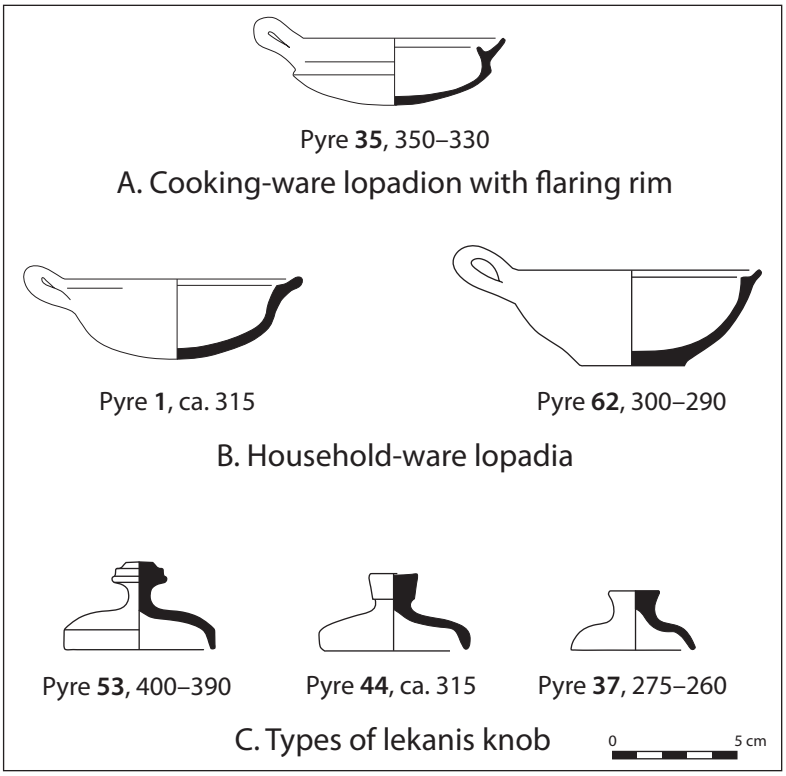


Figure 6. Chronological markers for lopadia and lekanides: P 19865, P 28560, P 28496, P 15882, P 18543, and P 18468, from pyres 35, 1, 62, 53, 44, and 37, respectively.
Drawing S. I. Rotroff

probably do not occur before about 315.[2] Miniature cooking vessels made of cooking ware are rare after 315 and do not occur after 300.[3]

Shape is generally not a decisive dating factor, but one form of the cooking-ware lopadion, with a flaring rim, is restricted to the end of the sequence of cooking-ware vessels, possibly not occurring before ca. 340 (Fig. 6:A).[4] It occurs in pyres **11**, **29**, **35**, and **51**. Down to about 300, household-ware lopadia have rounded bottoms, following the precedent of cooking-ware lopadia. After 300, however, the undersides of lopadia were trimmed on the wheel to form a flat resting surface or a slightly raised base (Fig. 6:B).[5]

Lekanis

Lekanides of forms other than the pyre lekanis are not documented in pyres buried after about 360, at the Agora or elsewhere. Among pyre lekanides, a ring foot is very rare after ca. 350,[6] when it is replaced by a solid disk

2. The earliest instance among cemetery pyres (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 91–92, nos. 160.31–33, pl. 58:3) is consistent with this conclusion, if it was buried at the latter end of its published date (early fourth quarter of the 4th century, an approximation based on the pyre's stratigraphic position).

3. The latest instances are in pyre(?) **45** (two cooking-ware chytridia), dated ca. 315 or a little later, and pyre **51** (chytridion and lopadion both of cooking ware), possibly dating as late as ca. 300.

4. The earliest is in pyre **29**, for which there is little dating evidence, but a date of ca. 360–340 is suggested by a large type 25A′ lamp. Another occurs in one of the early foundation pyres of the third phase of Building Z (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 171, no. 453.3, pl. 101), probably of the advanced third quarter of the 4th century.

5. With raised bases in pyres **16**, **21**, **37**, **46**, **62**; with flat bases in pyres **14**, **15**, **20**, **21**, **46**.

6. Found only in pyres **21** (first quarter of the 3rd century), **60** (340–330), and the poorly dated **64** (375–325?).

or raised base. Unglazed pyre lekanides occur only after 300. The form of the knob of the pyre lekanis offers some broad guidelines (Fig. 6:C). The profiled knob does not appear after 315, and most examples date before 330.[7] With one exception,[8] a cylindrical knob on a low stem is found only in Agora pyres dating to the span of ca. 325–275. In the Eckterrasse grave precincts at the Kerameikos, however, this form occurs with some regularity from at least 350 onward,[9] so the Agora distribution may be due to chance. The simplest form, a plain flaring knob, occurs sporadically in the third quarter of the 4th century, but most examples date between ca. 315 and 260.[10]

Ribbon-Handled Plate

The form of the foot and the patterns of glazing provide hints for the dating of the ribbon-handled plate. The ring foot is found only on the earliest plates, dating to the beginning of the 4th century.[11] A well-finished disk foot is typical of the first half of the 4th century. It occurs less frequently after ca. 330, when it is less carefully made and the string marks are no longer smoothed from the bottom. A flat base may occur at any time in the sequence but is very common after 340, almost always with string marks.

Most of the plates are decorated with gloss bands on the floor, but the practice barely survives the end of the 4th century.[12] An unglazed version occurs in the Agora pyres only after 300, though there are some slightly earlier instances in the Eridanos cemetery.[13] Plates with gloss only

7. I suspect that an example in one of the later pyres of phase 3 of Building Z (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 173, no. 455.28, pl. 102), dating shortly before the destruction of the building before ca. 307, may in fact come from the earlier pyre that lay directly below it (*Kerameikos* XVII, no. 454). See p. 60, below.

8. The only instance perhaps from an earlier pyre is an uninventoried fragment found in association with pyre **57**. The bulk of that pyre was probably originally buried ca. 375, but it is in a secondary deposit, with one piece (a type 25B lamp) dating no earlier than 340. The fragmentary lekanis may therefore be later.

9. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 17, 40, 60, nos. 18.4, 5, 28.2, 3, 60.2, pls. 30, 37, 45.

10. A fragmentary and much better made predecessor occurs in the disturbed pyre **59** (P 34417), which apparently dates within the first half of the 4th century. One or perhaps two come from the earlier series of pyres of the third phase of Building Z, probably buried before ca. 325 (*Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 170, 172, nos. 450.8, 454.21, pls. 100, 103, but see p. 60, below, for the possible displacement of the latter). The only instance that may be earlier is in a graveside pyre in the Eckterrasse (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 43, no. 35.2, pl. 39), which Kovacsovics places in phase 1d of the precinct, ending with the deposit of layer e1 (for the stratigraphy, see pp. 25–27); he dates layer e1 to the middle of the 4th century, and the pyre therefore shortly before 350. This is puzzling, since the bowl-kantharos in the pyre (p. 43, no. 35.1, fig. 76, pl. 39) looks considerably later. It is deeper and has a narrower foot than *Agora* XII, p. 285, no. 688, fig. 7, pl. 28 (dated 350–325 by Sparkes and Talcott), suggesting a date at least as late as the latter part of the third quarter of the century. Kovacsovics dates a pyre with a closely similar bowl-kantharos (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 71, no. 79.1, fig. 77, pl. 48) to the early 3rd century (though I would place it slightly earlier, perhaps just within the 4th century). I therefore think it likely that *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 35, should be dated later, perhaps ca. 335–325. Even so, it presents an early context for a pyre lekanis with a flaring knob.

11. E.g., P 32981, from pyre **6**, dated ca. 400–390. A second plate with a ring foot (P 36563) came from the disturbed and poorly dated pyre **61**.

12. Only two examples certainly date after 300: two plates in pyre **21**, currently placed ca. 300–275. Two banded plates were found in a graveside pyre in the Westpfad of the Eckterrasse, there dated to the early 3rd century (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 72, nos. 79.8, 9). The incurved rim of the bowl-kantharos in that pyre, however, suggests a date before the end of the 4th century.

13. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 92, 95, nos. 160.5, 6, 168.2, pls. 58:4, 59:4; the published date of both pyres is the early fourth quarter of the 4th century. Both include lopadia made of household ware, making a date after ca. 315 likely. No. 168, however, cannot be too much later, for it also contains a cup-kantharos with a squat rim, a shape that probably did not survive until the end of the 4th century (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 95, no. 168.1, pl. 59:4).

Figure 7. Gloss patterns on ribbon-handled plates P 20064, P 28559, and P 2007, from pyres 32, 1, and 30, respectively. Scale 1:3

on the handles are documented briefly, during the span of ca. 315–275 (Fig. 7).

Rilled-Rim Plate

Earlier examples of the rilled-rim plate have gloss on all surfaces except the rim and the resting surface, while in later plates only the floor is glazed. The earliest well-dated instance of the latter is in pyre **21**, dated ca. 300–275; thereafter this restricted gloss pattern is common.

Saucers

While small saucers occur in the earliest pyres, saucers measuring in excess of 8.5 cm in diameter are not documented before ca. 350, and they are common only after ca. 325. Glazing patterns show some limited chronological development. Thick gloss can occur at any time, but a thin wash is not documented before ca. 385. Unglazed saucers are first found at that time also, but most date after 325.

CHRONOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

Saucer pyres are largely limited to the 4th and 3rd centuries, but the precise dates at which the custom was introduced and at which it fell into abeyance are difficult to pinpoint. The earliest fully canonical pyres at the Agora were buried in the first decade of the 4th century (**6**, **53**), but there are some earlier instances. Pyre **38**, a deposit consisting of two drinking cups (a Rheneia cup and a Corinthian skyphos), two lekanides, a rilled-rim plate, and fragments of a squat lekythos, was buried around 430–425 under the floor of the court of House D of the Industrial District.[14] The date is anchored by the Rheneia cup, a shape that went out of use well before the end of the 5th century; Sparkes and Talcott compared the cup in pyre **38** to one dating ca. 430–425.[15] Furthermore, differences between the Corinthian skyphos in pyre **38** and that found in the next-earliest certain pyre (pyre **6**) document a gap in time between the deposit of the two.[16] Like later pyres, pyre **38** lay in a pit with a fire-hardened floor, contained both pottery and

14. Young 1951a, pp. 218–221; 1951b, p. 110.

15. *Agora* XII, p. 267, no. 459, pl. 21, from a deposit with a terminal date of ca. 420. For the chronology of the Rheneia cup, see *Agora* XII, pp. 100–101.

16. The skyphos from pyre **38** (P 19314) is comparable to *Agora* XII, p. 258, no. 321, pl. 15 (dated ca. 425–400), while one from pyre **6** (P 32979) resembles *Agora* XII, p. 258, no. 322, fig. 4, pl. 15 (dated ca. 400).

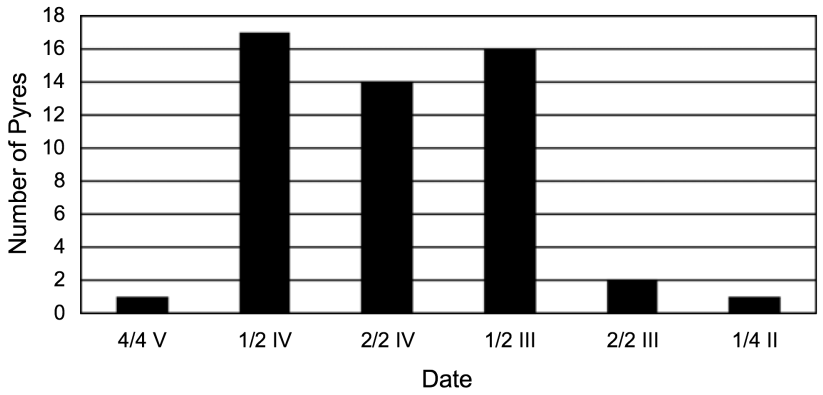


Figure 8. Distribution of Agora pyres by date.

Based on 51 well-dated pyres (**1–9**, **11**, **12**, **14–16**, **18–23**, **25–32**, **35–44**, **46**, **47**, **49**, **51–53**, **56–58**, **60**, **62**, **66**, **69**)

bone, and had been floored over after burial. Furthermore, Snyder reports that the bone is consistent with that of later pyres. Although none of the forms unique to pyres occur among its contents, shapes that it does include—Corinthian skyphos, rilled-rim plate, squat lekythos, and Lykinic lekanis—are well documented in Agora pyres, and a single fragment of a pyre saucer was found in the floor directly above the pyre and may belong to it. It is likely, therefore, that pyre **38** reflects the same ritual activity as the later pyres, but was deposited before the characteristic pyre vessel forms had been developed.

A second early pyre, approximately contemporary with **38**, was discovered under the floor of the second phase of Building Z at the Kerameikos.[17] Two drinking cups, two small bowls, and a lopadion lay in a pit with burning in a possible courtyard of the building. The drinking cups (here too a Rheneia cup and a Corinthian skyphos) closely parallel those in pyre **38** and pinpoint the date around 425. Less closely datable, but within the last quarter of the 5th century, is another deposit at the Agora: three drinking cups, a lamp, and a chytridion found in House B, southwest of the public square (pyre[?] **48**). The chytridion suggests a connection with the pyre phenomenon, but no traces of burning or bone were reported, so identification as a pyre must remain tentative. In any event, present evidence indicates that the pyre ritual may have been initiated as early as ca. 425, but was performed only intermittently during the subsequent quarter century.[18]

The canonical pyre assemblage emerged around 400, and thereafter pyres were dedicated with regularity. Eight Agora pyres can be dated with confidence in the first quarter of the 4th century,[19] and, as Figure 8 and Table 4 show, the custom maintained its popularity throughout the 4th century and into the first half of the 3rd. It then declined dramatically; only three or four pyres can be dated in the second half of the 3rd century (**2**,

17. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 43, 161, nos. 399–403, pl. 94; see Appendix II, no. 1.

18. Possibly to be placed within this gap are two pyres said to date to the end of the 5th century, but not yet published, from houses and workshops unearthed in the course of the Acropolis Metro station excavations (Eleftheratou 1996–1997, p. 102). A graveside pyre in the Eridanos cemetery may be slightly, but not much, earlier than the Agora pyres of the earliest 4th century (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 45–46, no. 92, pl. 39:1).

19. Pyres **6**, **25**, **31**, **39**, **42**, **53**, **56,** and the displaced pyre in well **27**. The pyre objects in well **68** also fall within this range, and pyres **57** and **61**, while less securely datable, may be contemporary.

TABLE 4. AGORA PYRES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Catalogue Number	*Agora Deposit Number*	*Date*
5TH CENTURY		
38	B 18:5	430–425
48(?)	A 20:4	425–400
4TH CENTURY		
6	J 2:12	400–390
53	E 19:4	400–390
27	H 13:6	400–380
68(?)	U 13:1	400–380
61	Q 20:6	Early 4th century?
31	D 17:7	400–375
56	L 17:4	400–375
39	B 18:4	390–375
42	A 19:1	385–375
25	H 14:1	Ca. 375
57	M 17:8	Ca. 375
22	C 14:3	375–360
40	B 18:3	375–360
17a	J 1:6	400–350
54	F 20:1	400–350
65	R 18–19:1	400–350
50	A 18:3 + A 18:9	400–350?
59	O 20:6	400–350?
67	R 13:7	400–350?
7	J 2:3	375–350
26	H 13:2	375–350
28	G 13:14	375–350
18	J 2:26	Ca. 350
32	D 17:8	Ca. 350
14	J 2:24	Ca. 350?
29	G 13:2	360–340
49	A 20:3	Ca. 340
35	B 17:4	350–330
60	P 20:3	340–330
64	Q 17:5	375–325?
33(?)	D 17:13	350–325
43	B 19:3	340–325
4	J 3:7	Ca. 325
11	J 2:27	Ca. 325
70	R 11:5	Ca. 325?

TABLE 4—*Continued*

Catalogue Number	*Agora Deposit Number*	*Date*
63a	O 17:9	325–315
1	P 6:4	Ca. 315
44	B 19:5	Ca. 315
45(?)	B 19:1	Ca. 315 or a little later
10	J 2:29	4th century
24	I 12:3	325–300?
41	B 18:1	315–300
36	B 17:5	315–300
51	B 22:3	315 or 300
12	J 2:8 + J 2:9	310–300
16	J 1:8	Ca. 300
3rd Century		
62	Q 20:4	300–290
13	J 2:28	325–275?
55	E 29:3	315–260
8	J 2:13	300–275
15	J 2:23	300–275
17b	J 1:6	300–275
21	F 5:2	300–275
20	K 1:3	290–275
46	B 19:6	285–275
58	L 17:5	285–275
9	J 2:16	Ca. 275
19	J 2:25	270–265
37	C 17:2	275–260
30	G 13:3	270–260
66	R 18:1	270–260
5	J 3:2	Ca. 250
23	F 13:1	Ca. 250
47	B 18:2	Ca. 250
69	U 13:3	Ca. 250
52	D 16:6	250–240
34(?)	D 17:14	250–225
2	P 6:5	Ca. 225
63b	O 17:9	225–200
2nd Century		
3	P 6:6	Ca. 175?

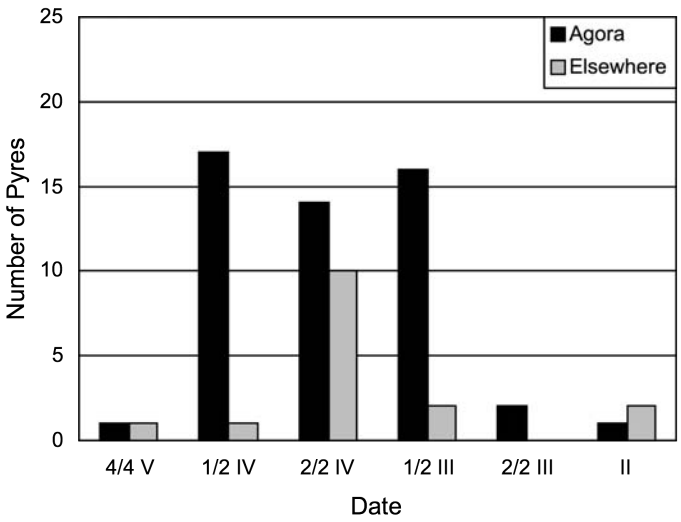


Figure 9. Distribution of settlement pyres at Agora and elsewhere by date.
Based on 51 well-dated pyres at the Agora (**1–9**, **11**, **12**, **14–16**, **18–23**, **25–32**, **35–44**, **46**, **47**, **49**, **51–53**, **56–58**, **60**, **62**, **66**, **69**); and 16 well-dated settlement pyres at the Kerameikos, and south of the Acropolis, and in the Piraeus (Appendix II, nos. 1–11, 13–16, and 19, respectively).

52, **63b**, and the possible pyre **34**). The latest pyre found at the Agora was buried in Greek Building Δ around 175 (**3**). Figure 9 combines this data with that of the published settlement pyres found elsewhere in the city. It tells a similar story, with a peak in the second half of the 4th century reflecting the many pyres in Building Z at the Kerameikos. Differences at the end of the span are discussed below.

Some developments can be observed within this span. Pyre **38** (see Fig. 79) suggests a formative stage, with participants using small versions of common household shapes rather than vessels specifically designed and produced for the rite. By the early 4th century, however, a specialized "pyre service" had been devised; saucers, ribbon-handled plates, chytridia, and pyre lekanides were being offered (pyres **6**, **53**; see Figs. 29, 101), to be joined only slightly later by the lopadion (pyres **39**, **42**; see Figs. 80, 84). Although the individual forms of this votive pottery evolved to some degree, the assemblage remained remarkably stable over more than 100 years. There was a slight change in the last quarter of the 4th century, when large saucers became much more common and the chytridion and lopadion began to be made in household rather than cooking fabric, but the same types and numbers of vessels continued to be dedicated. A major shift occurred, however, in the second quarter of the 3rd century, with the disappearance of the original pyre assemblage and its replacement by a smaller group of less distinctive vessels. The latest large pyres with conventional pyre vessels (pyres **9**, **19**, **30**, **37**; see Figs. 34, 48, 66, 76) are about contemporaneous, dated no earlier than ca. 275 by lamps of type 29A (in pyres **19**, **30**) and Classical kantharoi similar to those found at Koroni (in pyres **9**, **19**, **37**).[20] One (pyre **37**) contains two small Hellenistic angular kantharoi dating no earlier than ca. 275. That these pyres were dedicated not far into the second quarter of the century is indicated by the presence in two of them (**9**, **37**) of type 25D′ lamps, a form that went out of production around 270. Thus it is possible to pinpoint the abandonment of the classic pyre assemblage closely, around or not long after the year 270.

The new assemblage that replaced it was smaller and limited to three shapes: a lamp, a rilled-rim plate, and a small cup (most commonly a kantharos), usually in single examples but sometimes in pairs. It is first

20. For kantharoi at Koroni, anchored in the 260s by the site's association with Ptolemaic troops during the Chremonidean War, see Vanderpool, McCredie, and Steinberg 1962, pl. 20.

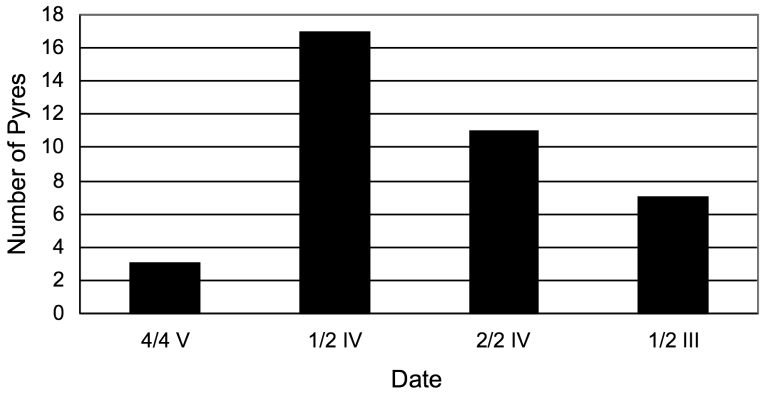


Figure 10. Distribution of cemetery pyres at Kerameikos by date.

Based on 38 pyrelike *Opferstellen* in the Eckterrasse (18), Eridanos cemetery (10), Precinct of Theonichos (5), and isolated examples (5) (Appendix III, nos. 1–19, 21–39).

documented by pyre **66** of the 260s (see Fig. 118) and soon comes to be the only type of pyre being offered (pyres **2**, **5**, **23**, **47**, **52**, **69**, and perhaps pyre **34**; see Figs. 20, 27, 54, 72, 92, 100, 122). With the exception of a single fragmentary saucer in pyre **5**, these late pyres include none of the distinctive pyre shapes. The latest pyre at the Agora (pyre **3**; see Fig. 21), buried around 175, points toward further change, with the addition of a miniature two-handled bowl and several unguentaria, a form that had appeared only twice before, in single examples in the latest canonical pyres (**19**, **37**).

Published pyres at the Kerameikos suggest a similar history for the graveside deposits (Fig. 10). A possible predecessor to the canonical deposits, furnished with ribbon-handled plates, lekanides, and drinking cups but lacking the distinctive pyre vessels, dates around 430,[21] and the pyre assemblage emerges in the early years of the 4th century.[22] Subsequently many pyres were dedicated in cemetery precincts, though the numbers of published examples show a steady decline from the first half of the 4th century to the first half of the 3rd. The latest pyre with the conventional assemblage, a remarkably large deposit in the precinct of the Messenians in the Eckterrasse, was offered in the first quarter of the 3rd century, perhaps to mark the termination of the use of the precinct.[23] The single later instance, buried in the Eridanos cemetery in the 260s, is small and, like the late Agora pyres, lacks distinctive pyre shapes.[24]

The abandonment of the pyre assemblage of earlier times poses a problem for the recognition of later pyres, which might easily be mistaken for ordinary household debris. No candidates dating after ca. 175 have been identified at the Agora, but two later deposits unearthed in excavations for the Acropolis Metro station document the further survival of the pyre ritual. The earlier of the two,[25] buried in the second quarter of the 2nd century

21. Knigge 1975; see Appendix III, no. 33.

22. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 55–56, 63, nos. 108, 109, 114, pls. 41:3, 42:2, 3, 45:4; see Appendix III, nos. 21–23.

23. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 126–127, no. 159, pls. 54, 55; see Appendix III, no. 18.

24. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 103, no. 188, pl. 61:5, with a cup (Hellenistic kantharos), rilled-rim plate, black-gloss saucer with projecting rim, bowl with outturned rim, and miniature handleless cup; see Appendix III, no. 29.

25. Eleftheratou 1996–1997, pp. 102–110, figs. 2, 3, pls. 37–40; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 100–103; see Appendix II, no. 14.

or even later,[26] combines the trio of drinking cups (but in a new shape, the moldmade bowl), rilled-rim plate, and lamps with six unguentaria and a miniature two-handled cup, nicely paralleling the latest of the Agora pyres (**3**). The published description accords well with the pyre profile: the walls of the pit in which it lay were burnt, and the deposit was accompanied by ash and carbon and included animal bone (sheep or goat), though that bone was only superficially burnt. The later pyre, buried no earlier than the end of the 2nd century, is small, like the late Agora pyres, containing only a cup (a long-petal moldmade bowl), two lamps, and a table lekythos, though disturbance may have removed some of its original contents.[27] It is rumored that more, and even later, pyres have been unearthed in the adjacent excavations for the new Acropolis Museum; until they are published, however, little can be said about the further continuation of the pyre custom, if that is what they document. Similarly, the incomplete publication of much later Roman deposits at the Kerameikos characterized as burnt offerings precludes further comment.[28]

Whatever the case with the later history of the pyre ritual, the Metro station discoveries clearly indicate its survival at least to the end of the 2nd century, and prompt us to ask why no later pyres have been found at the Agora. Later disturbance provides a partial answer. Roman builders destroyed much of the Hellenistic stratigraphy throughout the Agora area, so later traces were often swept away.[29] In the "Strategeion," for example, little survives above the level of the building fill. The Hellenistic floors of the Poros Building and the Classical Commercial Building were present only in scraps; none dating after the mid-3rd century survive in the latter building, except in its southernmost room. Most of House G in the Industrial District was destroyed by Roman construction, and Roman overbuilding likewise spared little of the Classical houses in section Ω. The filling of cisterns and wells in section Ω may signal their destruction in the early 2nd century,[30] but little else is preserved of the post-Classical phases here.

Another factor is the apparent depopulation of some of the neighborhoods around the public square. Houses B–D in the Industrial District and the House of Simon to the northeast had been abandoned by the end of the 3rd century, and the construction of the Middle Stoa around

26. The dating is problematic. One of the moldmade bowls can be assigned to workshop A, which probably ceased to function not long after 175 (*Agora* XXII, p. 28); the unguentaria are of Agora category 5, distinguished by a groove near the base of the stem, a form that was produced from ca. 180 to 100 (*Agora* XXXIII, p. 154); and one of the lamps approximates Howland type 33A, datable between ca. 220 and 150 (see *Agora* XXIX, p. 501, for the date). An imported gray-ware lamp, however, seems to be later; Eleftheratou points to a close parallel from a grave of the second half of the 2nd century (Philimonos-Tsopotou 1980, p. 83, no. 6, pl. 25:β; color photograph in Philimonos-Tsopotou 1994, p. 135, fig. 7). It is surprising to find vessels of such different dates together in a pyre, and one wonders if the lamp is intrusive. Whatever the date, however, the pyre is certainly later than the latest pyre found at the Agora (**3**), where most of the unguentaria are of an earlier variety.

27. Eleftheratou 1996–1997, pp. 110–114, fig. 4, pls. 41, 42; see Appendix II, no. 15.

28. E.g., a bowl, lamp, and loomweight of the late 4th–early 5th century A.D., buried in a pit with burning described as a *Brandopferstelle (pyra)* (Knigge and Rügler 1989, p. 97, fig. 25); and a large cache *(Opferstelle)* of lamps, cups, mugs, jugs, and an iron spit burnt and buried within the bricks of a kiln after its destruction in the third quarter of the 3rd century A.D. (Knigge and Rügler 1989, pp. 85, 88 with n. 13, figs. 5, 6). Both were found in Building Y, just inside the city wall.

29. For details, see the accounts of the individual buildings and areas in the Catalogue.

30. Shear 1939, p. 216; Shear Jr. 1973a, pp. 154–156.

170 put an end to the use of Building E and Early Building I outside the southwest corner of the square. South of the square, the house in section Φ was abandoned in the middle of the 3rd century. The small neighborhood of bronzeworkers and other artisans on the north side of the Kolonos Agoraios lay in ruins by the second quarter of the 2nd century. North of the public square, Greek Building Δ was abandoned in the first half of the 2nd century (see Table 6). It was rebuilt soon thereafter, but none of the surviving later floors preserves evidence for pyres there. A combination of reduced population around the square and extensive Roman disturbance may thus be sufficient to account for the absence of later pyres at the Agora. It is also possible, however, that the custom went into decline and was not practiced as commonly in the later part of the Hellenistic period as it had been in earlier years.

CHAPTER 4

Toward a New Interpretation

The stratigraphy and contents of the pyres enable us to sketch out the rite that led to their deposit during the heyday of the pyre custom. Any such outline, of course, must contain more than a few grains of fantasy, but it can present at least one set of actions that could have left behind deposits such as the ones I have described in the preceding chapters. Considerable planning must have gone into the occasion. Savings had been dipped into for the purchase of a suitable sacrificial animal, worth a week or two's wages, and for the material gifts, most of which had been acquired new for the occasion. Last-minute additions—a lamp, perhaps, or a drinking cup—might be snatched hurriedly from the household cupboards. Other necessary equipment had also to be supplied: at the very least, a knife, but presumably other sacrificial equipment and supplies as well: a bowl for washing the hands, barley to sprinkle on the victim, and fuel for the fire, garnered from prunings or gathered on the Attic hillsides. Add to the list wine for libations, and olives, nuts, and dried(?) fruits for the meal or as additional offerings. On the day of the ceremony, the participants, probably a small group, gathered at or in a private building, where a fire of olive branches and twigs had been laid and lit, either on the ground or within a shallow pit. Libations were poured from the unused cups, occasionally augmented with offerings of oil, and sometimes a lamp was lit briefly.

The main event, however, was the sacrifice, which presumably followed the standard sequence:[1] a prayer stating the request, casting of salt and barley over the victim, the symbolic snipping of a few hairs from the animal's brow, and finally the slitting of its throat, with the blood directed to flow into the pit or the fire burning on the ground. The animal was then skinned and cut up, and selected parts were offered to the divinities or spirits in question by placing them on the fire, perhaps with bloodless offerings as well. Perhaps a meal followed; its remains, if not deliberately buried, would not be distinguishable from ordinary household debris in the archaeological record. The repast may, however, have been enjoyed only by the spirits below.[2] In any event, the fire had burnt down to embers by the time the ritual vessels were placed on it, occasionally with other objects, such as coins and small pellets of clay, perhaps wrapped in a cloth that may have served some purpose in the proceedings—a tablecloth, perhaps, for

1. For a summary of the standard sequence, see Bremmer 2007, pp. 133–138.

2. Compare the ritual puppy dinners of 6th-century Sardis, which, like the saucer pyres, were buried in pits in functioning residential and commercial neighborhoods. There too it is uncertain whether the feast was delivered exclusively to the deity or was shared by humans (Greenewalt 1978, esp. pp. 26, 31–39).

the vessels laid out for the divine meal. If the pyre had been burnt on the ground or in a pit, it was then covered in place, either by patching over the pit, laying a new floor surface, or raising the floor level over and around the pyre. If it had been burnt elsewhere, the remnants were collected and buried in the same way.

Having established the outlines of what the participants did, it remains for us to explore their identities and motives. Who were these shadowy figures placing their offerings on the dying fire, and what did they hope to accomplish through their actions?

PYRES AS BUILDING DEPOSITS

Snyder's identification of the bones from the pyres as animal rather than human, and as animals of the species most favored for sacrifice, has definitively laid the hypothesis of baby cremations to rest. Of the theories that have arisen to replace it, the most fully explored is the contention that the pyres represent *Bauopfer,* deposits connected with the construction of the building in which they were found. Several recent studies have focused attention on deposits of this type, demonstrating without a doubt that special offerings sometimes attended the construction of both public and private buildings in the Greek world.[3] The practice can be traced back to the Bronze Age, though it may have been reintroduced into Archaic Greece from the East, where it is best documented. One perhaps thinks most readily of official ceremonies analogous to our modern laying of the cornerstone, but excavation has revealed a considerable range of activities that may fall under the rubric of *Bauopfer,* or foundation ritual. As Weikart defines the term *Bauopfer,* it embraces all archaeological finds that can be related to a ritual activity directly connected with construction of a building,[4] and it is in this sense that I will use the term "building deposit."

Both Weikart and Müller-Zeis include the Agora saucer pyres in their catalogues of building deposits. Müller-Zeis places them within her category of *Baubegleitende Opfer,* private offerings made at any point during construction, by workers or anyone else with an interest in the construction process.[5] She is mostly concerned with demonstrating that the Agora pyres are not child burials, and offers no positive arguments for their identification as construction deposits. Weikart, however, provides a sensible list of criteria for the identification of a building deposit: it should be incorporated within the building, or at least located in its very near vicinity; the stratigraphy and the means of deposit must make it clear that it was put in place before or during the building activity; and the content and arrangement of the objects should not be of a sort that could be connected with some other ritual activity. He devotes a lengthy discussion to the saucer pyres, based on published examples from the Agora and the Kerameikos,[6] and he identifies them as unambiguous building offerings for the following reasons: most are located inside buildings; they can, in his understanding of the evidence, often be connected with construction or reconstruction activities; and their contents identify them as the remains of offerings rather than chance discards.

3. Müller-Zeis (1994), combining documentary testimonia and the evidence of excavation, develops a typology of building offerings, from the Geometric to the Hellenistic period. Weikart (2002) follows the custom from Minoan to Hellenistic times. A third study (Hunt 2006), focusing on post–Bronze Age Greece, examines foundation deposits of sacred buildings and their Near Eastern precedents.

4. Weikart 2002, p. 13.

5. Müller-Zeis 1994, pp. 53–58; see also pp. 18–19, 69–70.

6. Weikart 2002, pp. 81–102.

I. Andreou and E. Andreou have also identified the Athenian saucer pyres as building deposits, comparing them to similar subfloor deposits that have repeatedly come to light in rescue excavations in Ambracia.[7] These deposits lay in pits under the lowest floor of the houses, filled with burnt material and large numbers of miniature pots imitating a wide range of household vessels. There is normally only one deposit per house, though there is at least one instance of three deposits in a single dwelling. The position of these Ambracian deposits, sealed in by the earliest floors of the houses in which they occur, seems to confirm that the offerings were made in connection with the original construction of the house. Closely similar deposits have been found within houses on Leukada, though no details have been published,[8] and domestic subfloor deposits are known from a handful of other sites as well (see Appendix IV). This suggests that Greek householders did sometimes mark construction, or reconstruction, of their dwellings in this way, and we must ask whether the Athenian pyres bear witness to such activities.

The Pyres of Building Z (Kerameikos)

A good place to begin the inquiry is with Building Z in the Kerameikos, where subfloor deposits of what can only be a ritual character occur in all three phases of the building. By the reckoning of Knigge, who excavated and published the building, at least 21, but perhaps as many as 28 *Opferstellen* (offering places) lie under its floors.[9] She does not comment in detail, but unhesitatingly identifies them as *Bauopfer.* Direct connection with the construction process is once vividly indicated by the placement of objects in the packing for a threshold block.[10] These *Opferstellen* vary considerably in content and mode of deposit, and it is not always possible to distinguish with certainty between deliberate offerings and casual discards. In what follows, I concentrate on the clearest examples, excluding those that the excavator herself queries, as well as a few others that seem to me unlikely as offerings.[11] The remainder are distributed throughout the first three phases of the building: four are associated with its original construction around 430 (nos. 112, 114–116), three with a rebuilding about a decade later (nos. 275, 277, and the group nos. 399–403), and 13 were laid in the third phase of the building, in the second half of the 4th century (nos. 447–450, 452–460).

Of these, one offering associated with phase 2 (nos. 399–403) and seven of phase 3 (nos. 449, 450, 453–456, 460) have all the hallmarks of

7. Andreou and Andreou 2000; see Appendix IV, no. 1.

8. *ArchDelt* 48, B′1, 1993, p. 300; Fiedler 1999, p. 418, ill. on p. 419; Zachos and Douzougli 2003, p. 53; see Appendix IV, no. 2.

9. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 6–7, 29, 50, 124–125, 146–147, 168–175, nos. 112–120, 275–277, 399–403 (a single deposit), 446–460.

10. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 13, 124, no. 112, pl. 5:1 (of phase 1); cf. pp. 58, 174, no. 458, pl. 21:4, an olpe buried beside the threshold of room P, of phase 3.

11. Knigge tags *Kerameikos* XVII, nos. 117–120, 276, and 451 as questionable, and the stratigraphy makes it impossible to assign no. 447 to a phase with certainty. I also exclude *Kerameikos* XVII, no. 113 (a fragment of a cup-skyphos found in the packing below a threshold, 50 years old at the time of burial and possibly residual) and no. 446 (a horos inscription and a collection of broken transport-amphora handles that make for odd votives). But I would add a group of five vessels under the floor of phase 2, which Knigge hesitates to identify as an offering (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 161, nos. 399–403, pl. 94).

saucer pyres (see Appendix II, nos. 1–8). They contain the familiar suite of vessels, buried in shallow pits, and they are distinguished from other subfloor deposits in the building by several details. All show evidence of fire, a feature encountered less uniformly in the other *Opferstellen,*[12] and two contained burnt bone, also rarely reported in non-saucer-pyre deposits.[13] It seems, then, that the ceremony documented by the non-pyre *Opferstellen* was different from the pyre ritual; it usually did not involve an animal offering and objects were often not placed on the fire, but simply buried. The objects offered are also different. Terracotta figurines, virtually never present in saucer pyres, play a large role in the other deposits. Most impressive is the collection of seven figurines buried together with 13 miniature skyphoi below the floor of room X of phase 2,[14] but figurines also feature in offerings no. 112 of phase 1 and no. 277 of phase 2, and two figurine vases were buried in *Opferstelle* no. 448 of phase 3.[15] Another recurring gift in these other offerings is the olpe, found in connection with both phases 1 and 3,[16] but absent from saucer pyres.

Buried offerings, then, are a regular feature of all three phases of Building Z, but it is only in phase 3 that clear instances of saucer pyres are numerous. With seven examples, this constitutes another pyre "hot spot," comparable to the Classical Commercial Building north of the public square, in which 13 pyres have been discovered, and Houses C and D in the Industrial District, with 10 pyres. The short and apparently simple history of the third phase of Building Z, however, makes it possible to relate the pyres to that history in a way that cannot be done elsewhere. Knigge associated all but one *Opferstelle* with the initial construction of this phase, when Building Z was re-erected over the ruins of its predecessor after a gap of more than half a century. According to her reading of the stratigraphy, six pyres were put in place before the original floor of this phase (floor 7) was laid; she associated the seventh pyre, lying between floors 7 and 5, with a raising of the floor level in the last quarter of the 4th century, perhaps in conjunction with minor architectural alterations.[17] This scenario leads to difficulties, however, since not all of the six supposedly earlier pyres are contemporary, and Knigge is consequently hard put to pinpoint a date of construction.[18] Close examination of the contents of the pyres suggests a more complicated sequence and weakens the case for the identification of all of these deposits as building offerings pure and simple.

The saucer pyres of phase 3 of Building Z in fact fall into three chronological groups (Fig. 11). Closely similar Attic skyphoi show that pyre nos. 450 and 456 are closely contemporary, probably dating

12. Eight other (non-saucer-pyre) deposits show possible evidence of fire: no. 116 (patch of burning with fragments of a Rheneia cup) and perhaps no. 114 (underside of the phiale perhaps burnt), both associated with the first phase of the building; no. 275 (traces of burning on a single object) and no. 277 (single terracotta figurine deposited on a burnt clay layer) in the second phase; and nos. 447, 448, 451, and 457 in the third phase, all with ash or other clear evidence of burning.

13. Reported only for *Kerameikos* XVII, nos. 457, 459 (bones of ovicaprids).

14. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 44, 146, no. 275, pls. 12, 80, 81.

15. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 124, 147, 169, nos. 112.1 (female head), 277.1 (headless temple boy), 448.1, 2 (figurine lekythoi), pls. 58, 81, 100; see also p. 168, no. 447.1, pl. 99 (headless standing female), possibly but not certainly associated with phase 3.

16. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 124, 174, nos. 112.2, 458.1, 459.1, pls. 58, 102.

17. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 49, 50.

18. She gives the date of construction variously as the third quarter of the 4th century (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 49), the early fourth quarter of the 4th century (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 79), or the third or last quarter of the century (*Kerameikos* XVII, p. 96).

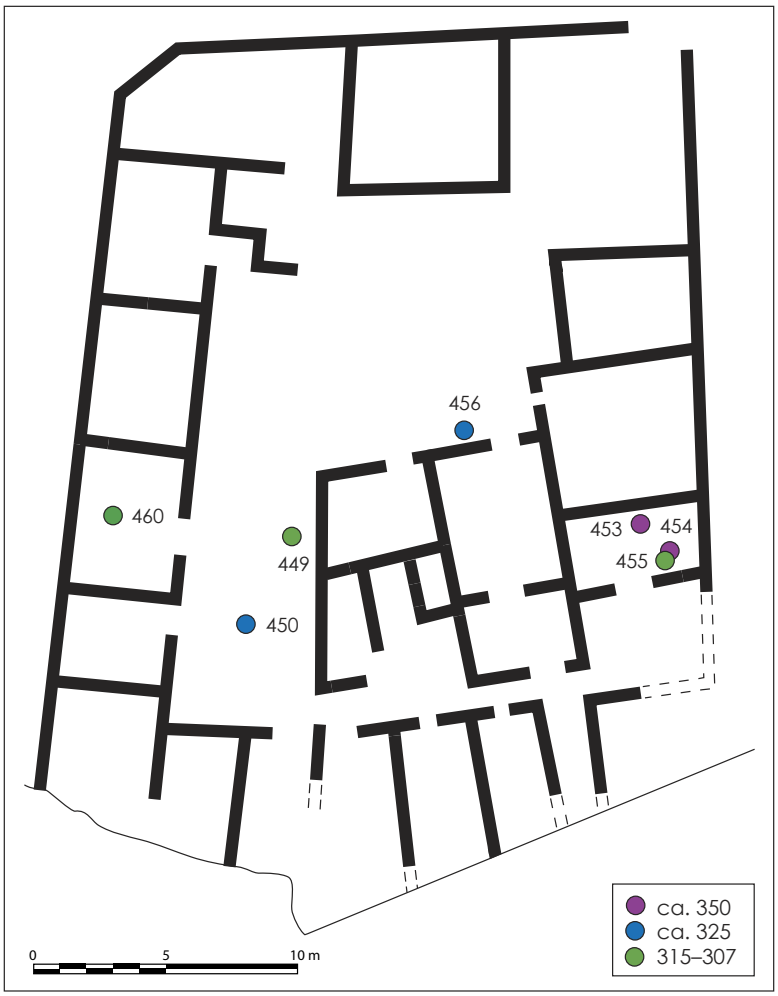


Figure 11. Schematic partial reconstruction of third phase of Building Z in Kerameikos, with pyrelike *Opferstellen* marked and coded for date. Drawing S. I. Rotroff

around 325.[19] Unfortunately, neither pyre can be linked to the building sequence with certainty: the relationship of pyre no. 456 to the two floors of the phase is uncertain,[20] and the floors were not preserved in the vicinity of pyre no. 450. The position of a third pyre (no. 453), however, is unambiguous: it was cut through the floor makeup of floor 7 and then sealed over by its surface.[21] It must therefore date to the time of the laying of the original floor of phase 3, and it is surely significant that it appears to be considerably earlier than the two pyres discussed above. The low, squat shape of the cup-kantharos is best paralleled before ca. 350,[22] a date suitable also for the remarkably large type 25A′ lamp.[23] Neither of these two vessels shows any trace of wear, and

19. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 170, 174, nos. 450.1, 456.1, pls. 100, 102; cf. the skyphos in pyre **4** at the Agora (Fig. 25). There are other similarities as well; compare the lens-shaped lopadia with small pinched handles (*Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 170, 174, nos. 450.4, 456.4, pls. 100, 102) and the lekanis lid (*Kerameikos* XVII, no. 456.9, pl. 102) with their counterparts in pyre **4**.

20. The published accounts are conflicting. On p. 173 of *Kerameikos* XVII, Knigge locates the pyre "unter Schotter 7," while on p. 62 she places it under layer 5. Since on p. 50 she lists no. 460 as an isolated example under floor 5, I assume that no. 456 did indeed lie under floor 7. Unfortunately, no. 456 does not appear on any of the published sections, floor 7 was recognized only in some parts of the court where no. 456 was located, and the elevations of the two floors are very close together here.

21. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 42, fig. 8, labeled Os 5.

22. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 171, no. 453.1, pl. 101; cf. *Agora* XII, p. 284, no. 681, pl. 28 (375–350) and *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 40, no. 28.1, pl. 37. It is earlier than the example from Agora pyre **49** (350–340).

23. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 172, no. 453.13, pl. 101.

they must have been fresh from the shop when deposited. A second pyre (no. 454) may be as early, although its stratigraphic position is obscured by the fact that another pyre (no. 455) was buried directly above it. Its black-gloss kantharos finds its best comparanda around 350,[24] and the profile of its lopadion is paralleled in Agora pyres of the second quarter of the 4th century.[25] It is possible, then, that only no. 453, and perhaps no. 454, were buried at the time of the initial construction of phase 3, around or slightly before the middle of the 4th century, and that nos. 450 and 456 were added a generation later.

Two or perhaps three pyres are later still and are probably to be associated with a renewal of the floor (floor 5). No. 460 lay directly under this new floor;[26] it signals its later date by the profile of the kantharos, comparable to late-4th-century examples,[27] and the household fabric of the chytridia and lopadia (nos. 460.2–6), typical of pyres dating after ca. 315. Pyre no. 455 is also late. It had been buried directly atop no. 454, not immediately, as Knigge thought, but after some time. A date after ca. 315 is indicated again by household-ware chytridia and lopadia (nos. 455.4–11), and by the profile of the cup-kantharos (no. 455.1), comparable to a cup in Agora pyre **1**, buried around 315. The profiled knob of the lekanis lid (no. 455.28) is unusual at such a late date, but I suspect it may be intrusive from the pyre that lay below (no. 454). There may even have been a swap, either in digging or recording, as the lekanis from the lower pyre (no. 454.21) has the later form of lid, with a plain knob, closely comparable to the lekanis in pyre 460 (no. 460.20).[28] The third pyre (no. 449) is more difficult to date, but the lid of its unusual two-handled lopadion (no. 449.2) resembles lids of household-ware lopadia rather than those of the earlier cooking-ware ones, and unglazed large saucers like the one in this pyre (no. 449.5) are rare before the end of the 4th century. Stratigraphically it could belong either before or after the laying of the second floor of this building phase.

Close scrutiny therefore shows that the association of pyres and building history is not as straightforward as it appears at first sight. One or two pyres were probably laid at the time of construction and warrant identification as *Bauopfer;* others were added during the lifetime of the phase, some in connection with the raising of a floor, but others on unknown occasions.

Pyres at the Agora

The situation at the Agora is even less straightforward. The extreme disturbance of the area has obscured the construction history of most of the private buildings there. Absent stratigraphic evidence that a pyre is associated with building activity, the coincidence in date of an approximately dated pyre with an approximately dated construction phase cannot be decisive. Neither is it conclusive that the date of a pyre does not correspond to a recognized period of construction; the evidence for the buildings is so lacunose that some phases of reconstruction may have gone undetected. What we can say is that, with one exception, none of the Agora pyres is associated with the original construction of any building, so they cannot be foundation deposits in the strictest sense. The exception is pyre **6**, in the corner of room 2 of the Classical Commercial Building. It rests on what was probably the

24. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 172, no. 454.1, pl. 103. Cf. *Agora* XII, p. 286, nos. 699, 700, fig. 7, pl. 29.

25. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 172, no. 454.4, pl. 103. Cf. P 31355 from pyre **7** and P 35474 from pyre **14**.

26. As is clear from the section: *Kerameikos* XVII, Suppl. 8, section C–C′, labeled Os 6.

27. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 175, no. 460.1, pl. 103. Cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 246, no. 45, pl. 5 (ca. 300).

28. The situation is closely parallel to that of Agora pyres **14** and **15**. The latter was buried above the former; that their contents were somewhat mixed is demonstrated by joining fragments unearthed in the excavation of each.

ground level before the laying of the lowest floor in the room, and, even though no floors remained in place above it, its date indicates that it was not dug from a significantly higher level (for its stratigraphic position, see Figs. 24, 30). Alone of the Agora pyres, then, it fits all the criteria for a deposit laid in the course of a ritual associated with the original construction of a building.[29] All of the other pyres in the Classical Commercial Building date considerably later (see Fig. 22), and there is little evidence either for or against their association with architectural renovations. Pyre **5**, however, lay directly below a stucco channel in room 1. It may commemorate the installation of that feature, and possibly a raising of the floor level that was part of the same project. Table 5 summarizes the relationships between Agora pyres and the histories of the associated buildings.

Of all the structures at the Agora in which pyres have been found, Houses C and D in the Industrial District have the best-documented construction history, and it is here that we can best investigate the relationship between these deposits and episodes of construction or reconstruction (see Fig. 78; and for the construction phases of the houses, see Tables 9 and 10). No pyre accompanied the construction of these houses, which took place before the middle of the 5th century, at a time when, as far as we can determine, the pyre ritual did not yet exist. The earliest pyre (**38**, ca. 430–425) was buried in the course of the first phase of House D, though it was covered with a new floor surface, and thus associated with at least this degree of refurbishment. The approximate dates assigned to pyre **42** in House C (ca. 385–375) and pyre **39** in House D (ca. 390–375) make it possible that these two deposits inaugurated this second phase of both houses (dated early in the 4th century), though the stratigraphy cannot confirm that conjecture. In House C, although the estimated date of pyre **43** ca. 340–325) would allow it to be contemporary with a second remodeling (shortly after the middle of the 4th century), the stratigraphy precludes any connection, since the pyre, which clearly was found in its original place of deposit, lay higher than the floor associated with the remodeling. Things become even more uncertain in the latest phase of the house. Pyre **44** (ca. 315) in room 6 was dug into a layer that covers some of the house walls (see Fig. 88), and consequently Young dated it after the abandonment of the house. This conclusion, however, is called into question by a thin clay layer that ran over it, identified by Young as a deliberate house floor and therefore indicating continued occupation, at least in this part of the house. The pyre might, then, be associated with an episode of remodeling. There was no reflooring, however, over the approximately contemporary pyre **45** (if it is in fact a pyre), in the court of the house, so most likely it was buried after abandonment of this part of the house. Reflooring is also absent above pyre **46** (ca. 285–275), though Young reported that the surface above it showed indications of continued use. The latest pyre (**47**, ca. 250) is located in (or perhaps just outside) room 12, a space opening onto the Street of the Marble Workers to the west, and apparently in use as a shop until the first part of the 2nd century. Next door, in House D, there is no evidence to connect pyre **40** (ca. 375–360) with construction activities; chronologically it falls in the course of the house's second phase. Pyre **41** (ca. 315–300) was dug into a fill that runs over house walls and

29. Pyre **21** in House 3 on the northern side of the Kolonos Agoraios presents a possible second instance of a pyre associated with original construction. Unfortunately, the history of this extremely ruinous building cannot be reconstructed with any confidence, and it is not possible to be certain that the pyre was sealed by the original floor. See the Catalogue for further details.

TABLE 5. POSSIBLE ASSOCIATIONS OF AGORA PYRES WITH CONSTRUCTION, RECONSTRUCTION, FLOOR RENEWAL, AND ABANDONMENT

Construction Event	*Pyre*	*Building*	*Evidence*
Original construction	**6**	Classical Commercial Building	Rests on prebuilding surface, contemporary with construction
Rebuilding/ renovation/ remodeling	**5**	Classical Commercial Building	Directly below stucco channel
	22	House on south slope of Kolonos Agoraios	Directly below mosaic and possibly contemporary with laying of mosaic
	25	Building E	Shortly after proposed date of beginning of phase 2
	32	Poros Building	Below lowest floor associated with rebuilt north wall of northwestern room
	39	House D	Possibly associated with floor of phase 2
	42	House C	About contemporary with initiation of phase 2, though displaced
	44	House C	Under clay floor, but in layer over wall foundation
	56	Northeast house in section Φ	About contemporary with initiation of phase 3
	57	Northeast house in section Φ	Displaced, but dates near initiation of phase 3
	59	Western house in section Ω	Dispersed pyre about contemporary with remodeling of house
	60	Central house in section Ω	About contemporary with reconstruction
	62	Eastern house in section Ω	Contemporary with reconstruction
Floor renewal	**1**	Greek Building Δ	Under floor surface
	2	Greek Building Δ	Under floor surface
	9	Classical Commercial Building	In floor makeup, though no surface preserved over pyre
	21	House 3 in section ΛΛ	Under floor; possibly under original floor but stratigraphy unclear
	38	House D	Under hard red clay floor
Floor renewal?	**8**	Classical Commercial Building	At appropriate layer to have been covered by floor IV, which is not preserved above it
	11	Classical Commercial Building	At appropriate level to have been covered by nearby undug floor surface
	13	Classical Commercial Building	At appropriate level to have been covered by floor surface elsewhere in room
Abandonment	**3**	Greek Building Δ	Below disintegrated mud brick
	24	House of Simon	On final floor of building
	45(?)	House C	Covered by fill lying over house floor, under layer of disintegrated mud brick
Abandonment?	**35**	House G	Dug into marble chip layer of last phase of building
	36	House G	Dug into marble chip layer of last phase of building, but trodden surface above
	58	Northeast house in section Φ	Approximately contemporary with proposed date of abandonment

TABLE 5—*Continued*

Construction Event	*Pyre*	*Building*	*Evidence*
Post-abandonment	**30**	Early Building II	Rested on layer covering house foundations
	41	House D	Dug into uppermost of two layers covering house foundations
	46	House C	Dug into layer running over house foundations, covered by decayed mud brick
Not associated with a construction or abandonment event	**4, 7, 10, 12, 14–16, 17a, 17b**	Classical Commercial Building	
	23	"Strategeion"	
	26	Building E	
	27	Early Building I	
	28, 29	Early Building II	
	31, 33(?), **34**(?)	Poros Building	
	37	House G	
	40	House D	
	43, 47	House C	
	48(?), **49**	House B	
	55	House of the Greek Mosaics	
	61	Eastern house in section Ω	
	67, 68(?), **69**	PP shop buildings	
No associated architecture	**18–20, 50–54, 63a, 63b, 64–66, 70**		

hence apparently postdates the abandonment of the house. To summarize: of the 10 pyres in Houses C and D, only three can plausibly be connected with episodes of major renovation: pyres **39** and **42**, perhaps inaugurating the second phase of both houses (though this requires some adjustment to the beginning of that phase); and pyre **44**, possibly marking a late remodeling of House C.

Elsewhere at the Agora, a number of pyres are approximately contemporary with documented episodes of remodeling of the structure where they are located and thus are candidates for building deposits. Pyre **25**, which lay just outside Building E southwest of the Agora (see Fig. 57), dates close to the proposed date of the reconstruction of the building in the early 4th century. Since it was outside the building and apparently behind it, however, it may instead relate to structures to the south that no longer exist. South of the public square, the third phase of a house in section Φ was inaugurated by a reconstruction in the first half of the 4th century (see Fig. 105, Table 12). Two of the pyres found there (**56** and **57**) date within these rather broad limits, although pyre **57** was not found in situ, having been redeposited in an abandoned pithos later in the 4th century. Two pyres in

the houses in section Ω present similar situations (see Fig. 109). Pyre **60**, dug into a bedrock floor of the central house, is roughly contemporary with a reconstruction in the second half of the 4th century. The conjunction of the dates of reconstruction and pyre is closer in the case of pyre **62**, buried in the easternmost house around 300–290, a date that coincides very closely with a reconstruction that probably took place around 300 (see Table 13). More concrete is the association of pyre **32** with the reconstruction of the Poros Building (see Figs. 67, 70, Table 8). The deposit lay directly below the lowest floor associated with the northern wall of the northwest room, constructed as part of the mid-4th-century renovation of the building. Finally, pyre **22** lay directly below a pebble mosaic floor on the southern slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios. Although nothing is preserved of the house to which this floor belonged, it is possible that the pyre was offered immediately before the floor was installed, a procedure that is likely to have been accompanied by other renovations.

Several pyres can be associated with the renewal of a clay floor (e.g., **1**, **2**, **9**, **21**, **38**, and perhaps **8**, **11**, **13**). Such refloorings might have been initiated in response to a variety of events, such as the arrival of new tenants, redecoration associated with minor damage, wear and tear, change in the street level outside a room, or some more dramatic event that had taken place in the room. There is no evidence that the renewals coincided with architectural modifications, though it is a fact that repeated reflooring must eventually be combined with reroofing to avoid an excessively low ceiling. The evidence for the connection of the Agora pyres with significant episodes of reconstruction is therefore limited; some pyres seem to have coincided with such events, but it is difficult in most cases to demonstrate it with certainty. Stratigraphical and chronological evidence furthermore indicates that, far from marking the construction of a building, some Agora pyres postdate its abandonment. The investigation of this question is complicated by the fact that pyres have sometimes been taken as evidence—often the sole evidence—for the abandonment of a building, based on the axiom, expressed by Young in 1951, that "it would seem beyond the realm of possibility that such pyres could have been burned within the houses while they were still standing roofed."[30] Consequently, it is sometimes difficult to disentangle the history of the structure from that of the pyres. The matter is worth pursuing, however, especially in light of the suggestion that some graveside pyres may have commemorated the abandonment of the grave precincts in which they were located (see pp. 73–74, below).

Before we can pursue this question, an examination of Young's axiom is in order. As discussed above (pp. 14–15), most pyres either were burnt somewhere other than their place of deposit, or were burnt in situ with a fire that was not strong enough to have left any trace on the earth on which they rested, and therefore did not threaten the structure or seriously inconvenience its occupants. In some cases, however, earth hardened and/or reddened by fire or the location of charcoal below the artifacts indicates that the pyre was burnt in situ.[31] One of these (**6**) was laid during construction, while others were located in courtyards (in Houses D and G) or other unroofed areas (**35**, **36**, **38**, **40**, **52**), or unquestionably postdate abandonment

30. Young 1951b, p. 113. Young (1951a, p. 225) relied almost solely on the pyres in Houses B–D for the date of their abandonment; Crosby (1951, p. 181) regarded the existence of pyre **32** an obstacle to the survival of the Poros Building beyond the mid-4th century; and Shear (1973a, p. 141) took the three pyres in Greek Building Δ as possible indicators of abandonment.

31. Earth hardened and/or reddened: pyres **6**, **19**, **35**, **38**, **39**, **41**, **43**, **44**, **46**, **47**, **52**. Charcoal under artifacts: **16**, **22**, **36**, **40**, **49**, **50**.

of the structures in which they were buried (**41**, **46**), as discussed below (p. 66). Yet others were located in structures that are so poorly preserved that their histories cannot be reconstructed with confidence or in buildings that have disappeared altogether (**19**, **22**, **49**, **50**). There remain only four candidates for burning in situ within an intact building, and they invite closer scrutiny.

Pyre **16**, described as "set into a fill with charcoal and burnt bone" and thus likely to have been burnt in situ, was located in one of the northernmost spaces (room 6[?]) of the Classical Commercial Building (see Fig. 22). This part of the building is poorly preserved, and it is not certain that it belongs to the same structure as the more southerly rooms. A chunk of iron slag perhaps from the bottom of a hearth was found nearby,[32] indicating metalworking, so it may be that the space was unroofed or vented. In any event, excavation photographs do not show evidence of heavy burning, which, along with the absence of reddening on the pyre floor, indicates that the fire was not a large or strong one. Pyre **47**, in room 12 of House C (see Fig. 78), assumed to have been burnt in situ on the evidence of its fire-hardened floor, may have lain outside the boundaries of the room as it operated late in the history of the house, and here again the small size of the pit and its deposit—with only three items—suggests that this was not a major conflagration.

Pyre **39** in the southeastern room of House D, presents greater difficulties (see Fig. 78). Here, again, reddened earth confirms burning in situ, in a pit 0.45 m in diameter, and the fire was probably considerable, to judge from the notebook account, where Young underscored the words "a great deal of burning."[33] He dated this pyre at the end of the third quarter of the 4th century,[34] which allowed him, just barely, to place it after the abandonment of the house, which he dated in the third quarter or second half of the 4th century.[35] Reexamination of the pottery has indicated a substantially earlier date for pyre **39**, however, in the first quarter of the 4th century, while the house was still certainly in use. Either this part of the roof had been temporarily removed in an otherwise undocumented renovation, or the pyre was burnt within a roofed room. A pyre in the southern corner room of House C (**43**) presents a similar situation. Here the pit was larger (0.65 × 0.75 m) and, along with the usual reddening of the earth, included pieces of firewood up to 0.10 m in diameter, all indications of a substantial blaze. Young dated the pyre near the end of the 4th century,[36] and thus could easily place it after the abandonment of the house. Here too, however, the pottery is now dated earlier, in the third quarter of the 4th century. To place this pyre after the abandonment of the house would call for a surprisingly (though not impossibly) short duration for the third phase of the house, which was initiated after the middle of the 4th century.

Indoor fires were a commonplace in antiquity. Permanent hearths were rare in Athens but are occasionally attested in both public and private

32. The hemispherical piece of iron slag is similar to others found in the general area (IL 2003, IL 2007).

33. Notebook NN XXXVII, p. 7310.

34. Young 1951b, p. 117.

35. Young 1951a, p. 224–226; 1951b, p. 113 (though the argument is circular, since the abandonment date is based on the pyres).

36. Young 1951b, p. 121.

buildings,[37] and both heating in the winter and cooking during inclement weather must often have led to interiors smokier than we would now find tolerable.[38] In view of this, the burning of a pyre in a roofed space was probably acceptable, and the attendant fumigation may even have been considered a beneficial effect of the ceremony.

To return to the issue of pyres and abandonment, however, there are three clear cases in which a pyre was buried at about the time the relevant structure fell into disuse, and therefore could be directly related to the abandonment of the building. Pyre **24** lay on the final floor of the House of Simon (see Fig. 55), along with workshop debris associated with its last days. Although it cannot be dated precisely, it probably falls close to the final years of the house's occupation, and may have been buried at the time of its abandonment. Deposit **45** (see Fig. 78) in House C (not certainly a saucer pyre) lay under a red fill that was itself covered by disintegrated mud brick; it must have been placed there in the interval between the abandonment of the house and the collapse of its walls. Similarly, pyre **3** was covered by a layer of collapsed mud brick signaling the collapse of Greek Building Δ (see Fig. 15). In other instances, however, burial took place long enough after abandonment that one or two strata of earth had accumulated over the foundations of house walls. Examples include pyre **41** in House D, dug into the layers that ran over the foundations of the room where it was buried; pyre **46**, within a layer that ran over the foundations of House C, and covered by disintegrated mud brick; and pyre **30**, which lay on the surface of a stratum that covered the walls of room A of Early Building II (see Fig. 65). In these cases, although the pyres may have been placed in the shells of abandoned buildings, the ceremony is unlikely to have commemorated the act of abandonment, which was some distance in the past when they were buried. It thus takes on another complexion altogether, as a rite performed in what may be thought of as waste space. The precise history of three more instances is even more difficult to resurrect, though the possibility of association with abandonment exists. Pyre **35** was dug through the marble chip layer that marked the final phase of House G (see Fig. 67). Interpretation is complicated, however, by the nearby and slightly later pyre **36**, overlaid by a trodden surface bespeaking continued activity in the area. It may be that the structures had been abandoned as dwellings but continued to be used by artisans or squatters; the buildings may have been ruinous but not deserted. Finally, pyre **58** is about contemporary with the abandonment of the house in section Φ (see Fig. 105), though the stratigraphic situation there is unclear.

These examples are enough to demonstrate that not all saucer pyres can be explained in terms of construction or reconstruction. The building-deposit hypothesis also leaves some features of the pyres unexplained: the chthonic nature of the deposits, which emerges clearly from their contents; the distribution of the pyres, which, as we shall see, favors buildings associated with industrial or commercial activity; and the large numbers of pyres concentrated in single buildings and even in single rooms. Thus, although the pyre ritual was sometimes performed at the time a building was constructed or abandoned, it clearly had other applications as well, and this prompts further exploration into the motives of those who dedicated these offerings.

37. E.g., a small hearth in room X of South Stoa I, with ash and charcoal on the floors of some of the other rooms ("as if from braziers," *Agora* XIV, p. 77); and an unusual rectangular built hearth in one of the eastern rooms of the western house in section Ω (see Fig. 109; Shear 1973a, p. 147).

38. Edward Dodwell's account of a visit to a smoky house in the village of Kastri in the early 19th century illustrates the point: "The cold was extremely piercing, and the house which we occupied had neither chimney nor glass to the windows; the smoke was so painful to our eyes, that in spite of the inclemency of the weather, we were obliged to keep the shutters open; but the people of the house were so inured to this nuisance, that they beheld our fastidiousness with a contemptuous smile" (Dodwell 1819, p. 169). I am grateful to John Camp for bringing this passage to my attention.

THE CHTHONIC NATURE OF SAUCER PYRES

It was Young's perception of the chthonic nature of saucer pyres that led him to identify them as baby burials (see pp. 5–6, above). Although that conclusion has now been abandoned, this chthonic—or, perhaps more precisely, funereal—character has emerged even more clearly from discoveries and research carried out since Young wrote. The publication of the Eridanos and Eckterrasse cemeteries at the Kerameikos, in particular, has made available a rich body of material for comparison with the saucer pyres. Such comparison confirms and abundantly illustrates Young's contention that, in the Classical period, ribbon-handled plates occur in only in graves, graveside pyres, and saucer pyres. They also, as noted above (pp. 26–27), have an association with funerary ritual that reaches back to the Geometric period. Likewise, stone alabastra, handleless lekanides, chytridia, lopadia, and pyre saucers are found in pyres (both in the city and the cemetery) and graves, but rarely or never elsewhere. The chytra, in particular, has a strong association with chthonic and funerary ritual. The third day of the Anthesteria was named Chytroi,[39] and the associated rites involved boiling a collection of seeds in a chytra and sacrificing to Hermes Chthonios on behalf of the dead.[40] Women called ἐγχυτρίστριαι performed ceremonies of an unknown sort at early Athenian funerals.[41] The chytra was also sometimes used in what appear to have been magical rituals, as in the case of a full-size chytra inscribed with a long list of names and containing the partial remains of a chicken.[42]

The left-sidedness of the animal bone may also point to a chthonic recipient, although, as mentioned above (p. 42), this may have as much to do with sacrificial conventions as with the character of the sacrifice. It is also surely significant that some of the sacrifices were burnt within a pit, rather than on an altar.[43] Literary evidence, beginning with Odysseus's famous sacrifice in the first *Nekyia* (Hom. *Od.* 10.517–542, 11.23–50), suggests that rituals in and around pits are exclusively aimed at contact with inhabitants of the underworld, whether the deceased or chthonic divinities.[44] A recent review of the sources concludes that such bothroi were usually small and shallow, dug for the purposes of a single rite—like the pits of the pyres—and were aimed at propitiation of underworld forces and the aversion of an imminent danger.[45] With the pyres, however, we are dealing with what appears to be a mixed rite, for the victim was not entirely destroyed, as was the usual procedure in sacrifices to underworld

39. Perhaps after the vessel, but see n. 41, below.

40. Theopompos, *FGrH* 115 F 347; Parke 1977, pp. 116–117; Burkert 1983, pp. 238–243; Parker 2005a, 295–297.

41. Garland (1985, p. 144) summarizes conjectures as to what these women did. The fullest discussion is by Bolkestein (1922), who disassociates the word from χύτρα, deriving it instead from χύτρος, pit or hole in the ground.

42. P 35446; see Handler 2009, p. 119. Another, buried in the wall of the House of Menon and Mikion (Miller 1974, p. 210, n. 80, pl. 35), contained the bones of a canid, possibly a purificatory sacrifice. For the identification of the bones, see *Agora* XXXIII, p. 356, under F 16:7.

43. As Eleftheratou (1996–1997, p. 115) has also observed.

44. Ekroth 2002, pp. 60–74.

45. Ekroth 2002, pp. 69, 72.

entities,[46] and the one most frequently (though not exclusively) attested in association with bothroi.[47]

The Kerameikos publications have also made clearer the prominent role of graveside offerings, termed *Opferstellen* (offering places), in 4th-century funerary ritual (see Appendix III and Fig. 126). The Eridanos and Eckterrasse cemeteries, for example, preserve close to 50 of these, about half of which contain the characteristic pyre assemblage—miniature saucers, lekanides, chytridia, and lopadia, joined by drinking cups and ribbon-handled and rilled-rim plates—usually resting on a bed of ashes and cinders mixed with animal bone. Only rarely can they be associated with a specific burial, but their location within walled grave precincts and in close proximity to burials ensures that they formed a part of a ritual or rituals associated with the dead. Weikart dismisses the similarities between these graveside deposits and settlement pyres as insignificant, arguing that the same assemblage of offerings could serve different purposes in different contexts.[48] This is certainly true, but it ignores the fact that not only was the pyre assemblage used in rituals directly associated with death, it also contains many vessel types that are otherwise associated *only* with death. It is, in short, a strongly marked mortuary assemblage, and I doubt that it lost that character entirely when removed from the graveyard.

In Mesopotamia, where texts inform us about some of the details of building deposits, foundation rites could have a chthonic dimension, explained by the fact that building involves digging, and digging encroaches on the territory of the gods of the underworld, whose wrath needed to be turned aside with gifts.[49] I know of no evidence that this concept was shared by the Greeks; but even if it was, the Agora pyres, if they are associated with construction at all, are mostly related to rebuilding or to minor revisions such as new flooring, which did not require excavation and hence were unlikely to provoke the irritation of the spirits below. We may also note that the building deposits at Ambracia, which provide the closest parallel to the saucer pyres, lack any chthonic element. Although the same miniatures are found in shrines and on the altars and hearths of public buildings there, they do not appear among grave gifts in the cemeteries of the city.[50] The clear chthonic character of the Athenian saucer pyres suggests that we should seek further for an explanation of the ritual, and furthermore that we conduct part of that search in the cemeteries of the city.

Precedents at the Kerameikos

The close similarity between the saucer pyres of the Agora and elsewhere within the city and the *Opferstellen* of the Kerameikos cemeteries indicates a relationship of some sort between the two phenomena and the rituals that produced them. Unlike the pyres in the city, however, which seem to appear suddenly and without precedent, the graveside pyres have a long history. At the Kerameikos, that history can be traced back to the last quarter of the 8th century, when the practice of burning offerings at graveside in trenches *(Opferrinnen)* arose.[51] These were long, narrow ditches, lined with mud brick and usually fitted with a mudbrick slab at the center that, with posts, supported a tablelike structure for the display

46. For chthonic ritual, often indicated by the verb ἐναγίζειν, see Guthrie 1950, pp. 221–222; Parker 1983, pp. 328–329; Burkert 1985, pp. 199–203. More recent scholarship, however, has tended to erode the simple binary distinction between Olympian and chthonic (e.g., Schlesier 1991–1992; Ekroth 2002, pp. 310–313, with pp. 74–128, on the wide varieties of application of ἐναγίζειν and its cognates; Henrichs 2005; Parker 2005b), or to define it in new terms (Scullion 1994). The sacred law from Selinous, for instance, describes a mixed procedure in which one sacrifices "as to the immortals," but allows the blood of the victim to flow into the earth (Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993, pp. 16–17, col. B, lines 12–13, with comments on pp. 45, 63–66).

47. Ekroth 2002, pp. 67–69.

48. Weikart 2002, p. 100.

49. Hunt 2006, p. 190, citing Ambos 2004, pp. 70–71.

50. Andreou and Andreou 2000, pp. 306–308.

51. *Kerameikos* V.1, pp. 30–31; *Kerameikos* VI.1, pp. 86–88. For a detailed examination of the custom and its associated material culture, see Kistler 1998.

of offerings. The gifts included an impressive assemblage of pottery made for the occasion, small animals and shells, and no doubt other objects that were completely destroyed in the ritual. Beds of small branches provided the fuel for the incineration of the offerings, which collapsed in place in the shallow trenches, usually less than 0.15 m deep—just deep enough to accommodate the burnt offerings while ensuring ventilation. The debris of the conflagration was covered with a layer of earth and then a layer of white plaster and thereafter left undisturbed. Close analysis of the stratigraphy of the ditches and the graves, mounds, and monuments associated with them indicates that the ritual took place at the same time as the funeral; in the case of cremation burials, it is suggested that the deceased and the offering ditch were burnt simultaneously.

Unlined offering pits *(Opfergruben)* may attest to the same ceremony, carried out on a less lavish scale, but a second type of ceremony is documented by another group of offering places *(Opferplätze),* areas of burning that are usually not within a pit but on the surface of the layer that covered the grave.[52] Sometimes multiple burnt strata alternate with layers of earth, indicating that, unlike the offering ditches, these offering sites were used more than once. Although they, too, contain pottery and animal bones, their stratigraphic position—on the surface of the stratum that covered the grave or the mound—indicates that they reflect postfuneral offerings, and sometimes repeated ones.

The most lavish of the above installations, the offering ditches, are largely limited in time and space. Most have been unearthed in the Ayia Triada cemetery, just west of the Tritopatreion, though a few have been discovered elsewhere at the Kerameikos and in the Attic countryside.[53] The earliest examples date to the last quarter of the 8th century; the practice then escalated, becoming common (at least in the Ayia Triada cemetery) in the 7th and early 6th century. Thereafter, offering ditches were very rare, though the custom never quite died out, and a few instances dating to the 6th, 5th, and early 4th century have been excavated.[54] During these centuries *Opferplätze* are more common, usually consisting of concentrations of burnt material either on the surface or in shallow pits. Even these are infrequent, however, and it is often impossible to associate them with a specific grave or to determine whether the ceremonies to which they bear witness were performed at the funeral or at a later time.[55]

Near the end of the 5th century and escalating markedly in the 4th, the custom of graveside burnt offerings was revived.[56] These deposits, now

52. *Kerameikos* VI.1, p. 92.

53. At Vourva (Staïs 1890, pp. 320–321, pl. XIII:Θ) and Marathon (Staïs 1893, pp. 53–54, and Γ in figure on p. 49).

54. Sixth century: Staïs 1890, pp. 320–322 (Vourva); Knigge and Willemsen 1964, pp. 41–42 (Kerameikos); Vierneisel 1964, cols. 444–445 (*Opferrinne* β), 462 (south of Sacred Way); *Kerameikos* VII.1, pp. 69–70, 139, 169 (*Opferrinnen* γ, δ, ε). Fifth century: Staïs 1893, pp. 53–54 (Marathon); Vierneisel 1964, cols. 432–434; Knigge 1975 (Kerameikos); Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 271, 338–343 (Kerameikos Metro station excavations). Fourth century: Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 61–62, no. 112 (Kerameikos).

55. E.g., *Kerameikos* VII.1, pp. 7, 17, 134, 150, nos. 450, 451, 486 (*Opferplätze* α, β) (mid-6th century); Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 36, no. 66, possibly related to a disturbance of tile grave 65, over which it is located (ca. 440).

56. Houby-Nielsen (1998, pp. 133–135) has traced this development, interpreting it as a form of archaic revival, and laying it out graphically in fig. 7 on p. 133 (the caption is switched with that of fig. 4, which represents a parallel revival of mounds in the cemetery).

termed *Opferstellen* by the Kerameikos archaeologists, exhibit a variety of forms, from thin layers of ash or pits with burning but no pottery to large pits with multiple layers of offerings.[57] A large percentage, however, contain the assemblage now familiar from the saucer pyres (see Appendix III, nos. 1–39; Fig. 126). The variety observed at the Kerameikos may reflect a multiplicity of rituals, carried out at different times for different purposes; I assume that those who conducted the ceremonies had reasons for choosing specific offerings, leaving behind nothing but alabastra, or burnt organic material, or plates in some cases, but a full pyre assemblage in others. In what follows, therefore, I concentrate on those *Opferstellen* that contain the assemblage now familiar from the saucer pyres. These pyrelike *Opferstellen* share several features with the offering ditches, pits, and places of earlier times: proximity to the grave, burial in shallow pits, the presence of animal bone, vessels specially produced for the occasion, and vessels clearly associated with dining. They also share—in profoundly altered form—some of the vessel types that occur in the 7th-century offerings (covered bowls, ribbon-handled plates, skyphoi),[58] and they display the same tendency for vessels to occur in pairs.[59] These features combine to support the contention that the later offerings represent the resurgence of an earlier custom rather than a complete innovation. It cannot be coincidental that pyrelike *Opferstellen* arose in the cemetery at about the same time that saucer pyres appeared within the city, and the examination of the Kerameikos deposits thus has a direct bearing on the exploration of the Agora pyres.

Graveside and Settlement Pyres

The long ancestry of offering places at the Kerameikos suggests that, although pyres appeared at the Kerameikos and at the Agora at about the same time, the custom began in the cemetery. Precedents excavated there support this contention. A graveside offering of about 440 in the Eridanos cemetery consists of a ribbon-handled plate and a squat lekythos, two shapes that later appear in pyres at the Agora.[60] Within the next 20 years, two other relevant offerings were laid down. One, deposited around 430 in a triangular pit to the west of the Rundbau, included 12 pots, among them two ribbon-handled plates, two or three drinking cups, and two Lykinic lekanides, along with pieces of bronze and iron weaponry suggesting that it commemorated the burial of a warrior.[61] The other, containing at least 27 objects and probably associated with the burial of a young woman,

57. E.g., Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 64, no. 116 (burning but no offerings); *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 14, 16, 41, nos. 9, 14, 29 (burning but no offerings); *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 117–118, no. 119 (large deposit with two layers). More closely similar to settlement pyres: Knigge, Stichel, and Woyski 1978, pp. 56–57 (large collection of offerings perhaps marking abandonment of precinct B); Knigge et al. 1984, pp. 56–61 (large offering of pottery and weapons in grave precinct of Dionysios of Kollytos, 345–338); see Appendix III, nos. 34 and 30, respectively.

58. E.g., *Kerameikos* VI.2, pp. 437–440, no. 27, pls. 16, 17 (covered bowl), pp. 444–445, no. 33, pls. 25, 26 (skyphos), pp. 445–447, no. 34, pls. 22–24 (ribbon-handled plates), from *Opferrinne* β, 670–660.

59. *Kerameikos* V.1, p. 31; *Kerameikos* VI.1, p. 88.

60. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 36, no. 66, pl. 29:2, 3. Squat lekythoi appear in Agora pyres **6**, **38**, **42**, **45**(?).

61. *Brandopfergrube* WRb 17, ca. 430: Knigge and Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1974, p. 193, marked 17 on the plan, fig. 20; Knigge 1975; see Appendix III, no. 33.

was deposited in the 420s in an *Opferrinne* under the mudbrick wall of a Classical grave precinct on the north side of the Sacred Way.[62] Among a wide variety of shapes, ribbon-handled plates and lekanides are again present, as well as a chytridion, a Corinthian skyphos of the size and type that is common in later pyres, perhaps saucers, and three small bowls. Like pyre **38** at the Agora, these deposits predate the formulation of the pyre assemblage, but seem to point forward toward it. Smaller deposits, more like the later pyres in their content, date in the last two decades of the 5th century, probably slightly earlier than the earliest unequivocal Agora pyres of ca. 400–390.[63] The dates, of course, are only estimates, but if the Kerameikos pyres do take chronological precedence, this is another indication that the deposits laid down within the city were modeled on those already being offered in the cemetery.

A close comparison of the contents of the two sets of deposits further supports such a relationship between the two. The cemetery pyres are more diverse in their contents, and the objects they contain sometimes more costly. Alabastra (found in four graveside pyres) are functional and probably imported vessels made of alabaster, rather than the locally produced solid poros dummies of the Agora pyres.[64] In addition, while no settlement pyre contains more than a single alabastron, multiples are common in the graveside deposits. The ribbon-handled plates in the cemetery pyres are often larger, and sometimes more lavishly decorated, than anything in the Agora pyres.[65] Standard black-gloss vessels also occur more frequently at graveside than in the settlement: rolled-rim plates are more common, and small black-gloss bowls or saltcellars accompany or replace pyre saucers in about half of the graveside pyres. Diversity emerges in the occasional dedication of shapes absent from the Agora pyres: the hydria, oinochoe, basket-handled jug, and aryballos.[66] Preliminary studies also suggest a wider range of animal offerings in the Kerameikos pyres, including pigs and birds.[67] Although some graveside pyres are as unpretentious as any found at the Agora, the overall impression is of a slightly more lavish assemblage of offerings.

Once established in the city, the custom of offering such pyres grew in popularity there and subsequently outlasted the cemetery offerings upon which it was based (Fig. 12). After a peak in the first half of the 4th century, cemetery pyres show a steady decline, disappearing altogether by about 250.

62. Vierneisel 1963, pp. 27–28, pls. 22, 23; 1964, cols. 432–434, figs. 24–27; Knigge 1988, pp. 145–147, no. 44, figs. 142, 143, located at 44 on the plan, fig. 165. It has been dated to 420 (Vierneisel) or 430 (Knigge); see Appendix III, no. 32.

63. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 44, no. 89, pl. 39:5 (three ribbon-handled plates, 420–410); pp. 45–47, no. 92, pl. 39:1 (ribbon-handled plates, drinking cup, broad-based bowl, saltcellar, late 5th century); see Appendix III, no. 19.

64. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 41, 44, 59, nos. 28.25–27, 36.7, 8, 37.16, 57.15–17, pl. 37, in pyres with three, two, one, and three alabastra, respectively.

65. E.g., Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 45, 56, 75, nos. 92.2, 3, 109.3, 138.20, 21, pls. 39:1, 41:3, 49:3; *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 18, 20, 38, 40, 60, nos. 18.35, 21.24, 25.1, 2, 28.20, 60.7, 8, pls. 31, 32, 36, 38, 45. Ribbon-handled plates from the Agora pyres rarely measure more than 15 cm in diameter, and examples greater than 22 cm are unknown, while several Kerameikos plates measure 35–46.5 cm.

66. E.g., Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 63, no. 114.1, pl. 45:4 (hydria); *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 44, no. 36.6, pl. 40:4 (oinochoe), p. 57, no. 54.1, pl. 43:4 (basket-handled jug), p. 126, no. 159.16–18, pl. 55:2 (aryballoi).

67. Bird: *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 44, 57, nos. 37, 54. Pig: *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 44, 69, nos. 37, 57.

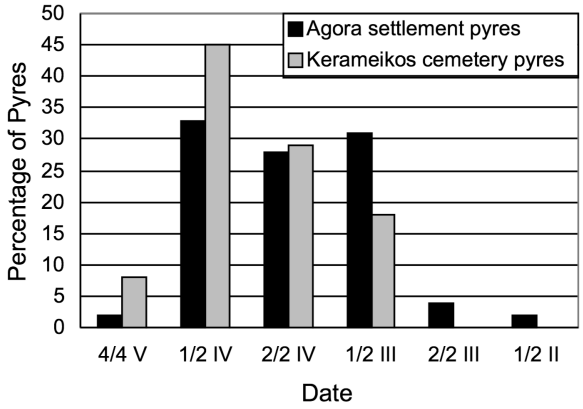


Figure 12. Percentage of settlement pyres at Agora and cemetery pyres at Kerameikos by date.

Agora: based on 51 well-dated pyres (**1–9**, **11**, **12**, **14–16**, **18–23**, **25–32**, **35–44**, **46**, **47**, **49**, **51–53**, **56–58**, **60**, **62**, **66**, **69**).

Kerameikos: based on 38 pyrelike *Opferstellen* in the Eckterrasse, the Eridanos cemetery, the Theonichos precinct, and isolated other examples (see Appendix III, nos. 1–19, 21–39).

In contrast, the Agora pyres maintain steady numbers throughout the 4th century and the first half of the 3rd, and continue to be offered until the end of that century and even beyond. This continued vigor of the custom is also attested by pyres excavated elsewhere within the city walls, most of which date after ca. 350 (Fig. 9).

The Purpose of the Graveside Pyres

The coincidence between these two sets of offerings in both typology and date encourages speculation that they could have shared a purpose or function as well. We know, for example, that ceremonies both in the cemetery and in the home accompanied a burial.[68] Might the saucer pyres in the city document one of these rituals, mirroring a parallel ceremony carried out in the cemetery, as Sparkes and Talcott suggest?[69] Before we try to answer that question, we need to explore the purpose of the graveside pyres. Here we are in difficult territory, for, while the archaeology of the Kerameikos *Opferstellen* has been described in meticulous detail, little attention has been paid to the reasons that lay behind these deposits. It may be that they functioned much as their predecessors did; but although those have aroused much more interest, no consensus has been reached as to their purpose or purposes.[70] Karl Kübler, for instance, saw the *Opferrinnen* as repositories for grave gifts, analogous to objects that otherwise would have been placed within the grave itself.[71] Others have connected them with the funeral banquet,[72] or with the various ceremonies of commemoration at set points after the funeral (τὰ τρίτα, τὰ ἔνατα), as described by written testimonia,[73] or to the presentation of gifts to the dead as heroized ancestors.[74] Recent discussions have turned to the social aspect of the ceremony, seeing it as the family's means of demonstrating the status of the deceased as an *agathos,* a position defined in part by elite dining, or his embrace of a leisured lifestyle and the luxurious banqueting customs of the East.[75] As for the *Opferplätze,* Kübler associated them with rites performed later, after

68. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 143–148; Garland 1985, pp. 38–47; Parker 2005a, pp. 27–31. A description of one such ceremony, involving the pouring of water and then perfumed oil into a pit dug to the west of the grave, is preserved in Athenaios (9.409f–410a).

69. *Agora* XII, p. 45.

70. Kistler (1998, pp. 20–30) reviews the history of the interpretation of the *Opferrinnen.*

71. *Kerameikos* VI.1, p. 87.

72. D'Onofrio 1993, p. 148.

73. Staïs 1890, p. 321; 1893, pp. 53–54; Hampe 1960, pp. 71–75.

74. Whitley 1994, pp. 217–218.

75. Houby-Nielsen 1996; Kistler 1998.

the erection of grave mounds or other structures.[76] Whatever the original ideology and purpose of these ceremonies, they surely changed over time. Kistler has suggested that by the end of the 7th century the functions of the offering ditch and the offering place had melded and the rite had lost its original significance; both now served simply as a lavish way to advertise gifts given to the dead, in addition to, or instead of, objects buried in the grave itself.[77]

It would be difficult to ascribe such a meaning to the much humbler offerings of 200 and more years later. The general assumption, expressed in passing in the literature, seems to be that the *Opferstellen* represent offerings either to the deceased or to undefined chthonic powers.[78] Houby-Nielsen, the only scholar to comment on them in depth, sees the *Opferstellen* as part of a nostalgic, archaizing revival; together with the renewed use of ash-urn burials and the construction of tumuli, they served to create links to an aristocratic past.[79] She believes the ritual took place at the funeral, not later, but does not speculate on its nature.

The closely crowded conditions of the 4th-century and Hellenistic grave precincts often make it impossible to recognize relationships between *Opferstellen* and specific burials. Physical proximity, stratigraphy, and approximate contemporaneity, however, suggest possible links between graves and pyrelike *Opferstellen* in the Eckterrasse and Eridanos cemeteries,[80] allowing for the possibility that the ritual was at least sometimes associated with a specific burial, rather than with the grave plot as a whole. Such pieces of stratigraphic information as are available indicate that the *Opferstellen* were put in place after the grave was filled.[81] In two instances in the Eridanos cemetery, *Opferstellen* precede the construction of a tumulus.[82] Since they are not in direct contact with the grave in question, it is impossible to know if they were prepared during the funeral or later; but since they lie under the mound, it was probably not much later. The lavish *Opferstelle,* perhaps a particularly large pyre, in the precinct of Dionysios of Kollytos, who died between 345 and 338, was deposited after work had begun on his grave monument but before the grave precinct had been completed.[83] The evidence thus suggests that some of the rituals documented by the Kerameikos pyres were connected with individual burials, and at least sometimes took place shortly after the burial.

Other pyrelike *Opferstellen,* however, seem to have played a different role. A deposit of about 100 offerings with burnt animal bone in a small oval pit constitutes the latest feature in the precinct of the Messenians, in the Eckterrasse. Kovacsovics conjectured that the burying group, obliged by unknown circumstances to relinquish the precinct in the first quarter of

76. *Kerameikos* VI.1, p. 92.

77. Kistler 1998, pp. 43–45, 59–50.

78. Kurtz and Boardman 1971, pp. 100, 146; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 54.

79. Houby-Nielsen 1998, pp. 133–139; she plots the dates of offering places in her fig. 7 (note that its label is switched with that of fig. 4).

80. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 45–47, 55–56, 63, 71–75, 95, nos. 92, 108, 114, 136, 138, 168; *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 40, 59, nos. 28, 57.

81. *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 28 (Eck 19) was dug into the filling for the contemporary grave no. 23 (Eck 14); see section, p. 26, fig. 23.

82. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 62–64, no. 114, linked to grave no. 113, a sarcophagus burial covered by tumulus I (*Opferstellen* nos. 115 and 116, with few or no objects, are also linked with the grave); and pp. 71–72, no. 136, probably linked to grave 137, a sarcophagus burial that was covered by tumulus VII.

83. Knigge et al. 1984, pp. 56–61, fig. 50. The large *Opferstelle* was lined with mud brick; its contents have not been published, but some pyre shapes are recognizable from the photograph of the vessels in situ.

the 3rd century, made a special offering for all of the deceased.[84] Similarly, a pyrelike *Opferstelle* of about 150 vessels, including lopadia, saucers, and small drinking cups, has been associated with the abandonment of grave precinct B, north of the Eridanos River, put out of use around 350, after a half century of burials, by the construction of a new bridge over the river.[85] The same motive has been attributed to a smaller saucer pyre coeval with the end of burials in the area north of the Street of the Tombs in the latter part of the 4th century.[86]

It seems, then, that graveside pyres document a range of rituals. Some served to terminate the burial place, some were performed for specific individuals at about the time of their burial, but for others we can imagine yet other purposes, associated perhaps with maintenance of the family plot and honors for its collective dead. Because they are located in the cemetery, we can be confident that they are concerned with death or the dead, but everything beyond that is speculation. It is curious, however, that the number of pyrelike *Opferstellen*—or of *Opferstellen* of any description—is much smaller than the number of graves in both of the extensively published Kerameikos cemeteries.[87] Shallow pyres were doubtless more susceptible to loss than graves, but the discrepancy in numbers—about five graves for every pyre in the two well-published cemeteries under consideration—seems too large to explain away in this manner. Certainly the number is smaller than would be expected if the ritual in question was performed for every burial, or was a regular obligation, or was carried out in the context of an annual festival.[88] But if not for all the dead or on regularly occurring occasions, then for whom, and when? One possible answer is that the ceremony was performed only for some special subclass of the deceased. Support for this notion comes from precinct VII in the Eckterrasse, where a pyre has been linked to the amphora grave of a newborn and the nearby sarcophagus burial of a woman who, Kovacsovics conjectures, may have died giving birth to the child.[89] A curse tablet in the fill of her grave[90] suggests that her death was considered premature, for those who died before their time were thought to be appropriate messengers for maledictions. An *Opferstelle* featuring three lebetes gamikoi, a pyxis, and a lekanis decorated with scenes of the *epaulia,* the gift-giving ceremony that followed the wedding day, is probably to be associated with a woman who died around the time of marriage, another victim of untimely death.[91] Perhaps also in this category

84. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 95–96, 126–127, no. 159, pls. 54, 55; see Appendix III, no. 18.

85. Knigge, Stichel, and Woyski 1978, pp. 56–57; Knigge 1988, pp. 152–153, no. 56, fig. 147; see Appendix III, no. 34.

86. Stichel (1990, p. 41, pl. 3:a, b) terms it an *Abschiedsopfer;* see Appendix III, no. 31.

87. Graves outnumber *Opferstellen* five to one. In the Eckterrasse, 29 *Opferstellen* (18 with pyre furnishings) for about 150 graves of the 4th and early 3rd century; in the Eridanos cemetery, 19 *Opferstellen* (11 with pyre furnishings) for about 100 graves of the late 5th to the 3rd century.

88. An anonymous reader of the manuscript suggested, for instance, that the pyres were offered in the context of the *Genesia,* an annual Attic festival honoring the ancestors (for the festival, see Parker 2005a, pp. 27–28). It is an attractive idea, but I cannot reconcile it with the irregular distribution of the pyres and their association with industrial activity.

89. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 50–53, 57–59, nos. 55–57, fig. 33 (labeled 46, 48, 49); see Appendix III, no. 13.

90. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 142–143, fig. 65, pl. 63:1.

91. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 72–75, no. 138, pls. 48–50; see Appendix III, no. 25. Cf. the 5th-century *Opferrinne* for a large grave monument north of the Sacred Way at the Kerameikos, also with lebetes gamikoi (Vierneisel 1964, cols. 432–434, figs. 24–27); see Appendix III, no. 32.

is the younger Dionysios of Kollytos, a member of a prominent Athenian family, who was honored by a large offering pit in addition to the well-known shaft topped by a bull. Although he had already served as an official on Samos, his epitaph tells us that he left behind a living mother, and the remains discovered in his sarcophagus were those of a man not beyond his early 30s.[92] Weapons included among offerings buried just north of the Rundbau suggest that the recipient died in battle, perhaps another special case.[93] The evidence is admittedly slight, but it is arguable that the pyre ceremony sometimes marked deaths that were untimely or unexpected.

A NEW EXPLANATION: INDUSTRIAL RELIGION

As I have argued above, saucer pyres have more than a superficial funereal dimension and, while the purposes of the graveside pyres that they mirror are as impenetrable as those of the settlement pyres, the relationship between the two must be taken into account in searching for a plausible explanation of the pyre phenomenon. A final set of data that may be queried in a search for the meaning of the saucer pyres is their spatial distribution. If the pyres were dedicated to protect or consecrate building activities in general, we would expect them to be evenly distributed in buildings around the Agora and elsewhere. Or, if they were dedicated in the course of a funerary ritual echoing ceremonies carried out at the grave, we would expect them to be located in houses, and again to be more or less evenly distributed among preserved residences. As we shall see, neither of these expectations is met.

The Spatial Distribution of the Agora Pyres

Saucer pyres found within the city walls exhibit a markedly skewed distribution. They are never found in the public buildings within the boundaries of the Agora square, and probably not in any buildings with an official public function. Within the "unofficial" sphere, however, they are not restricted to dwellings, but occur also in buildings with a commercial or industrial function. Furthermore, pyres cluster in certain buildings—both houses and shops—while they are absent from others of similar plan.

Over two-thirds of the Agora saucer pyres were found in or in close association with buildings (Fig. 2).[94] Some of these buildings are only partially excavated, or are so poorly preserved that an adequate plan cannot be recovered: for example, House 3 and House G, where the label "House" is no more than a convenience,[95] or the western shop building in section PP, known from only a few scraps of walls. In those cases where enough is known or preserved for identification, however, the building types divide into two clear categories: private dwelling houses and shop buildings. A total of 19 pyres have come to light in houses, identified as such by their plans, which conform to those of dwellings known in Athens and elsewhere. They include Houses C, D, and probably B in the Industrial District southwest of the public square (see Fig. 78);[96] the House of Simon at the southwest entrance to the square (see Fig. 55); and four houses in sections Φ and Ω,

92. Knigge et al. 1984, pp. 56–61; Knigge 1988, pp. 123–126, no. 23; see Appendix III, no. 30, and also Habicht 1991, pp. 241–242.

93. Knigge 1975; see Appendix III, no. 33.

94. For details, see the entries for these buildings in the Catalogue.

95. Only two rooms and a free-standing "shed" are preserved of the structure that Young called House G (see Fig. 67). The corner of a single room is preserved of House 3, in section ΛΛ on the north side of the Kolonos Agoraios (see Fig. 50).

96. The remains of House B are minimal and the excavators initially doubted its identity as a house (Young 1951a, pp. 201–202), but nothing remains to suggest it served any other purpose.

south of the square on the lower slopes of the Areopagus (see Figs. 105, 109). Remains of a pyre were also noted during the cleaning and reconstruction of the House of the Greek Mosaics, farther to the south, which had been excavated by Wilhelm Dörpfeld in the 19th century (see Fig. 103).

Slightly more pyres (23) have been found in buildings of an entirely different character. They are distinguished by rows of rooms of the same size, side by side, sometimes single and sometimes paired, in combination with a corridor and/or a courtyard. This plan, in its simplest form like a commercial stoa without its colonnaded porch, can be recognized elsewhere in the Greek world as well, in buildings commonly located in or around agoras.[97] It seems clear that this building type served commercial purposes, as a structure consisting of independent rooms that could be rented out to tenants for the conduct of a variety of crafts and businesses. Such structures are probably to be recognized in the "shops on the street" (τούτων τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐργαστηρίων) mentioned by the Athenian orator Aischines (1.124). Whether built by the city to encourage commerce and enhance revenue or by private entrepreneurs as a business venture,[98] they were a regular feature of the architectural landscape surrounding the public square at Athens. Among them are the Classical Commercial Building just north of the Stoa Poikile (see Fig. 22), Greek Building Δ farther east on the north side of the square (see Fig. 15), across the street from the Square Peristyle Building, and the PP shop buildings along the south side of the street that led eastward from the square toward the area of the later Roman Agora (see Fig. 119). Perhaps also to be recognized as belonging to this type are three buildings (Building E and Early Buildings I and II) set around a trapezoidal space southwest of the square (see Fig. 57).

Objects found in and under the floors of the Classical Commercial Building and Greek Building Δ provide abundant evidence of industrial use: marble dust and chips, fragments of unfinished sculpture, metal filings and slag, terracotta molds, lumps of pigment and pigment contain-

97. For brief comments on this architectural form and its relationship to the stoa, see Coulton 1976, pp. 86–87. Examples of such freestanding buildings may be found near the marketplaces at Priene (a row of rooms of equal size opening south onto an alley, west of the agora; Wiegand and Schrader 1904, p. 296, pl. XXI, rooms 12–17); Pergamon (shops along the *Hauptstrasse* containing large vessels, hearths, and mills; Dörpfeld 1904, pp. 120–121, pl. VII:1–12; Radt 1999, p. 85, figs. 29, 34); and Morgantina (the south shops, identified as pottery salesrooms, and the central shops, identified as such by large numbers of coins, lead weights, and terracotta vessels set into the floor; Bell 1988, pp. 324–331, figs. 1:f, m, 8, 13). For literary and archaeological evidence of Athenian shops and workshops, see Bettalli 1985; Rotroff 2009.

98. We have no direct evidence for these arrangements. The fact that Xenophon (*Ways and Means* 3.13) urges the Athenians to build such shops suggests that public ownership was conceivable in the mid-4th century: εἰ δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἀγοραίοις οἰκήσεις τε καὶ πωλητήρια κατασκευασθείη καὶ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ ἐν τῷ ἄστει, ἅμα τ᾽ ἂν κόσμος εἴη τῇ πόλει καὶ πολλαὶ ἂν ἀπὸ τούτων πρόσοδοι γίγνοιντο (Again, if houses and shops were put up both in the Piraeus and in the city for retail traders, they would be an ornament to the state, and at the same time the source of a considerable revenue [trans. E. C. Marchant, New York, 1925]). Conversely, Athenian inscriptions refer to *ergostasia* (workshops) in private hands. E.g., Agora I 1749 describes property confiscated from Philokrates of Hagnous, a prominent citizen who had left town rather than stand trial and had been condemned in absentia. The accused had owned two *ergostasia* in the deme of Melite, bounded on the north and east by two houses (also his property), on the west by a workshop owned by someone else, and on the south by a road leading to the agora (*Agora* XIX, p. 114, no. P26, lines 450–454; for translation and comments, see Meritt 1936, pp. 405 [lines 101–115], 409, 410). Wycherley (1959, pp. 67–68) identifies the road in question with Young's Street of the Marble Workers, which runs east–west for a stretch just west of Houses C and D. This would put Philokrates' property very close to the Industrial District southwest of the public square—the area that figures prominently in the present study.

ers, limestone burnishers, and fragments of possible tools bear witness to a wide variety of craft activities.[99] In the case of Greek Building Δ, large numbers of coins also hint at financial transactions.[100] Fill in a well in one of the shop buildings east of the public square attests to lighter industries—bone- and hornworkers, and a coroplast—as well as a tavern and a wine shop.[101] Indicators are more sparse in the poorly preserved buildings south of the Tholos. An identification as civic offices has been urged on the basis of their proximity to the Tholos complex,[102] but plastered basins, stone-lined pits, and a pit of sand at the east end of Early Building I and fire-hardened pits in its floor are consistent with industrial work, and the alternative of industrial use for the complex remains attractive. However that may be, it is clear that this building type accommodated craftspeople and perhaps businesspeople of other persuasions, and the distribution of the pyres indicates that this group of people frequently dedicated saucer pyres.

There are only two relatively well-preserved buildings supplied with pyres that do not at first seem to fall into either of the two categories of house or shop building. At least two and perhaps four pyres (**31**, **32**, **33**[?], **34**[?]) were buried in the Poros Building (see Fig. 67), a large structure consisting of two rows of rooms along a corridor, a large courtyard, and an annex of four rooms, and located along the street leading to the industrial neighborhood southwest of the public square. Because of its size and the large poros blocks used in its construction, various attempts have been made to identify it as a public building: a law court, civic offices, or, most recently, the state prison.[103] Its same-size rooms, set side by side, and its courtyard find parallels, however, in shop buildings, like the smaller Greek Building Δ on the north side of the square, and I would submit that commercial/industrial use has as much, or more, to recommend it than any of the other suggestions.[104] But whatever its identity and function at the time of its construction in the 5th century, the Poros Building was occupied by marbleworkers in the 4th century, when its pyres were buried. Its northern part was choked with marble debris, interspersed with fragments of pigment and unfinished marble objects, demonstrating that sculptors occupied the premises after its rebuilding in the early 4th century. A pithos and a lekane set into the floor of the northwest room may also be industrial installations (see Fig. 70).[105]

The second anomaly is a similarly large though much less well preserved building somewhat to the north of the Poros Building (labeled "Strategeion" in Figs. 2, 53), where a single, 3rd-century pyre has been unearthed (pyre **23**) and numbers of displaced pyre saucers have been found. The building's location, not far from the Tholos, its large size, and the scope and manner of its construction, with large poros blocks and in an area that

99. Classical Commercial Building: Shear 1984, p. 45; Camp 1999, pp. 277–278; 2003, p. 249. Greek Building Δ: Shear 1973a, p. 140; Milbank 2002, 104–107. See also the evidence cited for each building in the Catalogue.

100. High concentrations of coins also characterized shops at Olynthos (*Olynthus* VIII, pp. 211–213, with coin tallies in the table on p. 213).

101. Shear 1975, pp. 357–360.

102. *Agora* XIV, p. 74; *Agora* XIX, p. 66; Camp 2010, p. 52.

103. Crosby 1951, pp. 183–187; *Agora* XIV, p. 74; Vanderpool 1980.

104. Rotroff 2009, pp. 44–45. An intriguing parallel at Pergamon has been identified as either shops or the public bank of the city; see Dörpfeld 1907, pp. 164–166, pl. 14; Radt 1999, p. 86, fig. 29.

105. Crosby 1951, pp. 179–181, pl. 64:b; see also comments in the Catalogue, pp. 140–141.

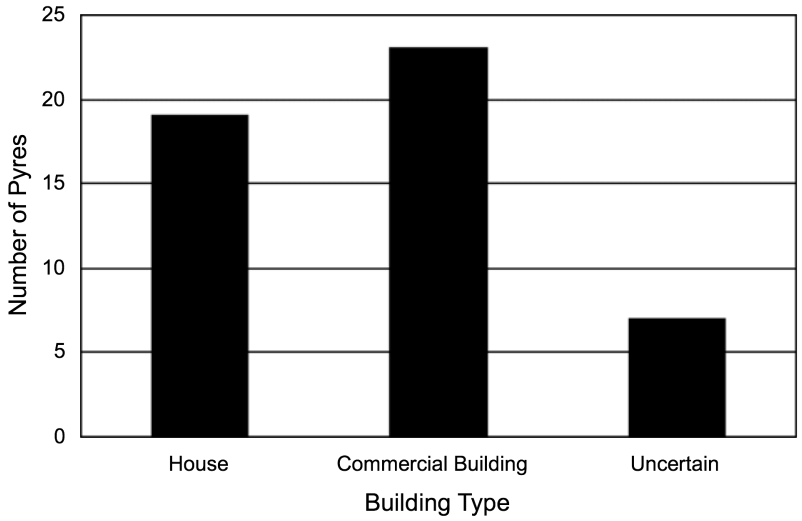


Figure 13. Architectural contexts of Agora pyres by building type.

Based on surely identified pyres associated with contemporaneous structures. Building typology based solely on plan. N = 49.

House: pyres in House of Simon, Houses B–D, House of the Greek Mosaics, houses in sections Φ and Ω (**24**, **38–44**, **46**, **47**, **49**, **55–62**).

Commercial Building: pyres in Greek Building Δ, Classical Commercial Building, Building E, Early Buildings I and II, eastern shop building in section PP (**1–16**, **25–30**, **69**).

Uncertain (pyres in buildings of disputed function: "Strategeion," Poros Building, **23**, **32**) or uncertain form (House 3 in section ΛΛ, House G, western shop building in section PP (**21**, **35–37**, **67**).

required substantial quarrying of the bedrock, suggest that it was built at state expense. Identification as both the Strategeion (the office of the ten generals) and as the Poleterion (office of the *poletai,* financial officers) has been suggested.[106] A large deposit of marble chips in the northern part of the building, however, shows that marbleworkers were active there in the late 5th or early 4th century, and an extensive system of drains debouching into the Great Drain is easier to explain in terms of workshops than of offices.[107] A hoard of late-4th-century coins that recently came to light in the building is open to various interpretations, but it could reflect banking or commercial transactions.[108] As has long been recognized, the building's plan, insofar as it can be recovered, is not unlike that of the Poros Building: rows of rooms of equal size, a corridor, and a courtyard.[109] The "Strategeion" too, then, may have been built as a shop building; but even if it was not, it may have been functioning as such when pyre **23** was buried. If we add the pyres in the Poros Building and the "Strategeion" to the list of deposits found in undisputed shop buildings, the total rises to 26–28. Even without these, however, over half of the pyres associated with buildings of identified form were found in structures that were not designed as dwellings, but as workplaces (Fig. 13).

The association with craft activities that this distribution indicates is further supported by the observation that craftsmen also practiced their trades within some of the houses where pyres have been found.[110] Marble chips and metal waste attest to stonecutting and metalworking during the second phase of House D (see Fig. 78), in the industrial neighborhood, and a large hearth inserted into the court in its third phase shows that some of this activity continued, probably until the house was abandoned.[111] Four pyres were buried in the house, at least two of them (**39**, **40**) during the time for which industrial activity is attested; it is reasonable to imagine that pyres **38** and **41** had similar associations. There is no evidence of craft activities in House C, to the south. In its second phase, however, it communicated with House D through a door,[112] and it was during this time that displaced pyre **42** must have been buried. Pyre **47** is located in (or possibly just outside) an independent room that was entered from the street and probably functioned as a shop.[113] Farther to the north lies the House of Simon

106. *Agora* XIV, pp. 73–74; Camp 2007, pp. 657–660.

107. Whitley et al. 2007, p. 5; Rotroff 2009, p. 46.

108. Camp 2007, p. 658, fig. 32.

109. Crosby 1951, pp. 183–184.

110. For further discussion of industry in Athenian houses, see Tsakirgis 2005, pp. 69–76; 2009, p. 53, fig. 52.

111. Young 1951a, p. 222.

112. Young 1951a, p. 214.

113. Young 1951a, pp. 206–207.

(see Fig. 55), where the presence of bone eyelets and hundreds of tacks suggests leatherworking,[114] and where a single pyre and displaced pyre vessels were unearthed among the workshop's debris (**24**). There is also evidence of industrial activity in some of the houses south of the public square. The court of the house in section Φ (see Fig. 105), a structure that housed three or more pyres (**56–58**), had been plastered in such a way as to direct liquid toward pithoi set into its floor, and the floors in the room south of its courtyard were particularly rich in coins, including one of silver, suggesting repeated and perhaps significant commercial transactions. A tank and a tiled floor in the westernmost of the three houses in section Ω (see Fig. 109) may have served industrial purposes;[115] the pyre material found here (**59**) was out of place, in a room of the house but also spread over its dismantled east wall, but it may have originated within the structure, and an isolated pyre saucer was found elsewhere in the house. It is worth mentioning in this connection that Building Z at the Kerameikos, which housed the only fully published concentration of pyres outside the Agora, is a houselike structure that was serving commercial purposes at the time the pyres were buried (Fig. 11). Although the original function of the building is debated, scholars are in agreement that in its third phase it was functioning as a weaving workshop, a tavern, and probably as a brothel as well.[116] Two caches of terracotta molds found in the neighboring Building Y, which hosted at least two pyres, suggest that crafts were practiced there too.[117]

There is also clear evidence of industrial activity in some of the buildings commonly termed "houses" but whose plans cannot be recovered. Massive amounts of marble dust in House G on the west side of the Street of the Marble Workers leave no doubt as to the craft of its occupants.[118] Two pyres there (**35**, **36**) were cut into floors made up of marble waste; a third (**37**), found in fill just north of the building, may also be connected with this building. The northern side of the Kolonos Agoraios, where House 3 of section ΛΛ is located, was an industrial neighborhood as well, and the remains of a workshop for the casting of small bronzes has been identified in the area of House 3,[119] in which pyre **21** was buried. Although only a small part of the building survives, it includes plastered floors and basins that are earmarks of craft activities (sketched in the notebook by D. B. Thompson; see Fig. 50). There are also pyres that lack an architectural context but where industrial activity is attested by fragments of slag in the surrounding soil (**18**, **19**).

The evidence described above is summarized in Figure 14 and represented graphically in Figure 2, where those buildings with craft associations are shaded yellow. A total of 44 pyres (**1–16**, **18**, **19**, **21**, **23–41**, **47**, **56–59**, **69**) can be positively associated with industrial or commercial

114. Thompson 1960.

115. Shear 1973a, p. 150.

116. Lind 1988; Reinsberg 1989, pp. 140–142; Davidson 1997, pp. 85–90; Rosenzweig 2004, pp. 68–69; *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 26–27, 31, n. 73, 78. Lind's attractive suggestion that the building can be identified as the συνοικία of Euktemon known from a speech of Isaios (6.20–21) cannot be reconciled with the chronology of the building.

117. Knigge 1993, p. 134, figs. 17, 18 (pyres); Schöne-Denkinger 1993 (terracotta molds).

118. Young 1951a, pp. 235–236.

119. Mattusch 1977, pp. 341, 358–359, pl. 77:G.

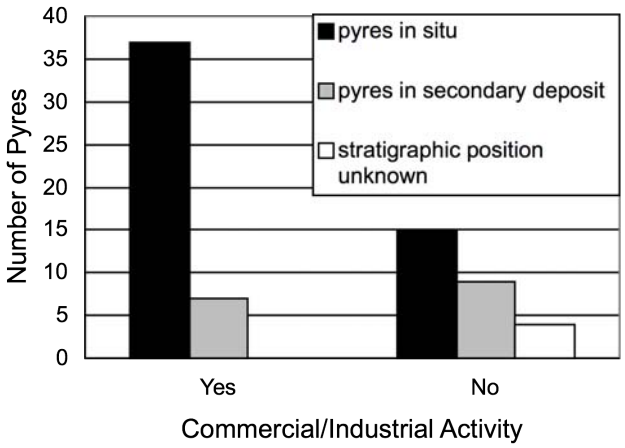


Figure 14. Association of pyres with commercial or industrial activity.

N = 72 (all identified pyres and possible pyres).

Evidence of industrial or commercial activity includes: industrial waste (marble chips and dust, fragments of unfinished sculpture, metal filings and slag, possible tools, pumice, tacks, bone rings, lumps of pigment, pigment containers, terracotta molds); location in a building with industrial installations (hearth, basins, drains); location in a building of commercial form (non-house plan with rows of same-size rooms).

activity, either because they are located in a shop building or were found in association with evidence of industrial activity in the form of special installations or waste from manufacturing processes. This bias toward industrial settings does not support the thesis that the sole purpose of the pyres was to sanctify the construction or renovation of buildings, plain and simple (though some of the pyres probably played that role). Nor does it conform straightforwardly to the suggestion that the pyres are the physical remains of ceremonies performed in parallel at the home and the graveyard. In what follows, I attempt to come to terms with this distribution in developing a third hypothesis about the function of the Athenian saucer pyres.

Industrial Religion

Two salient facts about the saucer pyres emerge from the above. First, they are related to deposits, and therefore probably to rituals, that took place in the cemetery. Whatever the unknown details of those rituals, they were performed in reaction to an untoward event, such as a death (perhaps an unusual death) or the abandonment of a burial place. Secondly, saucer pyres are more frequently found in buildings associated with industrial or commercial activities, or in close proximity to industrial debris, than in purely domestic structures. We may add that the one construction event with which pyres are regularly and undoubtedly (though not universally) associated is the laying of a new floor.

T. L. Shear Jr. long ago suggested that the saucer pyres might bear witness to a purification ritual enacted when a floor was renewed or when the premises changed hands.[120] A new floor is exactly the sort of minor refurbishing that one would expect to accompany a change in tenants, and the smoking of the surface of the room that would have accompanied burning of the pyre would have been unimportant if a new coat of whitewash was to be applied. The hypothesis is furthermore supported by the bias toward commercial and industrial premises demonstrated by the archaeological record. It is a logical inference that tenants would change more frequently in commercial buildings than in private houses; indeed, Aischines suggests as much in his comments about "shops on the street" alluded to above (p. 76): "If a physician moves into one of these shops on the street, it is

120. Shear 1984, p. 46.

called a clinic. But if he moves out and a smith moves into this same shop, it is called a smithy; if a fuller moves in, a laundry; if a carpenter, a carpentry-shop; and if a pimp and his whores move in, we call it a brothel" (1.124).[121] If tenants changed more frequently in commercial buildings than in private houses, the ceremonies would have been performed more often in such buildings, resulting in the multiple pyres that we sometimes observe.

This otherwise very appealing explanation, however, does not account for the markedly funereal character of the pyres. Eleftheratou, the only scholar who has addressed this aspect of the deposits in any detail, reads the deposits as offerings to chthonic entities, aimed at purification and probably apotropaic in nature.[122] Perhaps such a ceremony was simply good policy when one moved into a new house or shop, and our search for an explanation should stop here. But I would like to explore in more detail the reasons why this particular type of ritual, with its funereal overtones, might have been deemed appropriate, and to consider whether the saucer pyres within the city, like the pyres in the cemetery, are reactions to an untoward event rather than a general prophylactic against future misfortune. At the same time I want to continue to pursue possible connections between the pyres and industrial activity.

As argued above, pyres are too uncommon, both in the cemetery and the city, for the pyre ritual to have been enacted in response to every death. I have also argued, however, that they may have been thought appropriate in special cases, where a death was unexpected or out of the ordinary. Unusual or untimely deaths are obviously not restricted to artisans, but the workplace does expose craftsmen to unusual dangers, for they work with heavy loads, sharp objects, caustic substances, and fire, all of them items that are difficult to control. Deaths as well as serious or frequent accidents must have been a part of an ancient artisan's experience. There was also the threat of the failure of the craft process, resulting in economic crisis for the workman and his family. It is perhaps in this region that we should seek at least part of the answer to the pyre mystery.

There is no doubt that ancient Athenians undertook rituals when they thought they were in need of protection from malign forces. Theophrastos's superstitious man (*Char.* 16) frequently purifies his house against incursions of Hekate and assumes from a small piece of misfortune—a mouse getting into his supply of barley groats—that apotropaic rites are in order. This, of course, is presented as an example of ridiculous behavior, but it hints that bad luck or a series of accidents might elicit a ritual reaction.[123] The pyre deposits—or a good number of them—may, then, form part of what we might term workers' ritual practice, a suite of activities designed to protect the artisans and their industrial enterprises.

A full exploration of those practices is beyond the scope of this study,[124] but a few examples will help to put the hypothesis in context. Accidents in the ancient workplace have sometimes left evidence in the form of thank offerings for the survival of the victim. For example, a mule driver memorialized recovery from his injuries in a plaque dedicated to Asklepios at the end of the 5th century.[125] A generation earlier, according to Plutarch (*Per.* 13.7–8), Pericles dedicated a statue to Athena Hygieia in thanks for the miraculous survival of a workman grievously hurt during the construction

121. ἐὰν δ' εἰς ἓν δήπου τούτων τῶν ἐπὶ ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἐργαστηρίων ἰατρὸς εἰσοικίσηται, ἰατρεῖον καλεῖται· ἐὰν δ' μὲν ἐξοικίσηται, εἰς δὲ τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ἐργαστήριον χαλκεὺς εἰσοικίσηται, χαλκεῖον ἐκλήθη, ἐὰν δὲ κναφεύς, κναφεῖον, ἐὰν δὲ τέκτων, τεκτονεῖον· ἐὰν δὲ πορνοβοσκὸς καὶ πόρναι, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐργασίας αὐτῆς ἐκλήθη πορνεῖον (trans. C. D. Adams, Cambridge, Mass., 1919, adapted).

122. Eleftheratou 1996–1997, pp. 101–102, 115–116, summarized in Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 92.

123. Parker (1983, pp. 222–232) discusses such purifications, speculating on bad luck as a context for ritual purification (p. 224).

124. For a preliminary study of the topic, see Smith 2009. A.-C. Gillis is preparing a fuller examination as a doctoral dissertation at the Université Charles-de-Gaulle, Lille 3.

125. *IG* II² 4356. Beschi 1969–1970, pp. 86–101, fig. 1; Travlos 1971, p. 136, fig. 183.

of the Propylaia.[126] The story may well be a fabrication,[127] but it must have been credible within the context of ancient practice and attitudes. Artisans and workers gave material gifts to the gods in thanks for the success of their work,[128] but there is also evidence that there were ritual reactions when the outcome was not good: when the injured person did not recover, injuries occurred with unwonted frequency, or the work did not proceed well.

A few, and often-cited, pieces of evidence help to throw light on the attitude of ancient artisans toward the causes of and cures for workplace successes and failures. The first is a short poem entitled Κάμινος *(The Kiln),* which survives in the *Suda* and in the Pseudo-Herodotean *Life of Homer.* It is thought to have been composed in Athens in the 5th century,[129] perhaps not so long before pyres began to be dedicated. Encountering a group of potters, the poet offers, for pay, to perform a poem inviting Athena to protect the kiln and its products, ensuring a successful firing and a good profit. He also gives a sample of the curse he will perform if the potters do not take him up on his offer. Summoning five demons specializing in the destruction of pottery in the making, he will invite them to destroy the kiln and the pottery it contains, and furthermore to scorch those tending the kiln.[130]

Noting the similarity of the language and syntax of the kiln poem to those of actual (rather than literary) curses, Christopher Faraone has argued that the poem is in reality an anthology of three separate curses, of the sort that really were leveled at craftsmen in antiquity.[131] Many such curses are preserved on lead *defixiones,* or curse tablets, with spells "binding" the persons, work, and products of a variety of artisans, including net makers, metalworkers, potters, and carpenters.[132] A possible example of the early 4th century even came to light in the excavation of House D, a structure rich in pyres.[133] Strabo, writing considerably later, illustrates the

126. See also Plin. *HN* 22.20.44; Pericles' dedication has generally been identified with the statue base *IG* I² 395.

127. Wolters (1891, p. 160) suggested the plague as a more credible motive for the dedication.

128. Van Straten (1981, pp. 92–95) cites offerings from the proceeds of one's work (unspecified work, a catch of fish, goat herding), of the work itself, and the tools employed.

129. Merkelbach and West 1967, pp. 155–156, no. 302. First brought to the attention of scholars interested in pottery by Milne (1965); see also Faraone 2001, with further bibliography.

130. Possible portraits of such demons have been recognized on a graffito from the workshop of Phidias at Olympia (Mallwitz and Schiering 1964, pp. 237–247, fig. 68, pl. 79; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 192, fig. 3.1) and, more controversially, on a Boiotian black-figure skyphos (Athens, National Museum 1114-2624 [442]); see Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 193–195, fig. 3.4); both of these sources contain further discussion of protective measures invoked by craftsmen, to which what follows here is indebted. For the Roman idea that curses could break pottery, see Plin. *HN* 28.4. A much later scene on a moldmade bowl (2nd century) shows five figures disrupting work in a flour mill (Sinn 1979, pp. 117–119, MB 64, MB 65, fig. 10). It is thought to derive from the poetic tradition of the *kinaidoi,* but the number five and the workshop setting are intriguing.

131. Faraone 2001; see also Gager 1992, p. 153.

132. Gager (1992, pp. 151–174) collects a representative sample of curses related to crafts and businesses. A large number of these were found in Athens and Attica and, interestingly, they cluster in the 4th century and the Hellenistic period, contemporary with the Athenian pyres.

133. Young 1951a, pp. 222–223. The tablet dates in the earlier 4th century and curses two individuals characterized as τὸν χαλκέα, perhaps smiths, but possibly citizens of Chalkis (Curbera and Jordan 1998, p. 217). It was found in the melted mud brick (layer 4) over the floor of room 5 of House D (see Fig. 78). The layer is considerably later than the curse tablet, which must therefore be out of place; Young conjectured that it had originally been placed under a floor or in the foundations, and later displaced by people scavenging in the ruins of the house. Curbera and Jordan (1998, pp. 215–216), however, noting that the normal place of deposit for such tablets at this date is in a grave or a chthonic shrine, doubt that its original place of deposit was within the house. They suggest that it has been

effectiveness of such curses in an anecdote about the Telchines, mysterious and sinister figures associated with craft, who also had a reputation for witchery. According to some sources, writes Strabo, they got this reputation as a result of the curses of rival workmen, who were jealous of their excellent craftsmanship.[134]

There is also evidence for the measures that ancient craftsmen took to protect themselves against such curses.[135] A variety of written testimonia mention the βασκάνιον, a charm mounted near the furnace or kiln or in front of a workshop. The fullest description is provided by rather late sources. Pollux (7.108) writes that "it was the custom with blacksmiths to hang up, or plaster on, in front of their forges certain laughable objects in order to avert envy. They were called *baskania* or amulets." He goes on to quote two lines of Aristophanes ("unless one bought a furnace amulet from an unwilling blacksmith"[136]), thus demonstrating that the custom goes back to Classical times. Phrynichos elaborates that "it is a contrivance of human shape but varying slightly from it, which craftsmen hang up in front of their workshops to avoid any 'overlooking' [βασκαίνεσθαι] of their work."[137] Scholia on Aristophanes, *Birds,* line 436, further gloss the word ἐπιστάτης as a molded clay figure of Hephaistos set up beside hearths or furnaces to watch over the fire.

Much earlier visual documentation illustrates some of these devices. A kiln pictured on a terracotta plaque from Penteskouphia, near Corinth, is protected by the owl that sits on its vaulted roof and by a small bearded figure (satyr?) on the stoking tunnel who grasps his erect penis.[138] The figure is an aggressively apotropaic device of the sort that one might expect to be effective against curses like that in the kiln poem and the demons that they invoke. A mask garlanded with boughs protects the kiln of a potter's workshop painted on an Attic black-figure hydria of the last quarter of the 6th century;[139] a running satyr that adorns the metal furnace on a somewhat later red-figure krater plays the same role.[140] A larger set of protective devices accompanies the furnace on the famous Berlin Foundry cup, painted

inadvertently included in the fabric of the mud brick; this, however, begs the question of why mud for bricks would have been excavated from a grave or a shrine. Another possible provenience, however, is the disturbed pyre **39**, located in the same room, and, like the tablet, dating in the earlier 4th century. Some of the material from that pyre had strayed into layer 5, the floor layer above which the curse tablet was found. For the association of a curse tablet with a typical pyre offering, see Jordan and Rotroff 1999; in this case a curse tablet (IL 1504) was placed inside a chytridion (P 27880) found in a two-room building north of the houses in section Ω (see Chap. 2, n. 24).

134. Strabo 14.2.7: οὓς οἱ μὲν βασκάνους φασὶ καὶ γόητας . . . οἱ δὲ τέχναις διαφέροντας τοὐναντίον ὑπὸ τῶν ἀντιτέχνων βασκανθῆναι καὶ τῆς δυσφημίας τυχεῖν ταύτης. For recent discussion of the Telchines, see Blakely 2006, pp. 15–16, 215–226.

135. Pernice 1898; Mallwitz and Schiering 1964, pp. 237–247; Faraone 1992, pp. 55–56; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 191–197.

136. Relevant texts are collected by Edmonds (1957, pp. 734–735); the translations quoted are his. Πρὸ δὲ τῶν καμίνων τοῖς χαλκεῦσιν ἔθος ἦν γαλοΐά τινα καταρτᾶν ἢ ἐπιπλάττειν ἐπὶ φθόνου ἀποτροπῇ· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ βασκάνια, ὡς καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης λέγει· Πλὴν εἰ τις πρίαιτο δεόμενος / βασκάνιον ἐπικάμινον ἀνδρὸς χαλκέως (Aristophanes, fr. 592 Edmonds).

137. ἔστι δέ τι ἀνθρωποειδὲς κατασκεύασμα, βραχὺ παρηλλαγμένον τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν φύσιν, ὃ πρὸ τῶν ἐργαστηρίων οἱ χειρώνακτες κρεμαννύουσι τοῦ μὴ βασκαίνεσθαι αὐτῶν τὴν ἐργασίαν (Bekker 1814, p. 30, line 5, s.v. βασκάνιον).

138. Berlin Antikensammlung, F 683 + 757 + 829; see Papadopoulos 2003, p. 196, fig. 3.5. Pernice (1898), who read the figure as a portrait of a kiln-destroying demon rather than a protective figure, provides a drawing. This and most of the images cited below are illustrated by Gillis (forthcoming).

139. Munich Glyptothek, inv. 1717 (J.731); see Noble 1988, pp. 12, 150, figs. 1, 230; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 192–193, fig. 3.2.

140. Caltanissetta, Museo Civico 20371; see Gempeler 1969, pp. 16, 17, pls. 13, 14:3, 4.

in the second decade of the 5th century.[141] Four plaques and two protomes hang on the wall close to the furnace;[142] above them are the horns and woolly pate of a goat, a wreath looped over its right horn, documenting a sacrifice perhaps not unlike those that accompanied the deposit of our pyres.[143] Finally, terracotta busts of Hephaistos and anonymous bearded figures found in the ruins of pottery and metal workshops at Athens and elsewhere may represent such *baskania* in the flesh.[144]

Herodotos recounts the story of a failed attempt to cut a canal through the Knidian peninsula (1.174). When workmen experienced more injuries than usual, and injuries of an uncanny (θειότερον) sort, the Knidians suspected divine opposition. Consulting Delphi, they were told not to cut through the isthmus, for Zeus would have made Knidos an island if that was what he had wanted. The Athenian craftsman, however, could not desist from his work; when things continued to go wrong, he had to find some other solution. Like the superstitious man with his barley bag, he may have consulted a religious authority; or tradition may have provided advice. It is my conjecture that this advice may have included the saucer-pyre rite. In this connection it is worth pointing out the possible association of magical inscriptions with two pyres. As mentioned above (p. 82), a curse tablet possibly directed against bronzeworkers was found in room 5 of House D, and may originally have been deposited with the disturbed pyre **39** in the same room. In a similarly tantalizing situation, a lamp inscribed with a list of names written backwards, probably with magical intent, was found in the house in section Φ, not far from pyre **58**; Homer Thompson speculated that it may have been buried as a curse.[145]

If my conjecture is correct, the ritual documented by the pyres may, at least in some instances, have been enacted to turn away malevolent entities, and was probably perceived as a species of purification. Two well-preserved sacred laws describe rituals of this nature as they were performed at Selinous and Cyrene in the mid-5th and late 4th centuries, respectively.[146] Although they concern rites performed at a different level and in places distant from Athens, they shed light on Greek practice that may be relevant to the Athenian pyres. Both inscriptions contain provisions for purification from an unwanted supernatural visitant.[147] In the Cyrene inscription, this entity is envisioned as having been sent against the victim by someone else,

141. Berlin, Antikensammlung, F 2294; *CVA* Berlin 2 (Germany 21), pp. 25–26, pls. 72, 73 (1001, 1002); Mattusch 1980.

142. Both Schiering (Mallwitz and Schiering 1964, pp. 244–245) and Mattusch (1980, p. 436, with n. 13) argue convincingly that these are votives, not workshop sketches.

143. For other such mementos of sacrifice, see Van Straten 1995, p. 159.

144. Gillis, forthcoming; Watzinger 1901, 328–330, no. 4, figs. 20:a, 20:b; Bianco and Tagliente 1985, pp. 87, 99, pl. 32; Savvopoulou and Valla 1992, pp. 434–435, fig. 5. Archaeological evidence of protective rituals has been published by de Grummond (2001): part of a shattered fine-ware patera found in a 3rd- to 2nd-century brick kiln at the Etruscan site of Cetamura di Chianti.

145. For the curse tablet, see n. 133, above. For the lamp, see H. A. Thompson 1958, p. 159; *Agora* XXI, p. 15, C 32, pl. 6.

146. Selinous: Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993, col. B, with text and translation on pp. 16–17; see also further comments by North (1996), suggesting a more general application of the law than the editors postulate. Cyrene: Sokolowski 1962, pp. 188–190, no. 115, side B; see Parker 1983, pp. 347–349, for translation and commentary on the relevant section. The texts are anything but straightforward, and both laws receive extensive further discussion in Robertson 2010.

147. For discussion of the possible identities of these figures, see Parker 1983, pp. 348–349; Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993, pp. 116–120; Clinton 1996, p. 179; Burkert 2000, pp. 208–209; Robertson 2010, pp. 229–232, 354–357.

whose identity may or may not be known—as might be the case when one suspected oneselt to be the victim of a spell. In both cases the visitant is offered a meal, and at Selinous the meal is followed by a sacrifice. A papyrus fragment of a mime of Sophron (second half of the 5th century), outlining the procedure for removing an unnamed goddess, presumably Hekate, from the household, hints at a similar sequence;[148] along with a collection of purificatory and protective items (salt, laurel, asphalt), a meal and a sacrifice are offered. These two ritual acts—sacrifice and a meal—are both represented in the saucer pyres. The animal bone attests to the former, and, as discussed above, the pottery assemblage contains all the items necessary for a feast in miniature. It is intriguing that another section of the Selinuntine law, also dealing with purifications, specifies the spreading of a cloth (perhaps to be recognized in the textile attested in pyres **4** and **15**) and the preparation of a honey mixture in new cups, like those commonly found in the pyres; a further similarity is that the cups are subsequently to be burnt.[149] If the texts are any guide, other activities may have included libation (perhaps attested by the cups commonly included in the pyres), fumigation (which would be the effect of the fire within a closed space), aspersion, and anointing. What does not seem to fit with such a ritual is the burial of the remains within the building. The remnants of the feast at Cyrene were to be removed to an unworked wood, and the Athenian custom of offering meals to Hekate involved taking the food out of the house and placing it at the crossroads, presumably to entice the goddess away from the home.[150] So little is known of these rituals, however, that perhaps retention of the remains within the building is not as unusual as it seems. It is perhaps of some interest, in this connection, that one pyre (**52**) was buried near the meeting place of four roads,[151] the sort of location where shrines of Hekate were customarily located, and some pyres were buried in the remains of ruined buildings (see p. 66, above).

UNANSWERED QUESTIONS

The hypothesis developed above, whatever its merits, still leaves a number of questions unanswered. If the ritual was closely associated with craft and industry, how can we account for pyres found in buildings that, from their plans, must be dwellings, and where there is no indication of such activities? Conversely, why are pyres lacking in other buildings where there are clear indications of commerce and craft? Furthermore, this hypothesis, along with all the others that have been advanced to date, does not address the issue of the introduction of the custom in the late 5th century, or the reason for its apparent abandonment, or at least its significant decline, after the middle of the 3rd century.

148. Page 1941, pp. 328–331; Kassel and Austin 2001, pp. 194–195, no. 4, fr. 1; Hordern 2002, pp. 167–171. The meal may be inferred from the laying of the table and from the prayer at the end of the fragment: "Lady Goddess, [you have found] your feast and faultless offerings . . ." (trans. Page 1941). Sacrifice is evident from the equipment collected, which includes a puppy and a two-edged sword.

149. Jameson, Jordan, and Kotansky 1993, pp. 14–15, col. A, lines 14–16.

150. See Johnston 1991 for the sources and for this and other religious activities at crossroads.

151. At the intersection of the Street of the Marble Workers and the east–west road that runs in front of the Poros Building.

Pyres in Houses

At least 11 pyres have been found in houses where no evidence of craft or commercial activity survives, if it ever existed. House C, with six deposits, is a pyre "hot spot" (see Fig. 78). Some of its pyres may have been laid down after the house was abandoned (**45**[?], **46**, and perhaps **44**) and one (**47**) is located in the northwest room with external access that probably served as a shop. Two, however, were without a doubt buried while the house was occupied (**42**, **43**). Pyre **42** dates near the beginning of phase 2, when House C communicated with House D, where metalsmiths and marbleworkers were active. Pyre **43**, however, postdates the blocking up of the communicating door, and thus has no demonstrable connection with industrial activity. One or two pyres (**49**, **48**[?]) were found in House B, south of House C. We know nothing about activities that went on there, but there is no positive evidence of industrial or commercial activity.

Several pyres were found in the three houses of section Ω (see Fig. 109). The western house, the probable source of one or more disturbed pyres dispersed in fill over its east wall (**59**), preserves possible traces of industrial activity in the form of a tank and a tiled floor, but there are no such indications in the other two houses, where at least three pyres were buried (**60–62**). The houses had been very greatly disturbed by later construction, and almost all of the Classical floors had disappeared,[152] taking with them whatever evidence they may have had to offer about activities within the houses. The large central house, however, had relatively lavish appointments, including an andron and three mosaic floors, which do nothing to invite the reconstruction of a workshop within its walls. It is true, however, that one of these floors was later stuccoed over,[153] so the house could have been converted to other uses. The House of the Greek Mosaics (see Fig. 103), which hosted at least one pyre (**55**), was an even more elegantly appointed dwelling than the central Ω house, and as such an unlikely venue for industry. In sum, a total of five structures—Houses B and C, the House of the Greek Mosaics, and two houses in section Ω—lack evidence of craft or commercial activity. Poor preservation may be enough to account for this, but it is also important to remember that many craft activities would have left no trace. In any event, I do not argue that the pyre ritual served only a single purpose; it is indeed probable that such offerings were made on a variety of occasions, not all of them necessarily associated with disasters in the workroom. Accidents and untimely deaths also happen in the home. It should also be pointed out that any structure, while under construction, is a workplace, and many so-called foundation deposits may have been dedicated by the builders, rather than owners or prospective occupants of a structure, and aimed at the protection of their work rather than the consecration of the building.

Industrial Buildings without Pyres

A related question is why some industrial buildings, like the Classical Commercial Building and Greek Building Δ, are well supplied with pyres, while the offerings are absent in others with similar plans and apparently analogous uses. No pyres came to light in the commercial building located immediately to the west of Greek Building Δ. So little of the structure was

152. Shear 1973a, pp. 147, 150, 154; the plans (figs. 4, 5 on pp. 148–149) give a good idea of the poor state of preservation of the two eastern houses. Note also the extent of restoration in the plan reproduced here as Fig. 109.

153. Shear 1973a, pp. 152–153.

investigated, however, that this is not conclusive. Pyres are also absent from the mudbrick shop building under the Stoa of Attalos,[154] built and then soon demolished within the second quarter of the 2nd century to make way for the Stoa. It was located just south of the Square Peristyle, the southernmost corner of which lay under the brick building's northern wall. Slight remains suggest that another building similar in plan preceded it on the site, though nothing can be determined about the date of its construction. The plans—rooms of equal size set side by side—suggest a commercial function for both buildings. The later, better-preserved structure had five pairs of rooms, each pair consisting of a square front room opening to the north and suitable as retail space, and a much smaller room to the south. Iron slag in the westernmost front room attests to the presence of metalworkers, while a concentration of braziers and vessels for food preparation and wine service, dumped to the south of the second room from the west, suggests the presence of a tavern.[155] Fill under the floor of the building is similar in nature, so the predecessor may have served the same purpose. The absence of pyres here may be a function of the late date. Although the Acropolis Metro station excavations have demonstrated that the dedication of pyres continued into the 2nd or even the 1st century, present evidence indicates they became much less common after the middle of the 3rd century, and the disappearance of the characteristic pyre vessels of earlier times also makes them more difficult to identify. These factors may explain the absence of pyres from the mudbrick building.

More difficult to dismiss is the case of the House of Menon and Mikion, located southwest of the public square, about halfway between the House of Simon and Houses C and D. Abundant marble waste and sculptor's tools attest to the use of the house by generations of stoneworkers, from the second quarter of the 5th century to the first quarter of the 3rd.[156] No pyres have been found in the ruins of the house, and the fills of the cisterns and well that served it do not contain vessels of the typical pyre assemblage.[157] Menon and Mikion, it appears, felt no need to enact the pyre ritual, despite the fact that others in their neighborhood who were engaged in the same business did so repeatedly. One possible explanation is that practice of the pyre ritual was restricted to a limited segment of the

154. *Agora* XXVII, pp. 107–112, fig. 14.

155. *Agora* XXVII, pp. 112, 205–206, nos. 284–293, pls. 56, 57.

156. Miller 1974, pp. 194–196; Tsakirgis 2005, pp. 74–75; 2009, p. 53, fig. 52.

157. There are five rilled-rim plates in cistern F 16:8 (e.g., Miller 1974, pp. 206, 236, nos. 41, 42, fig. 5, pl. 32), but, as we have seen, this shape is not confined to pyres. Several miniature vessels came to light there as well, but except for a chytridion (p. 238, no. 63, pl. 34), none conform to the pyre assemblage. Cistern F 16:1, which also served the house, contained a rilled-rim plate and two concave-rim plates (P 28217–P 28219), a small Corinthian skyphos (P 2551), and a small unglazed pyre saucer (P 2535), but only the latter of these can be connected unambiguously with a pyre. Deposit F 16:7, buried in the line of the southeast wall of the house, apparently after the wall was dismantled (and thus probably not by the occupants of the house), has been published as a pyre (Miller 1974, p. 210, n. 80, pl. 35, marked with a cross in fig. 1). It differs in many particulars, however, from the standard pyre assemblage. It consisted of a full-size chytra, covered by a rilled-rim plate and containing an olpe and the bones of a puppy. Although I once argued that its purpose may have been similar to that of saucer pyres (Jordan and Rotroff 1999, p. 148), it now seems more prudent to assume that it represents a ritual deposit of some other nature. Farther afield, a small pyre saucer (P 776) was found in the street to the east, but it contained traces of red coloring and was probably serving as a paint pot. Across the street and farther to the east, fragments of two lopadia and several possible pyre saucers were found in well G 16:1 (P 2554 [*Agora* XII, p. 374, no. 1974, pl. 95], P 36051, and uninventoried fragments in lots ΣT 112, ΣT 115, ΣT 119) and in a chytridion in cistern B 16:3 (P 741, Thompson 1934, p. 341, B 32, fig. 12), too far away to imagine any connection with the house.

population—to metics, for instance, or to incomers from a limited range of localities. Because metics could not own land, many made their living as artisans, builders, or traders;[158] the spatial association of the saucer pyres with venues associated with crafts and commerce suggests that many of those who practiced the pyre ritual were not Athenian citizens. It is also worth mentioning that individual religious belief and practice would have varied over a broad spectrum, from atheism to piety and superstition;[159] less god-fearing households would leave behind fewer traces of religious observance.

The Appearance and Disappearance of Pyres

A final pair of puzzles involves the introduction of the custom and its disappearance. As outlined above, pyres appear in Athenian houses around the turn from the 5th to the 4th century, with one or perhaps two earlier instances recognizable in pyres **38** and **48**(?) at the Agora and another in the second phase of Building Z at the Kerameikos, dating close to 425.[160] One plausible explanation of the seemingly sudden introduction of an unprecedented custom is that it was brought in from elsewhere. As mentioned above, many of the craftsmen of Athens were metics and slaves, and if the pyre custom has a special relevance to industry, the notion of its entering Athens with incomers from abroad is all the more likely. I. Andreou and E. Andreou, noting that the custom of burying caches of miniature pots under the floors of houses is shared by Ambracia and Leukada, both Corinthian colonies, have suggested that at Athens the custom originated with Corinthian potters who had established themselves there.[161] There are, indeed, some tantalizing links between Athenian pyres and Corinthian ceramics. Two 4th-century deposits in Corinth contained covered bowls seemingly identical in fabric and surface treatment to the ones found in Athenian pyres, though slightly different in shape.[162] An unusual kernos-like miniature plate in the dispersed pyre **28** finds a very close parallel, in both shape and fabric, in one of these same deposits.[163] Nothing else in the pyres, however, has any resonance with Corinthian votives, which tend toward tiny miniatures in a range of shapes unparalleled at Athens.[164] In response, it can be argued that the residential areas of Corinth remain largely unknown, and that votives appropriate to more public shrines might have been quite different from items offered in a private context. Despite the hostility between Athens and Corinth during precisely the period in question, there is evidence of movement of craftsmen between the two cities at that time. Sometime in the last two decades of the 5th century, the Suessula Painter, who usually worked in Attic clay, decorated a bell krater made of Corinthian clay and found at Corinth,[165] evidence that he established himself at Corinth during this period. Another small hint comes from a stamp motif shared by Attic and Corinthian black-gloss vessels, pointing, in Pemberton's opinion, either to a "traveling Athenian or returning Corinthian."[166] Athenian craftsmen, it seems, certainly worked in Corinth, though I am unaware of incontrovertible evidence for Corinthians in Athens at the same time. But if not Corinthians, then perhaps other migrants, such as country dwellers who moved into the city at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, brought their customs with them.

158. Evidence suggests a mixture of citizens and metics in these professions. Whitehead (1977, p. 117) comments that most metics were probably *banausoi,* though not all *banausoi* were metics. A very old analysis of building accounts of the late 5th and 4th century revealed a ratio of 50 citizens to 80 metics involved in these activities as entrepreneurs, makers and furnishers of materials, and artisans (Clerc 1893, pp. 391–392); metics were also prominent in commerce and banking (pp. 396–410).

159. See Bowden 2008 for a discussion of the relationship of *deisidaimonia* to atheism and normal religious observance.

160. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 43, 161, nos. 399–403, fig. 40, pl. 94:1.

161. Andreou and Andreou 2000, p. 309.

162. *Corinth* VII.6, pp. 216–217, 226–227, nos. VIII-48–VIII-52, figs. 44, 74, pl. 36.

163. C-37-2603, from pit 1937-1; see p. 25, above.

164. *Corinth* XV.3, pp. 309–343, pls. 67–74; *Corinth* XVIII.1, pp. 64–66.

165. MacDonald 1981, p. 162; McPhee and Kartsonaki 2010, pp. 125, 136, no. 18, fig. 11. Trade in ceramics also continued between the two states during the Peloponnesian War (MacDonald 1982).

166. Pemberton 1997, p. 88.

This hypothesis, however, ignores the long history of the Kerameikos *Opferstellen,* which suggests that we should see the pyre custom not as an introduction but as a revival, with different equipment, of earlier rituals. The only way around this difficulty would be to suggest that the practice of dedicating pyres was brought by outsiders, but that they adopted an Attic assemblage, developed for graveside pyres, in its performance. Such an argument would be more convincing, however, if we could point to another site or region where subfloor ritual deposits display the same bias toward workshop spaces.

The other possibility—that we are witnessing a native florescence, growing out of the custom of graveside devotions that, although it had never gone completely out of use, had been practiced at only a very reduced level for the past century—presents its own set of problems. Houby-Nielsen's explanation of the phenomenon as a nostalgic recreation of earlier funerary customs does nothing to explain why the practice should have moved into the settlement. Certainly the last third of the 5th century was a time of enormous stress for Athens. The first recognizable pyres are closely contemporary with cataclysmic events: the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, the crowding of the city as people moved from the countryside to the greater security its walls afforded, and the plague that resulted shortly thereafter. Although any detailed scenario would be speculative, it is highly likely that some combination of these pressures encouraged the development of the pyre ritual, even though most of the preserved pyres were buried when those events were in the past. Established in times of crisis, the ritual may have continued to serve a purpose once those times had passed.

At the other end of its history, full comprehension of the disappearance of the custom is hampered by the incomplete publication of the pyres from the Acropolis Museum and Metro station excavations, where pyres later than any at the Agora have been found. It therefore remains impossible to know whether the apparent decline of the custom after the middle of the 3rd century reflects the true trajectory of the practice, or is instead an artifact of the local history of the neighborhoods around the public square, several of which were abandoned in the 3rd century. The question is further complicated by the reformulation of the pyre assemblage that took place shortly after 270, eliminating the easily recognizable miniatures and thereby making it more difficult to identify pyres in the archaeological record. But if, as I conjecture, the pyre ritual was primarily carried out by craftsmen, a decline in the 3rd century is not at all surprising. Andrew Stewart has drawn attention to the emigration of Attic sculptors in the 3rd century, as the fortunes and population of Athens declined and sculptural commissions became fewer.[167] Based on a study of signed statue bases and literary references to Athenian sculptors active in the period 320 to 210, Stewart found a marked reduction in the evidence for work in Athens after ca. 270, along with evidence that these artists continued to be active abroad. Those men, of course, were dependent upon major commissions, while most craftsmen were engaged in producing the necessities of everyday life and hence were not subject to the same pressures. Several of our pyres, however, are associated with metal- and marbleworking, and it is possible that part of the livelihood of those who buried them derived from involvement in larger sculptural projects. A sculptor leaving town would surely have taken a

167. Stewart 1979, pp. 5–7.

considerable team of skilled coworkers with him, resulting in an appreciable decrease in the number of artisans active in the city. A similar decrease in the pottery industry is implied by the decline of Athenian fine-ware exports after about 270.[168] Local potters, of course, continued to produce vessels for domestic use, but the loss of export markets must mean that they were doing so at a lower quantitative level. At the same time, we see the beginning of a greater dependence upon imported plain-ware vessels.[169] The reasons for this are unclear, but the observation again translates into less work for local potters. We may therefore conjecture that there were fewer potteries, and therefore fewer artisans employed in this craft as well. These factors thus indicate a decrease in the population responsible for the pyre dedications, and may figure in an explanation of the decline of the custom.

It is perhaps not coincidental that the stresses on the artisan population discussed above are precisely contemporary with the change in the pyre assemblage around the year 270. This points to a change of some sort in the ritual, though it is impossible to say how profound that change may have been. The material record tells us that pyre pottery was no longer being produced. It could be that the potter or potters who had supplied this material went out of business for any number of reasons (accidental destruction of the pottery, the death of the potter, economic pressures), or were among those craftsmen who sought employment abroad. In that case, however, surely other producers would have stepped in to respond to demand for these vessels, if such demand existed. It may be that the groups that had participated in the ritual constituted a limited part of the society, and that as they died out, assimilated, or departed over the six or so generations during which the practice flourished, demand for these special vessels disappeared.

Another possibility, however, is that the ideology behind the ritual changed. Kistler's analysis of the assemblages dedicated in the *Opferrinne* ceremony of the Late Geometric and Protoattic periods presents a parallel case.[170] The original assemblage documented in deposits dating between ca. 720 and 650 invariably combined vessels for mixing, drinking, and pouring, along with a fourth mixed category (food presentation and storage, oil). After 650, however, this complex was no longer maintained. Kistler reads this as a change in the ideology behind the offerings, which no longer stressed the leisurely and luxurious lifestyle evoked by the original assemblage.

The original pyre assemblage alludes primarily to cooking, eating, and drinking. The smaller assemblage of the 3rd century maintains the reference to food and drink by the inclusion of the rilled-rim plate and a drinking cup, but food preparation is no longer represented, and the absence of multiple miniatures seems to point toward individual rather than group participation in the rite. We might also postulate a greater emphasis on light, for the lamp, present in fewer than half of the earlier pyres, is almost always included in the later offerings. The concepts behind these changes, however, remain opaque.

168. *Agora* XXIX, p. 223.
169. *Agora* XXXIII, pp. 61–64.
170. Kistler 1998, pp. 31–32, with table I, 49, 152.

Afterword

The physical expressions of someone else's religion are hard to decipher. The roadside shrines common in present-day Greece are a case in point. Although their forms vary from a simple metal box on stilts to an elaborate miniature church, all are sited on the verge of a road or track and contain a similar range of objects, and the first-time visitor might assume that they represent a uniform class. Yet they serve a range of quite different purposes: as memorials to the victims of traffic accidents; as votives in thanks for surviving such accidents; as outposts of a nearby church, chapel, or monastery, enabling passersby to pay their respects or make a donation without turning aside from their journeys; or as less closely defined expressions of religious faith.[1] The pyres are different, in that they were never intended to be seen—their message, unlike that of the shrines, was not directed toward the living—but, like the shrines, they most likely document responses to a variety of events, and the ritual(s) that produced them fulfilled a variety of needs. Some were enacted when a building was built or rebuilt (by the workmen, or the owners, or the future inhabitants?), others when floors were renewed (during ordinary redecoration, or when tenants changed?), others when buildings were abandoned (by the departing inhabitants?), still others, I argue, when accidents or a death indicated that malign forces needed to be appeased.

Archaeologists working in Greece frequently turn to modern customs in an attempt to understand ancient phenomena. There is no doubt that an abyss of time and profound changes, populations, creeds, and ways of life separate present-day Greece from its ancient past; but some concerns are shared by all human creatures, and, like our predecessors on this planet, we still struggle to protect ourselves from the blows that fate delivers. Modern responses to these age-old concerns can be invoked as analogies to ancient ones, providing—if nothing else—ways of envisioning past realities. In expanding upon their interpretation of the pyres as building deposits, I. and E. Andreou describe analogous modern rites, involving sacrifice, libations, gifts, and a blessing as the foundation is laid.[2] Contemporary Greek culture offers another analogy that helps to dramatize the pyre ceremony as a response to problems in the workplace. The Greek Orthodox Church provides the rite of exorcism against the powers of evil, whose work can be seen in the many mishaps and disasters that befall human beings. The following account, supplied by Phyllis Graham at my request, describes the distressing events that led to an exorcism at the museum at Nemea in the summer of 1981:

1. Saccopoulos 1986; Murray and Kardulias 1986, p. 31.

2. Andreou and Andreou 2000, p. 310.

Construction work to finish the museum building, carried out in hot weather with little supervision of the proper use of tools and equipment, led to an idle and catastrophic experiment by one of the younger workmen. Apparently wondering what it took to detonate the small "blasting caps" used to make holes on poured concrete walls and floors, he placed one on the floor and struck it with a hammer. The charge made a deep wound in the palm of his hand, traumatizing him, and thoroughly unnerving all bystanders. The victim was hospitalized in Corinth for several days.

Soon afterward, an electrician, pulling overhead wires in the museum's main workroom, fell backwards from an upper mezzanine when a railing gave way against his weight. His head struck the pottery tables below, which collapsed, with his already convulsing body, to the cement floor of the workroom. The photographer and two museum staff members at the scene saw immediately that his skull was fractured on one side, above the ear. Someone ran to call for help from the director and workmen in the field, while others attempted vainly to make the victim comfortable, speaking the few words of Greek they knew, holding his hand, cradling his head, and praying that he was somehow beyond pain and terror as he lay mortally injured. He was taken to Corinth, and a few days later to Athens, where he died without ever regaining consciousness. He left a widow and children in the nearby town of Argos.

Already saddened and sobered by these events, the American staff and their village neighbors soon experienced another shock early one evening when a farm vehicle—the very unstable *freza,* not much seen these days, that combines features of a tractor's front end with a cart or wagon—carrying a family home from the fields, overturned in a deep ditch near the dig house. Two adults and a small child were trapped underneath. Crowds came running to lift the vehicle, blankets were rushed from the dig house to the scene; the fright was palpable, as was the immense relief when the family miraculously emerged with only light injuries.

Accidents this frequent and this serious naturally took a toll on the morale and confidence of the excavation workforce, both American and Greek. Feelings of deep unease were conveyed to the director through the foreman and respected elders among the crew. No one was without a sense of foreboding about the final weeks of the project.

It was as much a relief to the non-Greek, non-Orthodox as to the locals when a priest was eventually summoned to conduct rites of exorcism in the pottery room at the site where the electrician fell. The ceremony took place late one afternoon, with all members of the excavation assembled and quietly attentive—much more so than during any normal Sunday liturgy in church—while the officiator intoned and cast incense about the afflicted space. The need for propitiation, although most directly associated with the building where the fatality had occurred, clearly extended to all work areas and functions, both indoors and out. It was only after ritual had neutralized whatever demons of the workplace had been afoot that the project regained some sense of equilibrium as the season drew to a close.

The ancient world, of course, was very different, but its denizens faced the same problems, and their belief that evil forces could thwart human endeavor but also could be controlled by ritual was surely no less. Perhaps this modern account throws light on the kinds of situations in which I believe the pyre rite often took place, as well as the solutions—and the comfort—that it may have offered.

Catalogue

This catalogue follows a loosely topographical arrangement, beginning with areas north of the public square, moving south along its western border, then to the areas to its south, and finally those to the east, as follows:

North of the Agora Square
Kolonos Agoraios
Southwest of the Agora Square
South of the Areopagus
South of the Agora Square
East of the Agora Square

Within each area, pyres are grouped by the buildings in or near which they were found; those not associated with architecture are included in a separate section at the end of each topographical division, ordered generally from west to east. Within each building, pyres are listed in chronological order, with one exception, the Classical Commercial Building north of the public square. The rooms of that structure apparently did not communicate with one another, so each functioned as an independent space. Therefore these pyres are listed first by room, then by date.

Buildings in which pyres have been found are shown in Figure 2, with the catalogue numbers of the pyres and references to the pertinent figures. Red crosses denote the locations of the pyres within the buildings. Pyres without architectural associations are indicated by red crosses with their catalogue numbers.

Each building is introduced with a brief history of its development, comments on its function, and a summary of the pyres found within it. Lengthy accounts of Houses B–D and G in the Industrial District were published by Rodney Young in 1951; I use his published nomenclature for houses and rooms but refer to the notebook labels for strata within the houses, which he did not discuss in detail in his publication. Similarly, in the case of buildings that still await final publication, I have adopted the terminology and numbering for structures and stratigraphy used in the notebooks, which varies from excavator to excavator. This means that I do not follow a uniform system; layers, for instance, are sometimes numbered

from top to bottom, sometimes from bottom to top, sometimes with Arabic numerals, sometimes with Roman ones.

Each catalogue entry presents a deposit, usually a pyre, but I also include a few larger deposits (strata, fills, wells) in which pyre vessels have been found. A question mark has been added in cases where identification as a pyre is in doubt.

Entries include the following information: Agora deposit number (a reference to the "new" 20-meter grid followed by a colon and a number); excavation section and specific location, according either to the old excavation grid (using Arabic and Greek numbers) or the new grid (using letters and numbers), with elevation above sea level (masl) where recorded, and the pottery lot for uninventoried contents of the pyre (Greek letters and numbers). Because standards of excavation and recovery have evolved over time, I also include the initials of the excavator and the year of excavation (e.g., RSY, 1949); a key to the initials is given below. The condition of the deposit (undisturbed, disturbed, dispersed) is also noted; this information is important for some of my conclusions, and is tallied in Table 1. Previous publication follows. Dimensions are given where known, but often these were not preserved, and when preserved they were not uniformly recorded. The main body of the entry describes the pyre, its contents, its stratigraphic situation, and its relationship to the building in which it was found, and discusses any problems involved in its interpretation. Phrases in quotation marks are taken from the accounts in the field notebooks.

Artifacts are listed, with brief comparanda and dates where appropriate. The approximate number of objects present is given, but precise counts are difficult, since it is impossible to be sure in some cases whether nonjoining fragments come from a single vessel, or whether a body and a lid go together. Matching lids and bodies are counted as a single object, although they have sometimes been given two different inventory numbers; as a result, the number of objects may not match the number of inventory numbers listed. If an object has been published, I give an abbreviated reference to that publication in parentheses, with a date if the object in question is independently datable. If it is not independently datable, when feasible I provide an estimated date, followed by the comparanda (usually from *Agora* IV, XII, or XXIX) on which that date is based. I use the lamp typology of *Agora* IV (Howland types), but the dates reflect the adjustments that both Scheibler (*Kerameikos* XI) and I (*Agora* XXIX, pp. 493–516) have suggested. Coins are identified by *Agora* XXVI varieties; most of the identifications were made by John Kroll.

Information about surviving organic contents varies from pyre to pyre. The bones are being studied by Lynn Snyder, but she has not yet produced a final report. In anticipation of this, I note the presence of surviving animal bone; preliminary information that she has given me is credited as (Snyder). Maria Ntinou analyzed the charcoal from several pyres. Her results are given in detail in Appendix I and credited in the entries as (Ntinou). Flotation was carried out on some of the more recently excavated pyres, and in a few cases identifiable organic remains were recovered. Evi Margaritis was kind enough

to identify the plant material retrieved, and I include her identifications in the entries, credited as (Margaritis). I also quote notebook descriptions of bone and other organic material that is no longer extant, either discarded or misplaced at the time of excavation or lost over the years.

Entries conclude with an estimated date for the deposit, with the main evidence for that date given in parentheses. Needless to say, all dates are approximate, but I have not qualified spans with "ca." All dates are B.C. unless otherwise indicated.

Coins, organic material, uninventoried fragments, and some inventoried objects preserved only in fragments are not illustrated. Images of most of the inventoried items can also be viewed on the website of the Agora Excavations (www.agathe.gr) by searching for the inventory number. Figure captions usually list items from top to bottom and from left to right.

Key to Excavators

ALB = Alan L. Boegehold
DBT = Dorothy Burr Thompson
DS = David Scahill
EV = Eugene Vanderpool
GRE = G. Roger Edwards
HAT = Homer A. Thompson
HSR = Henry S. Robinson
IMS = Ione M. Shear
JMC = John McK. Camp
LAR = Lee Ann Riccardi
LG = Laura Gawlinski
MC = Margaret Crosby
MH = Marcie Handler
ML = Michael Laughy
MM = Matt McCallum
MMM = Margaret M. Miles
RSY = Rodney S. Young
SGM = Stephen G. Miller
TM = Thomas Milbank
WG = Walter Graham

NORTH OF THE AGORA SQUARE

Greek Building Δ

The building consists of a large courtyard and two rows of rooms that functioned as workshops and commercial enterprises (Fig. 15). It had a long life, from at least the 5th century to the Roman period, but with periods of decline and abandonment. Two different histories of its development have been advanced (Shear 1973a, 138–144; Milbank 2002). Shear believes that Building Δ was constructed in the late 6th century, rebuilt after the Persian invasion, and then extensively remodeled in the late 5th century. This phase, lasting from the late 5th to the 3rd century, saw minor adjustment and frequent relaying of floors. In his view, the building went into decline and was abandoned in the course of the 3rd century; it was then rebuilt around the middle of the 2nd century. Shear sees the pyres, as well as a mid-3rd-century dump of amphoras in room 6 (deposit P 6:7), as evidence of this decline and abandonment.

Milbank, who does not use the pyres for the reconstruction of the history of the building, concludes that it was first built after the Persian invasion (Table 6; see Milbank 2002, pp. 88–102, for his summary of the building's history). Its first phase lasted until the early 3rd century, and pyre **1** was

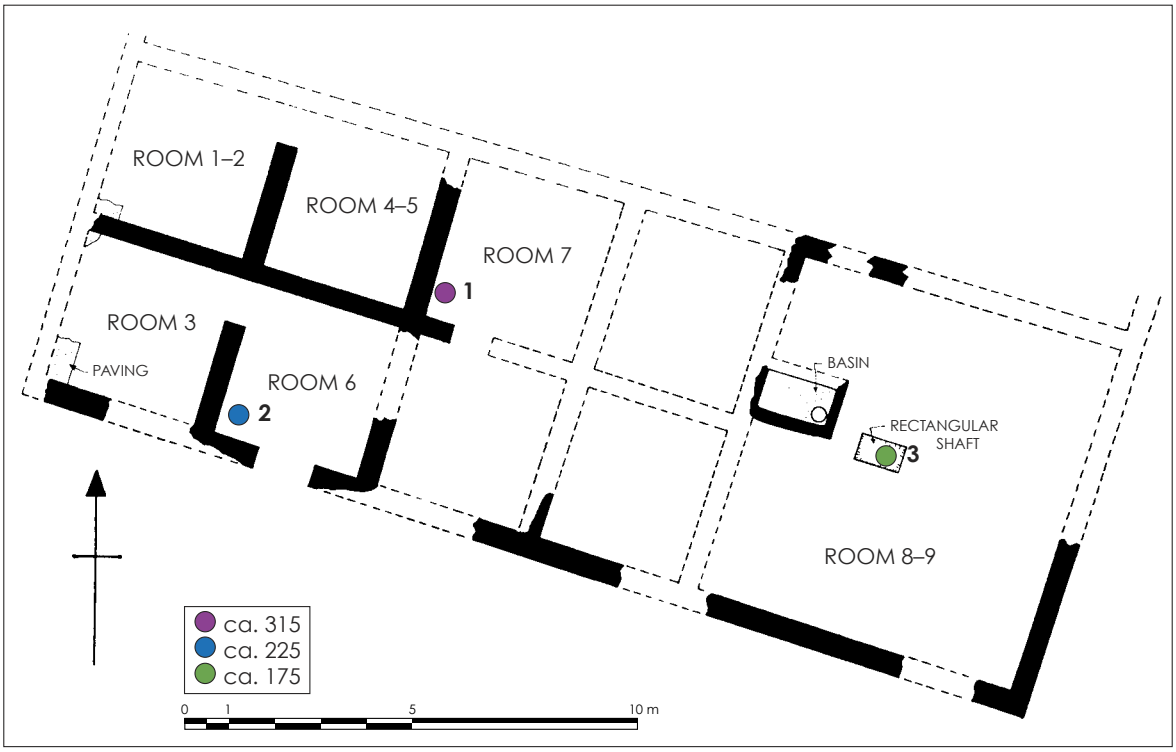


Figure 15. Plan of Greek Building Δ, with pyres marked and coded for date. Drawing S. I. Rotroff

laid with the latest floor of that phase. The building was expanded eastward in a second phase, which lasted into the 2nd century; pyre **2** was laid in the course of this phase. The building was abandoned after ca. 175 (pyre **3** may coincide with that event), to be rebuilt some years later (in the third quarter of the 2nd century). I use Milbank's phasing in the descriptions below.

TABLE 6. BUILDING PHASES OF GREEK BUILDING Δ ACCORDING TO MILBANK

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Pyre (Date)*
Phase I	After 480 to early 3rd century	**1** (ca. 315)
Phase II	Early 3rd century to 175 or later	**2** (ca. 225) **3** (ca. 175?)
Abandonment	175 or later to third quarter of 2nd century	–
Phase III	Third quarter of 2nd century to 86	–
Phase IV	After 86 to 2nd century A.D.	–

There is abundant evidence of industrial and commercial activity in the building: deposits of marbleworking chips, pumice, miltos, bronze and iron slag, and metal waste, as well as significant concentrations of coins (Shear 1973a, 140; Milbank 2002, esp. pp. 104–107).

1 (P 6:4) Figs. 6, 7, 15–18

Section BΔ, P/7–6/6, at 54.25–54.32 masl, no lot; SGM, 1971. Undisturbed.
Shear 1973a, p. 141, n. 50; *Agora* XXIX, p. 467.
L. 0.60, W. 0.35, D. 0.07 m.

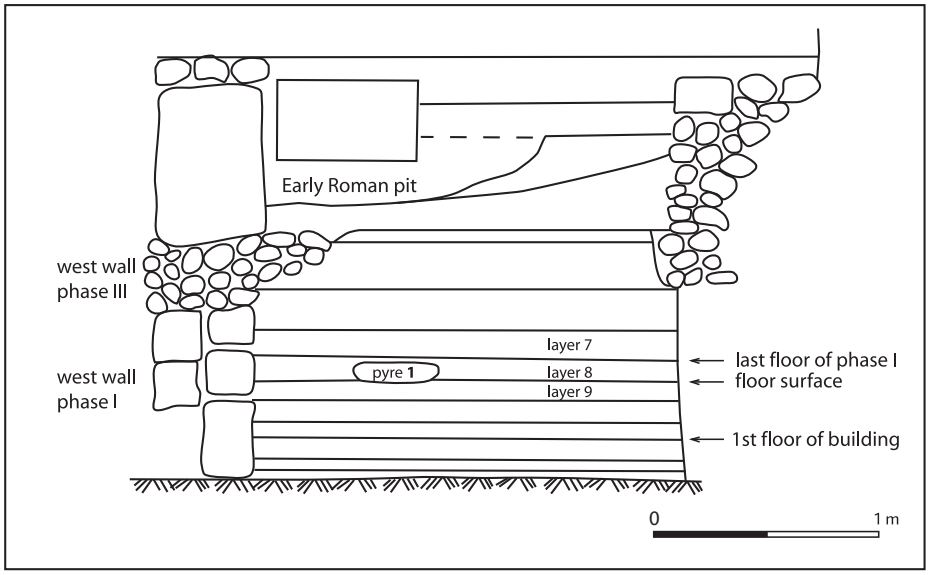


Figure 16. Cross-section looking NNE through west side of room 7 of Greek Building Δ, showing position of pyre 1, between two floors of first phase of building. Drawing S. I. Rotroff, based on notebook cross-section by Stephen G. Miller

In southwest corner of room 7. Concentration of artifacts, small bone fragments, and ash in floor makeup, no pit discerned. The pyre was covered by the surface of layer 8 (lot BΔ 221, ca. 300) and extended slightly into layer 9 below it. There was another floor above layer 8 (layer 7, lot BΔ 220, early 3rd century), indicating that the room remained in use. Several pyre objects were found in the floor makeup (careless definition of pyre? or real dispersal in layer?). Milbank (2002, pp. 46–47) associates the pyre with the laying of layer 8, which he identifies as the latest floor of phase I; if so, the pyre predates the renovations of phase II. The floor in which the pyre was embedded is the earliest to show evidence of commercial and industrial activity: coins and a piece of bronze slag.

Seventeen artifacts: cup-kantharos with squat rim, slightly worn resting surface (after ca. 325, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 685), pyre lekanis with lid (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1448), two ribbon-handled plates with glazed handles (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1456), four large saucers (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1467), five small saucers (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1471), two chytridia (household ware), two lopadia with lids (household ware, *Agora* XXIX, no. 1487) (P 28557–P 28573). Organic material: animal bone.

Ca. 315 (cup-kantharos, household-ware lopadia and chytridia, and glazed handles of ribbon-handled plates)

Figure 17. Pyre 1, ca. 315. ***Back row:*** **P 28558, P 28559 (plates), P 28557 (kantharos), P 28560, P 28561 (lopadia).** ***Middle row:*** **P 28562 (lekanis), P 28563, P 28564 (chytridia).** ***Front row:*** **P 28570–P 28573, P 28565–P 28569 (saucers).** Scale 1:4

Figure 18. Pyre 1 in situ, showing vessels broken in place

2 (P 6:5) Figs. 4, 15, 19, 20

Section BΔ, P/2–6/9, at 54.47–54.63 masl, lot BΔ 201; SGM, 1971. Undisturbed.

Shear 1973a, p. 141, n. 50; *Agora* XXIX, p. 467.

D. 0.16 m.

In southwest corner of room 6. Concentration of artifacts, bone, ash, and burning in floor makeup, no pit discerned. The pyre was found in digging layer 9 (lot BΔ 198, first quarter of 3rd century, with one fragment of moldmade bowl dating at least late 3rd century), the floor installed with the renovations that initiated phase II in Milbank's phasing (Milbank 2002, pp. 26–27). Milbank dismisses the moldmade bowl fragment as intrusive, and concludes that the pyre was dug from a higher level, despite the failure to discern a pit during excavation. This is probably correct, for if the pyre was laid with the floor, it would be necessary to downdate

Figure 19. Cross-section looking WNW through west side of room 6 of Greek Building Δ, showing position of pyre 2, between last floor of phase I and first floor of phase II, and probably dug from level of phase II. Drawing S. I. Rotroff, based on notebook cross-section by Stephen G. Miller

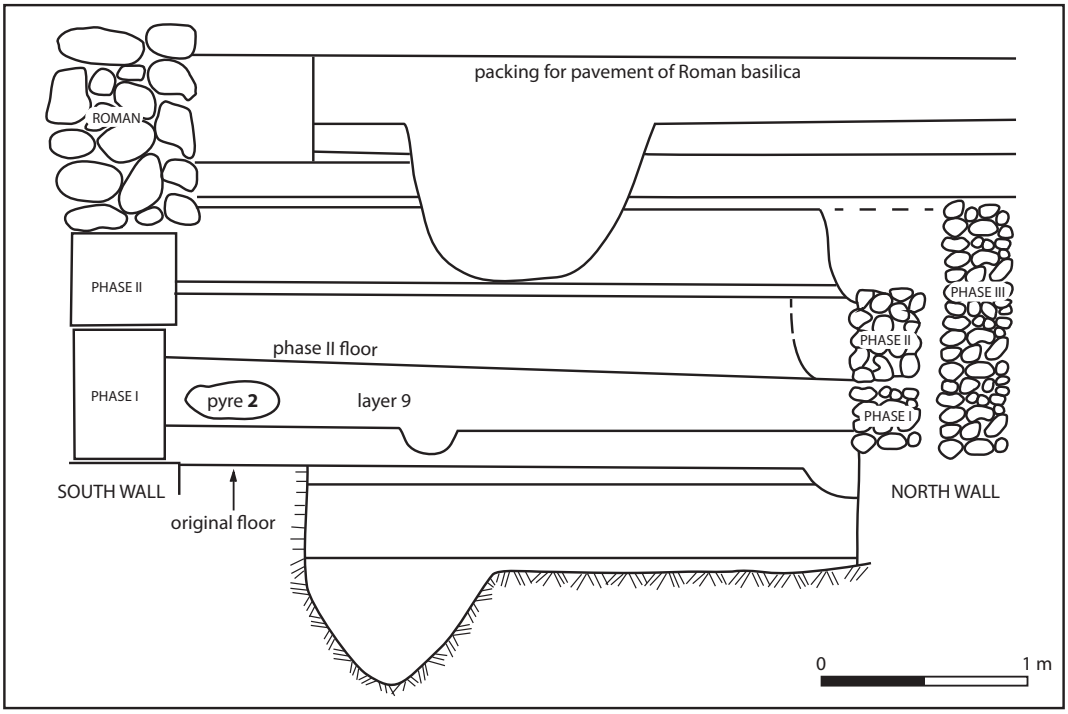


Figure 20. Pyre 2, ca. 225. ***Back row:*** **P 28582, P 28581 (kantharoi), L 5667 (lamp).** ***Front row:*** **28584, P 28583 (plates). Coin and bronze tool not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

the beginning of phase II by nearly a century, a conclusion that would be difficult to reconcile with evidence elsewhere in the building. Failure of a careful excavator to identify a pit is probably due to the fact that this strip of stratigraphy was dug by tunneling under later Roman remains. The room is thought to have gone out of use considerably later, after ca. 175 (Milbank 2002, p. 27). The burial of the pyre thus predates the abandonment of the room, and probably took place sometime during the course of phase II. An amphora dump of the mid-3rd century (deposit P 6:7), along with a heavy concentration of coins near the entrance, suggests this room may have been a shop for foodstuffs.

Seven artifacts: type 46E lamp (225–200, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 610, from same mold), two small Hellenistic baggy kantharoi, fresh resting surfaces (*Agora* XXIX, nos. 273, 275, ca. 225), two rilled-rim plates, bronze tool(?), bronze coin (unidentified, second half of 3rd century?) (B 1995, L 5667, P 28581–P 28584, BΔ-417). Organic material: "fragments of small bones" (missing).

Ca. 225 (kantharoi)

3 (P 6:6) Figs. 15, 21

Section BΔ, P/17–6/9, at 55.04–55.16 masl, lot BΔ 239; SGM, 1971. Disturbed.
Shear 1973a, p. 141, n. 50; *Agora* XXIX, p. 467.
D. 0.12 m.

Near center of room 8–9 (courtyard). Large pocket of pottery, bones, carbon, and ash, partly cut away by later wall; no pit identified. The pyre was encountered below layer 2 (lot BΔ 238), a red fill with mud bricks, probably to be associated with a destruction of the building, but difficult to date: pottery ranged from Archaic (possibly from mud bricks) to first quarter of 3rd century, with two later fragments (Cypriot sigillata, piece of glass). The pyre lay directly above a fill of sand and gravel (lot BΔ 240) that covered and continued down into a rectangular pit (lot BΔ 241, ca. mid-3rd century). The pyre is later than this fill and therefore not directly associated with the filling of the pit, but its position below disintegrated mud brick suggests that it may be associated with the abandonment of the building. Industrial activity is indicated by a plastered basin in this room, and an iron tool(?) (IL 1916) from fill BΔ 240 below the pyre. There was also abundant miltos and lead in the Sullan destruction level higher up in the room (lot BΔ 237).

Twelve artifacts certainly from the pyre: type 46B lamp, worn resting surface (225–190), type 43B lamp, worn resting surface (225–180), small fragment of covered bowl(?), five fusiform unguentaria (four of category 3 [200–175], one of category 5[?] [180–100]), two rilled-rim plates, miniature two-handled bowl,

Figure 21. Pyre 3, ca. 175? *Back row:* P 28980, P 28982, P 28981 (unguentaria), L 5714, L 5713 (lamps). *Middle row:* P 28978 (plate), P 28979 (one-handler). *Front row:* P 33105 (two-handled bowl). Coin, iron nail and sheet, and uninventoried fragments of kantharoi, unguentaria, covered bowl, and rilled-rim plate not illustrated. Scale 1:4

bronze coin (perhaps *Agora* XXVI, variety 69, 72–74, or 76, 224/3–198) (L 5713, L 5714, P 28978, P 28980–P 28982, P 33105, BΔ-459, four uninventoried). Other objects are substantially earlier, perhaps deriving from surrounding fill: fragments of a classical kantharos and two Hellenistic baggy kantharoi (uninventoried), a fragment of a cup or bowl with West Slope decoration (P 33106), and about two-thirds of a one-handler (P 28979, included in the photograph). An iron nail and fragment of iron sheet may also come from surrounding soil (IL 1914, IL 1915). Organic material: animal bone; charcoal (*Quercus,* evergreen type [Ntinou]).

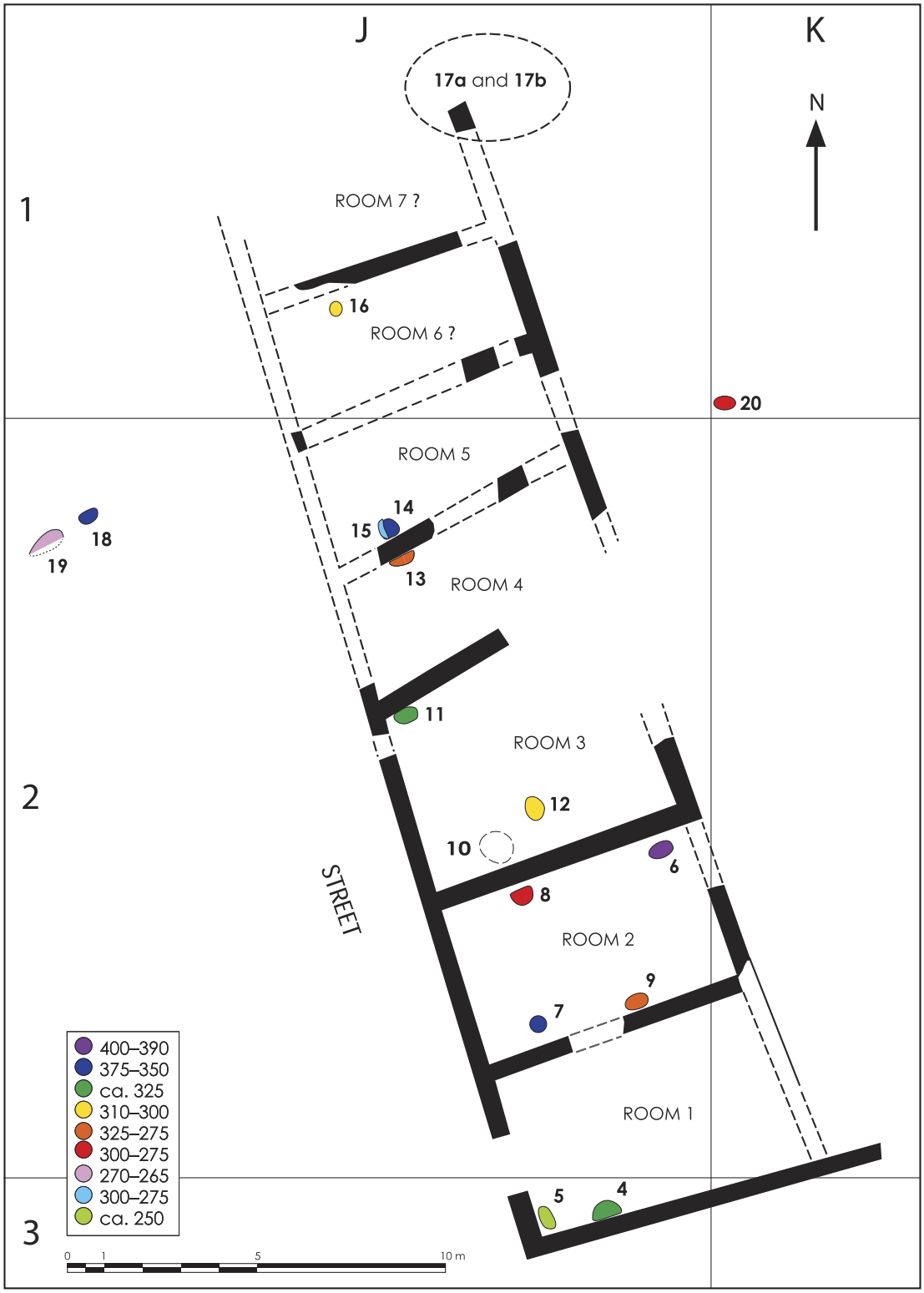
Ca. 175? (unguentarium probably of category 5, combined with the dates of lamps and wear on their resting surfaces)

Classical Commercial Building

As so far revealed, the building consists of a row of rooms, side by side, opening westward onto the north–south street that leaves the Agora square along the west end of the Stoa Poikile (Shear 1984, pp. 43–50; Camp 1999, pp. 274–279; 2003, pp. 247–249) (Figs. 22–24). The plan of the southern part of the building is clear (rooms 1–3), the northern part (rooms 4–7[?]) much less so. Excavation is ongoing, so no final study of the structure has been conducted, but it is thought to have been built in the early 4th (Shear 1984, p. 44) or late 5th century (Camp 1999, p. 277). Differences in wall construction in various rooms leave open the possibility that it was built piecemeal (Camp 2003, p. 249), but the chronology of such a process has not yet been explored. In this connection, it might be meaningful that none of the pyres found in situ in the northernmost five rooms date before the middle of the 4th century—though material dispersed over the northern end of the east wall bears witness to an earlier pyre (**17a**).

Ten floors were excavated in the southernmost room (room 1), indicating continuous occupation down to the 1st century A.D. No floors dating later than the mid-3rd century have been excavated elsewhere in the building. Twelve pyres have been found in situ, with evidence of at

Figure 22 *(opposite)*. Plan of Classical Commercial Building, with pyres marked and coded for date. For pyres, dashed lines indicate areas in which dispersed pyres were found; dotted line indicates continuation of pyre into scarp. Drawing S. I. Rotroff


J
K
N
1
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3
17a and 17b
ROOM 7 ?
16
ROOM 6 ?
20
ROOM 5
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18
19
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11
ROOM 3
12
10
6
8
STREET
ROOM 2
9
7
ROOM 1
5
4
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375–350
ca. 325
310–300
325–275
300–275
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300–275
ca. 250
0
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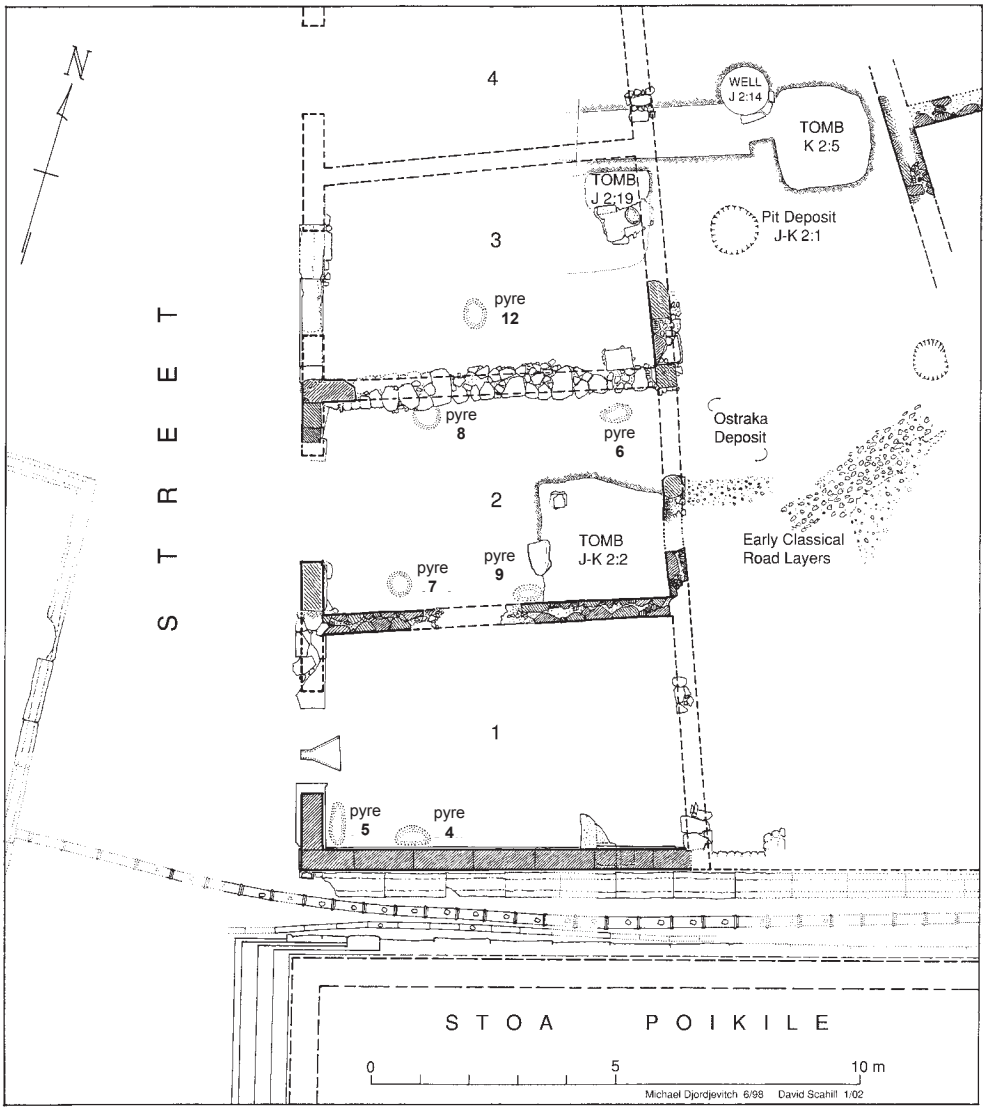

Figure 23. Plan of southernmost three rooms of Classical Commercial Building, showing locations of pyres 4–9, 12. Drawing M. Djordjevitch and D. Scahill, with additions by S. I. Rotroff

least three more dispersed in the layers within and around the building. In addition, fragments of pyre-type vessels frequently came to light in the stratigraphy. The pyres are spread throughout the use-life of the structure. One (**6**) dates very early in the building's history, and can be associated with its construction. The other pyres cannot be associated with major architectural events in the building's history.

There is abundant evidence of industrial activity. Room 1: shallow pits containing iron and bronze slag, patches of pigment on floors, terracotta molds, a Y-shaped drain in the original floor, and, in the 3rd century, marble dust and chips (Shear 1984, p. 45), as well as fragments of lead and pumice in the floor makeup. Room 2: clay impression of metal vessel (Camp 1999, pp. 277–278, no. 50, fig. 27). Room 3: shell containing pigment. Room 4: marble dust(?), pigment, figurine mold (T 4893). Rooms 5 and 6: iron slag. Room 7: iron slag and shells containing red and yellow pigment (BI 1290, BI 1291).

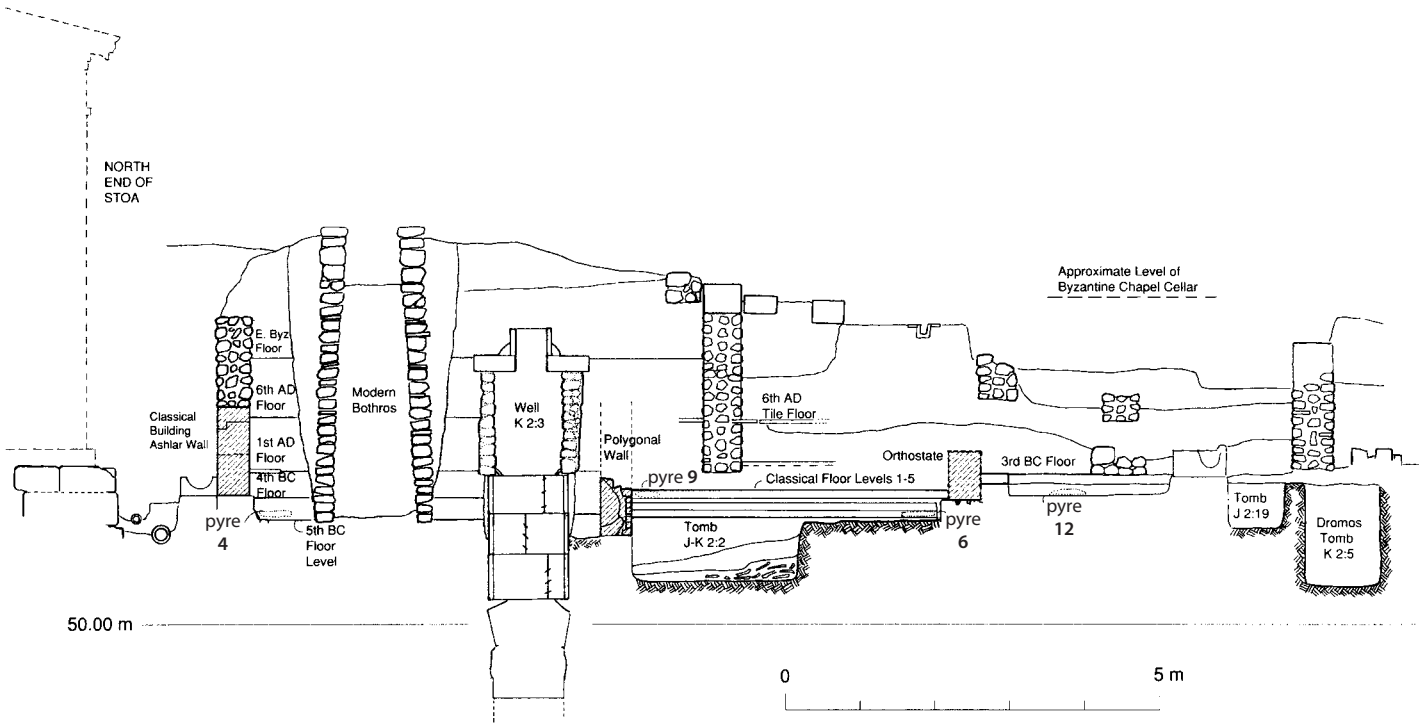

Figure 24. Cross-section looking WSW through southernmost three rooms of Classical Commercial Building, showing locations of pyres 4, 6, 9, 12 (J 2:9). Drawing D. Scahill, with additions and alterations by S. I. Rotroff

Room 1

Ten floors were identified in this room, ranging in date from the early 4th century(?) to the 1st century A.D., from 51.72 to 52.08 masl, and numbered from top to bottom. Two pyres, probably dug from the levels of floors 7 and 8 or 9.

4 (J 3:7) Figs. 22–26

Section BE, J/17,18–3/1,2, at ca. 51.70 masl, lot BE 2526; DS, 2001. Undisturbed.

Blackman 2002, p. 5, fig. 5; Camp 2003, p. 247.

Against south wall of room, near southwestern corner. Artifacts and bone in pit discovered just below surface of layer level with toichobate of south wall (lot BE 2525, at 51.70 masl), and extending down into hard-packed surface below. The pyre overlaps the footing trench for the south wall. A large disturbance had removed all higher floors in this area. Except for a large and certainly intrusive piece of a 3rd-century plate (cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 659), the floor level with the toichobate contains only small chips of pottery, none necessarily later than the 5th century. Although the position of the pyre suggests an association with the earliest floor, the date of the material in the pyre indicates that the pit was dug from a higher level, possibly from floor 8 or 9, at ca. 51.90 and 51.87 masl (late 4th century, lots BE 805, BE 806). Otherwise (i.e., if the pyre is contemporary with the floor level in which it was discovered), it would date construction of the south wall of the building after ca. 325, which is contrary to other indications of its date. The excavation notes do not mention burning, but the pottery is burnt and has charcoal adhering to it.

Twenty artifacts: type 25A lamp with handle (400–300), Attic skyphos (ca. 325, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 151), pyre lekanis with lid, covered bowl with lid, three ribbon-handled plates, two large saucers, four small saucers, three chytridia (cooking ware),

Figure 25. Pyre 4, ca. 325. ***Back row:*** **P 34079, P 34054 (lopadia), P 34063 (lekanis), P 34064 (skyphos), P 34052, P 34051 (chytridia).** ***Middle row:*** **P 34050, P 34056, P 34059 (lids of P 34080, P 34054, P 34079), P 34058, P 34090 (plates), L 6075 (lamp), P 34053 (chytridion).** ***Front row:*** **P 34080 (covered bowl), P 34055, P 34060, P 34061, P 34089 (small saucers), P 34057, P 34062 (large saucers). Two clay pellets and uninventoried ribbon-handled plate fragment not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

Figure 26. Pyre 4 in situ, looking west, with south wall of Classical Commercial Building at left

two lopadia with lids (cooking ware), two small, irregular clay balls (not illustrated) (L 6075, MC 1681, P 34050–P 34064, P 34079, P 34080, P 34089, P 34090, one uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone (lower left front and left rear leg, left mandible, and skull fragments of male sheep, two years old [Snyder]); charcoal (olive, grape? [Ntinou]). Flotation of earth in and around pots (sample AS 1048) produced few botanical remains: initial analysis identified only a few seeds of *Triticum* sp. and *Hordeum* sp. (wheat and barley), easily explained as chance intrusions from the surrounding soil. Margaritis, however, notes that the cereal fragments are very distorted by fire, suggesting that they may be part of the original pyre deposit. Textile pseudomorphs on two vessels (P 34058, P 34089; Unruh 2002).

Ca. 325 (skyphos)

5 (J 3:2) Figs. 22, 23, 27, 28

Section BE, J/16–3/2, at 51.57–51.61 masl, lot BE 821; MMM, 1982. Disturbed.

Shear 1984, pp. 46–47, with n. 94, pl. 11:a, b; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 92, no. 22; *Agora* XXIX, p. 458; Weikart 2002, pp. 93, 175–176, no. V 8 b.

L. 0.65, W. 0.36, D. 0.04 m.

In southwest corner of room, parallel to west wall. Concentration of artifacts, bone, and bits of charcoal directly below and oriented with stucco channel against west wall, and possibly deposited by its builders. The pyre was disturbed by a

Figure 27. Pyre 5, ca. 250. P 31336 (saucer), P 31334 (kantharos), P 31335 (plate), 31337 (large black-gloss saucer). Coin not illustrated. Scale 1:4

Figure 28. Pyre 5 in situ, looking west, with southwest interior corner of Classical Commercial Building

later wall and other construction, which obscures the relationship of the pyre and channel above it to the floors, which are not preserved in this part of the room. The elevation of the top of the channel (51.89 masl) suggests, however, that it functioned with floor 7, which was excavated elsewhere in the room (lot BE 803, at 51.91 masl) and dates in the 3rd century.

Five artifacts: small Hellenistic angular kantharos (ca. 250, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 228), large black-gloss saucer with projecting rim (*Agora* XXIX, no. 736), rilled-rim plate (*Agora* XXIX, no. 798), small saucer, illegible coin (P 31334–P 31337, BE-663). Organic material: animal bone; fish scales and bones, grape seeds, olive stones, an unidentified fruit, pine nuts, almonds, bread wheat, and barley (samples AS 1708.1, 1715.2) (Margaritis).

Ca. 250 (kantharos)

Room 2

Three floors were excavated in this room (floors II–IV, numbered from bottom to top), covering about a century, from the original floor of the early 4th century (51.61–51.67 masl) to the late 4th or early 3rd century (top at 51.81 masl). One of the four pyres in the room (**6**) was buried at the time of the building's construction. The others range from the second quarter of the 4th century to about 275. The latest two may be contemporary and related to the last floor preserved in the room (floor IV).

6 (J 2:12) Figs. 22–24, 29, 30

Section BE, J/19,20–2/12,13, at 51.513–51.541 masl, lot BE 2315; DS, 1997. Undisturbed.

Blackman, Baker, and Hardwick 1998, p. 4, fig. 7; Camp 1999, pp. 278–280, fig. 31.

D. 0.03 m.

In northeast corner of room. Concentration of artifacts, bone, ash, charcoal, and small stones in makeup of floor II, the surface of which lay at 51.67 masl (lot BE 2314, last quarter of 5th century), no pit discerned. Two more floors were preserved above, at 51.77 masl (floor III, lot BE 2310, pottery of mid-4th century) and 51.83 masl (floor IV, lot BE 2302; pottery from lots dug elsewhere in room [BE 2300, BE 2301, BE 2304, BE 2423], 3rd quarter of 4th century). The pyre rested on an undug level at 51.51 masl (floor I). This probably represents a prebuilding ground

Figure 29. Pyre 6, 400–390. ***Back row:*** **P 32979 (skyphos), P 32980 (lekythos), P 33136 (skyphos), P 32981 (plate).** ***Middle row:*** **L 6008 (lamp), P 33137 (lekanis), P 32985 (chytridion).** ***Front row:*** **P 32983, P 32984 (saucers), P 32982 (lid of lekanis P 33137). Fragments of uninventoried ribbon-handled plate and saucer not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

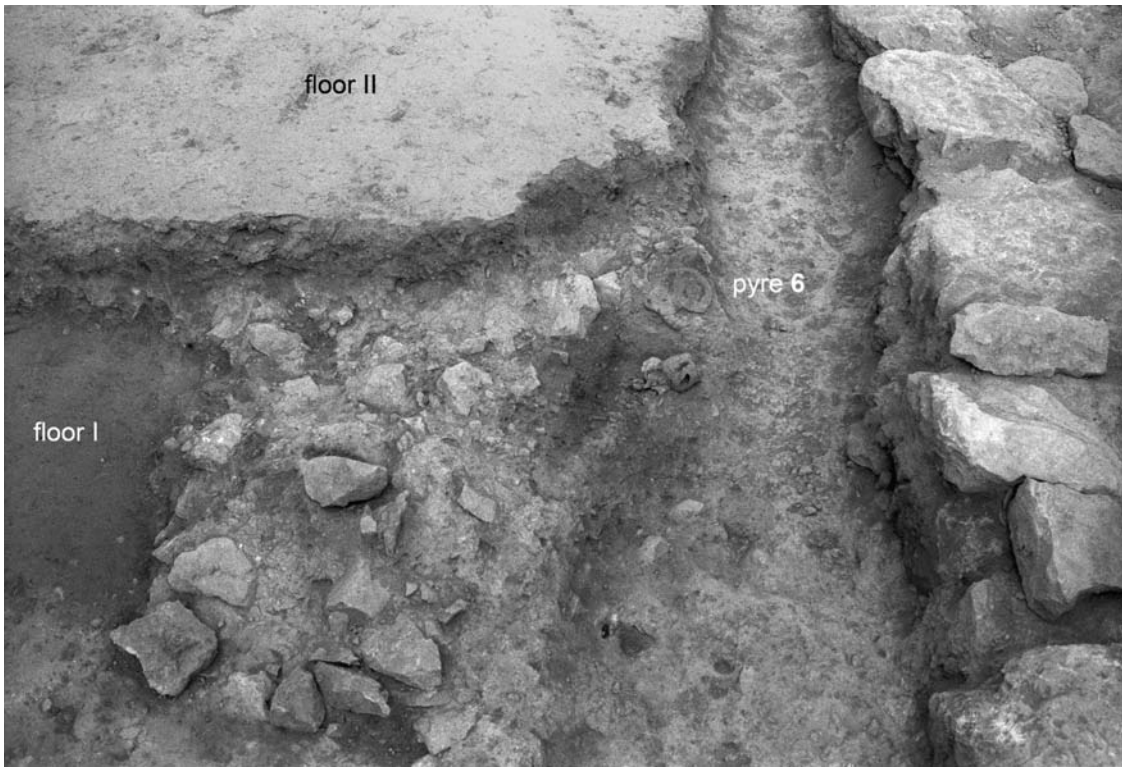

Figure 30. Pyre 6 in situ, looking west, showing relationship of pyre to prebuilding surface (floor I) and to earliest floor of room (floor II). North wall of room 2 at right.

level, for it is below the top of the foundation for the north wall of the room. This and the early date make it likely that the pyre was dedicated at the time the original floor was laid. The pyre was burnt in situ (earth under pyre showed signs of burning).

Eleven artifacts: type 23C lamp (400–375, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 228), two Corinthian skyphoi (ca. 400, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 322), red-figure squat lekythos (shape cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1123–1126, 425–420; decoration cf. *CVA* Oxford 2 [Great Britain 9], p. 116, pl. 63 [427]:9, late 5th–early 4th century), pyre lekanis with lid, two ribbon-handled plates, three small saucers with disk bases, chytridion (cooking ware) (L 6008, P 32979–P 32985, P 33136, P 33137, two uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

400–390 (lamp, skyphoi)

7 (J 2:3) Figs. 22, 23, 31, 32

Section BE, J/16–2/16, at 51.50–51.66 masl, no lot; MMM, 1982. Disturbed.

Shear 1984, pp. 45–46, with nn. 91–93, pl. 11:c–k; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 92, no. 21; Weikart 2002, pp. 93, 175, no. V 8 a.

L. 0.50, D. 0.16 m.

Near south wall of room. Artifacts, bone, and abundant ash in pit in floor sequence (within layer 3, lot BE 829, surface at 51.74 masl), disturbed by construction of pithos and by Byzantine pit. The relationship of the pyre to floors dug elsewhere in the room is obscured by later disturbances, but the top of layer 3 is approximately level with floor III in the eastern part of the room. The pyre was not laid below the original floor of the room (*pace* Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 57); rather, the date indicates that the pyre had been dug through that floor, which was not preserved above it. It may have been dug from either floor II (ca. 51.67 masl) or floor III (ca. 51.77 masl). Iron slag and red and blue pigment were found in the layer in which the pyre was embedded.

Figure 31. Pyre 7, 375–350. *Back row:* P 31369, P 31368, P 31370 (plates), P 31817, P 31352 (skyphoi), P 31353 (cup-skyphos), P 31359 (lebes), P 31358 (ribbon-handled plate). *Middle row:* P 31363 (bowl), P 31355 (lopadion), P 31357 (chytridion). *Front row:* P 31371 (plate), P 31360, P 31361 (saucers), P 31354 (lekanis), P 31362 (saucer), P 31356 (lopadion lid). Fragments of black-gloss chytridion P 34814 and eight uninventoried vessels not illustrated: kantharos, broad-based bowl, rolled-rim plates, saucers, lopadion. Scale 1:4

Twenty-five artifacts: small cup-skyphos (ca. 375, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 605), Corinthian skyphos (ca. 350, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 325), Attic skyphos (350–340, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 351), Classical cup-kantharos, pyre lekanis with lid, five rolled-rim plates, rilled-rim plate, rouletted (ca. 375, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1049), ribbon-handled plate, banded lebes, black-gloss chytridion, broad-based bowl, small echinus bowl (375–350, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 828), six small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware), two lopadia with lids (cooking ware) (P 31352–P 31363, P 31368–P 31371, P 31817, P 34814, eight uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone; charcoal (olive, *Arbutus* sp. [Ntinou]).

375–350 (drinking cups, echinus bowl, rouletting)

Figure 32. Pyre 7 in situ, looking west, showing lekanis and lopadion with lids in place

Figure 33. Pyre 8, 300–275. ***Back row:*** **P 33610 + P 33669 (lopadion), P 33609, P 33611 (plates).** ***Front row:*** **P 33608, P 33612, P 33613, P 33616, P 33614, P 33615 (saucers). Uninventoried fragments of rilled-rim plate and lekanis lid not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

8 (J 2:13) Figs. 22, 23, 33

Section BE, J/15,16–2/13, at 51.74–51.81 masl, lot BE 2321; DS, 1997. Disturbed.

Camp 1999, p. 278.

D. 0.14 m.

Beside north wall of room. Concentration of artifacts, bone, carbon, charcoal, and ash in stratum, no pit discerned; disturbed by robbing trench. The pyre rests on floor III (lot BE 2322). No floor levels were preserved above the pyre, but its top elevation is the same as that of the uppermost preserved floor found elsewhere in the room (floor IV, 51.81 masl). It may have been buried in conjunction with the laying of that floor or of a lost floor or layer above it. Possibly contemporary with pyre **9**.

Eleven artifacts: pyre lekanis lid, ribbon-handled plate, handles glazed (315–275), two rilled-rim plates (after ca. 300), four large saucers, two small saucers (one with disk foot), lopadion with lid (household ware, after ca. 315) (P 33608–P 33616, P 33669, two uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone; charcoal (olive, *Pyrus/Sorbus?* [Ntinou]).

300–275 (glazing patterns of ribbon-handled plate [gloss on handles only] and rilled-rim plates [gloss on floor only])

9 (J 2:16) Figs. 22–24, 34

Section BE, J/19–2/14,16, at ca. 51.80 masl, lot BE 2423; DS, 1999. Possibly disturbed.

Camp 2003, p. 247.

Against south wall of room. Concentration of artifacts and bone (no pit recorded) within makeup of floor IV (surface at ca. 51.81 masl), the latest preserved floor in the room (though the floor surface is not preserved over the pyre). The contents were somewhat scattered throughout the layer, suggesting possible disturbance. The pyre rests on a patchy floor with plaster at 51.70 masl. The excavation notes do not mention burning, but some of the pottery is burnt. Possibly contemporary with pyre **8**.

Fourteen artifacts: type 25B′ lamp (310–250), type 25D′ lamp, possible wear on resting surface (335–270), small Classical kantharos, worn resting surface (ca. 275, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 17), pyre lekanis with lid, ribbon-handled plate with short, curved strokes scratched in floor, rilled-rim plate, two large saucers with short curved strokes scratched on floor of one, small saucer, two chytridia (household ware), lopadion with lid (household ware), figurine fragment (not illustrated), bone furniture joint (BI 1166, L 6039, L 6040, P 33598–P 33607, T 4645, two uninventoried). The furniture joint and the figurine, a fragment preserving the

Figure 34. Pyre 9, ca. 275. *Back row:* **P 33599 (plate), P 33598 (kantharos), P 33601 (plate).** *Middle row:* **L 6040, L 6039 (lamps), P 33605 (lekanis), P 33606, P 33603, (chytridia).** *Front row:* **P 33602 (saucer), P 33607 (lopadion lid), P 33604 (saucer), P 33600 (lid of lekanis P 33605), BI 1166 (furniture joint). Fragment of Pan figurine T 4645 and uninventoried fragments of lopadion body and saucer not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

lower leg of Pan, perhaps from a plaque, may be intrusive from the surrounding soil. Organic material: animal bone.

Ca. 275 (kantharos)

Uninventoried fragments of three rilled-rim plates found in pyre **9**, but dating at least 50 years earlier than other objects in the pyre (probably before ca. 325), point to the presence of a possible fifth pyre in the room.

Room 3

Small patches of floors have been identified in the northwest, southwest, and northeastern parts of the room, ranging between 51.86 and 52.20 masl, but no coherent picture of the history of the room has emerged.

10 (J 2:29) Figs. 22, 35

Section BE, J/15–2/12,13, at 52.152 masl, lot BE 2340; DS, 1997. Dispersed.

Against south wall of room. Small fragments of pottery found dispersed in fill overlying two floor levels (at 51.897 and 51.941 masl). These levels may be those shown on the section illustrated in Figure 24, labeled as dating to the 3rd century. If so, it appears that the pyre was unearthed in antiquity and scattered (in Early Hellenistic times?). This is supported by the fact that it is probably earlier than pyre **12**, found at a lower level in the same room.

Five artifacts: ribbon-handled plate, plate with concave rim, three small saucers (P 36558, four uninventoried).

4th century (banding of ribbon-handled plate, firm gloss on saucers)

Figure 35. Pyre 10, 4th century. P 36558 (plate with concave rim). Four uninventoried fragments of ribbon-handled plate and saucers not illustrated. Scale 1:2

11 (J 2:27) Figs. 22, 36

Section BZ, J/12,13–2/8,9, at 52.135–52.187 masl, lot BZ 1831; MH 2009. Disturbed.

Figure 36. Pyre 11, ca. 325. ***Back row:*** **P 35953, P 35956–P 35960 (lopadia), P 35967 (skyphos), P 35962, P 35963 (chytridia).** ***Middle row:*** **P 35961 (lekanis lid), IL 2046 (lead pyxis lid), P 35974–P 35979 (saucers).** ***Front row:*** **P 35968, P 35969 (plates), P 35970–P 35973 (saucers), P 35980 (broad-based bowl), P 35965, P 35964, P 35966 (plates). Fragments of two uninventoried saucers not illustrated.** Scale 1:5

L. 0.52; W. 0.38 m

Beside north wall of room, near northwest corner. Artifacts, bone, and charcoal in poorly defined pit in stratum, disturbed by construction of later wall. An undug floor immediately to the east (J/13,14–2/7,8) at 52.20 masl would have just covered the pyre but is not preserved above it. A shell containing pigment was found in the same lot with the pyre. The pottery rested on a fill containing charcoal and shows signs of burning.

Twenty-six artifacts: Corinthian skyphos (350–325, cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 326, 327), pyre lekanis lid, two ribbon-handled plates, two rilled-rim plates, concave-rim plate, broad-based bowl with reserved resting surface (before ca. 300), five large saucers, seven small saucers, two chytridia (cooking ware), three lopadia with lids (cooking ware), lead pyxis lid(?) (IL 2046, P 35953, P 35956–P 35980, two uninventoried). A lead pyxis lid, a black-gloss saltcellar, and a large but very fragmentary closed vessel (IL 2044, P 35954, P 35955) were found just to the east, embedded in the floor surface at 52.20 masl, but they may not be part of the pyre deposit. Organic material: animal bone; shell, fragments of complete fig fruits, olive stones, grape pips, parts of complete grapes and grape pedicel (most likely raisins), walnut shell, part of acorn (sample AS 1658.7) (Margaritis).

Ca. 325 (skyphos, large unglazed saucers [rare before ca. 325])

12 (J 2:8 + J 2:9) Figs. 22–24, 37, 38

Section BE, J/16,17–2/11, at 51.848–51.858 masl, lot BE 2136; LAR, 1995, 1996. Disturbed.

Camp 1999, 278–280, figs. 35, 36.

South of center of room. Concentration of artifacts, bone, ash, and charcoal in floor makeup, disturbed by late bothros. Part of the pyre had been displaced and was found and excavated separately, in the wall of the bothros at 51.71 masl. No pit was discerned, but the elevation at which the pyre was found (below the level of the earliest floors of the building) suggests that it was placed in a pit dug from a higher level. The fill excavated directly above the layer containing the pyre (not defined as a floor) dates in the third quarter of the 3rd century (lot BE 2135). The pyre lay below the level of the 3rd-century floor (Fig. 24) identified elsewhere in the room.

Twenty-one artifacts: type 25B′ lamp (310–250), kantharos with knotted handles, worn resting surface (315–300, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 96), pyre lekanis with lid, rolled-rim plate (ca. 300, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 648), two ribbon-handled plates, two large saucers with concave rims (twins to examples in pyre **51**), six small saucers (one with graffito on floor, ΛΛΛ ΝΛ ΔΔ?), two chytridia (household ware), two

Figure 37. Pyre 12, 310–300. ***Back row:*** **P 32601, P 32463 (chytridia), P 32597 (kantharos), L 5596 (lamp), P 32619 (lopadion).** ***Middle row:*** **P 32598 (plate), P 32605, P 32622 (saucers); P 32608, P 32609 (plates).** ***Front row:*** **P 32621 (lekanis lid), P 32600 (thymiaterion), MC 1725 (clay ball), P 32618 + P 32606 (lopadion and lid), P 32602–P 32604, P 32615, P 32616, P 32620 (saucers). Fragments of uninventoried lekanis body and miniature cup not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

lopadia with lids (household ware), thymiaterion, miniature two-handled cup, clay ball (L 5996, MC 1725, P 32463, P 32597, P 32598, P 32600–P 32606, P 32608, P 32609, P 32615, P 32616, P 32618–P 32622, two uninventoried). A fragment of a much earlier bolsal (P 32599, late 5th century) is probably a stray from the surrounding earth. Organic material: animal bone; charcoal (*Quercus,* evergreen type) (Ntinou); *Bromus* sp. (grass) (Margaritis).

310–300 (kantharos, plate with rolled rim)

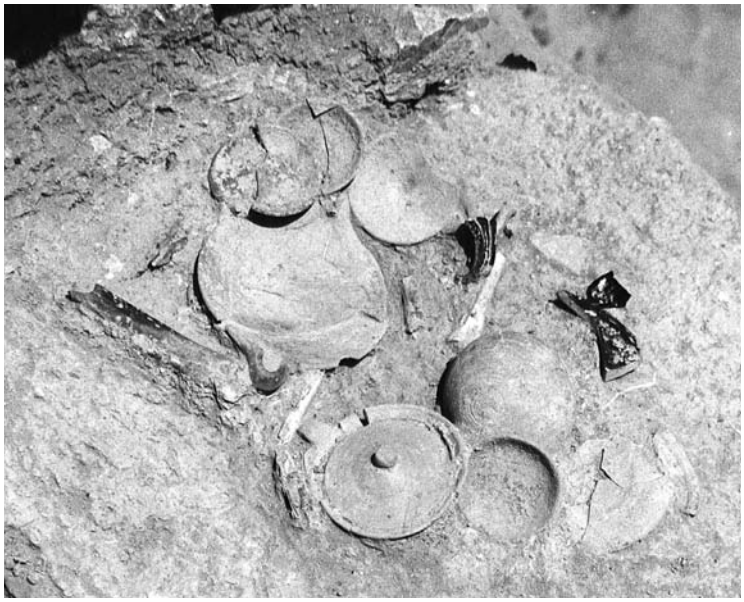

Figure 38. Pyre 12 in situ, looking northwest, showing bone, lopadion with lid in place, and vessels broken in situ

Room 4

Eight floors have been identified in this room, between 52.156 and 52.563 masl and numbered from the top. Two of these (3 and 4, lots BZ 1758, BZ 1842) had a white surface, possibly marble dust, and pigment was noted in the surface or makeup of three (floors 3, 4, 6b; lots BZ 1758, BZ 1759, BZ 1850). A mold for a terracotta figurine was found under floor 6 (T 4893,

Figure 39. Pyre 13, 325–275? *Back row:* P 36028 (saucer), P 36024 (lekanis). *Front row:* P 36027, P 36026, P 36025 (saucers). Scale 1:3

lot BZ 1762). Remains of a single pyre were found in fill against the north wall of the room.

13 (J 2:28) Figs. 22, 39

Section BZ, J/12,13–2/4, at 52.221–52.292 masl, lot BZ 1757; MH, 2007. Dispersed.

Beside north wall of room. Artifacts, bone, and small pieces of charcoal dispersed in stratum. Floor 4, preserved elsewhere in the western part of the room at 52.48 masl, would have covered the pyre and is approximately contemporary with it (lot BZ 1759, late 4th century). The pyre may be related to the renewal of a floor, but it is not associated with either initial construction or abandonment of the building.

Five artifacts: pyre lekanis with lid (340–275?), large saucer (probably after 325), three small saucers (P 36024–P 36028). Organic material: animal bone.

325–275? (large unglazed saucer, offset knob of lekanis lid)

Room 5

A single, sloping floor surface has been identified in the northern part of this room at 52.201/52.358 masl (lot BZ 1733, mid-4th century, with one vessel of mid-3rd century), at a level lower than that of the two pyres.

14 (J 2:24) Figs. 22, 40, 41

Section BZ, J/12–2/3, at 52.149–52.506 masl, lot BZ 1622; MH, 2006. Disturbed.

W. ca. 0.50 m.

Beside south wall of room, near southwest corner and underlying pyre **15**. Concentration of artifacts, bone, and small pieces of charcoal in stratum, no pit discerned. The contents are fragmentary and mixed with the surrounding fill, but concentrated in a small area just below and east of pyre **15**. There are joins between the two lots in which the two pyres were excavated, and those who buried the later pyre clearly disturbed this one. Two large, unglazed saucers excavated with pyre **14** are later than the other contents and probably belong to pyre **15**. The most closely datable object (the guttus) was not excavated with the pyre but was found directly above it and is likely to be part of the deposit. The relationship of the pyre to the history of the building cannot be determined.

Ten artifacts: black-gloss guttus (ca. 350, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1194), two ribbon-handled plates, two rilled-rim plates, four small saucers, lopadion with lid (cooking

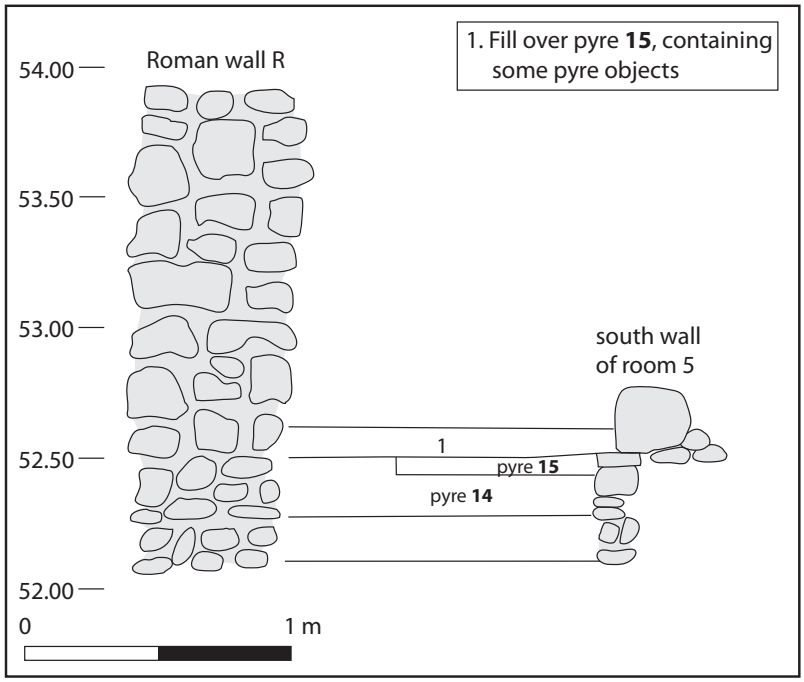

Figure 40. Cross-section looking ENE through small section of southern part of room 5 of Classical Commercial Building, between south wall of room and Roman wall, showing relationship between pyres 14 and 15. Drawing S. I. Rotroff, based on notebook cross-section by M. Handler

Figure 41. Pyre 14, ca. 350? *Back row:* P 35436 (guttus), P 35474 + P 35480 (lopadion). *Middle row:* P 35484, P 35481, P 35482 (plates). *Front row:* P 35475, P 35477, P 35479 (saucers). Uninventoried fragments of rilled-rim plate and saucer not illustrated. Scale 1:4

ware) (P 35436, P 35474, P 35475, P 35477, P 35479–P 35482, P 35484, two uninventoried). There is an intrusive fragment of a 2nd-century lopas (P 35483). Organic material: bone (missing).

Ca. 350? (guttus)

15 (J 2:23) Figs. 22, 40, 42

Section BZ, J/12–2/3,4, at 52.442–52.667 masl, lot BZ 1621; MH, 2006. Disturbed.

Whitley et al. 2007, p. 5, fig. 3.

Beside south wall of room, near southwest corner and overlying pyre **14**. Concentration of artifacts, charcoal, and a little bone in stratum, arranged in an arc in a shallow pit. The pyre was dug into pyre **14** and somewhat mixed with it (see **14**). The surrounding fill was contemporary with the pyre but disturbed in the 1st century A.D. The relationship of the pyre to the history of the building cannot be determined. Some pottery shows signs of burning. Most of the pots were positioned upside down. Large pieces of iron slag occurred in the surrounding fill.

Figure 42. Pyre 15, 300–275. ***Back row:*** **P 35426, P 35424, P 35428 (plates), P 35427 (lekanis).** ***Middle row:*** **P 35434 (lopadion), P 35485 (kernos), P 35435 (lopadion).** ***Front row:*** **P 35476, P 35439, P 35431, P 35432, P 35478, P 35430 (saucers), P 35425 (bowl). Coin, fragmentary ribbon-handled plate P 35433, and fragments of eight uninventoried vessels (skyphoi, saucers, chytridia) not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

Twenty-four artifacts: two small Attic skyphoi, pyre lekanis, four ribbon-handled plates, small echinus bowl, six large saucers, four small saucers, two chytridia (household ware), two lopadia with lids (household ware), kernos, bronze coin (*Agora* XXVI, variety 41, early or mid-330s–322/317) (P 35424–P 35428, P 35430–P 35435, P 35439, P 35476, P 35478, P 35485, BZ-1833, eight uninventoried). Some fragmentary inventoried objects are not illustrated. Organic material: animal bone (missing); textile pseudomorphs on ribbon-handled plate P 35428 (Unruh 2002).

300–275 (unglazed pyre saucer and ribbon-handled plates, terminal date of Attic skyphos)

Room 6(?)

With excavation of the building incomplete, it is not yet clear whether this area constitutes a sixth room of the Classical Commercial Building or a separate structure. Patches of floors have been identified here between 52.094 and 52.322 masl, probably dating in the 4th century. The lowest lies at the level of the bottom of pyre **16**.

16 (J 1:8) Figs. 22, 43

Section BZ, J/11–1/17, at ca. 52.081–52.335 masl, lot BZ 1860; MH, 2009. Disturbed.

L. ca. 0.35 m.

Near north wall of room. Concentration of artifacts, bone, and charcoal in stratum, no pit discerned. The pyre may have rested on the lowest of four floor surfaces documented in the room, but its precise relationship to the history the

Figure 43. Pyre 16, ca. 300. ***Back row:*** **P 35943 (skyphos), P 35945, P 35438 (lopadia).** ***Middle row:*** **P 35942 (lekanis), P 35950, P 35948, P 35949 (saucers), L 6153 (lamp).** ***Front row:*** **P 35944 (plate), P 35947 (saucer). Saucer P 35946 not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

building cannot be determined. Some pottery shows signs of burning, and pottery is described as "set into" a burnt fill, suggesting burning in situ. Iron waste found nearby may come from the bottom of a hearth. Lopadion P 35438 was not excavated with the pyre, but was found nearby and probably belongs to it. A kiln-stacking ring (uninventoried) found in the pyre indicates industrial activity in the area and may even be a deliberate inclusion.

Eleven artifacts: type 25D′ lamp (335–270), small Attic skyphos (315–300, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 1395), pyre lekanis with lid, ribbon-handled plate (unglazed), two large saucers (one of them not illustrated), two small saucers, fragmentary saucer, two lopadia (household ware) (L 6153, P 35438, P 35942–P 35950). Organic material: animal bone; bread wheat, figs (sample AS 1544) (Margaritis).

Ca. 300 (skyphos, unglazed ribbon-handled plate)

Room 7(?)

A short stretch of wall aligned with the east wall of the building suggests the possible existence of a seventh room to the north. Nothing of the history of this room is known, and, like room 6 to the south, it may be part of another structure.

17a, 17b (J 1:6) Figs. 22, 44

Section BZ, J/13,17–1/10,14, at 52.199–52.737 masl, lots BZ 1644–BZ 1648; MH, 2006. Dispersed.

East of and over east wall of room. Objects from at least two pyres dispersed in fill over a large area, in secondary deposit laid down in late 1st century (coin BZ-1848, *Agora* XXVI, variety 157 or 158, 15–10). Burnt bone and charcoal occur in this fill; it may not derive from the pyres, but the bone elements present are similar to those found in pyres (L. Snyder, pers. comm.). The relationship of the pyres to the history of building cannot be determined.

Eighteen artifacts from at least two pyres of different dates, partially sorted on stylistic grounds. Earlier objects *(a):* pyre lekanis with lid, pyre lekanis lid, two ribbon-handled plates, lopadion (cooking ware) (P 35488 + P 35489, P 35494, P 35500, P 35503, P 35504, fragments of lekanis body and one ribbon-handled plate not illustrated). Later objects *(b):* ribbon-handled plate, three rilled-rim plates, large saucer, lopadion (household ware) (P 35491, P 35497–P 35499, P 35501,

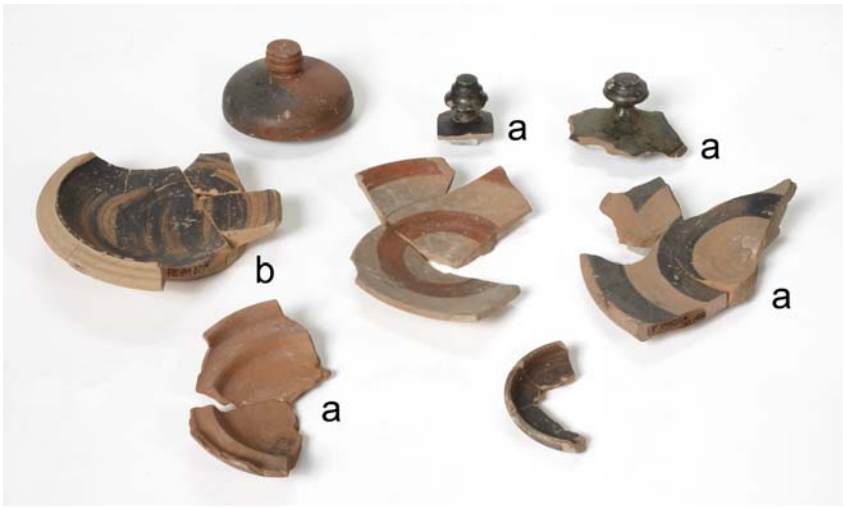

Figure 44. Pyres 17a, 17b, 400–350, 300–275. ***Back row:*** **P 35490, P 35503, P 35489 (lekanis lids).** ***Middle row:*** **P 35499, P 35486, P 35504 (plates).** ***Front row:*** **P 35494 (lopadion), P 35487 (saucer). Eleven vessels represented by small rim fragments not illustrated: P 35488 (lekanis body), P 35492, P 35495, P 35496, P 35500, P 35501 (ribbon-handled plates), P 35497, P 35498 (rilled-rim plates), P 35493, P 35502 (saucers), P 35491 (lopadion body). Unlabeled objects cannot be assigned with certainty to either pyre.** Scale 1:3

P 35502, only one rilled-rim plate complete enough for illustration). Another pyre lekanis lid, four more ribbon-handled plates, and two small saucers cannot be assigned to either pyre with certainty (P 35486, P 35487, P 35490, P 35492, P 35493, P 35495, P 35496; only the three most complete are illustrated). Fragments of a full-size chytra inventoried with this material probably come from the surrounding soil, not the pyre (P 35505).

(a) 400–350 (cooking fabric of lopadion, well-made profiled knobs of lekanides, disk base of ribbon-handled plate)

(b) 300–275 (household-ware fabric of lopadion, gloss pattern of rilled-rim plate [gloss on floor only], and ribbon-handled plate [gloss on handles only])

No Associated Architecture

No architecture was associated with three pyres found north of the Agora Square; pyres **18** and **19** were west of room 5 of the Commercial Building, **20** to its east (Fig. 22).

18 (J 2:26) Figs. 22, 45–47

Section BZ, J/4–2/3, at 51.972–52.095 masl, lot BZ 1791; ML, 2007. Disturbed. L. 0.50, W. 0.43 m.

West of the north–south street onto which the Classical Commercial Building faced. Probably within a Classical building, but dug from Roman levels; nature of earlier architecture unclear. Concentration of artifacts, bone, shell, and charcoal in floor makeup; no pit discerned. The pyre extended into the scarp and may not have been completely recovered. It lay below a blue-white layer ca. 0.02 m thick (lot BZ 1789), topping a nearly sterile fill (Fig. 45). This layer is probably a floor, though it slopes down, perhaps through subsidence, and is somewhat disturbed over the pyre. Fragments of some pyre vessels were embedded in the lower surface of the white layer, which must have been laid directly above them. Many pots were positioned upside down. The pottery shows signs of burning and there were heavy concentrations of charcoal. A large lump of iron slag was found in the pyre, and another just outside it.

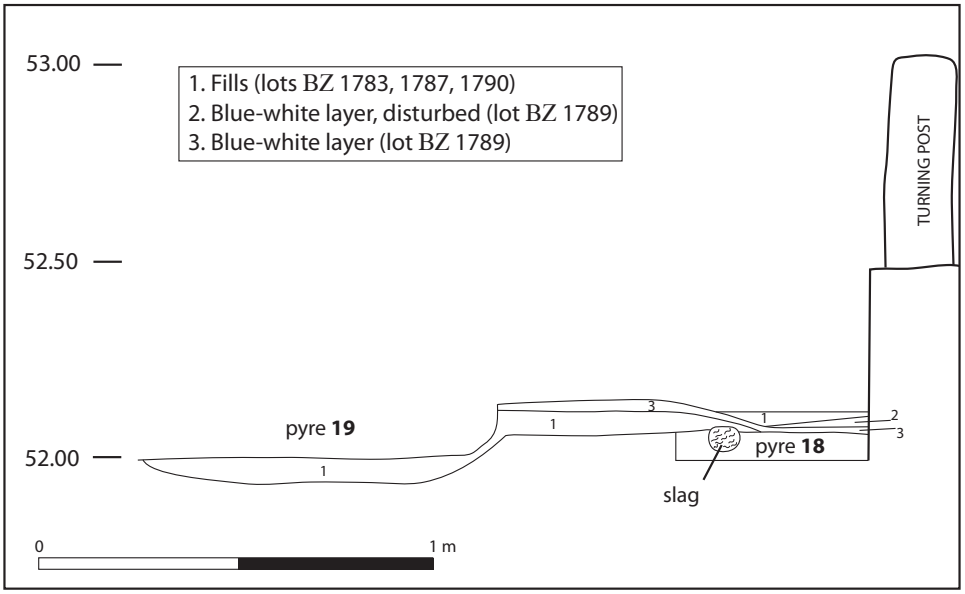

Figure 45. Cross-section of area west of room 5 of Classsical Commercial Building looking northwest, showing relationship of pyre 18 to blue-white layer (floor?) and location of pyre 19, slightly higher and to the west. (The "turning post" is a local landmark, the significance of which is not yet understood, though it may mark the intersection of two streets at a period later than the pyres.) Drawing S. I. Rotroff, based on notebook cross-section by M. Laughy

Figure 46. Pyre 18, ca. 350. ***Back row:*** **P 35598 (plate), P 35597 (cup-kantharos), P 35604 (skyphos), P 36029 (plate).** ***Middle row:*** **P 35594 (fish plate), P 35595 (plate), L 6136 (lamp), P 35591, P 35592 (lekanides).** ***Front row:*** **P 35593 (lopadion), P 36038, P 36039, P 35587–P 35590, P 35596, P 36030–P 36037, P 36040 (saucers). Coins, metal objects, and uninventoried chytridion fragment not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

Figure 47. Pyre 18 in situ, looking west, with large lumps of slag inside and beside pyre

Thirty-six artifacts: type 25A lamp (4th century), Corinthian skyphos (350–325, cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 326, 327), cup-kantharos (before 348, cf. *Olynthus* XIII, pp. 285–286, no. 503, pls. 183, 191), two pyre lekanides with lids, fish plate (375–350, cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 1069–1071, fragment, possibly intrusive from surrounding

soil), two ribbon-handled plates, rilled-rim plate, two large saucers, 14 small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware), lopadion (cooking ware), two bronze coins (one of Eleusis, *Agora* XXVI, variety 38, 350s to early or mid-330s; one of Salamis, *Agora* XXVI, varieties 640–642, 4th century), two bronze tacks, three lead hooks, lead handle, lead object (tool?) (metal objects are not illustrated) (B 2192, B 2193, IL 2025–IL 2029, L 6136, P 35587–P 35598, P 35604, P 36029–P 36040, BZ-2016, BZ-2017, one uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone; murex shell; barley, bread wheat, masses indicative of cooked food (perhaps pieces of rusk or bread), fig seeds, grape pip, almond shells, large legume (most likely broad bean), peas (sample AS 1380.3) (Margaritis).

Ca. 350 (cup-kantharos, skyphos, and coin)

19 (J 2:25) Figs. 22, 45, 48

Section BZ, J/3,4–2/3,4, at 52.158–52.282 masl, lots BZ 1701, BZ 1702; MM, 2006. Possibly disturbed.

L. 1.15, W. 0.50, D. 0.124 m.

Probably within a building, but dug from Roman levels; nature of earlier architecture unclear. Located less than half a meter from pyre **18** but at a higher elevation. Concentration of artifacts, bone, and charcoal in stratum, no pit discerned, and no evidence of associated floor. The pyre was excavated at the very end of the season, and some pottery may not have been recovered; the concentration extended into the scarp and under later walls. Concentrated areas of charcoal and burnt bone were noted within the pyre deposit; iron slag was present as well. Redder fill below the pots was possibly colored by burning. The pots were arranged in two layers, possibly indicating a double pyre; the two unpaired lekanides and the large number of lopadia support this hypothesis. Cf. pyres **21**, **46**.

Thirty-eight artifacts: type 29A lamp (270–220), Classical kantharos (275 or a little later, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 20), two pyre lekanides (one unglazed), unguentarium, two ribbon-handled plates, two rilled-rim plates, eight large saucers, nine small saucers, chytra, two chytridia (household ware), four lopadia (household ware), five unpaired lopadion lids(?) perhaps used as saucers (household ware) (L 6133, P 35448–P 35469, P 35506–P 35510, 12 uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

270–265 (kantharos, lamp)

Figure 48. Pyre 19, 270–265. ***Back row:*** **P 35454 (kantharos), P 35450 (unguentarium), P 35449, P 35452 (chytridia), P 35455 (chytra).** ***Middle row:*** **P 35508 + P 35461 (lekanis and lid), L 6133 (lamp), P 35459 (lekanis), P 35464 (plate), P 35453, P 35460, P 35462, P 35468 (saucers), P 35458, P 35456 (lopadia).** ***Front row:*** **P 35451, P 35457, P 35463, P 35466, P 35469, P 35506 (saucers), P 35510 (lopadion lid), P 35467, P 35448, P 35509 (saucers or lopadion lids), P 35507, P 35465 (ribbon-handled plates). Fragments of 12 uninventoried vessels not illustrated: rilled-rim plate, saucers, lopadia.** Scale 1:5

Figure 49. Pyre 20, 290–275. P 32682 (kantharos), P 32736 (saucer), P 32734 (lopadion), P 32737 (saucer), P 32735 (lekanis). Uninventoried lopadion fragments not illustrated. Scale 1:3

20 (K 1:3) Figs. 22, 49

Section BE, K/1–1/20, at 52.85–52.93 masl, lot BE 2183; TM, 1996. Disturbed. Est. Diam. ca. 0.60 (from drawing), D. 0.08 m.

Concentration of pottery, a little bone, and ash in stratum, no pit discerned. The pyre was embedded in a Late Roman fill (lot BE 2182, 4th century A.D.) just to the east of the Classical Commercial Building. Evidently it had been unearthed and redeposited in Late Roman times, and further disturbed by a later wall. Some of the pottery is burnt.

Six artifacts: Classical kantharos, fresh resting surface (290–275, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 33), pyre lekanis, large saucer, small saucer, two lopadia and one lid (household ware) (P 32682, P 32734–P 32737, one uninventoried). Organic material: "very little bone" (missing).

290–275 (kantharos)

KOLONOS AGORAIOS

North

The northern part of the Kolonos Agoraios was heavily overbuilt in Roman and Byzantine times, leaving few traces of the Greek remains, although cisterns, wells, and occasional walls and floors attest to the existence of earlier houses and workshops. The best preserved are two structures (Houses 2, 3) on the brow of the hill, the westernmost of which contained pyre **21**.

House 3 in Section ΛΛ

A building conventionally called "House" 3 was located along a cul-de-sac on the northern side of the Kolonos Agoraios, next door to a better-preserved building across a narrow alleyway to its east. Only one corner of one room survives, probably a courtyard (Fig. 50). Evidence for its date comes from two preserved floors, suggesting that the structure was built some time in the 4th century and refurbished in the early 3rd; it may have remained in use until the first quarter of the 2nd century, but the neighborhood was deserted thereafter. The area was peppered with industrial installations, including casting pits; industrial activities within the building itself are documented by a plastered tub with a settling basin and plastered areas of floor with tile borders.

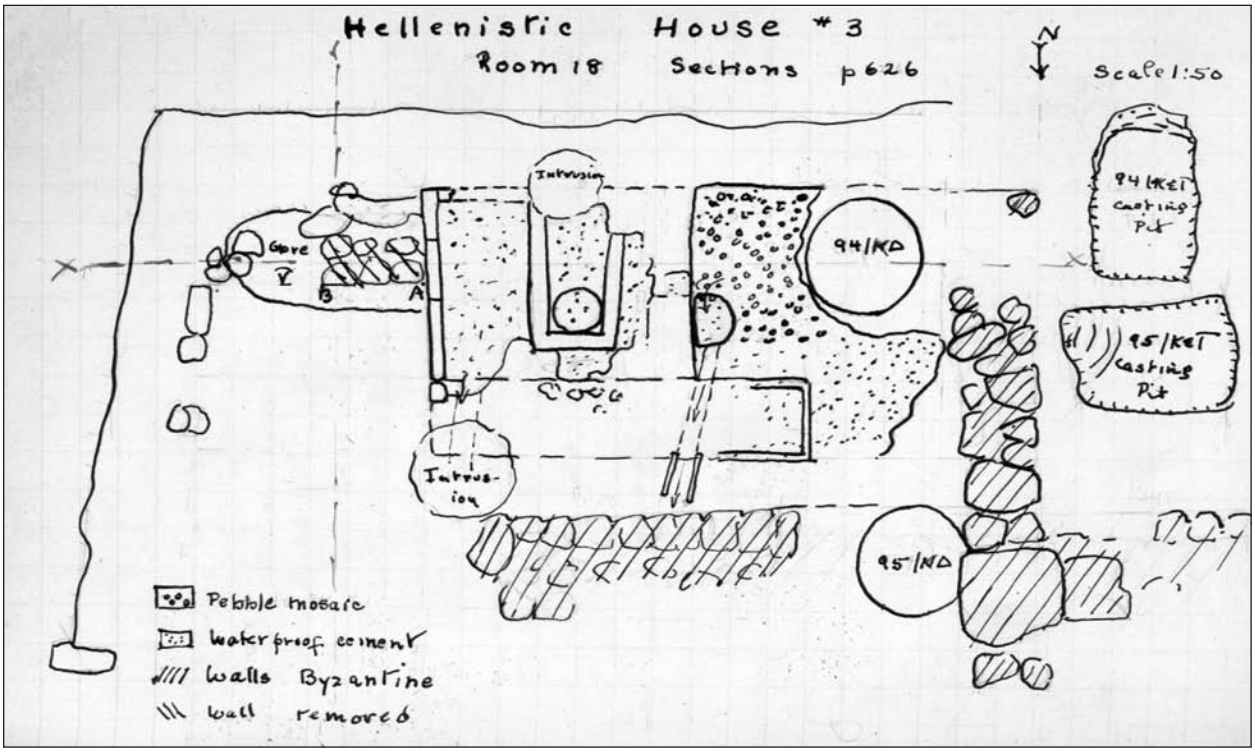

Figure 50. Notebook sketch plan of House 3 showing cemented floor and basins, with casting pits to right (west). Pyre 21 ("Grave V") at upper left. 94/KΔ and 95/NΔ give access to cistern system filled in Byzantine times. North at bottom.
Drawing D. B. Thompson

21 (F 5:2) Figs. 1, 50, 51

Section ΛΛ, "93/K and 94/IΘ" (actually 92/KA–KB), lot ΛΛ 38; DBT, 1937. Undisturbed.

Agora IV, p. 238; *Agora* XII, p. 289; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 96, no. 40; *Agora* XXIX, p. 448; *Agora* XXX, p. 362.

L. 2.00, W. 0.55, D. 0.28 m

In southeast corner of House 3. Artifacts, bone, and charred material in pit in floor sequence. The pottery and burnt deposit lay in the lowest 0.08 m of the pit, which was filled with earth and topped with a broken tile. The pyre lay below two floors: a lower floor with only six fragments of pottery, not closely datable (strosis 4, lot ΛΛ 34); and an upper floor with pottery largely of the 3rd century, with one moldmade bowl fragment of ca. 200 or later, and some fragments of pyre pots (strosis 3, lot ΛΛ 33). It is not clear from which level the pyre was dug, but it is certainly sealed in by at least the upper floor, if not the lower floor as well. Cross-sections sketched in the notebook show the lower floor in place above the pyre; but the notebook account describes it as partly broken away, and the fact that fragments of pyre pots were found in the makeup of the upper floor suggests that this surface was laid immediately after the pyre had been deposited. The pyre is thus more likely to be associated with a reflooring and perhaps installation of the basins than the original construction, but certainty is impossible. The notebook refers to a second concentration of burning and "identical votive dishes etc." to the north, and a marginal note seems to suggest joins to material from our pyre (Notebook ΛΛ, p. 625). The size and constitution of the pyre, along with two foci of burning, suggest this assemblage may represent the remnants of two different pyres (cf. **19**, **46**). There are several disparate pairs, with significant and obvious differences between them: the four chytridia and the four lopadia consist of two pairs of each; the four large saucers are two pairs (two with thin wash, two unglazed); the eight small saucers break down into two groups (four with thin wash, four unglazed); the six ribbon-handled plates fall into three pairs (two pairs of unglazed plates

Figure 51. Pyre 21, 300–275. ***Back row:*** **P 9701 (skyphos), P 9705, P 9706, P 9708–P 9711 (plates), P 9716–P 9722, P 9689 (saucers, with lopadion lid or saucer P 9727 at bottom of stack), P 9712–P 9715 (saucers, with rilled-rim plate P 9707 at bottom of stack), P 9700 (skyphos).** ***Middle row:*** **P 9724, P 9723 (lopadia), P 9690, P 9704 (lekanides), ST 180 (alabastron), P 9729, P 9728 (chytridia).** ***Front row:*** **P 9726, P 9725 (lopadia), L 2895, L 2900 (lamps), P 9687, P 9688 (chytridia).** Scale 1:4

different in details, one pair banded [otherwise unknown after ca. 300]). The two pyre lekanides also differ: one unglazed (paralleled only in the 3rd century), the other glazed and with a ring foot (otherwise unknown after ca. 325). Either a later pyre disturbed a slightly earlier one, or two separate pyres were offered at about the same time and buried together. The pyre has no relation to the Arsenal (*pace* Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 55), which is about 10 m to the south.

Thirty-five artifacts: type 25D′ lamp (*Agora* IV, no. 351, 335–270), type 36A lamp (*Agora* IV, no. 486, ca. 275), two votive Corinthian skyphoi (*Agora* XXIX, nos. 1398, 1399, 325–275), two pyre lekanides with lids, six ribbon-handled plates (*Agora* XXIX, nos. 1455, 1459), rilled-rim plate (*Agora* XII, no. 1574), four large saucers, eight small saucers, four chytridia (household ware, *Agora* XXIX, no. 1481), four lopadia with lids (household ware, *Agora* XII, no. 1562; *Agora* XXIX, no. 1491), lopadion lid or saucer (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1473), poros dummy alabastron (L 2895, L 2900, P 9687–P 9690, P 9700, P 9701, P 9704–P 9729, ST 180). Not included in this count are fragments of 5th- to early-4th-century lamps (types 21C and 23A), six small fragments of a late-5th-century red-figure oinochoe (*Agora* XXX, no. 655), and a fragment of a rolled-rim plate dating in the 4th century; their earlier dates and fragmentary state suggest that they are intrusive from surrounding soil (L 2898, L 2899, P 9702, P 9703). Organic material: animal bone; "carbonized wheat(?)."

300–275 (skyphoi, unglazed ribbon-handled plates)

South

Architectural remains on the hilltop south of the Hephaisteion temenos are scant and mostly restricted to the Roman period, but wells and cisterns attest that the area was occupied in the Classical and Hellenistic periods. The courses of drains suggest that two streets crossed the lower slopes,

leading westward up the hill from the northeast–southwest road along the route of the Great Drain (i.e., the northern continuation of the Street of the Marble Workers). In his unpublished final report for 1936, Rodney Young described the exiguous remains of a block of houses, 25 m deep, that lay between them. Pyre **22** was found under a pebble mosaic floor (mosaic A) of a house that faced south onto the southern street. All that remains of this structure are patches of mosaic floor (mosaic A as well as others at higher [B] and lower [C, D] levels, indicating more phases of the house, none of them well dated); and a two-chamber cistern system (C 14:1), one mouth of which was within the area covered by mosaic floor A. The cistern fill was largely Turkish, but with traces of an original fill of the Early Hellenistic period. A purported fragment of mosaic floor A was found in well B 13:8, which was filled about 260 (*Agora* XXXIII, p. 344); if that identification is correct, the house was out of use by that time.

22 (C 14:3) Fig. 52

Section ΠΘ, 96/ΚΖ, no lot; RSY, 1936. Possibly disturbed.
Agora XII, p. 386.
L. 0.80, W. 0.60, D. 0.14 m.

Artifacts, burnt bone, ash, cinders, and charcoal in pit in bedrock. The pyre lay directly under mosaic floor A. The excavator thought that it had been laid earlier, then discovered and floored over by those who laid the mosaic. The deposit is not badly disturbed, however, and it is possible that it was laid immediately before the floor was installed. The pyre was probably burnt in situ; pots rested on a thick layer of burning, and fragments of burnt earth were found in the pit. Some charcoal as large as ca. 0.03 m in diameter is preserved, and bits of burnt matter were found in the lekanis.

Ten artifacts: Corinthian skyphos (*Agora* XII, no. 324, 375–360), one-handler (*Agora* XII, no. 760, 375–350), small ribbon-handled lekanis with lid (*Agora* XII, no. 1222, ca. 375, with twin in pyre **25**), two ribbon-handled plates (*Agora* XII, no. 1567), rilled-rim plate (*Agora* XII, no. 1038, ca. 375), three small saucers, small bowl (ca. 380, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 876) (P 7592–P 7601). Organic material: "small fragments of burned bone" (missing).

375–360 (drinking cups, lekanis)

Figure 52. Pyre 22, 375–360. ***Back row:*** **P 7595 (skyphos), P 7594, P 7600 (plates).** ***Front row:*** **P 7596 (one-handler), P 7592 (lekanis), P 7593, P 7598, P 7599 (saucers, with bowl P 7597 second from top in stack), P 7601 (plate).** Scale 1:4

SOUTHWEST OF THE AGORA SQUARE

Buildings at the Southwest Corner of the Square

The "Strategeion"

A large building southwest of the Tholos is labeled on Agora plans as the Strategeion, the office of the board of ten generals (Fig. 53). The building is poorly preserved and has never been thoroughly studied, but additional excavations in 2005–2008 clarified some details of plan and chronology (Whitley et al. 2006, pp. 7–8; Camp 2007, pp. 657–660; Whitley et al. 2007, pp. 3–5, plan, fig. 1). A few white poros limestone blocks on the northwest, southwest, and southeast sides and a substantial cutting back of the slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios give the building's outline; traces of interior walls and cuttings in bedrock and fill suggest the possible interior arrangements. The building was roughly trapezoidal, with rows of rooms on its northwestern and southeastern sides (apparently three on the northwest, four on the southeast), a corridor between them, and a forecourt to the northeast. It was served by a cistern system and a well and drained by five drains leading into the Great Drain to the east (some at least are not part of the original plan). Fill brought in to level the whole area before construction suggests that the building was erected after 440–430 (fill E–F 12–14, *Agora* XII, p. 389, with red-figure fragments of 440–430; *Agora* XXX, nos. 317, 325); Camp (2010, p. 51) now places its construction shortly after the middle of the 5th century. Few of the building's floors are preserved, so almost nothing of its history can be reconstructed. The well in the courtyard, filled with roof tiles and other debris along with early-1st-century pottery, suggests that it was destroyed by Sulla (see *Agora* XXIX, p. 450, under F 13:3).

Identification as a public building is suggested by: the building's location, just 22 m from the Tholos; its large size (26.00 × 20.80 m); and the scale of the project (cutting back of the Kolonos Agoraios and the substantial poros blocks that make up part of the building's construction). Its tentative identification as the Strategeion is based on the findspots of several inscriptions that were to be set up in front of that building, which suggest that the office of the generals was located somewhere on the western side of the public square (Dinsmoor 1954, p. 296, n. 36; *Agora* XIV, pp. 73–74; Crosby [1951, pp. 183–187] notes the similarity of the plan to that of the Poros Building and discusses the identification of the two in tandem). A fragment of a marble ship's eye found in late-5th-century fill under the floor of the building may hint at public use, since an inscription carved a century later documents the transfer of naval equipment to the "Strategeion" (Carlson 2009, pp. 349, 361, no. 3, fig. 3; *IG* II^2 1479, lines 64–67). The presence of the ship's eye is open to other interpretations as well, however, and cannot be decisive for the identity of the building. Camp has recently pointed out that inscriptions recording the work of the *poletai* also cluster impressively in this area and has raised the possibility that the building might be their office, the Poleterion (Camp 2007, pp. 658–660).

The presence of a pyre within the building argues against a public function at the time of its burial, since these deposits are rigorously absent from known official structures. That other pyres were once present as well is suggested by many fragments of pyre saucers found during recent excavations (e.g., P 35610). The plan of the "Strategeion" is similar to

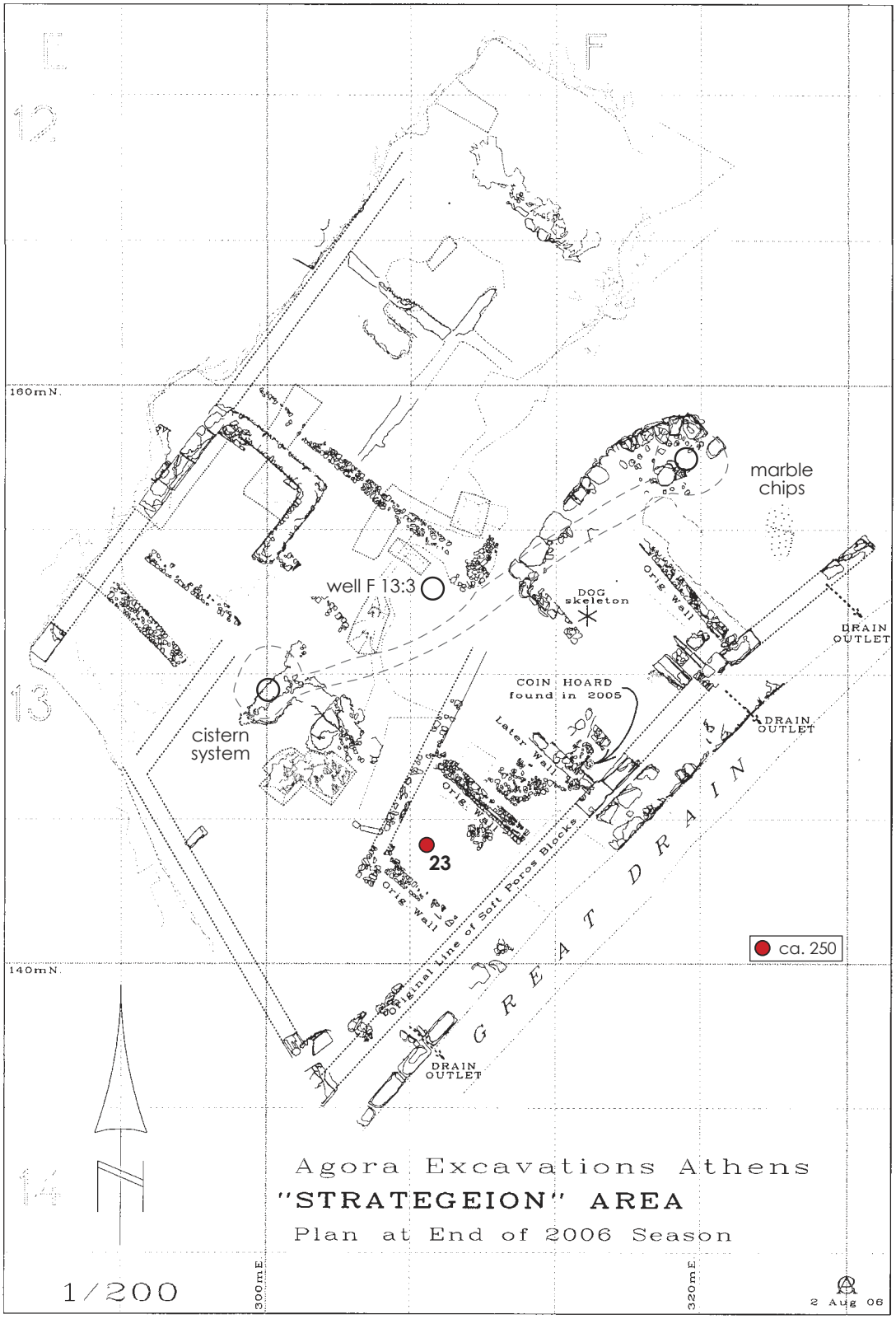

Figure 53. Plan of "Strategeion," showing locations of pyre 23, water sources, and marble chip deposit. Drawing R. C. Anderson, with additions by S. I. Rotroff

that of the Poros Building (see pp. 140–141, below); if that structure was commercial in nature, perhaps the "Strategeion" was as well. In any event, even if it was not built as a commercial building, there is evidence that it hosted artisans at some point during its history. A pit full of marble chips in the northeastern part of the building, found together with a mason's lead pencil (IL 2031), shows that marbleworkers were busy here within 50 years of the building's construction (lots Γ 354, Γ 383, late 5th–early 4th century; Whitley et al. 2007, p. 5; Rotroff 2009, p. 46). The nearby floors that produced the ship's eye also preserved occasional pieces of possible industrial debris (bone eyelets [BI 1299–BI 1301], two small lead weights [IL 2035, IL 2036], and scraps of iron, bronze, and lead), and a figurine mold (T 861) was found in well F 13:3. The well and the cistern system indicate heavy water requirements, and the large number of drains is unusual and suitable for industrial processes. Their apparent insertion at some point during the life span of the building hints at a possible change of use. An impressive and uniform hoard of Athenian coins of the second half of the 4th century unearthed below the building's floor (Camp 2007, p. 658, fig. 32; Kroll 2006, pp. 57–58) could point to either public or commercial use.

23 (F 13:1) Figs. 53, 54

Section Β′, 69/IZ, no lot; RSY, 1935. Undisturbed.

Agora XXIX, p. 450; Camp 2007, p. 657.

In room on east side of building. Concentration of artifacts, fragments of bone, and abundant cinders in stratum, no pit discerned. The pyre was found while excavating an undated red fill that lay over the 5th-century building fill. It cannot be related to any event in the life span of the building.

Four artifacts: type 29B lamp with wick in place, very battered (*Agora* IV, no. 415, 260–220), two small Hellenistic angular kantharoi, fresh resting surfaces (*Agora* XXIX, nos. 224, 225, ca. 250), rilled-rim plate (L 1727, P 5348–P 5350). Organic material: "bits of bone (none as big as a little fingernail)" (missing).

Ca. 250 (kantharoi)

Figure 54. Pyre 23, ca. 250. P 5348 (plate), L 1727 (lamp), P 5349, P 5350 (kantharoi). Scale 1:4

The House of Simon

Traces of a house and workshop sit on a triangular terrace just outside the southwest corner of the public square (Thompson 1954, pp. 51–55; D. B. Thompson 1960; Tsakirgis 2005, pp. 70–74) (Fig. 55). Little of the plan survives, but enough to make out a courtyard at the north (room 1), probably with a shed on its north side, and one room south of it (room 2); the southernmost part of the house is lacking. According to D. B. Thompson's analysis, the house was built around 500, destroyed by the Persians and

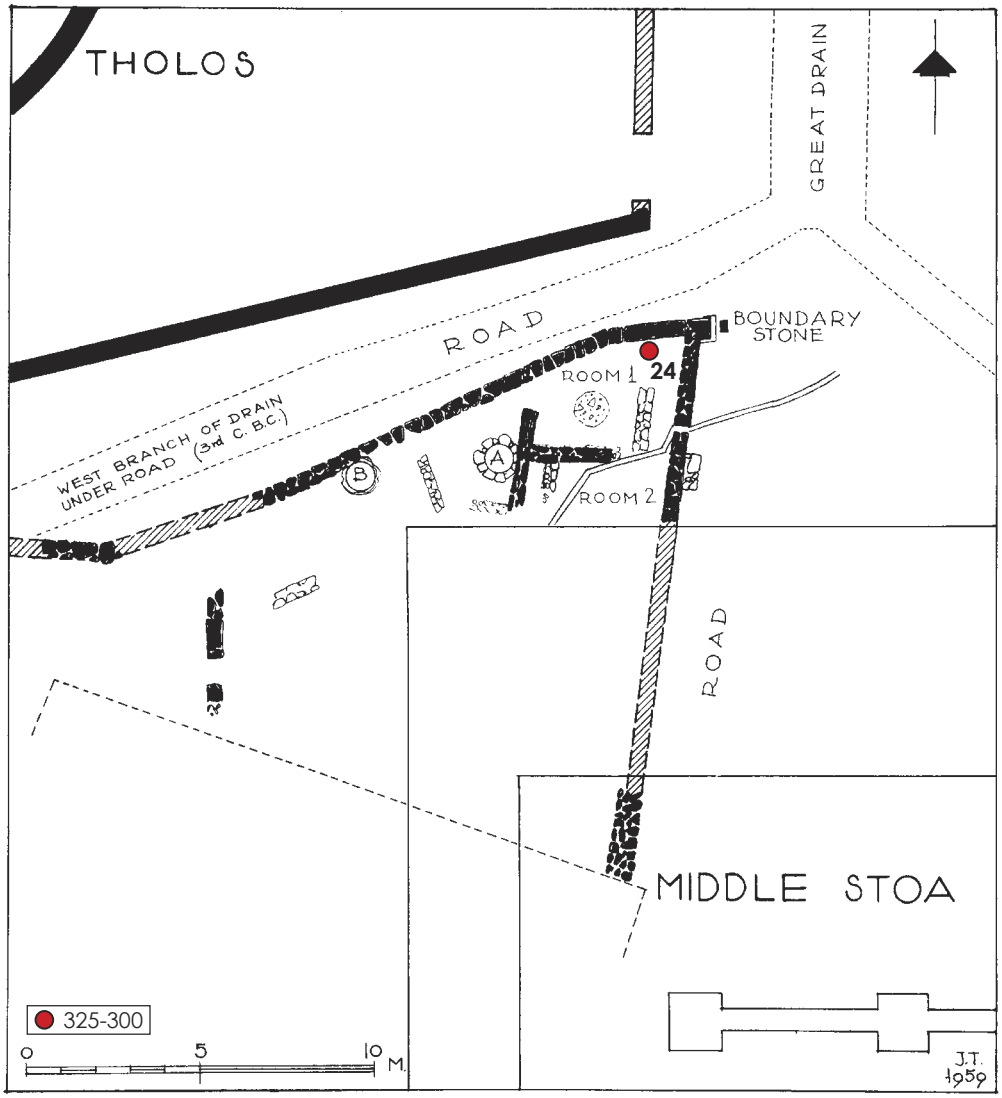

Figure 55. Plan of House of Simon, showing location of pyre 24. Drawing J. Travlos, with additions by S. I. Rotroff

rebuilt shortly thereafter, with a remodeling in the early 4th century. Large numbers of iron hobnails, some bronze tacks, and bone eyelets in three of the floor levels of the court (lots MΣ 172–MΣ 175) indicate that it was the shop of an artisan, possibly a cobbler, and a heavy concentration of coins in these layers bears witness to commercial activity. The house had gone out of use by the end of the 3rd century (if not before), when the road above the west branch of the Great Drain ran over its northern walls. The single pyre may be associated with abandonment of the house, but displaced pyre vessels in floor levels suggest that pyres were also buried during the life of the house.

24 (I 12:3) Figs. 55, 56

Section MΣ, at east end of Horos Terrace Trench, lot MΣ 132, actually at east edge of square H 12; DBT, 1953. Disturbed.

In room 1 (court), near north wall. Concentration in stratum, no pit discerned; described as a "little nest of pots" within layer V (lot MΣ 130), which overlay the hard strosis 5, the uppermost preserved floor of the house. Nearby on the same floor lay a nearly complete kantharos (P 22932, *Agora* XXIX, no. 115) of the late

Figure 56. Pyre 24, 325–300? *Back row:* P 22988 (plate), IL 1280 (lamp holder). *Front row:* IL 1281 (lead pyxis), P 22987 (saucer). Fragments of four uninventoried saucers not illustrated. Scale 1:3

4th–early 3rd century, at least 38 bronze coins of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries (lots ΜΣ 144–ΜΣ 152), and masses of large iron nails (IL 1361) and small bronze ones. Additional, very fragmentary pyre material was found both above and below the hard floor (lots ΜΣ 130, ΜΣ 132), as well as in other floors, suggesting that pyres had been buried repeatedly here. More coins, tacks, nails, a whetstone (ST 670), and bone eyelets (BI 698, BI 699, BI 740) found below strosis 5 may attest to a leatherworking business here. The pyre postdates the second phase of the house and may be associated with its abandonment. No evidence of burning or bone was recorded.

Eight artifacts: plate with concave rim (probably not later than ca. 300), fragments of three large saucers (probably no earlier than ca. 325), two small saucers, lead lamp holder (cf. *Olynthus* X, p. 482, no. 2538, pl. CLX; Miller 1974, p. 239, no. 77, pl. 34), lead pyxis (cf. Breccia 1912, pp. 174–175, no. 564, fig. 105; *Délos* XVIII, p. 237, B 681, B 5799, pl. LXXVII:632, 633) (IL 1280, IL 1281, P 22987, P 22988, four uninventoried).

325–300? (plate, saucers)

Complex South of the Tholos

South of the House of Simon is a complex of three long, narrow buildings defining a trapezoidal courtyard open to the east (*Agora* XIV, p. 74; Evely et al. 2008, p. 7; Morgan, Pitt, and Whitelaw 2009, p. 4; Camp 2010, p. 52) (Figs. 57–59, Table 7). The remains are exiguous and the buildings have not been studied in detail; both their reconstruction and chronology are uncertain. In particular, the chronological relationship of walls at the north end of Early Building II and the western end of Early Building I remains obscure.

The northern and southern buildings (Early Building I, Building E) were probably built in the 5th century, then rebuilt in the early 4th century, at which time the western building (Early Building II) was added, encroaching on the west end of Early Building I and sequestering a trapezoidal courtlike space between the three structures. The northern and southern buildings went out of use first, while Early Building II probably survived until the Early Roman period. Building E and Early Building II are associated with pyres, and pyre material was found in a well in front of Early Building I.

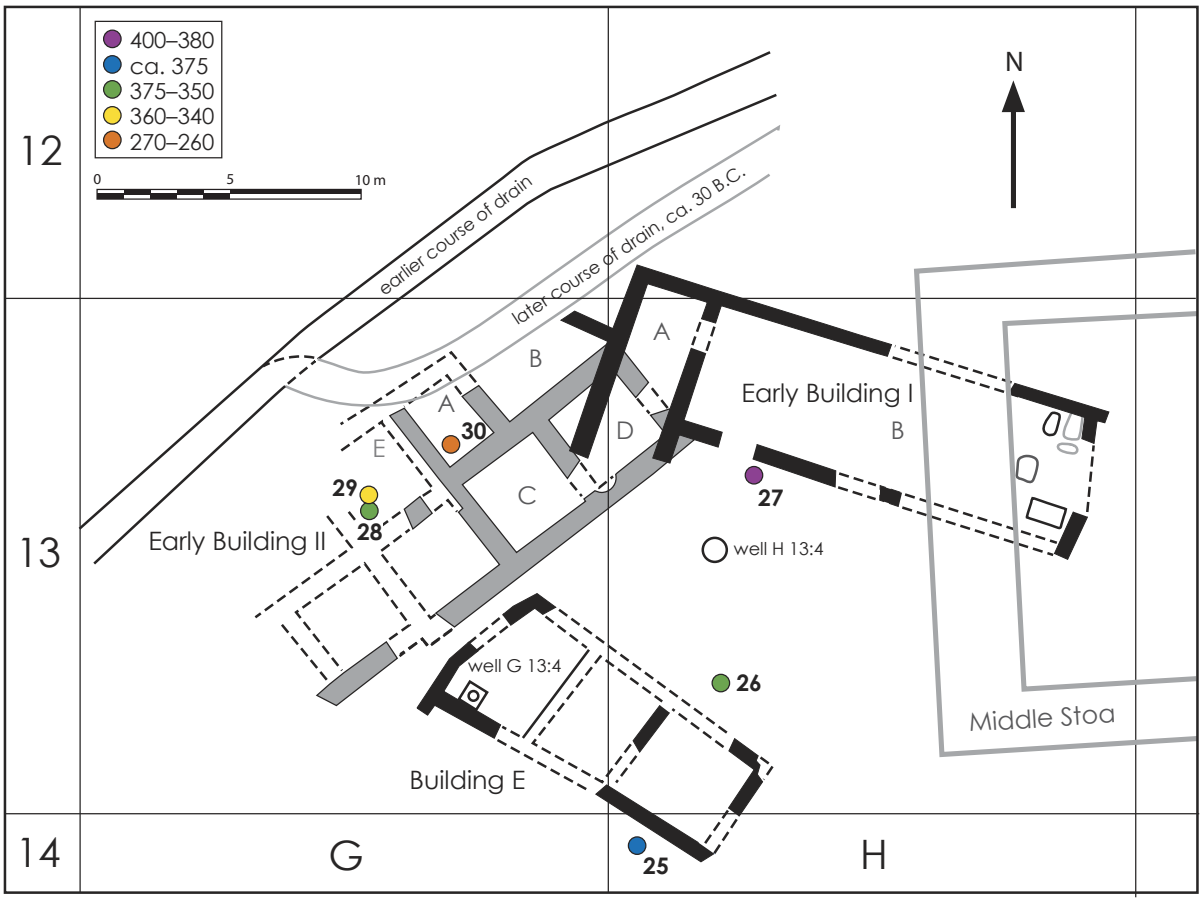

Figure 57. Plan of complex south of Tholos, with pyres marked and coded for date. Drawing S. I. Rotroff

The purpose of these structures has been debated. The plans, insofar as they can be recovered, do not resemble those of private houses. H. A. Thompson suggested that they were public offices (*Agora* XIV, p. 74), but also admitted the possibility that they were shops, and Langdon suggested they housed the *poletai* (*Agora* XIX, p. 66). More recently, Camp has urged an early use as offices, perhaps associated with legal affairs, and a later commercial use (Camp 2010, p. 52). The plans of Building E and Early Building II are similar to those of known shop buildings. Industrial installations in Early Building I and modest amounts of workshop debris in Early Building II lend some support to this identification.

Building E

Building E, which forms the southern border of the complex, is an irregularly rectangular structure with a plastered courtyard with a well at the west (G 13:4, Thompson 1934, pp. 313–315) and two rooms at the east. It was built in the 5th century and substantially renovated when Early Building II was constructed to its west, perhaps in the early 4th century. The period-of-use fill in the well covers the span ca. 325 to the end of the 3rd century, although most of the material dates before ca. 260; a dumped fill above dates in the first half of the 2nd century (for the dates, see *Agora* XXII, pp. 107–108; *Agora* XXIX, p. 453, under G 13:4). The mud brick and debris that lay over the floor of the court (lots Z 721–725, Z 730,

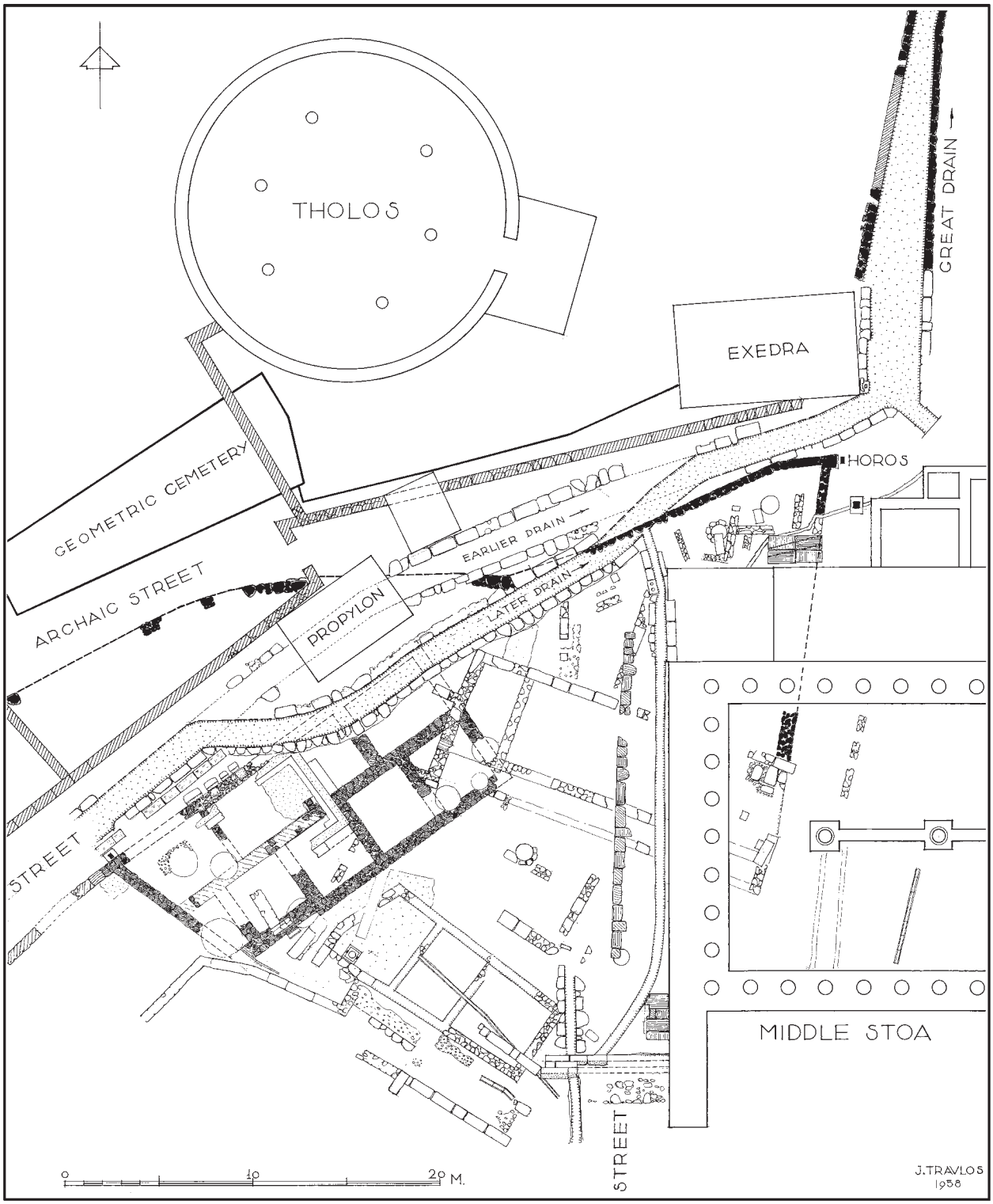

Figure 58. Actual state plan of complex south of Tholos at end of excavations of 1950s, showing basins at east end of Early Building I.
Drawing J. Travlos

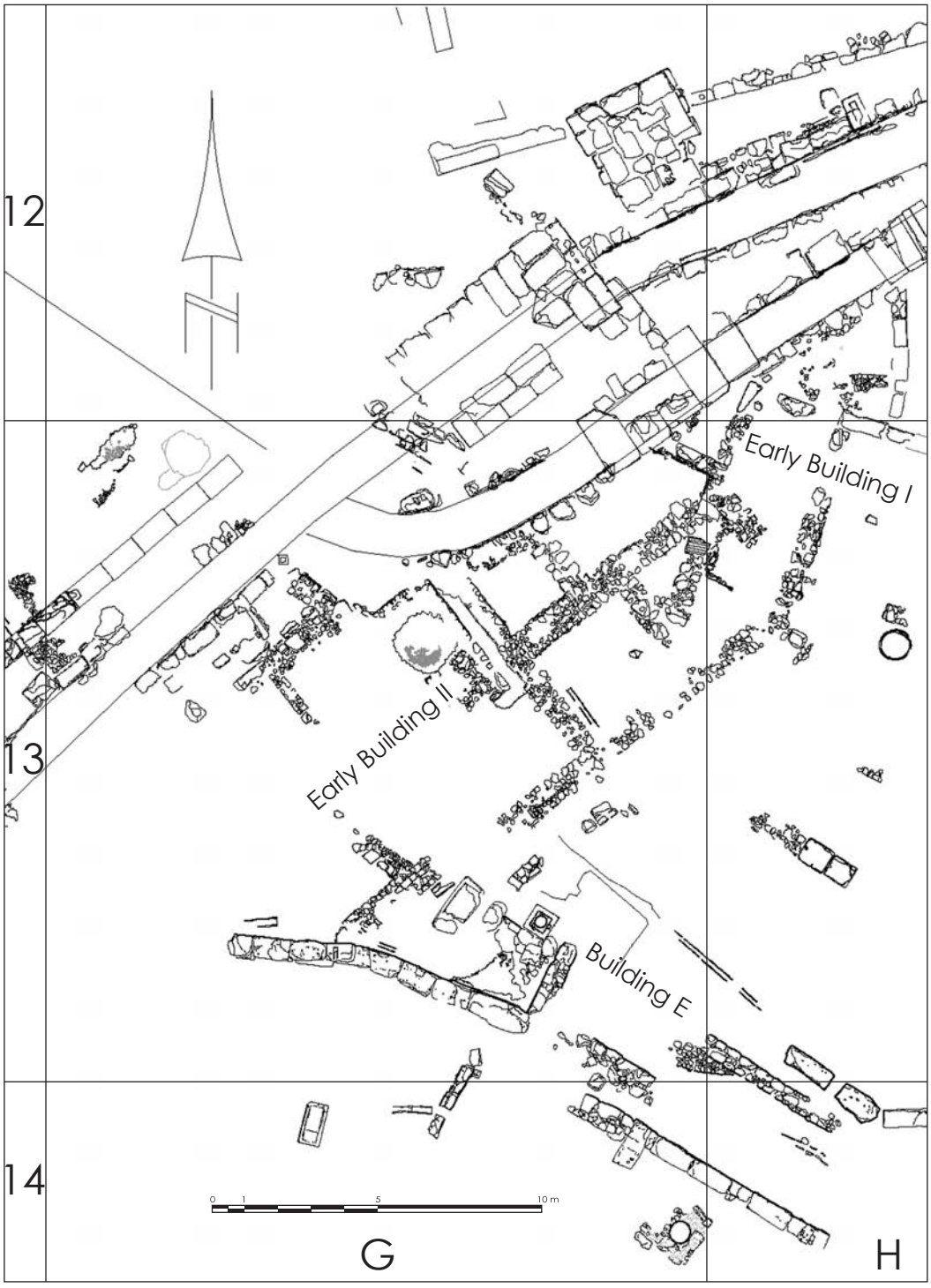

Figure 59. Actual state plan of western part of complex south of Tholos at end of 2009 excavation season, documenting deterioration of complex since original discovery.
Drawing J. Herbst, with additions by S. I. Rotroff

TABLE 7. BUILDING PHASES OF COMPLEX SOUTH OF THOLOS

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Comments*	*Deposit (Date)*
Phase 1	5th century to early 4th century	Early Building I and Building E	Well **27** (400–380)
Phase 2	Early 4th century to early 3rd century?	Early Building II built, Early Building I and Building E remodeled	Pyre **25** (ca. 375) Pyre **26** (375–350) Pyre **28** (375–350) Pyre **29** (360–340)
Phase 3	Early 3rd century(?) to ca. 175	Northern part of Early Building II out of use	Pyre **30** (270–260)
Phase 4	Ca. 175 to Early Roman	Only Early Building II in use	–

Z 821) date mainly in the 3rd and early 2nd centuries, with occasional Late Hellenistic pieces (e.g., P 4598, *Agora* XXII, no. 358). This suggests that the building was in use throughout most of the 3rd century. It was probably demolished when the Middle Stoa was built, early in the second quarter of the 2nd century. Two pyres have a loose association with the building, having been found just outside its north and south walls.

25 (H 14:1) Figs. 57, 60

Section Z, 5/KA, no lot; EV, 1933. Possibly disturbed.

Agora XII, p. 393.

Outside south wall of building. Concentration of pottery in a small pocket below a "Hellenistic" fill. There is no mention of bone or burning, but some of the pottery is burnt. The pyre dates shortly after the proposed date for the beginning of the second phase of Building E; the chronology may be sufficiently flexible to allow association with this reconstruction of the building.

Six artifacts: small one-handler, small ribbon-handled lekanis with lid (ca. 375, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1222, twin to lekanis in pyre **22**), plate with broad rim, two small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware) (P 1465–P 1470).

Ca. 375 (lekanis)

Figure 60. Pyre 25, ca. 375. *Back row:* **P 1466 (plate), P 1465 (lekanis), P 1470 (chytridion).** *Front row:* **P 1469 (one-handler), P 1468, P 1467 (saucers).** Scale 1:4

26 (H 13:2) Figs. 57, 61

Section Z, 12/KA, lot Z 825; DBT, 1954. Possibly disturbed.

L. 2.00, W. 0.70, D. 0.25 m.

North of north wall of building. Long, narrow pit containing pottery and ash dug into a hard floor or surface and aligned with north wall of Building E. The pottery rested on a bedding of stones. The alignment of the pit suggests a connection

Figure 61. Pyre 26, 375–350. P 24020 (kernos), P 24022 (plate), P 24021 (saucer), P 24215 (one-handler). Two uninventoried saucers not illustrated. Scale 1:4

with Building E, and the pyre dates in the generation after its reconstruction. Both the large size of the cutting and the presence of a kernos are unusual, but the rilled-rim plate and saucers suggest that this is a pyre. There is no mention of bone in the notebook account.

Six artifacts: one-handler (375–350, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 760), rilled-rim plate, three small saucers, kernos (P 24020–P 24022, P 24215, two uninventoried). A fragment of a poros dummy alabastron (ST 630) found 5 m to the north may also come from the pyre.

375–350 (one-handler)

Early Building I

The northernmost building of the complex was originally built as a long, narrow structure with a small room at the west (room A) and a much larger one (room B) at the east (Fig. 57), though further subdivisions may have been destroyed by later construction. It was built before the middle of the 5th century, then partially dismantled and remodeled ca. 380, at which time two wells in the courtyard south of the building were filled (**27**, H 13:4). The date of its destruction is uncertain, but a north–south road that crosses the building may go back to the 3rd century, and the building was certainly out of use by the beginning of the second quarter of the 2nd century, when the Middle Stoa was built over its eastern end. Industrial activity is indicated by plastered basins, stone-lined pits, and a pit full of sand at the eastern end of the building, under the west end of the Middle Stoa (visible in Travlos's 1958 plan of the area, Fig. 58), and by three small ash pits surrounded by fire-hardened soil in the floor of room B. Bronze and clay tokens from well **27** point to official activities (B 2210, MC 1789, MC 1804), but a kiln support(?) (MC 1790) and pigment suggest industry.

No pyres have been found within the building, but several characteristic pyre vessels were found in well **27**, just to its south.

27 (Well H 13:6) Figs. 57, 62

Section Γ, H/6,7–13/7,8, lots Γ 430, Γ 431, Γ 458, Γ 459, Γ 462, Γ 464; LG, 2009. Dispersed.

In courtyard south of building. A considerable amount of pyre pottery was found in the well, which was probably filled when renovations were carried out on the building, perhaps disturbing one or more pyres. The disturbed pyre(s) cannot be associated with any event in the history of the building. There is substantial evidence of burning in the well fill, but it is probably unrelated to the pyre(s).

Figure 62. Pyre vessels from well 27, 400–380. P 36000 (chytridion), P 35994 (saucer), P 36002 (skyphos). Fragments of 11 uninventoried vessels not illustrated: skyphos, saucers, lopadia. Scale 1:3

Thirteen artifacts that derive from pyre(s), mostly preserved only in small fragments: two small Attic skyphoi (similar to skyphos in well **68**), chytridion (cooking ware), lopadion and two lids (cooking ware), large saucer, seven small saucers (P 35994, P 36000, P 36002, 11 uninventoried from lots Γ 430, Γ 458, Γ 459, Γ 462, Γ 464). Fragments of six uninventoried rilled-rim plates may also derive from pyres (in lots Γ 430, Γ 431, Γ 458, Γ 459).

400–380 (other objects in well: Panathenaic amphora of 384/3 [P 35996], absence of rouletting)

Early Building II

This, the last of the three buildings to be constructed, formed the western side of the complex. It consisted of two rows of rooms, but it is impossible to reconstruct the plan in detail. Renewed excavation was undertaken recently, but the remains have deteriorated significantly since the first explorations (compare Figs. 58 and 59, drawn in 1958 and 2009, respectively). The southeastern part is clearest, with two approximately square rooms of about the same size (rooms C, D; Fig. 57); their south wall continues far enough toward the west to reconstruct a third room perhaps of similar size and shape beside them. The northwestern part of the building, north of the median wall, was partially destroyed by the later course of the Great Drain. What is preserved indicates perhaps a court or open space at the northern corner (room B), with a smaller room beside it (room A). Farther to the west (room E) the plan is obscured by the addition of a tile-chip mosaic floor bordered by drains (a washing platform or perhaps a latrine) in a later phase of the building (after 86?), over what may have been another room in the northwestern series in the first phase. Published plans (e.g., *Agora* XIV, pl. 6) show the building continuing farther to the southwest, on the basis of wall fragments that may represent the continuation of the median wall, and a series of blocks on the line of its northwest, street wall. A jog in the southeast wall, however, suggests that walls farther to the west may belong to a different structure. Whatever the plan, the walls are remarkably thick given the small size of the rooms.

The structure was probably built in the early 4th century, at the same time that Building E and Early Building I were reconstructed; how it relates to Early Building I at its northern end is unclear. Some of its walls encroached on the area of the western room of Early Building I, the western wall of which lay under a fill of the late 5th–early 4th century, demonstrating that it was abandoned in the reconstruction. The 3rd-century pyre **30** was found in a fill that covered the southeast and southwest walls of room A of Early Building II, so the northern part of that building must have been abandoned by then (Fig. 65). Further complicating the picture is the fact

that the old western wall of Early Building I was at some point rebuilt and subsequently ran over the northern walls of Early Building II. Large amounts of pottery over the floors and walls suggest a final destruction no later than the Augustan period (lots Z 855–Z 862).

The building's contents provide few clues to its function. In the poorly preserved southwestern area, beyond the rooms that can be assigned to the building with confidence, D. B. Thompson excavated a floor covered with enough marble chips to make her suspect the presence of marbleworkers, but at a date previous to the building (lot Z 843, 5th century). Finds from the floors of the building (mostly from rooms A and C) are ambiguous. Consistent with workshop activity are: small amounts of marble and limestone chips here and there, but nowhere in quantity; a few bone eyelets (BI 1318, BI 1320, BI 1332) similar to those that occurred in large numbers in the House of Simon; and bone and bronze tools (B 2195, BI 1319). Clay and lead tokens (MC 1769, IL 2052), however, bespeak official operations. A miscellany of lead weights of different types (IL 2023, IL 2041, IL 2042, IL 2054) is consistent with industrial, commercial, or official use.

Three pyres have been found in the building: two in room E, one in room A.

28 (G 13:14) Figs. 57, 63

Section Γ, G/11,12–13/8,9, at 57.88–58.28 masl, lot Γ 448; LG, 2008. Dispersed.

In room E. A small area of scattered ceramics and ash in a layer dating in the first half of the 4th century; cut by pit G 13:13, also of the first half of the 4th century. A lopadion, ribbon-handled plates, pyre saucers, and tiny fragments of a pyre lekanis suggest that much of this material comes from a pyre. Other objects, however, are of types otherwise unknown in pyres: a tiny miniature plate, an unusual two-handled plate with a central recipient (like that on a kernos) and made of a pale yellow, non-Attic clay, a clay button/bead, and loomweights. A possible parallel for the kernos/plate was found in one of the Ambracian pyres (Andreou and Andreou 2000, pl. 150:β, lower left), another in an Athenian grave (Kapetanaki 1973, p. 278, no. 1, fig. 4:α). As far as one can tell from the coordinates (recorded in two different systems), pyres **28** (excavated in 2008) and **29** (excavated in 1933) are in about the same location (though the elevation of the latter cannot be determined), and it is possible that they are somehow related. No bone was recorded. A bowl containing pigment was found in the same layer.

Figure 63. Pyre 28, 375–350. ***Back row:*** **P 35722 (plate), P 35731 (lopadion).** ***Front row:*** **P 35715 (bowl), P 35725 (miniature plate), P 35723 (kernos-like vessel), MC 1780 (button/bead), MC 1783, MC 1782, MC 1781 (loomweights), P 35727, P 35724, P 35714, P 36041 (saucers). Fragments of six or seven uninventoried vessels not illustrated: lekanis, lekanis lid, ribbon-handled plate, rilled-rim plates, saucers.** Scale 1:4

Nineteen to 20 artifacts: pyre lekanis with lid, two ribbon-handled plates, two rilled-rim plates, small black-gloss bowl, six small saucers, lopadion (cooking ware), two-handled miniature kernos-like vessel (Corinthian? Cf. Corinth inv. C-37-2603, from pit 1937-1, of the second and early third quarter of the 4th century; for the deposit, see *Corinth* VII.3, pp. 221–222, deposit 90), miniature plate, three loomweights, clay button/bead (MC 1780–MC 1783, P 35714, P 35715, P 35722–P 35725, P 35727, P 35731, P 36041, six to seven uninventoried). Probably unrelated to the ritual deposit are the base of a black-gloss bowl (P 35721) and fragments from the belly of a red-figure oinochoe (P 35726).

375–350 (surrounding stratigraphy, uninventoried ribbon-handled plate similar to those in pyre **22** [375–360], shiny gloss of saucers [best paralleled in first half of 4th century], cooking-ware lopadion [shape best paralleled in the span 375–325])

29 (G 13:2) Figs. 57, 64

Section Z, 11/E, no lot; EV, 1933. Possibly disturbed.

In room E. Burnt "pocket" found while digging red earth that contained "late Hellenistic" pottery (discarded). No pit was discerned, but concentration in a "pocket" suggests that the pyre was in its original position and the layer in which it was buried contained Late Hellenistic intrusions. There is no evidence for the relationship of the pyre to building phases. No bone was recorded.

Five artifacts: type 25A′ lamp, early (360–330, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 287), two ribbon-handled plates, small saucer, lopadion with lid (cooking ware) (L 1217, P 2906–P 2908, one uninventoried).

360–340 (lamp)

Figure 64. Pyre 29, 360–340. P 2907 (lopadion), P 2906 (plate), P 2908 (saucer), L 1217 (lamp). Uninventoried fragment of rilled-rim plate not illustrated. Scale 1:4

30 (G 13:3) Figs. 7, 57, 65, 66

Section Z, 15–17/Στ–IA, lot Z 734; EV, 1933. Possibly disturbed.

Agora XXIX, p. 453.

In room A. Concentration of artifacts and burning in stratum, no pit discerned. The pyre lay below a Late Hellenistic fill with a smooth earth surface (strosis I, lot Z 733, second half of 2nd century). It is described as a black patch of earth with sherds, resting on a rough and uneven surface topping a fill that dates largely in the 4th century, to at least 325, with seven Hellenistic sherds perhaps intrusive from the level above (strosis II, lot Z 735). The fragmentary state of some of the pottery in the pyre suggests some disturbance. Strosis II, on which the pyre rested, covered the walls of room A (Fig. 65), demonstrating that the pyre postdates a change of plan or abandonment of this part of the building, other parts of which survived to the Late Hellenistic period. The pottery shows traces of burning. No bone was recorded.

Sixteen artifacts: type 29A lamp (270–250, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 406), pyre lekanis lid, two ribbon-handled plates, bowl with outturned rim (ca. 275, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 877), two large saucers with concave rims, two large saucers, three small saucers, saucer of unknown size, chytridion (household ware), two lopadia and one lid (household ware, *Agora* XXIX, no. 1474) (L 4077, P 2006–P 2008, P 34157–P 34164, four uninventoried).

270–260 (lamp)

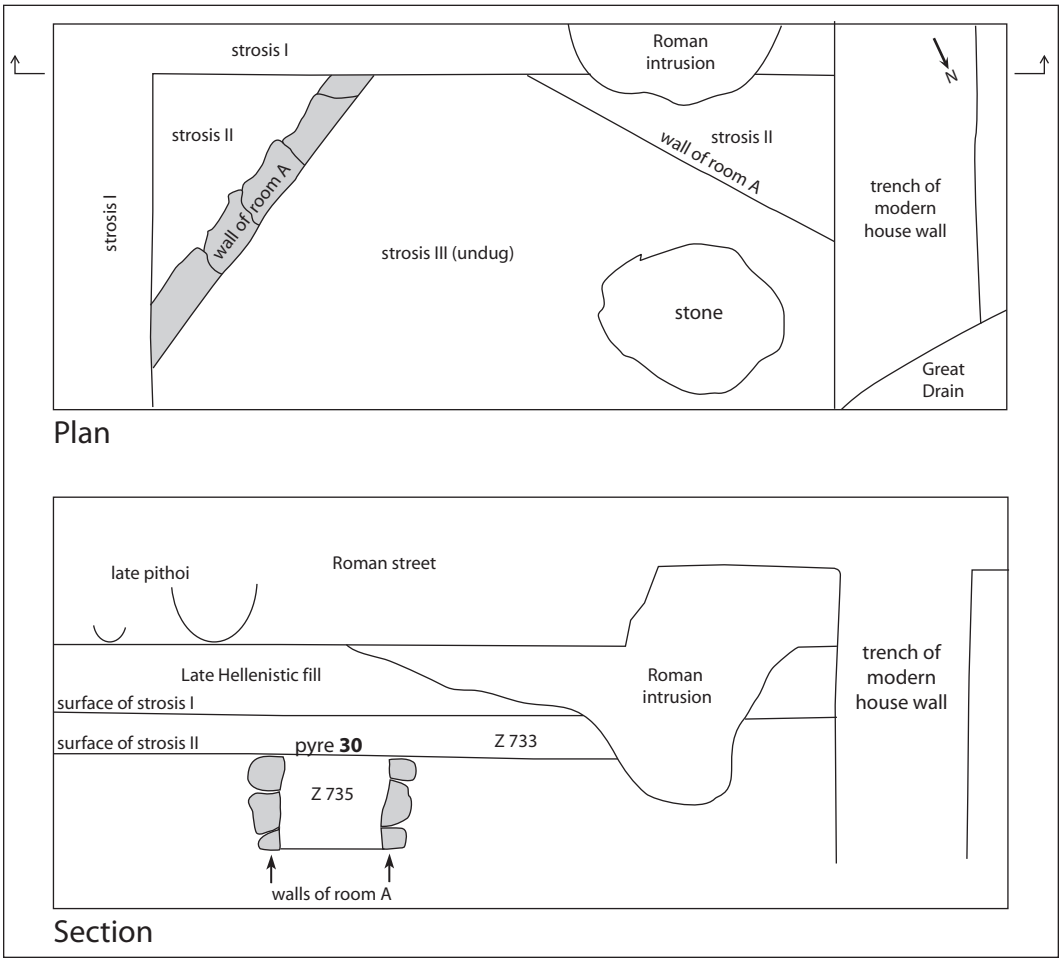

Figure 65. Trial trench in south corner of room A of Early Building II. Schematic plan (above), and cross-section (below) looking south at southern edge of trench, showing vertical position of pyre 30 on surface that ran over walls of room. Drawing S. I. Rotroff, based on notebook sketches by E. Vanderpool

Figure 66. Pyre 30, 270–260. *Back row:* P 2007 (plate), L 4077 (lamp), P 2006 (bowl). *Middle row:* P 34164 (plate), P 2008, P 34160, P 34161 (saucers), P 34162 (lopadion). *Front row:* P 34157–P 34159 (saucers), P 34163 (lekanis lid). Fragments of four uninventoried vessels not illustrated: lopadion, chytridion, saucers. Scale 1:4

Figure 67. Plan of Poros Building and House G, with pyres marked and coded for date. Drawing J. Travlos, with additions and alterations by S. I. Rotroff

The Industrial District

The Poros Building

The Poros Building (Fig. 67, Table 8) takes its name from the large poros limestone blocks that made up parts of its foundation (Crosby 1951). It consists of a large courtyard and two rows of square rooms on either side of an unroofed corridor. Four rooms at the northeast (the "annex"), which have a different orientation, may belong, or may be part of a different building (Crosby 1951, p. 170).

Built around the middle of the 5th century, the building was badly damaged at the end of the century. Heavy deposits of marble chips and dust show that marbleworkers subsequently occupied the northwest room and northern corridor and the annex (which shows no sign of a late-5th-century destruction). The building was remodeled in the 4th century (after about 350?), and it is perhaps at that time that a pebble mosaic was laid, traces of which were found here and there throughout the building. Later floors are largely lacking, and the history of the building cannot be traced through the Hellenistic period. Evidence for marbleworking, however, does not continue past the 4th century. The building was destroyed in the 1st century, probably by Sulla, and not rebuilt.

The Poros Building has generally been taken for a public building on the basis of its size and the eponymous blocks—more monumental, it is thought, than would be likely in a private structure. Suggested identifications

TABLE 8. BUILDING PHASES OF POROS BUILDING

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Comments*	*Pyre (Date)*
Phase 1	Mid-5th century to end of 5th century		–
Phase 2	End of 5th century to ca. 350	Occupation by marbleworkers	**31** (400–375)
Phase 3	Ca. 350–86		**32** (ca. 350) **33**(?) (350–325) **34**(?) (250–225)

have been a law court, an apartment building, civic offices (Crosby 1951, pp. 183–187; *Agora* XIV, p. 74), or the state prison (Vanderpool 1980). None of these identifications is convincing, although the last (with the sensational name "Prison of Socrates") has gained currency. For a variety of reasons, however, it should be abandoned. At the time of Socrates' execution, the building was occupied by marbleworkers; thus any descriptions of the prison in Plato's *Phaedo* are irrelevant to this particular structure. Wherever Socrates died, it was not here, and the much later statuette identified as Socrates and found in the ruins is there by chance, not as a commemoration of his death place. The medicine pots that Vanderpool saw as hemlock containers date in the 3rd century (*Agora* XXIX, p. 198) and are more likely to have held an ointment or liquid than a dry preparation. For additional critique of the identification, see Koumanoudes 1984, Hunter 1997, and Hall 2013.

Two certain pyres were found in the Poros Building and two more probable or possible ones; they cluster in the northwestern part of the structure. At the time they were buried the building was functioning as a workshop, and, in view of the plans of other industrial and commercial buildings around the public square, it is possible that this was its function from the beginning (Rotroff 2009, pp. 44–45). Iron slag in the destruction debris in the northeastern part of the building (Crosby 1951, p. 183) bears witness to ironworking here in the later Hellenistic period.

31 (D 17:7) Figs. 67, 68

Section OO, 58/ΛA, no lot; MC, 1949. Disturbed.
Agora IV, p. 237; *Agora* XII, p. 387.
L. 0.60 m.

In northeast corner of room 4 west. Concentration of artifacts, tiny slivers of bone, and burning in a layer of fill 0.25 m thick below a pebble mosaic (lot OO 651);

Figure 68. Pyre 31, 400–375. P 19979 (cup-skyphos), L 4586, L 4585 (lamps). Scale 1:4

no pit discerned. Below the pyre was a trodden surface of fill with roof tiles (lot OO 652, 5th century?). The original floor of the room lies another 0.15–0.20 m below the surface of the tile layer. The fill topped by roof tiles represents tile fall from the late-5th-century destruction of the building, which, if the pyre was found more or less in situ, was in the past by the time the pyre was burnt. It is probably too early to be associated with the laying of the pebble mosaic, but rather was disturbed when the mosaic was laid. There is no evidence of marbleworking in this room.

Three artifacts: two type 23A lamps (*Agora* IV, nos. 217, 218, 400–375), cup-skyphos (*Agora* XII, no. 599, ca. 400) (L 4585, L 4586, P 19979). Organic material: "a few bits of bone . . . two or three tiny slivers of bone" (missing).

400–375 (cup-skyphos, lamps)

32 (D 17:8) Figs. 7, 67, 69, 70

Section OO, 59/KZ, lot OO 626; MC, 1949. Undisturbed.

Young 1951a, p. 181; 1951b, pp. 114–115, pyre 1, pl. 50:a; *Agora* XII, p. 387; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 93, no. 23; Weikart 2002, pp. 82–83, 171, no. V 1.

L. 0.65, W. 0.35, D. 0.20 m.

Against east wall of room 5 west. Artifacts, bone, carbon, and ash in pit in floor sequence. The pyre lay below a floor covered with marble dust (lot OO 625, after ca. 350), the lowest floor that can be associated with the north wall of the room. The pit extends down into a layer with marbleworking waste (lot OO 635, first half of 4th century). The pyre thus postdates the arrival of the marbleworkers, and may be associated with the 4th-century reconstruction of the building. It contained scattered carbon and there was a heavy ash deposit in the chytridion. Some of the pottery is burnt; there were also fragments of burnt mud brick or clay. A lekane and the lower part of an amphora set into the floor in this room may have served industrial purposes.

Fourteen artifacts: bowl-kantharos, fresh resting surface (*Agora* XII, no. 687, ca. 350), pyre lekanis with lid, two ribbon-handled plates, rilled-rim plate (ca. 350, *Agora* XII, no. 1572), plate with convex rim, six small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware), lopadion with lid (cooking ware) (P 20059–P 20072). Small fragments of pyre pottery found in layer over pyre (lot OO 625), from this or another pyre: lid of covered bowl, small saucer, three convex-rim saucers or small plates. Organic material: animal bone; charcoal (olive [Ntinou]).

Ca. 350 (bowl-kantharos)

Figure 69. Pyre 32, ca. 350. ***Back row:*** **P 20063, P 20064 (plates), P 20059 (bowl-kantharos), P 20062, P 20061 (plates).** ***Middle row:*** **P 20065 (chytridion), P 20060 (lekanis), P 20066 (lopadion).** ***Front row:*** **P 20067–P 20072 (saucers).** Scale 1:5

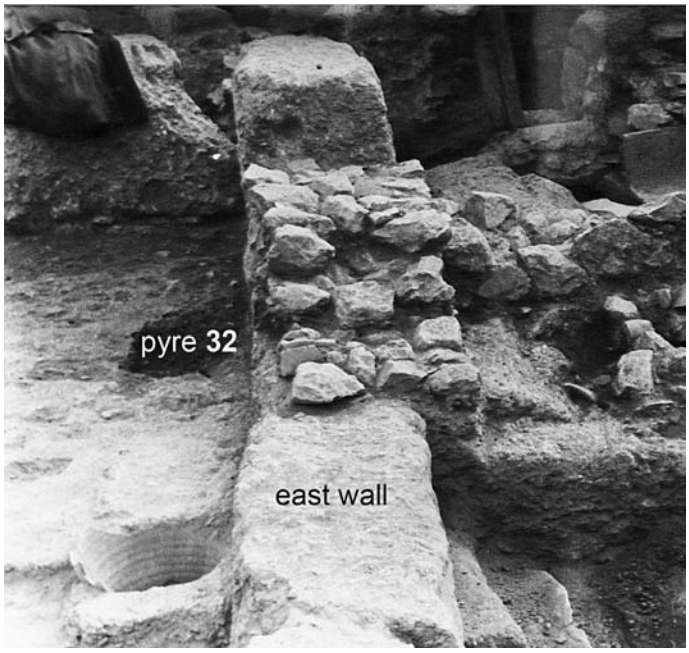

Figure 70. Pyre 32 in situ, looking north, with east wall of northwestern room of Poros Building. Note lekane set into floor of room.

33(?) (D 17:13) Figs. 67, 71

Section OO, 60/KH, lot OO 445; MC, 1949. Disturbed.

Near north end of corridor, beside its west wall. Concentration of artifacts, tiny scraps of bone, and carbon in stratum, no pit discerned. The objects lay under an uneven strosis level with the bottom of the rebuilt west wall of the corridor, perhaps dug into a layer topped with marble chips (lot OO 449, second quarter of 4th century, with a probably intrusive type 28A lamp). The pyre postdates the 4th-century reconstruction of the Poros Building. Clay balls like the ones found here have come to light in two other pyres (**4**, **12**), but this assemblage lacks most characteristic pyre objects, and its skyphos is full-size (rare but not unknown in pyres). Its identity as the remains of a disturbed pyre is therefore questionable.

Five artifacts: Attic skyphos (350–325, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 150), small fragment of chytridion (cooking ware), clay ball, two bone eyelets (BI 638, BI 639, MC 811, P 36780, one uninventoried). Organic material: "few tiny scraps of bone" (missing).

350–325 (skyphos)

Figure 71. Pyre(?) 33, 350–325. P 36780 (skyphos), BI 639, BI 638 (bone eyelets), MC 811 (clay ball). Uninventoried chytridion fragment not illustrated. Scale 1:2

Figure 72. Pyre(?) 34, 250–225. L 4570 (lamp), P 19907 (kantharos). Two coins not illustrated. Scale 1:3

34(?) (D 17:14) Figs. 67, 72

Section OO, 59/KH, lot OO 623; MC, 1949. Disturbed.

Agora IV, p. 237.

Against east wall of room 5 west. Concentration of artifacts, ash, carbon, and a few bones in stratum, no pit discerned. The contents rested on or above a layer that is said to be at about the same level as the pebble mosaic floor, and thus the pyre probably postdates the laying of that floor. It was probably burnt in situ, though it is badly disturbed. The concentration of burning, burnt bone, and pottery suggests a pyre. That is how the excavator interpreted it in the notebook, and the lamp and angular kantharos represent two-thirds of the classic pyre assemblage of the mid-3rd century. The lamp is moldmade, however, and may be significantly later than the kantharos, which cannot date much later than the middle of the 3rd century. Moldmade lamps were probably introduced around 250, but type 42D is not one of the earliest. No lamps of this type have been inventoried from deposits laid down before ca. 200 (though uninventoried fragments may exist in the lots). Howland suggests, however, that type 42D was contemporary with type 42C, with which it shares technical details (*Agora* IV, p. 132). If this is correct, it may have been introduced earlier, perhaps in the third quarter of the 3rd century, and it is just possible that the lamp and the kantharos were in use at the same time. The coin is much earlier, but bronze coins often circulated for some time.

Four artifacts: type 42D lamp (*Agora* IV, no. 537, dating uncertain), small Hellenistic angular kantharos, fresh resting surface (ca. 250, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 226), two coins (*Agora* XXVI, variety 50, 307–ca. 300, the other disintegrated) (L 4570, P 19907, OO-1067). Organic material: one small burnt fragment of bone extant.

250–225 (kantharos, lamp)

House G

"House" is a misnomer for this structure, the original plan of which cannot be recovered (Fig. 67). It lay on the west side of the Street of the Marble Workers, across from the Poros Building. Its western side was completely obliterated by Roman construction; all that remains are the two rooms that form the east side of the building, part of a courtyard, and a freestanding shed on the north side of that court. The structure may have been built in the 5th century and seems to have functioned throughout the 4th century; it was also occupied in the Hellenistic period (Young 1951a, pp. 234–236).

Figure 73. Pyre 35, 350–330. ***Back row:*** **P 19868 (plate), P 19862 (skyphos), P 19863 (chytridion).** ***Middle row:*** **P 19864 (chytridion), P 19865 (lopadion).** ***Front row:*** **P 19869–P 19877 (saucers), P 19867 (lekanis lid), P 19866 (lopadion lid), P 19878 (plate).** Scale 1:4

Indications of industrial activity include many layers of marble dust and chips, dating in the 4th century. The two pyres within the house were dug into the uppermost of these marble-chip layers. A third pyre lay in a clump but possibly out of place to the north of the shed.

35 (B 17:4) Figs. 1, 6, 67, 73

Section IIII, pyre in room 1, area W of street, lot IIII 299; RSY, 1949. Undisturbed.

Young 1951b, p. 127, pyre 11, pl. 53:b; *Agora* XII, p. 384; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 94, no. 28; *Agora* XXIX, p. 436; Weikart 2002, pp. 89, 173–174, no. V 5 a.

L. 0.70, W. 0.45, D. 0.20 m.

In courtyard. Artifacts, bone, and cinders in irregular pit in floor sequence. The pit had been dug into a marble- and limestone-chip layer over bedrock (lot IIII 279, 5th and 4th century mixed with Late Hellenistic disturbance), and was covered by a Late Hellenistic layer with tile fragments (lot IIII 278). It may be associated with the abandonment of the house, since the marble- and limestone-chip layer was laid down during the structure's last phase. The pyre was burnt in situ (earth surface reddened).

Seventeen artifacts: Corinthian skyphos (350–330, cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 325, 326), pyre lekanis lid (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1445), rolled-rim plate, ribbon-handled plate, three large saucers, six small saucers (*Agora* XXIX, nos. 1465, 1469), two chytridia (cooking ware), lopadion with lid (cooking ware, *Agora* XXIX, no. 1485), lopadion lid (cooking ware) (P 19862–P 19878). Organic material: animal bone; charcoal (olive [Ntinou]).

350–330 (skyphos)

36 (B 17:5) Figs. 4, 67, 74, 75

Section IIII, lot IIII 300; RSY, 1949. Disturbed.

Young 1951b, pp. 128–129, pyre 12, pl. 53:c; *Agora* XII, p. 384; Müller-Zeis 1994, pp. 93–94, no. 27; *Agora* XXIX, p. 436; Weikart 2002, pp. 89, 174, no. V 5 b.

P.L. 0.47, W. 0.51, D. 0.20 m.

In courtyard. Artifacts, bone, ash, carbon, and cinders in pit in floor sequence. The rectangular pit was cut into a white strosis with marble chips (lot IIII 282), filled with red earth, and the surface then trodden hard. The pyre is thus subsequent

Figure 74. Pyre 36, 315–300. ***Back row:*** **P 20141 (bowl-kantharos), P 20143 (lekanis), P 20142 (skyphos).** ***Middle row:*** **P 20147 (lopadion), P 20144–P 20146 (plates).** ***Front row:*** **P 20148–P 20151 (saucers). Alabastron ST 460 not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

to the creation of the marbleworking surface, but the hard-trodden surface indicates continuing use of the area. It was disturbed by a robbing trench, not by an original foundation trench of the shed (*pace* Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 54; Young's published account is unclear on this point, but the notebook account is unambiguous). The amount of ash, carbon, and cinders was small but lay at the bottom of the pit, suggesting that the pyre was burnt in situ.

Twelve artifacts: small Attic skyphos, fresh resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1395, 315–300), bowl-kantharos, slightly worn resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, no. 130, 315–300), pyre lekanis with lid, two ribbon-handled plates, rilled-rim plate, large saucer, three small saucers, lopadion with lid (household ware), poros dummy alabastron (P 20141–P 20151, ST 460, the last not illustrated). Organic material: animal bone.

315–300 (drinking cups)

Figure 75. Pyre 36 in situ, looking north, showing bone and vessels broken in situ; later robbing trench at top.

37 (C 17:2) Figs. 4, 6, 67, 76, 77

Section IIII, 36/ΛΔ, no lot; GRE, 1947. Disturbed.

Thompson 1948, pp. 166–167, pl. 46:3; Young 1951b, pp. 129–130, pyre 13, pl. 54:a; *Agora* IV, p. 235; *Agora* XII, p. 386; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 95, no. 35; *Agora* XXIX, p. 440; Weikart 2002, pp. 89–90, 174, no. V 5 c.

Figure 76. Pyre 37, 275–260. ***Back row:*** **P 18456 (Classical kantharos), P 18455, P 18457 (Hellenistic kantharoi), P 18472 (unguentarium), P 18471 (jug).** ***Upper middle row:*** **P 18476, P 18475 (lopadia), P 18468 (lekanis), P 18460–P 18463 (small saucers), P 18470, P 18469 (chytridia).** ***Lower middle row:*** **P 18464–P 18467 (large saucers), L 4335 (lamp).** ***Front row:*** **P 18474, P 18473, P 18459, P 18458 (plates).** Scale 1:5

Immediately north of house. Concentration of artifacts, small pieces of bone, and burnt material in stratum, no pit discerned. The pyre is cut by the trench of a wall of a Roman house to north. It was found in digging "Hellenistic" fill; no further information about the stratigraphy or about the pottery from that fill is available. Although the pyre was apparently not burnt in situ, the objects lay in a compact mass, not much disturbed, and they are mostly complete.

Twenty-three artifacts: type 25D′ lamp, worn resting surface (*Agora* IV, no. 353, 335–270), Classical kantharos, slightly worn resting surface (ca. 275, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 16), two small Hellenistic angular kantharoi, worn resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, nos. 219, 222, 275–250), small jug (*Agora* XXIX, no. 527), pyre lekanis with lid, fusiform unguentarium, category 2 (*Agora* XXXIII, no. 411), two ribbon-handled plates, two rilled-rim plates, four large saucers, four small saucers, two chytridia (household ware), two lopadia with lids (household ware) (L 4335, P 18455–P 18476). Organic material: "a number of bits of bone" (missing).

275–260 (drinking cups, lamp)

Figure 77. Pyre 37 in situ, looking northwest, documenting presence of bone; Roman wall trench at north.

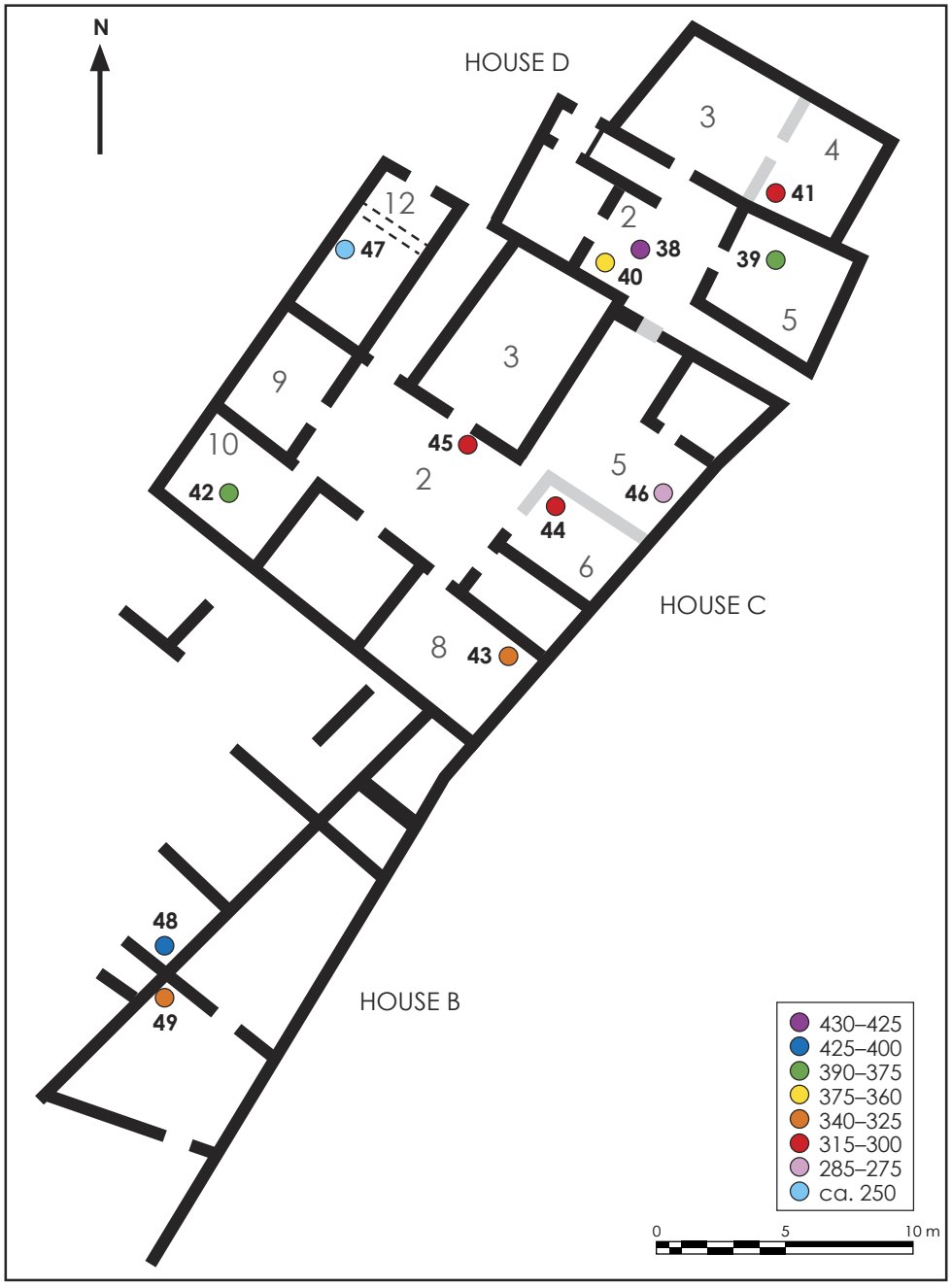

Figure 78. Plan of Houses B–D, with pyres marked and coded for date.
Drawing S. I. Rotroff

House D

Immediately north of the larger House C (see below) and sharing a wall with it, House D consists of rooms around a courtyard (Fig. 78, Table 9). It was built before the middle of the 5th century and a little later than House C, but their histories are closely intertwined (Young 1951a, 217–226; Tsakirgis 2005, pp. 76–77). Pyre **38** was buried during the first phase of the house. House D was remodeled when the Great Drain was built, in the early 4th century; in this second phase it was connected to House C by a doorway. Pyre **39**, though disturbed, may have been deposited when the floor of this second phase was laid, although it is slightly later than Young's

TABLE 9. BUILDING PHASES OF HOUSE D

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Comments*	*Pyre (Date)*
Phase 1	Before mid-5th century to beginning of 4th century	–	**38** (430–425)
Phase 2	Beginning of 4th century to ca. mid-4th century	Connected to House C	**39** (390–375) **40** (375–360)
Phase 3	Ca. mid-4th century to later 4th century	–	–
Abandonment	Ca. 315 or later	–	**41** (315–300)

estimated date for that event. A second remodeling took place "some time in the 4th century," at which point the connecting doorway with House C was blocked; pyre **40** falls within that phase. Young saw pyre **41**, dug into a layer that ran over the foundation of the wall between rooms 3 and 4, as symptomatic of this abandonment, which therefore must date before the pyre's burial, between 315 and 300, at the same time as the abandonment or last remodeling of House C.

At least in its second and third phases, this house was devoted to industrial activity. A large hearth was inserted in the corner of the courtyard in phase 3, iron and bronze waste was found under the floor of phase 3, and marble chips in the floor of phase 2.

38 (B 18:5) Figs. 78, 79

Section NN, no lot; RSY, 1948. Undisturbed.

Thompson 1949, p. 216, pl. 39:3–5; Young 1951a, pp. 218–221, pl. 73; *Agora* XII, p. 385.

L. 0.40, W. 0.40, D. 0.15 m.

Near center of courtyard (room 2). Pottery, slivers of burnt bone, and heavy deposit of carbonized material and cinders in pit in floor sequence, with some pottery and burning found outside pit. The deposit lay under a hard red clay floor (layer 5, lot NN 890), the lowest floor surface preserved in the courtyard. It was probably deposited in the course of the first phase of the house, when the floor was renewed. Hardened and reddened earth under the deposit indicates that the pyre was burnt in situ. Young did not publish this with the pyres and apparently had some doubts about its identity as a pyre, but the types of pottery are appropriate for a pyre, and the bone preserved is similar to that of other pyres.

Figure 79. Pyre 38, 430–425. *Back row:* **P 19318 (plate), P 19314 (skyphos), P 19315 (Rheneia cup).** *Front row:* **P 19313 (lekanis), P 19317 (Lykinic lekanis). Squat lekythos P 19316 and uninventoried saucer fragment not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

Seven artifacts: Corinthian skyphos (435–425, a bit earlier than *Agora* XII, no. 321), Rheneia cup (ca. 425, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 459), wishbone-handled lekanis with lid, Lykinic lekanis with lid (*Agora* XII, no. 1248, ca. 425), squat lekythos (ca. 425, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1124, not illustrated), rilled-rim plate (ca. 425, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1023), small saucer (P 19313–P 19318, one uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

430–425 (drinking cups)

39 (B 18:4) Figs. 78, 80

Section NN, lot NN 889; RSY, 1948. Disturbed.

Young 1951b, pp. 116–117, pyre 3, pl. 50:c; *Agora* IV, p. 235; *Agora* XII, p. 384; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 94, no. 29; *Agora* XXIX, p. 437; Weikart 2002, pp. 87–88, 173, no. V 4 c.

L. 0.45, W. 0.45 m.

Near center of room 5. Artifacts, bone, and cinders in pit in floor sequence. The pyre was found in digging layer 7 (lot NN 868), probably the floor associated with the second phase of the house. The stratigraphy above it was disturbed, and the pit may have been dug from a higher level. Disturbance is attested by the absence of a lekanis and lopadia to go with lids, as well as fragments of more pyre vessels, perhaps from this pyre, dispersed in layers 7 (lot NN 868, fragments of three rilled-rim plates and at least four small saucers), 6 (lot NN 867, fragments of rilled-rim plate and small saucer) and 5 (lot NN 866, lamp L 4440, fragments of three ribbon-handled plates, one large saucer with convex rim). Except for L 4440, these are not included in the list of objects below. Chronologically the pyre belongs within the second phase of the house. Young conjectured, however, that the pyre had been dug from the level of layer 6 (which was not present above the pyre), a layer that ran over the foundation of the wall between rooms 2 and 5 and therefore should date after the abandonment of the house (Young 1951b, p. 116). An abandonment date as early as 375 seems unlikely, however; the presence of pyre material in upper levels is probably to be explained by later disturbance. A lead *defixio* (IL 997, Curbera and Jordan 1998) was found in the postdestruction debris in this room, along with some fragments of pyre material (layer 4, lot NN 534; Young 1951a, pp. 222–223). It is possible that the curse had originally been deposited in this pyre (cf. Jordan and Rotroff 1999). The hard red earth under the pyre indicates that it was burnt in situ, but a few centimeters of earth between the floor of the pit and the vessels suggests vessels were cleaned out and then thrown back in.

Nineteen artifacts: type 24C lamp (*Agora* IV, no. 257, 400–375, from layer 5, above pyre), Corinthian skyphos (ca. 390, slightly later than *Agora* XII, no. 322), small bolsal (400–390, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 556), small one-handler (ca. 390, slightly later than *Agora* XII, no. 772), pyre lekanis lid, ribbon-handled plate, 11 small

Figure 80. Pyre 39, 390–375. ***Back row:*** **P 19296 (skyphos), L 4440 (lamp), P 19298 (bolsal), P 19297 (one-handler), P 19299 (lekanis lid).** ***Front row:*** **P 19302–P 19308 (saucers), P 19300, P 19301 (lopadion lids). Fragments of five uninventoried vessels not illustrated: ribbon-handled plate, saucers.** Scale 1:4

saucers (one with disk foot), two lopadion lids (cooking ware) (L 4440, P 19296–P 19308, five uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

390–375 (drinking cups, lamp)

40 (B 18:3) Figs. 78, 81

Section NN, lot NN 891; RSY, 1948. Possibly disturbed.

Young 1951b, pp. 119–120, pyre 5, pl. 51:b; *Agora* IV, p. 235; *Agora* XII, p. 384; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 93, no. 25; *Agora* XXIX, p. 436; Weikart 2002, pp. 87, 173, no. V 4 a.

Beside south wall of courtyard (room 2). Concentration of artifacts, burnt bone, and charcoal in floor makeup consisting of earth, dug bedrock, and marble chips, no pit discerned. The pyre was partly covered by a pebble floor associated with phase 3 of the house, but the fill in which it was found cuts through a floor associated with the second phase. It was probably laid in the course of the second phase, and it predates the abandonment of the house substantially. The artifacts rest on a heavy layer of charcoal and ash, with burnt bone throughout, suggesting burning in situ.

Thirty artifacts: type 24C′ lamp (410–370), Corinthian skyphos (375–360, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 324), two bolsals (early 4th century, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 556), pyre lekanis with lid, fragment of another lekanis, unglazed plate with thickened rim, four ribbon-handled plates, fragment of ribbon-handled(?) plate with white painted design (not illustrated), three rilled-rim plates, 13 small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware), lopadion with lid (cooking ware) (L 4475, P 19322–P 19344, six uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

375–360 (skyphos, similarity to material in pyre **22**)

Figure 81. Pyre 40, 375–360. ***Back row:*** **P 19322, P 19323, P 19325–P 19327 (plates).** ***Middle row:*** **P 19332 (plate with thickened rim), P 19328 (bolsal), P 19331 (lekanis), P 19329 (bolsal), P 19330 (skyphos).** ***Front row:*** **P 19334 (chytridion), P 19335–P 19344 (saucers), L 4475 (lamp), P 19333 (lopadion). Fragments of white-decorated plate P 19324 and of six uninventoried vessels not illustrated: lekanis, ribbon-handled plates, saucers.** Scale 1:5

41 (B 18:1) Figs. 4, 78, 82, 83

Section NN, 63/ΛH, no lot; RSY, 1948. Slightly disturbed.

Young 1951b, pp. 117–119, pyre 4, pl. 51:a; *Agora* IV, p. 235; *Agora* XII, p. 384; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 94, no. 30; *Agora* XXIX, p. 436; Weikart 2002, pp. 87, 173, no. V 4 b.

P.L. 0.65, W. 0.80, D. 0.12 m.

In southwest corner of room 4. Artifacts, burnt bone, and cinders in round pit. The east side of the pit was destroyed by a Roman pit, but the deposit appears to be largely intact. The pyre pit was dug through layer 1 (lot NN 871) and into layer 2

Figure 82. Pyre 41, 315–300. ***Back row:*** **P 19048, P 19049 (skyphoi), P 19047 (guttus), P 19057, P 19058 (chytridia), ST 423 (alabastron).** ***Middle row:*** **P 19052, P 19051 (plates), P 19046 (lekanis), P 19050 (one-handler), P 19054, P 19053 (covered bowls).** ***Front row:*** **P 19059–P 19070 (saucers), P 19056 (lopadion lid and fragment of body), P 19055 (lopadion and lid), L 4400 (lamp). Fragmentary saucer P 19071 not illustrated.** Scale 1:5

(lot NN 872), both of which overlay the foundation of the wall between rooms 3 and 4. Hence the pyre may postdate the abandonment of the house considerably. The hardened and reddened floor of the pit and the location of cinders under the pottery indicate the pyre was burnt in situ.

Twenty-eight artifacts: type 25B′ lamp, slightly worn resting surface (*Agora* IV, no. 319, 340–310), two Corinthian skyphoi, one with fresh resting surface, the other slightly worn (325–275, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 1398), one-handler (325–300, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 856), pyre lekanis with lid, two covered bowls with lids, guttus (325–300, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 1195; see *Agora* XXIX, p. 173, for date), two ribbon-handled plates, four large saucers, nine small saucers (one not illustrated), two chytridia (household ware), two lopadia with lids (household ware), poros dummy alabastron (L 4400, P 19046–P 19071, ST 423). Organic material: "a few fragments of burned bones" (missing).

315–300 (drinking cups, guttus, household-ware cooking shapes)

Figure 83. Pyre 41 in situ, looking east, showing stacked saucers and vessels broken in situ; Roman pit at top.

TABLE 10. BUILDING PHASES OF HOUSE C

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Comments*	*Pyre (Date)*
Phase 1	Before mid-5th century to beginning of 4th century	–	–
Phase 2	Beginning of 4th century to shortly after mid-4th century or slightly later	Connected to House D	**42** (385–375)
Phase 3	Shortly after mid-4th century or slightly later to later 4th century	–	**43** (340–325)
Abandonment/ remodeling	Ca. 315 or later	–	**44** (ca. 315) **45**(?) (ca. 315 or later) **46** (285–275)
Continued use of room 12	To 2nd century	–	**47** (ca. 250)

House C

House C lies between Houses D and B, with which it shares party walls (Fig. 78, Table 10). Excavation recovered its complete plan, consisting of a series of rooms arranged around a courtyard and entered from the west (the Street of the Marble Workers). It was built in the 5th century, probably before its middle, then remodeled when the Great Drain was built to its east, in the early 4th century. During this second phase, a door was cut connecting House C with House D to the north. A second remodeling took place shortly after the middle of the 4th century. Young regarded the pyres that were burnt in situ in the main part of the house (**43**, **44**, **46**) as evidence for its abandonment, which he therefore dated "some time in the second half of the fourth century" (Young 1951a, p. 224) or "by the end of the century" (Young 1951b, p. 113). Pyres **44** and **46** were dug through layers that passed over interior walls of the house—probably an indication of abandonment, but a remodeling is also possible, and seems to be indicated by a floor over pyre **44**. Whether abandonment or remodeling, the event dated no later than ca. 315, when the earlier of the two was buried.

The house fell into ruin in the course of the 3rd century. Reexamination of pottery from the trenches above the south wall of the court and the south wall of the house, which Young had dated in the "first part of the 3rd century" (Young 1951a, p. 225), revealed fragments dating as late as the last quarter of the 3rd century: from lot NN 558, a rim fragment of a West Slope baggy kantharos (cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 234); from lot NN 570, two fragments of an early floral moldmade bowl (cf. *Agora* XXII, p. 50, no. 49, pls. 8, 73). Red layers immediately above the floors of the house, some of them composed of decayed mud brick, contained pottery mostly from the 4th century, but characteristic 3rd-century material also occurs (e.g., moldmade bowls, West Slope kantharoi and hemispherical cups, dating as late as the end of the century), sometimes along with one or two later Hellenistic or Early Roman pieces in their upper parts (mudbrick layers: lots NN 506, NN 518–NN 520, NN 563; layers immediately over floor: NN 502, NN 507, NN 521, NN 534, NN 557). Some sort of subsequent use of the area is indicated by the well in the courtyard (B 19:9), which remained open throughout the Hellenistic period, to be filled with what may be Sullan destruction debris (very fragmentary) around 50.

Room 12, at the northern corner of the house, had a separate entrance and may have served as a shop; it continued in use, though possibly reduced in size, until the early 2nd century, to judge by the date when its cistern was filled (B 18:13, filled ca. 190; *Agora* XXIX, p. 437). A well in the room also contained fragments of pottery dating as late as the first quarter of the 2nd century (lot NN 500).

Pyre **42** was buried during phase 2 of the house, though it was dispersed in the course of later building activities; if the initial date of this phase can be stretched somewhat later than the estimated early 4th century, the pyre might be associated with the reconstruction itself. Pyre **43** falls within the third phase of occupation, or conceivably just after its abandonment, if the third phase was a short one. Pyres **44–46** date late in the history of the house, though at a time when the area was still in use (though possibly ruinous). Pyre **47** was dedicated during the later occupation of room 12.

42 (A 19:1) Figs. 78, 84

Section NN, 84–87/MZ–N, lot NN 584; RSY, 1947. Dispersed.
Agora XII, p. 383.

In room 10. Vessels from an earlier pyre were found dispersed in the makeup of the latest "floor" in the room, with tile fragments trodden into its surface (lot NN 584). This layer and the one below it (lot NN 593) run over the wall between rooms 9 and 10, so either they postdate the destruction of the house or indicate yet another change in its plan. In either case, the trodden surface suggests that the area continued to be used. The tile layer dates to the early 3rd century or slightly later (two Classical kantharoi with flaring handle spurs, one possible Hellenistic baggy kantharos fragment). The pyre, however, is contemporary with the second phase of the house, and, if the beginning of the phase could be downdated a bit, could be connected with this reconstruction. However that may be, it was subsequently disturbed and some of the objects tossed into later floor makeup/debris. Some of the pottery shows signs of burning. No bone was recorded.

Eleven artifacts: type 23C lamp (ca. 375), small Attic skyphos, fresh resting surface (400–375, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 349), pyre lekanis with lid, palmette squat lekythos, ribbon-handled plate, three small saucers, three lopadia with lids (cooking ware) (L 4508, P 19466–P 19470, P 34182–P 34185, one uninventoried). Probably

Figure 84. Pyre 42, 385–375. ***Back row:*** **P 19467 (skyphos), P 19468 (lekanis), P 19466 (plate).** ***Middle row:*** **P 34184 (lopadion, lid fragments not illustrated), L 4508 (lamp), P 19469, P 19470, P 34182 (saucers).** ***Front row:*** **P 34185 (lopadion), P 34183 (lekythos). Lid of lopadion P 34185 and fragments of uninventoried lopadion not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

unrelated to the ritual deposit are a fragment of a red-figure oinochoe (P 19464, *Agora* XXX, no. 765) and four small fragments of a Panathenaic amphora (P 19465).

385–375 (skyphos, lamp)

43 (B 19:3) Figs. 78, 85, 86

Section NN, 85/ΛA, no lot; RSY, 1947. Undisturbed.

Young 1951b, pp. 120–121, pyre 6, pl. 51:c; *Agora* IV, p. 235; *Agora* XII, p. 385; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 94, no. 31; *Agora* XXIX, p. 437; Weikart 2002, pp. 85, 172, no. V 3 c.

L. 0.75, W. 0.65 m.

Near east corner of room 8. Artifacts, burnt bone, burnt sticks, and large cinders in a shallow pit dug into surface of layer 3 (lots NN 566, NN 567, first half of 4th century with at least two intrusive 3rd-century fragments), and covered by layer 2 (lots NN 564, NN 565, 4th and 3rd century). Some cinders from pyre in layer 2. These strata lay above the first floor of the third phase of the house. Young believed layer 2, over the pyre, was associated with the abandonment of the house, although the mudbrick layer representing decay of the walls was not found in this room. The date of the pyre, however, probably not later than 325, requires either that the house was abandoned rather shortly after the initiation of the third phase, or, more likely, that the pyre was buried during the span of phase 3. The hard baked floor of the pit indicates burning in situ, with charred sticks 0.06 and 0.10 m in diameter preserved; some of the pottery is burnt.

Nineteen artifacts: type 25A′ lamp, early (360–330, cf. *Agora* IV, no. 287), two small Attic skyphoi, one with fresh resting surface (350–325, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 150), one-handler (ca. 325, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 763), pyre lekanis with lid, two ribbon-handled plates, two rilled-rim plates (ca. 325, *Agora* XII, no. 1045), plate with concave rim (*Agora* XII, no. 1573), six small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware), lopadion with lid (cooking ware), poros dummy alabastron (L 4176, P 17704–P 17721, ST 385). Organic material: "burned bones . . . found mostly together in a mass" (visible in excavation photograph but now missing).

340–325 (drinking cups, lamp)

Figure 85. Pyre 43, 340–325. ***Back row:*** **P 17706 (skyphos), P 17707, P 17708, P 17709 (plates), ST 385 (alabastron).** ***Middle row:*** **P 17705 (skyphos), P 17710, P 17711 (plates), P 17721 (chytridion).** ***Front row:*** **P 17712–P 17717 (saucers), P 17718 + P 17719 (lekanis), L 4176 (lamp), P 17704 (one-handler), P 17720 (lopadion).** Scale 1:4

Figure 86. Pyre 43 in situ, looking north, documenting the presence of bone

44 (B 19:5) Figs. 1, 4, 6, 78, 87–89

Section NN, no lot; RSY, 1947. Undisturbed.

Young 1951b, pp. 124–125, pyre 8, pls. 49:c, 52:b; *Agora* XII, p. 385; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 95, no. 33; *Agora* XXIX, p. 437; Weikart 2002, pp. 85, 172, no. V 3 b.

L. 0.85, W. 0.85, D. 0.25 m.

Near northern corner of room 6. Artifacts, bone, burnt logs, and cinders in square pit dug from level of layer 5 (lot NN 510), through layers 5 and 6 (lot NN 512); thin clay floor laid over it (layer 4, lot NN 509, 4th century to first quarter of 3rd century). Young identified layer 6 as the latest house floor. The layers above it (layers 5 and 4) continue over the wall between rooms 5 and 6 (cf. pyre **46**), and Young

Figure 87. Pyre 44, ca. 315. ***Back row:*** **P 18544–P 18547 (stacked rilled-rim saucer, rilled-rim plate, ribbon-handled plates), P 18542 (kantharos), P 18539 (calyx cup), ST 418 (alabastron), P 18541, P 18540 (chytridia).** ***Front row:*** **P 18548, P 18549 (lopadia), P 18543 (lekanis), P 18550–P 18553 (saucers). Coins not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

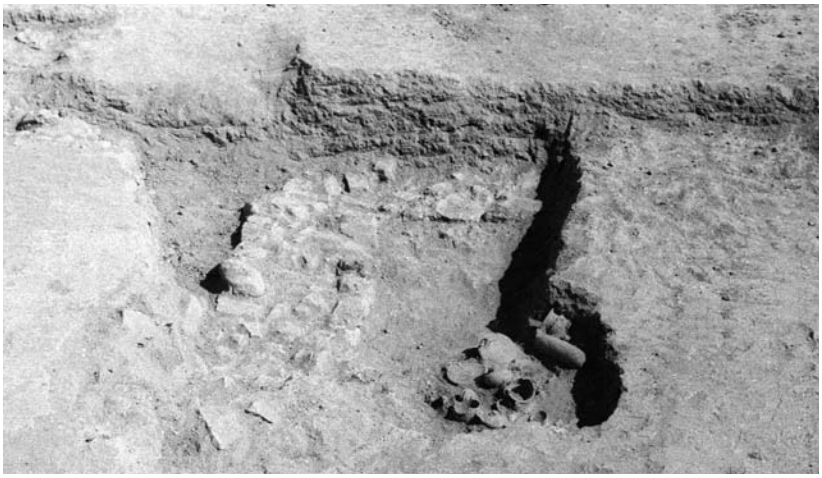

Figure 88. Pyre 44 in situ, looking north, top of layer 4 at right, running over northeast wall of room 6 of House C

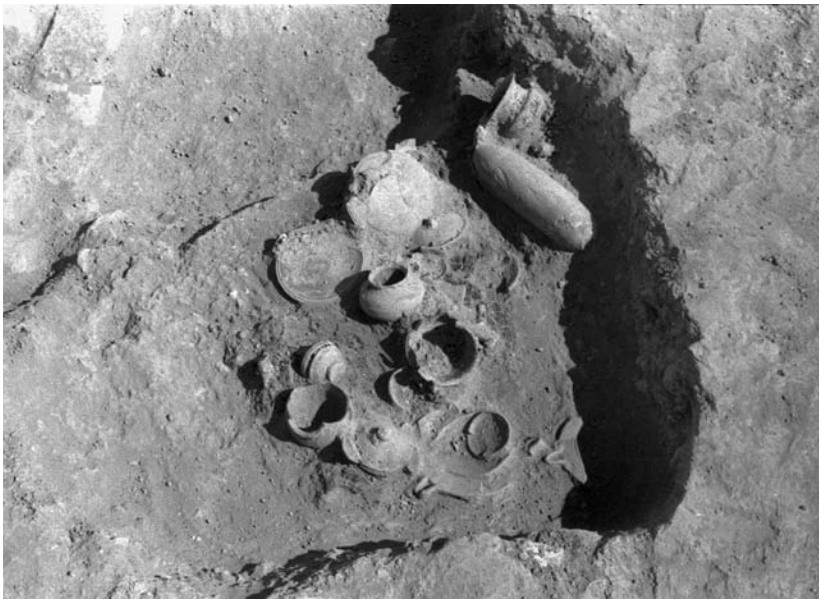

Figure 89. Pyre 44 in situ, looking north, showing stacked vessels, lopadion with lid in place

concluded that pyre **44** was buried after the abandonment of the house. Layer 4, however, appeared to be a deliberate clay floor (in Young's estimation), suggesting continued occupation, with the pyre associated with floor renewal. The stratigraphic situation may therefore indicate a renovation rather than abandonment. The pyre lies well below the mudbrick layer of wall decay in this room (layer 2, lot NN 506). The edges and bottom of the pit were reddened, indicating burning in situ. Wood cinders and logs mixed with bones lay below the pottery.

Twenty-one artifacts: kantharos, rotelle handle (*Agora* XXIX, no. 101, 325–300), calyx cup, fresh resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, no. 118, 325–300), pyre lekanis with lid, two ribbon-handled plates, rilled-rim plate, large rilled-rim saucer, four small saucers, two chytridia (cooking ware), two lopadia with lids (one household ware, the other with household-ware body and cooking-ware lid), poros dummy alabastron, five coins (three legible: one of *Agora* XXVI, variety 38, 350s to early or mid-330s; two of *Agora* XXVI, variety [41–43], early or mid-330s to 322/317) (P 18539–P 18553, ST 418, NN-2050, NN-2051a, b). Organic material: animal bone.

Ca. 315 (drinking cups, conjunction of cooking ware and household ware for the cooking shapes [the only instance of this])

Figure 90. Pyre(?) 45, ca. 315 or a little later. ***Back row:*** **P 17694 (cup-kantharos), P 17695 (kantharos).** ***Middle row:*** **P 17697, P 17696, (chytridia), P 17699 (bowl).** ***Front row:*** **P 17700, P 17702, 17701 (lekythoi), BI 567 (bone button), P 17698 (saltcellar), P 17703 (thymiaterion). Coins not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

45(?) (B 19:1) Figs. 1, 4, 78, 90

Section NN, 77/M, no lot; RSY, 1947. Possibly disturbed.

Agora XXIX, p. 437.

In courtyard, beside door to room 3. Artifacts, bone, and scattering of large cinders in roughly rectangular pit dug through floor bedding and covered by red, Hellenistic fill, below a layer of decayed mud brick. The pyre may be associated with the abandonment of this part of the house. The lack of a hard reddened surface in the pit suggests that it was not burnt in situ. Young interpreted the deposit as a rubbish dump rather than a pyre because of the dispersed pattern of burning and the presence of what he identified as chicken bones. It is also true that some of the objects are of types not, or only rarely, found in Agora pyres (echinus bowl, saltcellar, squat lekythoi, thymiaterion, button). The wear on the resting surfaces of the cups is also unusual. The combination of chytridia and cups suggests, however, that it is a pyre. Lekythoi, though rare, do occur in pyres (see **6**, **38**, **42**), as do coins (see **2**, **3**, **5**, **15**, **18**, **34**[?], **44**, **58**, **62**), and, in one other instance, a thymiaterion (**12**).

Seventeen artifacts: cup-kantharos, worn resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, no. 54, 315–300), Classical kantharos, slightly worn resting surface (325–300, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 5), three squat lekythoi, echinus bowl (325–300, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 974), echinus saltcellar (425–400, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 915 [shape], no. 914 [glazing]), two chytridia (cooking ware, *Agora* XXIX, no. 1477), thymiaterion and lid (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1435), bone disk (perhaps a button), six coins (three legible: *Agora* XXVI, variety [41–43], early or mid-330s to 322/317) (BI 567, P 17694–P 17703, NN-1640a, b, NN-1641). Organic material: "animal bones, among them recognizable chicken bones" (missing).

Ca. 315 or a little later (cooking-ware chytridion suggests a date before ca. 315, cup-kantharos [not new when deposited] argues for a slightly later date)

46 (B 19:6) Figs. 1, 4, 78, 91

Section NN, no lot; RSY, 1947. Undisturbed.

Young 1951b, pp. 122–123, pyre 7, pls. 49:b, 52:a; *Agora* IV, p. 235; *Agora* XII, p. 385; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 95, no. 32, pl. 5; *Agora* XXIX, p. 438; Weikart 2002, pp. 84–85, 171–172, no. V 3 a.

L. 1.15, W. 0.80, D. 0.15 m.

Figure 91. Pyre 46, 285–275. ***Back row:*** **P 18570 (kantharos), P 18572 (cup-kantharos), P 18571 (kantharos), P 18573 (askos), P 18580 (jug), P 18583, P 18585, P 18582 (chytridia).** ***Middle row:*** **P 18581 (covered bowl), P 18588 (lopadion), P 18576–P 18579 (plates), P 18584 (chytridion), P 18575 (lekanis), P 18589–P 18595 (large saucers).** ***Front row:*** **L 4355, L 4354 (lamps), P 18574 (lekanis), P 18586, P 18587 (lopadia), P 18596–P 18603 (small saucers). Fragments of uninventoried lekanis and saucer not illustrated.** Scale 1:5

Beside east wall of room 5. Pottery, small pieces of calcined bone, log, wood cinders, and charcoal in diamond-shaped pit in floor sequence. The pyre came to light just below the surface of layer 4 (lot NN 521, ca. 275), with the pit going down into layer 5, the floor associated with phase 3 of the house. Layer 4 ran over the foundation of the wall between rooms 5 and 6 (see **44**); a layer of decayed mud brick covered layer 4 (lot NN 520). The pyre seems to have been dug into layer 4, which was then patched and continued in use. A new floor was not laid, however, so the pyre may have been buried between the abandonment of the house and its collapse. Reddening of the floor of the pit indicates burning in situ. Young recorded that "the pots at the east side of the cutting lie about 0.10 m higher than those at the W. The workman says therefore two graves, one on top of the other; of this I have serious doubts." This is one of the largest pyres, and it is unusual in containing more than one pyre lekanis. It also has four chytridia and four ribbon-handled plates, each of these groups clearly made up of two pairs. It is possible that this is a double pyre of some sort, with two different groups of people combining their offerings, or an instance of two pyres deposited one on top of the other with a very short interval of time between them (cf. pyres **19**, **21**).

Thirty-eight artifacts: type 25B′ lamp, slightly worn resting surface (*Agora* IV, no. 321, 340–300), type 25D′ lamp, slightly worn resting surface (*Agora* IV, no. 352, 335–270), small cup-kantharos (*Agora* XXIX, no. 84, 280–290), two small Classical kantharoi, slightly worn resting surfaces (*Agora* XXIX, nos. 18, 30, ca. 275 and 285–275), West Slope baggy askos (*Agora* XXIX, no. 522, 290–270), small jug with glazed interior, two pyre lekanides with lids and fragment of a third lekanis, covered bowl with lid, four ribbon-handled plates, eight large saucers, eight small saucers, four chytridia (household ware), three lopadia with lids (household ware) (L 4354, L 4355, P 18570–P 18603, two uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

285–275 (drinking cups)

47 (B 18:2) Figs. 78, 92, 93

Section NN, 74/MΘ, no lot; RSY, 1948. Disturbed.

Young 1951b, p. 125, pyre 9, pl. 52:c; *Agora* IV, p. 235; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 93, no. 26; *Agora* XXIX, p. 436; Weikart 2002, pp. 86, 172, no. V 3 d.

L. 0.42, W. 0.42, D. 0.10 m.

Beside west wall of room 12. Pottery, burnt bone, and cinders in a roughly round pit; disturbed by Byzantine pit. The pyre was dug into an irregular strosis

Figure 92. Pyre 47, ca. 250. P 19042 (plate), L 4399 (lamp), P 19041 (kantharos). Scale 1:4

dating to the 3rd century (lot NN 606), and covered by a "Hellenistic" fill. It lay ca. 0.15 m below the level of a terrazzo floor in this room, associated with phase 3, but no floor levels were preserved over the pyre. Room 12 is thought to have continued in use after the rest of the house was abandoned. On the basis of an east–west cutting through the mosaic floor, which he read as evidence of a new south wall, Young concluded that the size of the room had been drastically reduced and that the pyre lay outside the area of continued use (Young 1951a, p. 226). Whether or not this is correct, the pyre predates the fill of the cistern in the room (B 18:13, where the lower fill, possibly from its time of use, dates 250–190), and it is therefore contemporary with continued activity there. The fire-hardened floor of the pit suggests burning in situ; the pottery also shows signs of burning.

Three artifacts: type 29A lamp, early, worn resting surface (270–250), small Hellenistic angular kantharos, fresh resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, no. 226, ca. 250), rilled-rim plate (L 4399, P 19041, P 19042). Organic material: "fragments of burnt bone, some of them certainly animal" (missing).

Ca. 250 (kantharos)

Figure 93. Pyre 47 in situ, looking east. Byzantine pit at right, west wall of room 12 of House C at bottom.

TABLE 11. BUILDING PHASES OF HOUSE B

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Pyre (Date)*
Phase 1	470–460 to early 4th century	**48**(?) (425–400)
Phase 2	Early 4th century to ?	**49** (ca. 340)

House B

The poorly preserved House B is located south of House C and shares a wall with it (Young 1951a, pp. 195–202) (Fig. 78, Table 11). Its western part was destroyed by later structures and little of the plan can be recovered. The house was built around 470–460; the possible pyre **48** was buried during its first phase. A remodeling took place in the early 4th century, when the Great Drain was built to the east. At this time the house was extended eastward, and a new east–west wall probably divided the house in two. Pyre **49** belongs to this second phase and is located in the southern house. Young took this pyre as evidence of the abandonment of the house "by some time in the third quarter of the [4th] century" (Young 1951b, p. 113). There is no other evidence on this point, but the house was being dismantled by the end of the 3rd century. Robbed wall trenches contain pottery chiefly of the 3rd century, with the latest sherds dating around 200 or a little later (lots NN 571–NN 573), and a patch of decayed mud brick found over the northern part of the house (lot NN 598) included about 15 3rd-century pieces (dating down to the third quarter of the century) and a beveled bowl of ca. 175 (cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 1037).

48(?) (A 20:4) Figs. 78, 94, 95

Section ΞΞ, 99–102/ΛΘ–MB, lot ΞΞ 40; RSY, 1946. Undisturbed.
Agora XII, p. 383.

In southern corner of room. Concentration ("nest of small pots") in stratum, no pit discerned, in an area of stratigraphy preserved below a Roman pier (Fig. 96). Layer I (ΞΞ 39, Hellenistic) overlay layer II (ΞΞ 40), in which the objects were found, but no clear floors were described in this room. The deposit dates near the end of the first phase of the house, but before the early-4th-century rebuilding. The pottery types (two small skyphoi, a chytridion) suggest an identification as a pyre; the close similarity of the two skyphoi in size and firing (unevenly fired red) suggests that they were part of the same kiln batch and were purchased together. The

Figure 94. Pyre(?) 48, 425–400. *Back row:* **P 17213, P 17212 (Attic skyphos and Corinthian skyphos).** *Front row:* **P 17214 (one-handler), L 4137 (lamp).** Scale 1:4

surfaces of the lamp and the Corinthian skyphos show traces of burning. Neither burning nor bone is recorded, however, although the material was excavated by Young, who had experience with pyres, and might be expected to have mentioned these features had they been present. It is possible that he did not identify it as a pyre because of the early date, which would have made its burial after the abandonment of the house impossible. The Corinthian skyphos is slightly later than the example in pyre **38** (the Agora's earliest pyre).

Five artifacts: type 24A′ lamp (Perlzweig 1963, fig. 18, 425–400), Corinthian skyphos (425–400, cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 320–322), Attic skyphos (420–400, cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 346–348), one-handler (*Agora* XII, no. 773, 425–400), chytridion (cooking ware) (L 4137, P 17212–P 17215).

425–400 (lamp, skyphoi)

Figure 95. Pyre(?) 48, 425–400. P 17215 (chytridion). Scale 1:4. Photo S. I. Rotroff

49 (A 20:3) Figs. 78, 96, 97

Section ΞΞ, 102/M, lot ΞΞ 128; HSR, 1940. Undisturbed.

Young 1951b, pp. 115–116, pyre 2, pls. 49:a, 50:b; *Agora* IV, p. 234; *Agora* XII, p. 383; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 93, no. 24, pl. 4; *Agora* XXIX, p. 434; Weikart 2002, pp. 83–84, 171, no. V 2.

L. 0.85, W. 0.60 m.

In northern corner of room. Concentration of artifacts, a little bone, charred wood, cinders, and a "large sea shell" in stratum, no pit discerned. A deposit of small stones (a marker?) lay 0.30 m above the level of the pyre, in turn covered by a 4th-century fill (lot ΞΞ S136). The room where the pyre was located was added to the house in its second phase, to the east of the old exterior polygonal wall of the first phase. The pyre considerably postdates the construction of the second phase, but may date earlier than its abandonment. Sticks of charred wood were visible under the pots, suggesting that the pyre was burnt in situ.

Figure 96. Stones (foreground) above pyre 49, looking northwest. Workman's coat rests on Roman pier beneath which pyre(?) 48 was found.

Figure 97. Pyre 49, ca. 340. ***Back row:*** **ST 339 (alabastron), P 16601 (cup-kantharos), P 16602 (skyphos), P 16600 (cup-kantharos).** ***Middle row:*** **P 16607, P 16606 (plates), P 16615 (chytridion), L 4021 (lamp).** ***Front row:*** **P 16603 (lekanis), P 16604 (saltcellar), P 16605 (rilled-rim saucer), P 16608–P 16614 (saucers). Glass bead G 230 and fragments of three uninventoried vessels not illustrated: ribbon-handled plate(?), saucer, lopadion.** Scale 1:4

Twenty-one to twenty-two artifacts: type 25B′ lamp (*Agora* IV, no. 318, 340–325), Corinthian skyphos, fresh resting surface (350–330, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 326), two cup-kantharoi (one with squat rim, *Agora* XII, no. 683, 350–340, and one with molded rim, 350–325, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 661), pyre lekanis lid (may belong with body found in fill above pyre and illustrated in Fig. 97, though they do not fit precisely), two ribbon-handled plates and possible rim fragment of a third, rilled-rim saucer, footed echinus saltcellar (*Agora* XII, no. 945, ca. 350), eight small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware), lopadion with lid (cooking ware), poros dummy alabastron, glass bead (not illustrated) (G 230, L 4021, P 16600–P 16615, ST 339, three uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone; charcoal (olive [Ntinou]).

Ca. 340 (drinking cups, lamp)

No Associated Architecture

Three pyres with no associated architecture were found in the Industrial District.

50 (A 18:3 + A 18:9) Fig. 98

Section NN, 83/ΞΓ–ΞΔ, lot NN 85, env. B; RSY, 1939. Section ΞΞ, House A, grave over drain A 1, lot ΞΞ 52; HSR, 1940. Disturbed.

Agora XII, p. 383.

D. 0.15 m.

West of House C. Pottery and cinders in pit in stratum. The pyre was excavated in two parts: the first in 1939 (A 18:3, pyre lekanis, ribbon-handled plate and fragment of another, and small saucer, probably displaced by drain) and the second in 1940 (A 18:9: lopadion and six small saucers, probably in situ). Its integrity as a single pyre was not recognized until later. Construction of a Roman house had removed all trace of earlier structures here. Cinders lay under and among the pottery, so the pyre was probably burnt in situ. No bone was recorded.

Figure 98. Pyre 50, 400–350? P 14866 (plate), P 16663 (lopadion), P 14865, P 16664 (saucers), P 14864 (lekanis). Fragments of six uninventoried vessels not illustrated: ribbon-handled plate, saucers. Scale 1:4

Eleven artifacts: pyre lekanis (*Agora* XII, no. 1278, 400–350), two ribbon-handled plates, seven small saucers, lopadion with lid (cooking ware) (P 14864–P 14866, P 16663, P 16664, 6 uninventoried).

400–350? (ring foot of lekanis, very rare after ca. 350)

51 (B 22:3) Figs. 4, 99

Section NN, no lot; RSY, 1940. Possibly disturbed.

Young 1951a, p. 268; 1951b, p. 126, pyre 10, pl. 53:a; *Agora* IV, p. 235; *Agora* XII, no. 385; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 95, no. 34; *Agora* XXIX, p. 439.

South of the Archaic cemetery. Pottery, burnt bone, charred logs, and heavy burning, recovered by tunneling under the cement floor of a Late Hellenistic workshop, between two lekanai set into the ground and functioning with the cement floor (Young 1951a, pp. 267–268, pl. 83:a). The lekanai and cement floor are much later than the pyre and therefore unrelated to it. Stratigraphy contemporary with the pyre could not be recovered.

Thirteen artifacts: type 25A′ lamp (330–260), kantharos with knotted handles (*Agora* XXIX, no. 99, ca. 300), pyre lekanis with lid, ribbon-handled plate, four large saucers with concave rim (cf. **12**), two small saucers, chytridion and handle of another (cooking ware), lopadion with lid (cooking ware) (L 4060, P 16732–P 16743, one uninventoried). Organic material: "small broken bits of charred bones" (missing).

Ca. 315 or 300. The only closely datable object is the kantharos, well advanced beyond the earliest stages of the shape. If the date of ca. 300 given in *Agora* XXIX is correct, this is the latest context for lopadia and chytridia made of cooking ware, otherwise not certainly attested after ca. 315. It is also possible that the kantharos, which has no close parallels, should be dated earlier.

Figure 99. Pyre 51, ca. 315 or 300. ***Back row:*** **P 16734 (plate), P 16732 (kantharos), P 16741 (chytridion).** ***Front row:*** **P 16742 + P 16743 (lopadion), P 16735–P 16738 (saucers), L 4060 (lamp), P 16739, P 16740 (saucers), P 16733 (lekanis). Uninventoried chytridion fragment not illustrated.** Scale 1:4

Figure 100. Pyre 52, 250–240. P 20256 (kantharos), L 4631 (lamp), P 20257 (plate). Scale 1:4

52 (D 16:6) Figs. 67, 100

Section IIII, no lot; RSY, 1949. Disturbed.

Young 1951b, p. 130, pyre 14, pl. 54:b; *Agora* IV, p. 236; Müller-Zeis 1994, pp. 95–96, no. 36; *Agora* XXIX, p. 443; Weikart 2002, pp. 99, 177, no. V 11.

L. 0.51, W. 0.42 m.

At north side of east–west road in northernmost part of Industrial District. Pottery, a little burnt bone, and patches of charcoal in shallow, roughly rectangular pit in stratigraphic sequence. The pyre was located near the north side of Piraeus Street, west of the bridge over the Great Drain. It was uncovered in digging a thin layer rich in marble chips (layer 7, lot IIII 246, 0.04 m thick, 3rd century, with fragment of moldmade bowl), and had been dug into another similar level (layer 8, lot IIII 247, 0.02–0.03 m thick, to mid-4th century with intrusive long-petal bowl fragment). Cinders were found spread through layer 7 beyond the shallow pit, demonstrating that they were somewhat dispersed before the pit was covered over by that layer. The excavator interpreted the successive thin layers of marble chips here as road-building material. Possibly, however, marbleworking took place just outside a house to the north, against the wall of which these layers run. Other indications of industrial activity include a fragment of a mold for a terracotta figurine in layer 7 (uninventoried, in lot IIII 246) and a piece of metal slag and an abraded amphora handle that had been used for polishing in layer 8 (P 34759). A pit, possibly for a small pithos or a lekane, was found nearby, and had been filled when layer 8 was laid. It is noteworthy that the location is close to the point where two thoroughfares cross, a place where objects associated with purification rituals were frequently discarded (Parker 1983, p. 229; Johnston 1991). Hardened earth beneath the pyre indicates burning in situ. The pottery shows signs of burning.

Three artifacts: type 42B lamp (*Agora* IV, no. 531, 260–230), small Hellenistic angular kantharos, slight wear on resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, no. 229, 250–240), rilled-rim plate (L 4631, P 20256, P 20257). Organic material: "a minimum of bits of burned bone" (missing).

250–240 (lamp, kantharos)

Between the Industrial District and the Areopagus

Two pyres were discovered between the Industrial District and the Areopagus, neither associated with surviving architecture.

53 (E 19:4) Figs. 6, 101

Section ΓΓ, 70/NΣτ, lot ΓΓ 304; HSR, 1939. Probably disturbed.

Agora XII, p. 389.

Found in crevice in bedrock while digging Byzantine fill. No burning or bone was recorded.

Figure 101. Pyre 53, 400–390. ***Back row:*** **P 14804 (plate), P 15885 (bolsal), P 14803 (plate).** ***Front row:*** **P 15884, P 15883 (saucers), P 15882 (lekanis).** Scale 1:4

Six artifacts: bolsal (400–390, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 556), pyre lekanis with lid (*Agora* XII, no. 1277), two ribbon-handled plates, two small saucers (P 14803, P 14804, P 15882–P 15885).

400–390 (bolsal)

54 (F 20:1) Fig. 102

Section ΓΓ, 39–43/ΞΓ–ΞΕ, lots ΓΓ 256, ΓΓ 257; HSR, 1939. Dispersed.

Agora XII, p. 390.

Objects dispersed in red-clay fill uncovered in removal of modern staircase. A broken drain tile "immediately above" this area suggested to the excavator that the deposit may have been washed in. Pottery from the fill is a mixture: much 4th-century (e.g., rouletted fragments, bolsals) but also later material (fragments of moldmade bowls, unguentaria of the 2nd century, fragment of Roman red ware). The excavator recorded "some indications of burning" within the fill, and some of the pottery is burnt. No bone was recorded.

Fourteen to seventeen artifacts: rim fragments of two covered bowls, large ribbon-handled plate (*Agora* XII, no. 1082, 4th century [perhaps first half]), fragments of three rilled-rim plates, two plates with convex rims, five small saucers, lopadion (cooking ware) (P 14704, P 15881, P 34153, P 34154, 10 uninventoried). From the same stratum but perhaps not from the pyre are a bronze coin (ΓΓ-109, *Agora* XXVI, variety 640, Salamis, 4th century), a fragment of a cup-skyphos (P 14705, probably before ca. 350, *Agora* XXI, no. F 150), and a rim fragment of a fish plate (P 14706). These are not illustrated.

400–350 (ribbon-handled plate, which is large, with a well-finished disk base, and has added white designs [bars, dots, with cross at center])

Figure 102. Pyre 54, 400–350. P 14704, P 34154 (plates), P 15881 (lopadion), P 34153 (saucer). Small fragments of 10 uninventoried vessels not illustrated: covered bowls, rilled- and convex-rim plates, saucers. Scale 1:4

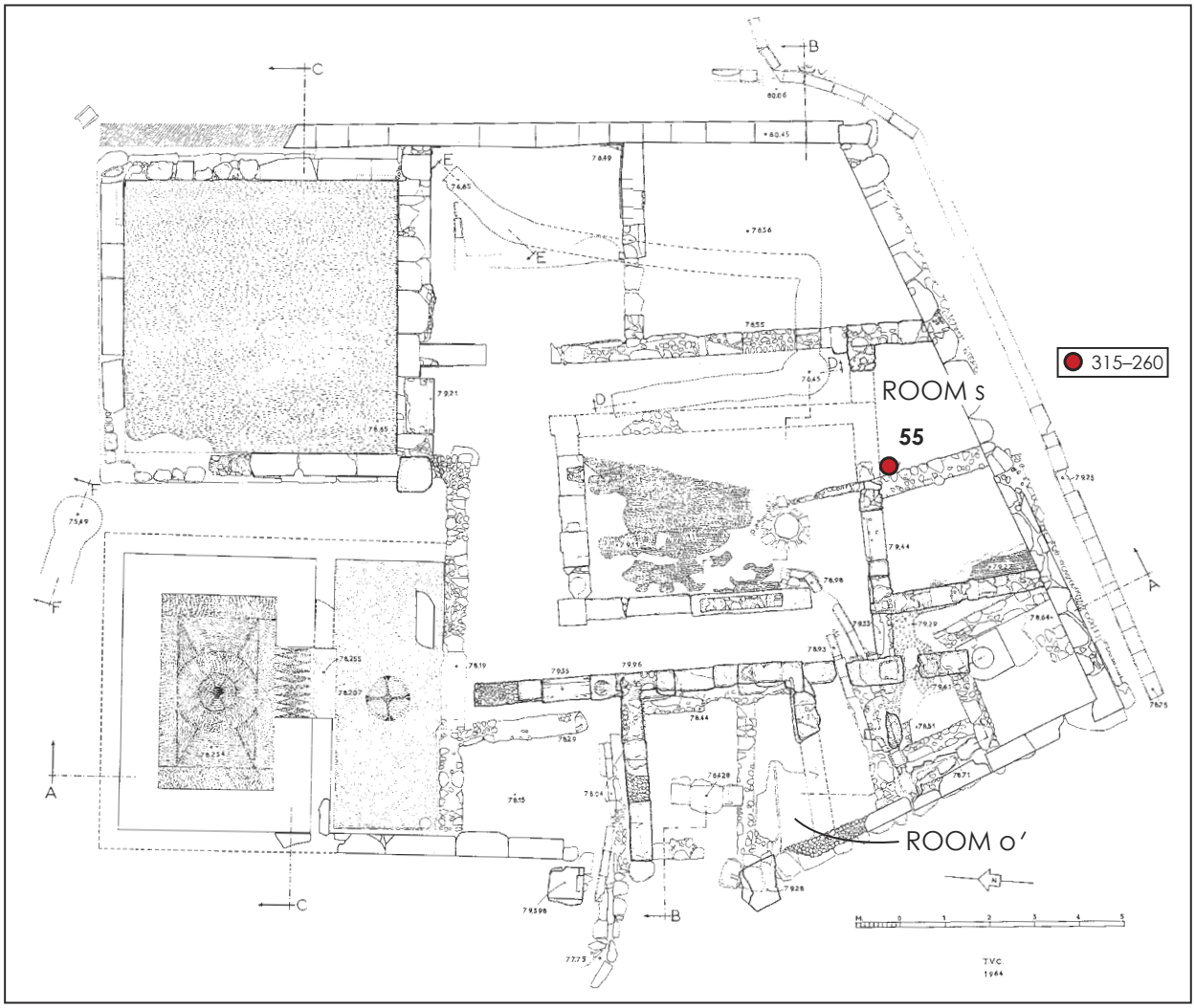

Figure 103. Plan of House of the Greek Mosaics, showing location of pyre 55. Drawing T. V. Czarowski, with additions by S. I. Rotroff

SOUTH OF THE AREOPAGUS

House of the Greek Mosaics

The House of the Greek Mosaics, so named for the pebble mosaics in some of its rooms, was one of several houses in a neighborhood of dwellings and shrines to the south of the Areopagus (Fig. 103). The area was excavated in the 1890s by Wilhelm Dörpfeld, then cleaned and studied in the 1960s in preparation for a publication that has never appeared. The house was constructed around 300 and continued to be occupied until the 4th century A.D. (Thompson 1966, pp. 52–53).

55 (E 29:3) Figs. 103, 104

Section ΔE, lot ΔE 7; WG, 1964. Dispersed.

In room s, a small irregular room on the south side of the courtyard. Fragments of typical pyre vessels in circular cavity in bedrock in northwest corner of room. They were mixed with much fragmentary fine, household, and cooking ware, and several inventoried objects are not of pyre types (full-size lopas, pithos toe, figurine

Figure 104. Pyre 55, 315–260. ***Back row:*** **P 27227 (lopadion lid), P 36561 (plate).** ***Front row:*** **P 36559, P 36560 (saucers). Fragment of chytridion P 36562, of uninventoried covered bowl, and of lopadion body matching lid P 27227 not illustrated.** Scale 1:3

of Eros, P 27184, P 27236, T 3694). Late disturbance is documented by a large fragment of a Late Hellenistic white-ground lagynos. There are slight traces of fire on some of the pottery. No bone was recorded. A second "possible pyre" was noted during the same cleaning operation, in room o′, just to the right of the entrance corridor of the house, but without further documentation.

Six artifacts: covered bowl, ribbon-handled plate, unglazed or with only handles glazed (315–260), two small saucers, chytridion (household ware), lopadion with lid (household ware) (P 27227, P 36559–P 36562, one uninventoried). Some other objects (uninventoried) of types found in pyres but not exclusive to them may belong but cannot be associated with the pyre with certainty: two joining fragments of a rolled rim plate (325–300, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 638), lower half of type 23D lamp (345–275), rim fragment of rilled-rim plate (ca. 300, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 783), and two small Hellenistic angular kantharoi (275–250).

315–260 (unglazed ribbon-handled plates)

SOUTH OF THE AGORA SQUARE

Northeast House in Section Φ

The following account is largely based on the unpublished excavation summary written in 1958 by D. B. Thompson immediately after the end of the season (D. B. Thompson 1958; see also Thompson 1959, pp. 99–102, pls. 16, 17), revised to take changes in coin and ceramic chronology into consideration. The house, in the northeast corner of a block of several dwellings, was originally built in the 6th century (phase 1) and destroyed by the Persians (Fig. 105, Table 12). After a period of abandonment, it was rebuilt on approximately the same plan around the middle of the 5th century (phase 2). It was remodeled in the first half of the 4th century (phase 3) and subsequently underwent minor changes throughout the century. Pottery in the earth above the latest floor in the south central room dates around the middle of the 3rd century, showing that the house had been abandoned by then. Industrial activity is indicated by installations in the court of the house (two pithoi and a plastered floor). Large numbers of coins found in the south central room hint at commercial activity here throughout the 4th century. Over 30 were recorded in stroseis 5–9 there, including a silver tetradrachm from the same strosis in which pyre **58** was found (Φ-389, *Agora* XXVI, no. 15a, 390–295).

Figure 105. Plan of houses in section Φ, with pyres marked and coded for date. Drawing J. Travlos, with additions by S. I. Rotroff

TABLE 12. BUILDING PHASES OF NORTHEAST HOUSE IN SECTION Φ

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Pyre (Date)*
Phase 1	6th century to 480	–
Phase 2	Ca. 450 to first half of 4th century	–
Phase 3	First half of 4th century to ca. 300	**56** (400–375) **57** (ca. 375)
Abandonment	First half of 3rd century	**58** (285–275)

Figure 106. Pyre 56, 400–375. *Back row:* **P 26197 (lekanis), P 26196 (plate).** *Front row:* **P 26194 (saucer), P 26195 (chytridion).** Scale 1:4

56 (L 17:4) Figs. 105, 106

Section Φ, 47/K, no lot; DBT, 1958. Disturbed.

Diam. 0.40–0.45, D. 0.30 m.

Near north side of courtyard. Pottery, bone, carbonized twigs, much ash and burning in pit, cut by modern intrusion. The pit was cut slightly into strosis 3 (lot Φ 231), a 5th-century floor associated by the excavator with phase 2 of the house. Nonjoining fragments of pyre pots in strosis 2 above (lot Φ 228) suggest that the pyre may have been dug from that level. The pyre is approximately contemporary with the renovation of the house that initiated phase 3 in the first half of the 4th century, so it could be associated with that event. The excavator noted that the pyre "had clearly been burned elsewhere and deposited," but she also described a layer of charcoal 0.05 m thick, which seems inconsistent with this conclusion.

Four artifacts: handleless lekanis (*Agora* XII, no. 1274, 400–375), ribbon-handled plate, small saucer, chytridion (cooking ware) (P 26194–P 26197). Organic material: animal bone.

400–375 (lekanis)

57 (M 17:8) Figs. 105, 107

Section Φ, 49/IΘ, lot Φ 231c; ALB, 1957. Dispersed.

In northeast corner of courtyard. Characteristic pyre pottery in fill of one of two pithoi set into the floor of the courtyard as part of 4th-century reconstruction (phase 3). Pottery is very fragmentary and probably not all from the pyre. A type 25B lamp found in the pithos indicates that it was not filled until after 340. Perhaps the pyre material was unearthed in the course of later activities and thrown into the pithos, which had gone out of use. The date of the pyre puts it near the beginning

Figure 107. Pyre 57, ca. 375. *Back row:* **P 26251, P 25926 (plates), P 25923 (pyxis lid), P 34410, P 25925 (plates).** *Middle row:* **P 25924 (bolsal), P 34408, P 34409 (lopadia).** *Front row:* **P 26250 (lekanis), P 34405–P 34407 (saucers). Small fragments of 22 uninventoried vessels not illustrated: lamp, skyphos, bolsals, lekanis, broad-based bowl, rilled- and convex-rim plates, saucers, chytridia.** Scale 1:4

of phase 3 of the house, so it could have originally been buried in connection with renovations that inaugurated that phase. There is no record of burning.

Thirty-four artifacts: type 25B lamp (340 or later, probably intrusive), Corinthian skyphos, four bolsals (one with rouletting, 380–350, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 558), type B pyxis lid (475–375), pyre lekanis, fragments of another with lid, broad-based bowl, four ribbon-handled plates, four rilled-rim plates, plate with convex rim, 11 small saucers, two chytridia (cooking ware), two lopadia with lids (cooking ware) (P 25923–P 25926, P 26250, P 26251, P 34405–P 34410, 22 uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

Ca. 375 (bolsals, pyxis lid)

58 (L 17:5) Figs. 105, 108

Section Φ, 48/KE, lot Φ 218; DBT, 1958. Disturbed.

Agora XXIX, p. 460.

Diam. 0.30 m.

In room south of courtyard. Concentration of artifacts, bone, and charred material in floor makeup, no pit discerned; pots not clearly clustered. The objects were found in digging a hard floor with a white clay surface (strosis 9, lot Φ 217), the earliest floor associated with phase 3 of the house and probably dating in the second quarter of the 4th century. The pyre is substantially later, however, and must have been dug down into strosis 9, although no pit was detected by the excavator. The alternative is to downdate the floor, which is difficult to reconcile with the other stratigraphy in the house. The date of the pyre indicates that it could be associated with the abandonment of the house, which took place in the first half of the 3rd century. The pottery shows signs of burning. A type 25A lamp with a list of names inscribed backwards, probably a magical inscription, was found nearby (at 50/KE: L 5298, *Agora* XXI, p. 15, C 32, pl. 6) and may be associated with this pyre.

Twenty artifacts: type 25A′ lamp (330–260), Classical kantharos, fresh resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, no. 28, 285–275), handle of small Hellenistic kantharos (300–225), pyre lekanis with lid (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1450), two ribbon-handled plates, five large saucers, four small saucers, two chytridia (household ware), two lopadia with lids (household ware), bronze coin (*Agora* XXVI variety [41–43], 330s–322/317) (L 5346, P 26214–P 26220, P 34397–P 34404, Φ-393, five uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone; "carbonized food."

285–275 (kantharos)

Figure 108. Pyre 58, 285–275. ***Back row:*** **P 26218 (kantharos), P 34402 (plate).** ***Middle row:*** **P 26216, P 34397–P 34400 (saucers), P 26219 (lopadion), P 26214 (kantharos handle), P 26215 + P 26220 (lekanis).** ***Front row:*** **P 34403 (lopadion), P 34401, P 26217 (saucers), P 34404 (lid of lopadion P 26219), L 5346 (lamp). Coin and fragments of five uninventoried vessels not illustrated: ribbon-handled plate, saucers, chytridia.** Scale 1:4

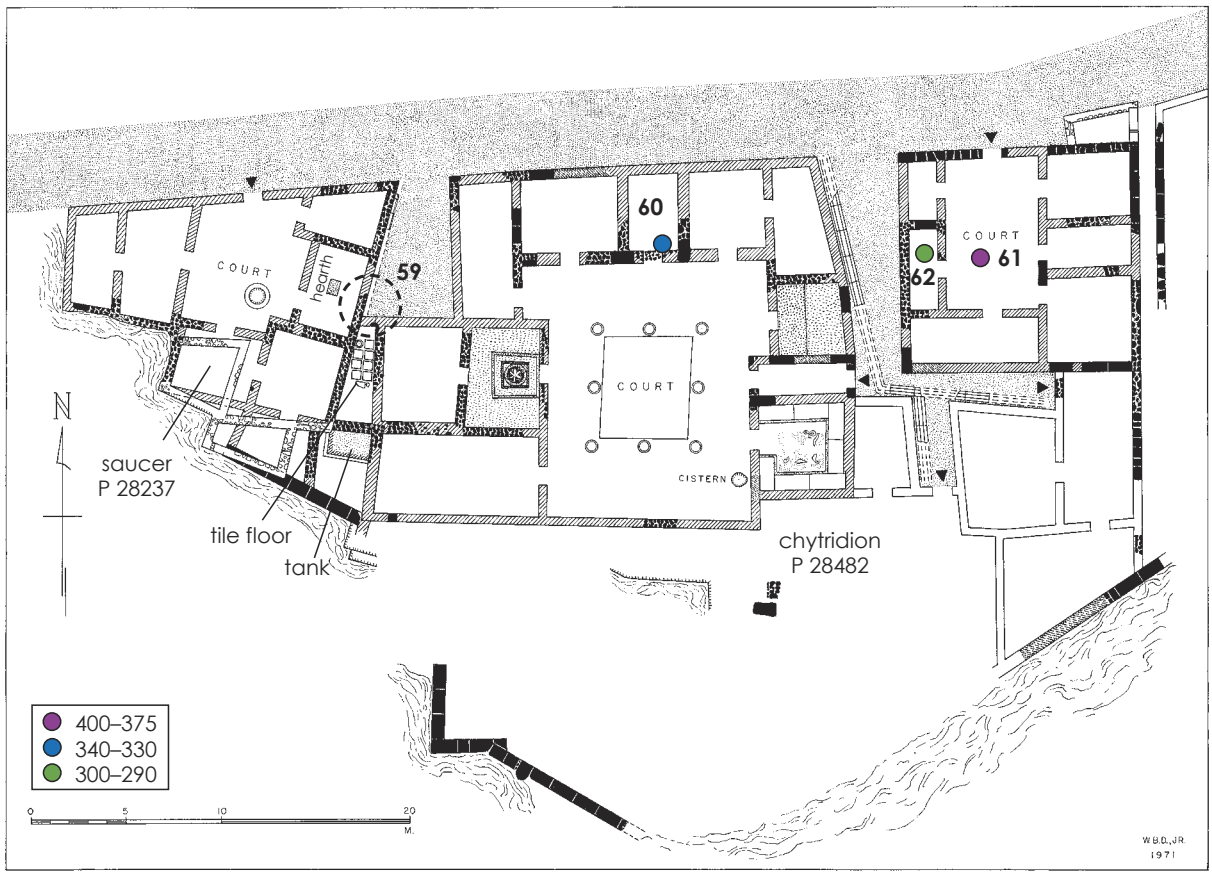

Figure 109. Plan of houses in section Ω, with pyres marked and coded for date and findspots of saucer P 28237 and chytridion P 28482 indicated. Drawing W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., with additions by S. I. Rotroff

Houses in Section Ω

Excavations in 1938, 1949, and 1969–1971 explored the remains of three houses facing north onto an east–west road on the lower slopes of the Areopagus, in excavation section Ω (Shear 1939, pp. 215–216; Shear 1973a, pp. 146–156) (Fig. 109). The area had been overbuilt by a Late Roman villa, leaving only scraps of walls and floors of the earlier structures intact. What remains attests to a larger and well-appointed central house flanked by two smaller dwellings. Single pyres were found in situ in the central and eastern houses (**60**, **62**), with a concentration of displaced pyre vessels in the eastern house attesting to a second pyre there (**61**). Considerable remains of a dispersed pyre came to light in and beyond the eastern part of the western house (**59**). Scattered instances of pyre vessels suggest that more pyres were once present in these houses.

Western House

The westernmost of the houses in section Ω is of irregular plan, with a court and several rooms. Preliminary analysis (Shear 1973a, 147–150) suggests that the house was built in the early 5th century, partially destroyed by the Persians and rebuilt, then substantially remodeled at the end of the 5th century. Some partition walls were rearranged in the second quarter of the 4th century and the floors raised in the third quarter. A water system serving the house was filled in the first two decades of the 2nd century,

Figure 110. Pyre 59, 400–350? *Back row:* P 34421 (chytridion), P 34417 (lekanis lid), P 28234, P 28233 (plates), MC 1151, MC 516 (loomweights), P 28236 (lekanis), P 28235 (lopadion). *Front row:* P 28232 (askos), P 34420 (plate), P 34422, P 34423 (saucers). P 34418 and P 34419 (single rim fragments of lekanis and rilled-rim plate) and fragments of eight uninventoried vessels not illustrated: lamp, ribbon-handled plate, rilled-rim plate, lekanis lids, saucers. Scale 1:4

suggesting that the dwelling may have been abandoned at that time (Shear 1939, p. 216; see *Agora* XXIX, p. 466, under O 20:1–O 20:3, and, for the most recent dating, *Agora* XXXIII, p. 370). A large tank in the corner of one room and a tiled floor in another room suggest industrial activity. The contents of at least one pyre were found dispersed over and outside the ruined east wall. A single pyre saucer (P 28237) was also found in the southern part of the house (room 4).

59 (O 20:6) Figs. 109, 110

Section Ω, 64–68/ΛZ–ΛH, lots Ω 103, Ω 109; MC, 1938. Deposit east of east wall of house, no lot; JMC, 1969. Dispersed.

Objects dispersed in fill over east wall of house. Pyre pots in very fragmentary condition were noticed by Barbara Tsakirgis in later analysis of pottery that had been excavated in 1938; no mention of them was made at the time of excavation. The fill in which they were found lies partly over the continuation of the eastern wall of the house. Another group of pyre pots excavated in 1969 immediately to the east is probably part of the same disturbed group(s). It is likely that more than one pyre is involved: the two rilled-rim plates do not match and there are three lekanis lids (rarely does a pyre contain more than two lekanides). If originally associated with this house, the pyre(s) could be related to the 4th-century remodeling. Some of the pottery exhibits burning.

Sixteen artifacts excavated in 1938: nozzle of type 25A′/B′ lamp (360 or later, perhaps not part of pyre), pyre lekanis and three lekanis lids, two ribbon-handled plates, two rilled-rim plates, five small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware), loomweight (MC 516, P 34417–P 34423, eight uninventoried). Six artifacts excavated in 1969: askos with strainer top (cf. *Olynthus* XIII, p. 262, no. 469, pls. 176, 177), pyre lekanis, ribbon-handled plate (closely similar in form of rim and banding to example excavated in 1938), rilled-rim plate, lopadion with lid (cooking ware), loomweight (MC 1151, P 28232–P 28236).

400–350? (askos, disk bases of ribbon-handled plates, quality and size of pyre lekanides)

Central House

Almost nothing of the 5th-century phase of the house survives. It was rebuilt in the second half of the 4th century as a commodious residence, with a courtyard surrounded by rooms, some of which were furnished with mosaic floors (Shear 1973a, pp. 151–156). The filling of a cistern that served it suggests the house went out of use in the early 2nd century (for

the date, see *Agora* XXXIII, pp. 371–372, under P 21:4). A single pyre was unearthed in a room north of the courtyard; a chytridion (P 28482) found south of the andron hints at a second pyre.

60 (P 20:3) Figs. 1, 109, 111, 112

Section Ω, 60/NΓ, no lot; JMC, 1971. Undisturbed.

Shear 1973a, p. 151, n. 68, p. 154, with n. 73; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 96, no. 39; *Agora* XXIX, p. 468; Weikart 2002, pp. 92, 175, no. V 7.

L. 0.50, W. 0.35 m.

In north central room of house. Pottery, bone, and burnt material in pit dug into layer IIb (crushed bedrock floor: lot Ω 464, 4th century) and covered by layer Ia (lot Ω 462, second half of 4th century, possibly into 3rd century, containing more fragments of pyre pottery probably from this pyre). The stratigraphy around the pyre cannot be physically connected to the architectural history of the house, but the date of the pyre would be consistent with a dedication at the time of the rebuilding or during the subsequent reoccupation. There were extensive traces of burning, and the pottery has been burnt.

Twenty artifacts: type 24C′ lamp, worn resting surface (410–365), two Corinthian skyphoi, fresh resting surfaces (340–330, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 326), small Attic skyphos, pyre lekanis with lid, fragment of another pyre lekanis, three ribbon-handled plates, rilled-rim plate, large saucer, seven small saucers, chytridion (cooking ware), lopadion with lid (cooking ware, *Agora* XXIX, no. 1483) (L 5665, P 28500–P 28511, seven uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

340–330 (Corinthian skyphoi)

Figure 111. Pyre 60, 340–330. ***Back row:*** **P 28508 (lopadion), P 28507 (chytridion), P 28510, P 28509 (skyphoi), P 28504, P 28505 (plates).** ***Front row:*** **L 5665 (lamp), P 28511 (lekanis), P 28500–P 28503 (saucers), P 28506 (plate). Fragments of seven uninventoried vessels not illustrated: skyphos, lekanis, ribbon-handled plate, saucers.** Scale 1:4

Figure 112. Pyre 60 in situ, looking south, showing lopadion with lid in place and vessels broken in situ

TABLE 13. BUILDING PHASES OF EASTERN HOUSE IN SECTION Ω

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Pyre (Date)*
Phase 1	Second quarter of 5th century to ca. 300	**61** (early 4th century?)
Phase 2	Ca. 300 to ?	**62** (300–290)

Eastern House

The easternmost house is small and consists of rooms around a court (Table 13). In his preliminary report, Shear (1973a, pp. 150–151) suggests that it was built in the second quarter of the 5th century and remodeled in the last quarter of the 4th century. The only evidence for the date of the remodeling is a small deposit of pottery outside the north end of the east wall of the building (Q 20:5; Shear 1973a, p. 151, n. 67), now probably to be dated ca. 300. This deposit has been interpreted as a foundation deposit (Müller-Zeis 1994, pp. 56, 96, no. 37; Weikart 2002, pp. 91, 174–175, no. V 6 a), although the excavation account is laconic and does not describe the relationship of the pottery to the wall in any detail. The deposit includes one complete vessel (a small Attic skyphos) and a small collection of fragmentary pottery ranging in date over a century. No bone or burning was reported, and the deposit does not resemble a saucer pyre, but if it is in some way connected with the remodeling, the second phase of the house must have begun around 300. The later history of the house cannot be reconstructed. One pyre (**62**) lay in place in a small room on the western side of the house; traces of another, earlier one (**61**) were found dispersed nearby, in the area of the court. Pyre **61** was buried during the first phase of the house; **62** could have coincided with the renovation that inaugurated its second phase.

Figure 113. Pyre 61, early 4th century? P 36563 (ribbon-handled plate). Four uninventoried rim fragments not illustrated: lekanis, ribbon-handled and rilled-rim plate, saucer. Scale 1:2

61 (Q 20:6) Figs. 109, 113

Section Ω, lot Ω 456; JMC, 1971. Dispersed.

Under room 8 of Roman House H, which lay over the western half of the Greek house. Typical though very fragmentary pyre pottery lay dispersed in a stratum over bedrock with pottery ranging from the 5th to the mid-3rd century (lot Ω 456). Although found in the same general area as pyre **62**, it must come from a different, earlier pyre. If the early date is correct, it falls within the first phase of the house but cannot be related to a construction event. There is no record of burning or bone.

Five artifacts: pyre lekanis, two ribbon-handled plates, rilled-rim plate, small saucer (P 36563, four uninventoried).

Early 4th century? (ring foot of one ribbon-handled plate)

62 (Q 20:4) Figs. 1, 6, 109, 114

Section Ω, lot Ω 459; JMC, 1971. Undisturbed.

Shear 1973a, p. 151, with n. 68; Müller-Zeis 1994, p. 96, no. 38; *Agora* XXIX, p. 470; Weikart 2002, pp. 91, 175, no. V 6 b.

W. 0.30 m.

West central room of house. Concentration of artifacts, bone, and flecks of carbon in stratum, no pit discerned. The pyre lay within a red fill apparently contemporary with it, but with some later intrusions; no trace of a floor above it survives. The stratigraphy around the pyre could not be related to the architectural history of house, though the date allows association with the reconstruction of the house near 300. The pottery shows traces of burning.

Figure 114. Pyre **62**, 300–290. *Back row:* **P 28493, P 28494 (plates), P 28492 (skyphos), P 28495 (chytridion).** *Middle row:* **P 28488 (lekanis), P 28496 (lopadion).** *Front row:* **P 28497 (lopadion lid), P 28498, P 28499, P 28489–P 28491 (saucers). Coin and fragments of five uninventoried vessels not illustrated: saucers, chytridion, lopadion body matching lid P 28497.** Scale 1:4

Seventeen artifacts: small Attic skyphos (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1397, 300–275), pyre lekanis with lid (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1453), two ribbon-handled plates (*Agora* XXIX, no. 1457), three large saucers, five small saucers, two chytridia (household ware), two lopadia with lids (household ware, *Agora* XXIX, no. 1489), bronze coin in mint condition (*Agora* XXVI, variety 50, 307–ca. 300) (P 28488–P 28499, Ω-556, five uninventoried). Organic material: animal bone.

300–290 (skyphos, coin)

No Associated Architecture

There was no architecture associated with severals pyres found south of the Agora Square.

63a, 63b (O 17:9) Fig. 115

Section Ψ, lot Ψ 194; 1962. Disturbed.

Found by gardener washing out of scarp during the winter rains. The objects are of various dates and not from a single pyre. The location is just south of an east–west road; there were traces of houses in this general area. There are signs of burning on some pottery. No bone was recovered.

Ten artifacts of different dates, not necessarily all from pyres, but roughly divisible into two groups on stylistic grounds. Earlier group (a): type 25B lamp (340–275), cup-kantharos with squat rim (340–325, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 684), pyre lekanis with lid, black-gloss plate with thickened edge (350–325[?], somewhat similar to *Agora* XII, no. 1020), ribbon-handled plate, large saucer, chytridion

Figure 115. Pyres **63a, 63b**, 325–315, 225–200. *Back row:* **P 27099 (cup-kantharos), L 5414, L 5415 (lamps), P 27098 (plate).** *Middle row:* **P 34411 (plate), P 34412 (saucer), P 34413 (plate in two sections).** *Front row:* **P 34414 (lopadion lid, body fragments not illustrated), P 34415 (lekanis lid, body fragment not illustrated), P 34416 (chytridion). All from pyre 63a unless labeled otherwise.** Scale 1:4

(household ware), lopadion (household ware, 315–250) (L 5415, P 27098, P 27099, P 34412–P 34416). Later group (b): type 46E lamp (225–200), rilled-rim plate (glazed only on the floor, after ca. 300) (L 5414, P 34411).

(a) 325–315 (cup-kantharos, household-ware cooking shapes); (b) 225–200 (lamp)

64 (Q 17:5) Fig. 116

Section T, 131/Ξ, lot T 404, env. 4; MC, 1955. Disturbed.

Agora XII, p. 398; *Agora* XXIX, p. 470.

No notebook account of excavation exists. The pyre may have been located at the edge of an ancient road. There is no record of bone or burning.

Five artifacts: pyre lekanis with lid (*Agora* XII, no. 1280; ca. 325, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 1446), two ribbon-handled plates, small saucer, chytridion (cooking ware, 350–325, cf. *Agora* XXIX, no. 1475) (P 24777, P 24778, three uninventoried).

375–325? (offset knob of lekanis lid, fabric of chytridion)

Figure 116. Pyre 64, 375–325? P 24778 (chytridion), P 24777 (lekanis). Fragments of three uninventoried vessels not illustrated: ribbon-handled plates, saucer. Scale 1:3

65 (R 18–19:1) Fig. 117

Section AA, 20–27/Θ–ΙΓ, lot AA 168; RSY, 1938. Dispersed.

Pyre pots dispersed in fill over a pebble floor, with pottery ranging from the 5th century B.C. to the 3rd century A.D. (lot AA 168), and lying directly below modern fill. No burning or bone was recorded.

Three artifacts: ribbon-handled plate, rilled-rim plate, small saucer (P 14324, P 14325, P 34114).

400–350 (form and quality of ribbon-handled plate, with well-made disk base)

Figure 117. Pyre 65, 400–350. P 14324 (saucer), P 14325, P 34114 (plates). Scale 1:4

66 (R 18:1) Figs. 4, 118

Section AA, 39/KB, lot AA 180; RSY, 1938. Undisturbed.

Agora XXIX, p. 471.

Figure 118. Pyre 66, 270–260. P 13371 (plate), P 13372 (skyphos), L 3502 (lamp). Scale 1:4

Pottery and burning ("pit filled with black") in pit slightly west of Panathenaic Road, dug into layer I (lot AA 180, much earlier [6th-century] material, with later disturbances), and directly under post-antique deposits. No bone was recorded but some is preserved with the context pottery.

Three artifacts: type 29A lamp (270–250), West Slope skyphos, fresh resting surface (*Agora* XXIX, no. 162, 275–260), rilled-rim plate (L 3502, P 13371, P 13372). Organic material: animal bone.

270–260 (lamp, skyphos)

EAST OF THE AGORA SQUARE

Classical Shop Buildings in Section PP East of the Agora

A series of Classical commercial buildings lined the south side of the street that ran eastward from the public square toward the later Roman Agora, just south of the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (Fig. 119, Table 14). Their remains, discovered under the floors of a Roman street stoa that was built about A.D. 100, were best preserved in their eastern part (Shear 1975, pp. 346–361). Traces of walls suggest a three-room building at the west. It may be part of another complex yet farther west, under the Roman Library of Pantainos (for a possible reconstruction, see the plan in Lawall 2000, p. 6, fig. 2), but nothing of its history has been traced and its function cannot at this point be documented. The plans and history of two more buildings to the east, however, can be reconstructed in some detail. In both the plan consists of pairs of rooms placed side by side along the street onto

Figure 119. Plan of shop buildings in section PP, with well and pyre marked and coded for date and findspot of chytridion P 29943 indicated. Drawing W. B. Dinsmoor Jr., with additions by S. I. Rotroff

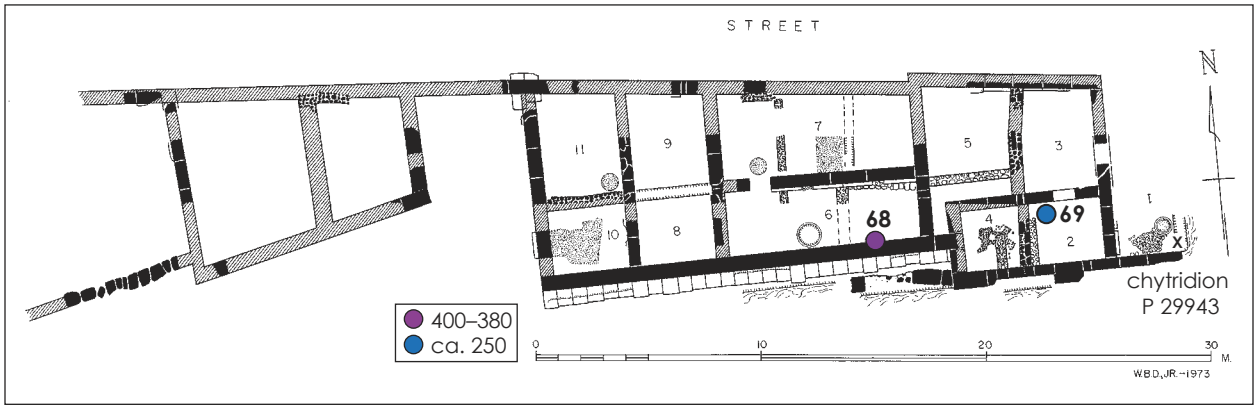

TABLE 14. BUILDING PHASES OF PP SHOP BUILDINGS

Phase	*Date of Phase*	*Comments*	*Deposit (Date)*
Phase 1	430–420 to late 5th century	East building only	–
Phase 2	Late 5th century to ca. 390	West building added	–
Phase 3	390–380	–	Well **68** (400–380)
Phase 4	380–350	–	–
Phase 5	350 to mid-3rd century	–	Pyre **69** (ca. 250)
Phase 6	Mid-3rd century to 86	–	–

which the building opened. The smaller, easternmost building was erected first, between 430 and 420, with at least five rooms (the easternmost part is poorly preserved). The central building, to its west, was added before the end of the century, at which time the two were apparently part of a single complex (though this would change over time). The central building was larger, with two pairs of small rooms and one pair of larger ones, which were further subdivided during some phases. One of the larger spaces had a well in the earlier phases of the building (well **68**, filled in ca. 380, at the end of the third phase of the complex) and was perhaps a courtyard. The two buildings went through several reconstructions, the last in the middle of the 3rd century (about contemporary with **69**), when pebble and mortar floors were inserted into three of the rooms. This floor level was maintained until the destruction of the building in the Sullan sack of 86.

The fill of well **68** (Shear 1975, pp. 356–361) bears witness to some of the activities that occurred here in the early 4th century. It included debris from a tavern, a wine shop, a butcher shop, and from the workshops of horn- and boneworkers and a coroplast. Concentrations of perfume vessels in the fills of wells and cisterns farther west suggest that the area was used by perfume sellers and/or makers from the early 5th to the 2nd century (*Agora* XXXIII, pp. 139–140). This area was also a venue for wine selling in the late 5th and early 4th centuries, as well as later, judging from the large numbers of wine amphoras with commercial graffiti found here (Lawall 2000).

All pyres associated with these buildings are disturbed. Pyre **67** was located in the western part of the poorly preserved westernmost building. Pyre **69**, though displaced in Late Hellenistic times, was found in one of the southern rooms of the eastern building, at about the level of the mid-3rd-century floors, with which it is contemporary. A single chytridion (P 29943) found over bedrock in the area of the easternmost room, and mistaken at the time of excavation for a Roman jug, probably bears witness to a 4th-century pyre. In addition, pottery of pyre types was found in the dumped debris in well **68** in the central building.

67 (R 13:7) Fig. 120

Section I, lot I 189c; HSR, 1947. Disturbed.

In western room of westernmost shop building. A patch of ash and bone in or at the level of layer 2 (lot I 189d), partially destroyed by modern wall. Pottery from layer 2 dates at least as late as the early 4th century (kernos, no kantharoi or rouletted fragments).

Figure 120. Pyre 67, 400–350? P 17752 (plate), P 34179 (lekanis), P 34181 (chytridion), P 34180 (lopadion and lid). Scale 1:4

Four artifacts: pyre lekanis with lid, rilled-rim plate, chytridion (cooking ware), lopadion with lid (cooking ware) (P 17752, P 34179–P 34181). Organic material: animal bone.

400–350? (quality of lekanis, fabric of cooking shapes)

68(?) (Well U 13:1) Figs. 119, 121

Section PP′, U/2,3–13/15. IMS, 1973. Dispersed.

Shear 1975, pp. 355–361; Lawall 2000, 70–71.

Well in courtyard of central shop building. A few vessels of characteristic pyre types were found in the fill of the well, which was 17.42 m deep and contained over 500 inventoried objects, as well as thousands of uninventoried ones. A deposit of mud brick in the lower part of the well probably derives from the construction of the building at the beginning of the 4th century; shortly thereafter the well was put out of use by a collapse of the bedrock. Over the ensuing decade or so it served as a dump, containing material ranging from the last quarter of the 5th century to the first two decades of the 4th. The absence of rouletted decoration on the pottery gives a terminal date no later than ca. 380 (Shear 1975, p. 361). Either the pyre objects come from one or more displaced pyres, or they were part of the inventory of a potter's shop in the immediate area. The facts that none show signs of burning and that one of the lopadia was warped in firing lend weight to the latter suggestion.

Eight artifacts: Attic skyphos (similar to skyphos in well **27**), two ribbon-handled plates, chytridion (cooking ware), two lopadia (cooking ware), two small saucers (P 30209, P 30478, P 30499, P 30558, P 30591, P 30610, P 30652, P 31283).

400–380 (skyphos, absence of rouletting in well)

Figure 121. Pyre vessels from well 68, 400–380. ***Back row:*** **P 30209, P 30652 (plates), P 30478 (chytridion), P 30558 (lopadion).** ***Front row:*** **P 30499 (saucer), P 30610 (skyphos), P 31283 (saucer), P 30591 (lopadion).** Scale 1:4

Figure 122. Pyre 69, ca. 250. P 30265 (kantharos), L 5831 (lamp), P 30262 (plate). Scale 1:4

69 (U 13:3) Figs. 119, 122

Section PP′, U/10–13/15,16, at 65.37–65.48 masl, lot PP′ 175; IMS, 1973. Dispersed.

In room 2 on south side of easternmost shop building. The three pots were found together below the floor of the Roman stoa, at about the level of the highest preserved floor of the Classical building. This floor was laid as part of its mid-3rd-century remodeling (as preserved in room 4, to the west, Shear 1975, p. 344, fig. 4, layer 8, p. 353). The context was clearly disturbed, including pottery dating to the early 1st century, probably intrusive from Sullan destruction debris, which lay just above the 3rd century floor in room 4 (Shear 1975, p. 344, fig. 4, layer 7, pp. 353–354). The pyre may be related to the mid-3rd-century renovation of the building. Traces of burning were noted in the layer in which the vessels were found, but whether this is from the pyre or from the intrusive Sullan debris cannot be determined. No bone was recorded.

Three artifacts: type 29A lamp, early in span (270–240), small Hellenistic angular kantharos (ca. 250, cf. *Agora* XXIX, nos. 227, 228), rilled-rim plate (L 5831, P 30262, P 30265).

Ca. 250 (kantharos)

No Associated Architecture

70 (R 11:5) Fig. 123

Section ΣA, Stoa Shop VI, no lot; HAT, 1955. Undisturbed.

Agora XXVII, pp. 22, 171, 223, 232, pyre 139, nos. 33–35, plan pl. 62; *Agora* XXIX, p. 471.

Diam. 0.90, D. 0.15 m.

Under shop VI of the Stoa of Attalos. Pottery, ash, burning, and packing of small stones in pit in stratum. The pyre was covered by layer I (lot ΣA 495, Stoa of

Figure 123. Pyre 70, ca. 325? P 24862 (plate), P 24865 (saucer), P 24863 (one-handler), P 24864 (chytridion). Scale 1:4

Analysis of Charcoal in Some Agora Pyres

by Maria Ntinou

Wood-charcoal samples recovered from a selection of pyres dug at the Agora Excavations were processed for analysis and species determination at the Wiener Laboratory of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

Charcoal analysis is the study of wood charcoal recovered in archaeological contexts or natural deposits. Within an archaeological context, wood charcoal is a macro remain associated with human activities (fire building, construction, etc.). The study of wood charcoal recovered in excavations is making a growing contribution to the reconstruction of past environments surrounding the sites and the use of timber.[1]

The observation unit for charcoal analysis is any single wood-charcoal fragment. The first step of the analysis, before results and interpretation are gained, is the identification of wood charcoal recovered during excavation. Anatomical identification of wood is based on the unique structure of basic elements, which varies between families, genera, and even species.[2] Wood charcoal preserves the anatomy of wood, and the basic elements can be observed in three anatomical sections—transversal, longitudinal tangential, and longitudinal radial—thus offering the possibility of identification to genus and, in some cases, species level.[3] Wood-charcoal samples from the Agora pyres were processed for charcoal analysis in order to gain information about the firewood used in private rituals identified in houses and workshops of the Agora area.

Samples from a total of eight pyres were analyzed at the Wiener Laboratory of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens under an incident light microscope with dark/bright field and 50× to 500× magnification lenses. Qualitative and quantitative results for each pyre are presented in Table 15.

As can be observed there, some of the samples included various charcoal fragments, while only a single fragment was present in others. Qualitatively, the samples overall show the presence of five taxa in total, a number that when compared to the total number of fragments analyzed (130) would characterize the plant list as rich. A closer look at the individual assemblages of each pyre, however, shows that in no instance are more than two taxa represented.

1. Chabal 1997; Chabal et al. 1999.
2. Schweingruber 1990.
3. Chabal et al. 1999.

TABLE 15. PRESENCE OF TAXA AND THEIR ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE FREQUENCIES IN CHARCOAL ASSEMBLAGES FROM AGORA PYRES

	Pyre 3	*Pyre 4*		*Pyre 7*		*Pyre 8*		*Pyre 12*	*Pyre 32*	*Pyre 35*	*Pyre 49*	
Taxa	*no.*	*no.*	*%*	*no.*	*%*	*no.*	*%*	*no.*	*no.*	*no.*	*no.*	*%*
cf. *Arbutus* sp.	0	0	0	1	4.2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Maloideae-*Pyrus/Sorbus* type	0	0	0	0	0	3	30	0	0	0	0	0
Olea europaea	0	37	97.4	23	95.8	7	70	0	1	1	50	100
Quercus evergreen type	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
cf. *Vitis vinifera*	0	1	2.6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total identified specimens	1	38	100	24	100	10	100	1	1	1	50	100
Total unidentified specimens*	0	0	–	1	–	3	–	0	0	0	0	–

Note: Absolute and relative frequencies are presented for charcoal-rich samples, while charcoal-poor samples are represented only by absolute frequencies.
* Percentages of the entire corpus have not been calculated for the unidentified specimens.

The taxa identified are, in alphabetical order: cf. *Arbutus* sp. (strawberry tree), Maloideae-*Pyrus/Sorbus* (pear/serbal), *Olea europaea* (olive tree), *Quercus* evergreen type (holm and/or kermes oak), and cf. *Vitis vinifera* (grapevine). In the case of cf. *Arbutus* sp. there is only one fragment, which is very small. Although it presents the anatomical characteristics of the genus, there is still some doubt concerning the identification, given that the scalariform perforations occasionally seen in the longitudinal radial section were not observed in the specimen from the Agora. In the case of Maloideae we have used the generic subfamily name with the indication that the wood-charcoal fragments analyzed might belong to the *Pyrus/Sorbus* genera, which, among other genera of the same subfamily, most frequently present biseriate rays in the longitudinal tangential section. However, the generic Maloideae is preferable in cases where the wood-charcoal material is not abundant and therefore observation is limited. In the case of *Quercus* evergreen type, the taxon includes all the evergreen species, since for the *Quercus* genus a distinction can be made only between evergreen and deciduous types, each of which includes various species. For cf. *Vitis vinifera,* the fragment was very fine and small, and the large vessels were obstructed by fine sediment or ash, which made observation difficult. Basic anatomical elements such as scalariform perforations and/or perforation plates were observed, but for the reasons mentioned above we still maintain a degree of doubt.

The results of this analysis contribute to the assessment of two topics: the provisioning of firewood and the selection of fuel for ritual purposes. First, it is worth mentioning that all the taxa represented are common in the Greek landscape; they are major components of the natural vegetation of the thermomediterranean bioclimatic zone in which the region of Attica is located.[4] Therefore, it is likely that the provisioning areas for firewood were the surroundings of the city of Athens, either olive groves or plots of woodland and maquis regulated and managed for firewood. It is possible that Attica was self-supporting in fuel, as there is no mention of fuel famine in the sources.[5] The Athenian lowlands would have been widely cultivated to support the increasing population, especially from the Archaic

4. Quézel and Barbero 1985.
5. Meiggs 1982, p. 206.

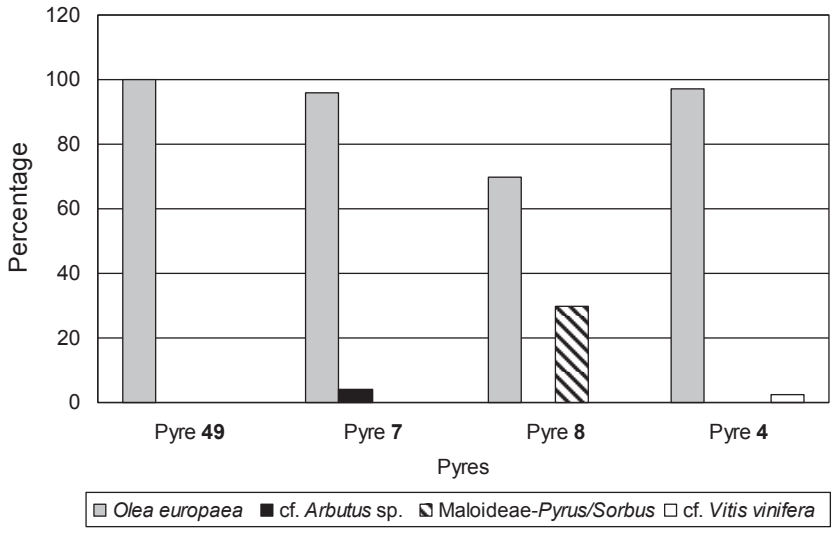

Figure 124. Relative frequencies of taxa represented in charcoal-rich pyres. Note dominance of *Olea europaea* (olive) in all assemblages. M. Ntinou

period onward, while Athenian farmers would have been wise enough to maintain patches of woodland and small copses for the provisioning of timber, fuel, and fodder for their farmsteads and the city. Evergreen oak, strawberry tree, and wild pear logs, together with abundant pruning from olive groves and vineyards, would have found their way to the city. There may be a very brief reference to the firewood trade in a speech attributed to Demosthenes (42.7) in which, according to Meiggs,[6] Phainippos, the owner of a marginal estate *(eschatia),* appears to be transporting and selling firewood to Athens.

The analysis indicates that in most cases people used olive wood for the fire of the pyre ritual. In some of the pyres, together with olive wood there is evidence for the use of strawberry tree, grapevine, and wood of the Maloideae subfamily, probably the pear tree. Other pyres attest to the use of firewood from any of the evergreen oak species *(Quercus ilex, Quercus coccifera),* which grow in all lowland Greek landscapes. In all assemblages for which relative frequencies have been calculated, the dominance of *Olea europaea,* the olive tree, is striking (Fig. 124). This is not unexpected, given the nature of the pyres, which corresponds to single, instantaneous burning events. Hearths, pyres, funerary fires, and other closed burning contexts usually show an overrepresentation of a single taxon because they probably preserve the carbonized firewood remains of the last, or the last few, burning events.[7]

If, as seems certain, the cultivation of olive trees was a major agricultural activity, a great part of the firewood stock of Athenian households and workshops would have been provided by olive groves and the care or treatment of the trees in them (e.g., pruning). Olives and olive oil would have been among the most important products of ancient Attica, and by the Archaic period, the area would already have had more olive trees than needed for home consumption. This we might deduce from a decision made by Solon, who, in order to protect essential food supplies, banned the export of all the products of the land except oil (Plut. *Sol.* 24.1).[8] Olive trees were protected and considered sacred, and any attempt to clear away a tree or even an olive stump would have been punished with exile

6. Meiggs 1982, pp. 205–206.
7. Badal 1992.
8. Meiggs 1982, pp. 190–191.

and loss of possessions, as we may infer from Lysias's speech of defense in the matter of the olive stump (Lys. 7.2, 3). Therefore, olive trees would have been abundant in the landscape of Attica, and the demand for wood and charcoal for cooking and heating at Athens would have been met in great part by Athenian farmers and the by-products of their olive groves. The use of prunings for firewood is a common practice in Mediterranean agriculture-based environments today, and this has probably been the case since the time of the first well-documented olive cultivation, the Late Bronze Age.

Yet the Agora pyres are associated with private rituals, and it is possible that the use of olive wood was influenced by factors beyond mere practicality. Herodotos (5.82) describes the unique qualities of the Athenian olive trees, the wood of which, on account of its sanctity, was chosen by the people of Epidauros for carving the statues of the fertility goddesses Damia and Auxesia. The ancient image of Athena Polias on the Acropolis was made of olive wood,[9] and Lysias's reference (Lys. 7.5, 7) to sacred olive trees may be significant with respect to the pyres. For the Agora pyres we cannot exclude the possibility of a preference for olive wood for reasons related to its history, its links with the city's history, and/or the attribution to the wood of particular qualities associated with well-being and prosperity. These postulated motivations are difficult to confirm without support from written sources, but there might be symbolic and ideological connotations in both the pyre ritual and its components, for which the archaeological record basically consists of pottery, animal bones, and the remains of firewood.

9. Schol. Demosthenes 22.13; Athenagoras *Leg. pro Christ.* 17.4.

Other Settlement Pyres in Attica

In this appendix I collect the evidence for Attic settlement pyres found outside the Agora. In Athens, these have been excavated in the Kerameikos and in various locations south of the Acropolis (Fig. 125); additional examples come from the Piraeus, central Attica, and perhaps Salamis.

KERAMEIKOS

Building Z, 2nd phase

1. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 43, 161, nos. 399–403, fig. 40, pl. 94:1.

Group of five pots (Rheneia cup, Corinthian skyphos, two small bowls, lopadion) at south edge of area Q (a courtyard?), in shallow pit with burning under trodden surface. Interpreted by Knigge as possible offering at time of construction of phase 2.

Ca. 425

Building Z, 3rd phase

2. *Opferstelle* 5. Knigge and Kovaksovics 1981, p. 388, fig. 9; *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 171, no. 453, figs. 8, 26, 52, pls. 21:1, 2, 101:1–3.

Typical pyre assemblage in pit with burning, under original floor of third phase (floor 7). Bones and snail shells in lopadion. Cup-kantharos with squat rim, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 681 (375–350), probably slightly earlier than example from Agora pyre **49** (ca. 340).

Ca. 350 or somewhat earlier

3. *Opferstelle* 3. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 172, no. 454, figs. 8, 36, 50, pl. 103:1, 2.

Typical pyre assemblage in pit with burning, directly under *Kerameikos* XVII, no. 455 (no. 6, below). Kantharos, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 699 (ca. 350); lopadion, cf. examples from Agora pyres **7** (375–350) and **14** (ca. 350?).

Ca. 350?

4. *Opferstelle* 7. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 173–174, no. 456, pl. 102:5, 6.

Typical pyre assemblage, plus loomweight, in pit under original floor of third phase (floor 7). Traces of fire on objects, and burnt bones of small birds.

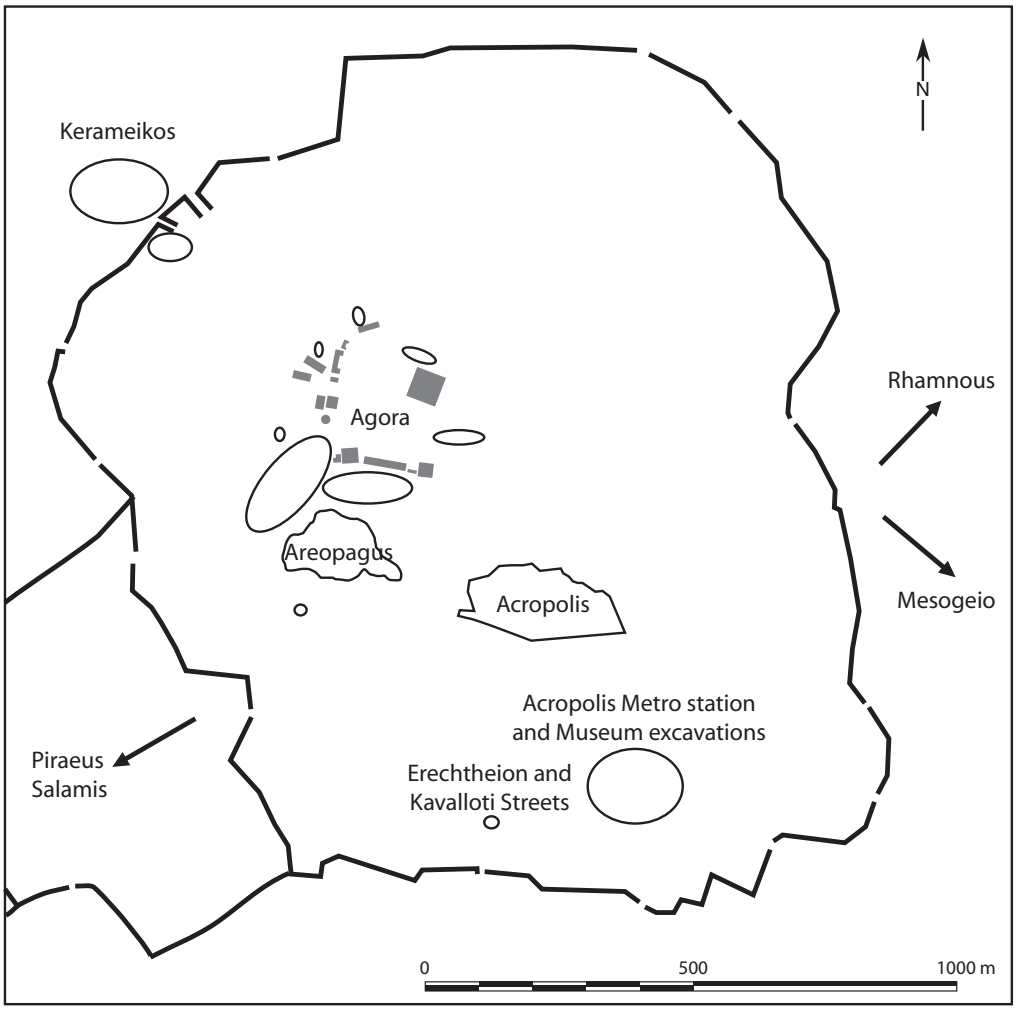

Figure 125. Plan of Athens showing locations of pyres in the city and beyond. Drawing S. I. Rotroff

Contemporary with *Kerameikos* XVII, no. 450 (no. 5, below). Skyphos, lekanis lid, and lopadion; cf. examples from Agora pyre **4** (ca. 325).

Ca. 325

5. *Opferstelle* 11. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 169–170, no. 450, figs. 50, 52, pls. 21:3, 100:3–5.

Typical pyre assemblage in pit with burning. Contemporary with *Kerameikos* XVII, no. 456 (no. 4, above).

Ca. 325

6. *Opferstelle* 4. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 172–173, no. 455, figs. 8, 36, pl. 102:1–4.

Typical pyre assemblage in pit with burning. Immediately above and dug into *Kerameikos* XVII, no. 454 (no. 3, above). Chytridia and lopadia of household fabric. Squat-rimmed cup-kantharos similar to example from Agora pyre **1** (ca. 315). Lekanis (with molded knob) possibly intrusive from earlier pyre below.

315–307

7. *Opferstelle* 6. *Kerameikos* XVII, pp. 174–175, no. 460, fig. 36, pl. 103:3–6, Suppl. 8.2.

Typical pyre assemblage in pit with burning and bones (of chicken or lamb?). Cuts original floor of third phase (floor 7) and is covered by higher floor (floor 5).

Kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 246, no. 45, pl. 5 (ca. 300). Chytridia and lopadia of household fabric.

315–307

8. *Opferstelle* 9. *Kerameikos* XVII, p. 169, no. 449, pl. 100:2.

Reduced assemblage of chytridion, saucers, rolled-rim plate, ribbon-handled plate, and two-handled lopadion, in shallow pit with burning. Lopadion lid, with thin wall and neat, flaring knob, resembles those of household fabric (cf. examples from Agora pyres **8**, **37**, **62**); contains unglazed large saucer, rare before late 4th century.

315–307?

Building X

9. *Opferstelle südlich von Einsteig 2 in Kanal au.* Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1987, p. 488, fig. 14, location marked in fig. 9.

Typical pyre assemblage. Lopadion, chytridion, lekanis, saucers, and ribbon-handled plates. Lopadion and chytridion of household ware. Lekanis, cf. P 9690 (Fig. 51, third from left in middle row) from Agora pyre **21** (300–275).

Ca. 300

10. Knigge et al. 1984, p. 44, fig. 27, location marked in fig. 14.

About 1.5 m south of previous pyre (no. 9, above). Attic skyphos, pyre lekanis, chytridion, lopadion, and other vessels (saucers and ribbon-handled plates?, not illustrated). Lopadion and chytridion of household ware. Lekanis, cf. example from Agora pyre **62** (300–290).

Ca. 300

Building Y

11. *Os* 6. Knigge 1993, p. 134, fig. 18, location marked in fig. 3; Knigge, Freytag gen. Löringhoff, and Kuhn 1995, p. 628.

Large pyre assemblage (over 30 vessels), with addition of feeder, in pit with burning. Published date is third quarter of 4th century, but chytridion and lopadion are of household fabric, and squat-rimmed cup-kantharos is late in series (cf. examples from Agora pyre **1**).

After ca. 315

12. *Os* 5. Knigge 1993, p. 134, fig. 17, location marked in fig. 3; Knigge, Freytag gen. Löringhoff, and Kuhn 1995, pp. 627–628.

Illustrated in situ only; numerous saucers, alabastron, and lopadion lid can be distinguished.

Early last quarter of 4th century

SOUTH OF ACROPOLIS

Excavations for Acropolis Metro Station, Makriyannis Plot

13. Πυρά 7. Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 93–99.

Typical pyre assemblage in pit in room west of street IV, with ash and bones; sides and bottom of pit burnt. Chytridia and lopadia of household ware. Classical

kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 244, no. 28, fig. 5, pl. 3 (in Agora pyre **58**, 285–275); Hellenistic kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 265, no. 221, fig. 16, pl. 21 (275–250).

Ca. 275

14. Πυρά 2. Eleftheratou 1996–1997, pp. 102–110, figs. 2, 3, pls. 37–40; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, pp. 100–103.

In pit with burnt walls, with ash, carbon, and animal bones (sheep or goat), in workshop west of street 1. Moldmade bowls, fusiform unguentaria, rilled-rim plate, lamps, miniature votive cup.

Second quarter of 2nd century or later

15. Πυρά 1. Eleftheratou 1996–1997, pp. 110–114, fig. 4, pls. 41, 42.

Remains of disturbed pyre with pottery, ash, carbon, and animal bone (sheep or goat, bird, large mammal). Long-petal bowl, lamps, lekythos.

125–75

Six more pyres were found in the excavation but have not been published. Two are said to date at the end of the 5th century, four in the 4th or early 3rd century (Eleftheratou 1996–1997, p. 102; Parlama and Stampolidis 2000, p. 92).

Excavations for Acropolis Museum

16. Eleftheratou 2006, p. 8.

On display in Acropolis Museum, with many burnt bones. Typical pyre assemblage, with West Slope skyphos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 258, no. 157, fig. 12, pl. 15 (325–275); lopadia and chytridia of household fabric.

315–275

Many more pyres are said to have been found in the excavation but remain unpublished.

30 Erechtheion Street and Kavalloti Street

17. Τάφος I. *ArchDelt* 23, B′1, 1968, p. 57.

Pottery and burnt bones in pit measuring 1.30 × 0.70 × 0.35 m deep. This and the following deposit (no. 18, below) were published as burials, but they are located within the walls and Eleftheratou (2006, p. 116, n. 98) suggests they may be pyres. Eighteen pots and two lids, none illustrated, but seemingly of pyre types.

No evidence for date

18. Τάφος II. *ArchDelt* 23, B′1, 1968, p. 57.

Pit measuring 0.70 × 0.50 × 0.15 m deep, with remains of burning on floor.

Fifteen pots and two bronze coins, one coin dating to 3rd century (nothing illustrated).

3rd century?

PIRAEUS

19. King George Avenue and Kolokotronis Street. Χῶρος II. *ArchDelt* 29, B′1, 1973–1974, p. 149, pl. 110:α, β.

Presence of pyre suggested by typical pyre vessels (chytridion, lopadion, pyre lekanis, saucers), although olpe and saltcellar also present. No information about deposition of vessels. Lopadion of cooking fabric, with flaring rim (340–315); Corinthian skyphos comparable to *Agora* XII, p. 258, no. 327, fig. 4, pl. 15 (ca. 325), and examples from Agora pyres **11**, **41**.

325–315

ATTICA: EXCAVATIONS FOR ELEFTHERIOS VENIZELOS AIRPORT

20. Unpublished.

On display at the museum in the airport, labeled as having been excavated at a house. Typical pyre assemblage with household-ware lopadion and chytridion, unglazed saucers.

315–275

AMPELAKI, SALAMIS

21(?). Dedevesis 2010.

Typical pyre assemblage reported from excavations in the Giokas lot, with no information about site or stratigraphy to indicate whether this is a settlement or funerary pyre. Glazing pattern of ribbon-handled plate (only handles glazed) and household-ware lopadion give possible range of date.

315–275

Graveside Pyres in Attica

In this appendix, I collect the evidence for graveside pyres found at the Kerameikos (Fig. 126), listed by location and date, and at Rhamnous. The dates given are those in the publications, unless otherwise stated.

KERAMEIKOS

Eckterrasse

Precinct XI

1. *Opferstelle* Eck 88. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 9, no. 4, labeled 8 in fig. 11, pl. 28:4.

Small round pit with ash on floor. Ribbon-handled plate, lekanis, saucers. Date based on stratigraphy.

Late in second quarter of 4th century

Precinct X

2. *Opferstelle* Eck 62. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 15–16, no. 12, fig. 9, pl. 29:7, Suppl. 2.

Small oval pit without bones; traces of burning on pottery. Below *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 17 (no. 3, below). Saucers and plates only. Date based on stratigraphy.

Second quarter of 4th century

3. *Opferstelle* Eck 56. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 17, no. 17, figs. 9, 11, 25, pl. 30:3, Suppl. 2.

Large rectangular pit with ash and burnt bones (goat), overlying *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 12 (no. 2, above). Ribbon-handled plate, saucers, lekanis, squat lekythoi. Date based on stratigraphy.

Ca. 360–350

4. *Opferstelle* Eck 82. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 18–19, no. 18, fig. 9, pls. 30:5, 6, 31:1.

Oval pit with ash and sheep bones. Normal pyre assemblage, with large number of offerings, including Corinthian skyphos similar to examples from Agora pyre **60** (ca. 340–330) and very large ribbon-handled plate.

Third quarter of 4th century

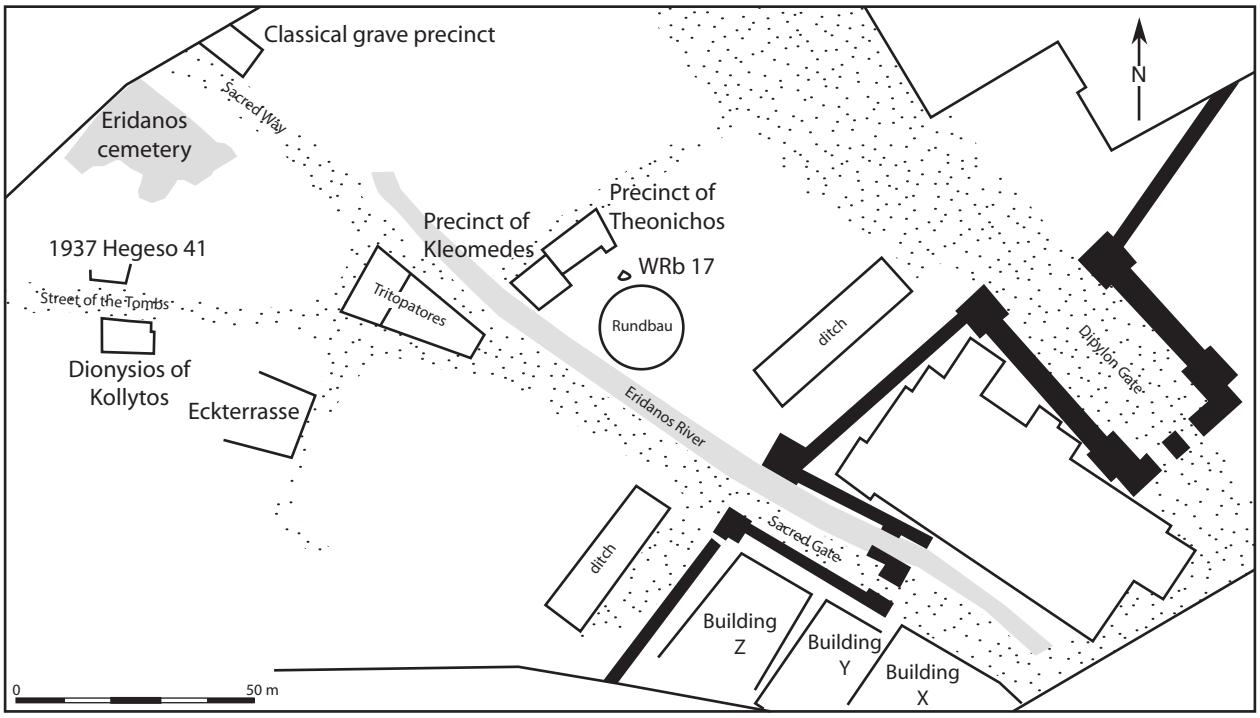

Figure 126. Plan of Kerameikos showing locations of structures and precincts associated with pyres.
Drawing S. I. Rotroff

5. *Opferstelle* Eck 83. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 19–20, no. 21, figs. 9, 25, pls. 31:9, 32:1–4.

Described as small oval pit, but drawn as large and rectangular (fig. 9); ash but no bones. May belong with nearby sarcophagus of adult, probably male (*Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 18–19, no. 20; see p. 13 for the association of the two). Large number of typical pyre vessels, with some unusual features: lopadion and chytridion somewhat larger than usual; two very large ribbon-handled plates; broad-based bowls and saltcellars instead of small saucers. The dating is problematic. The pyre was dug into a layer of sand (layer f) dated by Kovacsovics to the beginning of the last quarter of the 4th century (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 27); the cup-kantharos from the pyre, however, appears to be considerably earlier, comparable to *Agora* XII, p. 284, no. 683, pl. 28 (350–340), from Agora pyre **49**.

340?, 320?

Precinct VIII

6. *Opferstelle* Eck 85. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 38–39, no. 25, fig. 21, pl. 36.

Pit with ash but no bones, lying under *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 35 (no. 10, below). Normal pyre assemblage, with addition of fragmentary full-size chous, two very large ribbon-handled plates, many broad-based bowls, saltcellars. Type 23C lamp (375–350).

Early in second quarter of 4th century

7. *Opferstelle* Eck 19. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 40–41, no. 28, figs. 21, 23, 77, pls. 37:6–9, 38:1–3.

Large rectangular pit with ash and burnt bone, partially dug into filling of sarcophagus grave of young man ca. 28 years old (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 35, no. 23 [Eck 14], figs. 21, 23) and probably belonging to it. Below *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 36 (no. 9, below). Large number of vessels of pyre types, with alabaster alabastra, large

two-handled lopadion, large ribbon-handled plate, rolled-rim plate, red-figure pyxis lid. Cup-kantharos, cf. *Agora* XII, p. 284, no. 681, pl. 28 (375–350).

Second quarter of 4th century

8. *Opferstelle* Eck 54. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 42, no. 33, fig. 21, pl. 39:8.

Small pit with ash, no bones, dug above sarcophagus grave of adult woman (*Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 39–40, no. 27 [Eck 59], fig. 21), to which it may belong. Plates and saucers only. Date based on stratigraphy.

Shortly before middle of 4th century

9. *Opferstelle* Eck 16. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 43–44, no. 36, figs. 21, 23, pl. 40:4, 5.

Pit with ash and burnt sheep bones. Small group of typical pyre shapes, with addition of upper body of full-size chous, and alabaster alabastra. Above *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 28 (no. 7, above). Date based on stratigraphy.

Shortly before middle of 4th century

10. *Opferstelle* Eck 84. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 43, no. 35, fig. 21, pls. 39:9, 10, 40:1–3.

Oval pit with ash and burnt bones of sheep, overlying and cut into earlier pyre, *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 25 (no. 6, above). Typical pyre vessels, along with broad-based bowls and stamped black-gloss plates. Dated in publication shortly before 350, but bowl-kantharos more developed than *Agora* XII, p. 285, no. 687, pl. 28, and example from Agora pyre **32** (both ca. 350); it more closely resembles *Agora* XII, p. 285, no. 688, fig. 7, pl. 28 (350–325).

Somewhat after ca. 350

11. *Opferstelle* Eck 12. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 44, no. 37, figs. 21, 23, pls. 40:6–8, 41:1.

Round pit with ash, bones of pig and bird. Typical pyre vessels, with black-gloss rolled-rim plates. Attic skyphos, cf. P 17705 (Fig. 85, left end of middle row) from Agora pyre **43** (ca. 340–325).

Third quarter of 4th century

Precinct VII

12. *Opferstelle* Eck 43. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 57, no. 54, fig. 33, pl. 43:4–8.

Rectangular pit lined with wooden boards, contained ash, a few sheep and bird bones. Below *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 62 (no. 15, below). Typical pyre assemblage, with addition of full-size black-gloss basket-handled jug.

Second quarter of 4th century

13. *Opferstelle* Eck 49. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 59, no. 57, fig. 33, pl. 44:7, 8.

Small pit with ash and boar's teeth, associated with amphora grave of neonate, and sarcophagus grave of adult woman, perhaps child's mother (*Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 57–59, nos. 55, 56 [Eck 46, Eck 48], fig. 33). Curse tablet in cutting for sarcophagus. Typical pyre assemblage, with three alabaster alabastra.

360–350

14. *Opferstelle* Eck 39. *Kerameikos* XIV, p. 60, no. 60, fig. 33, pl. 45:2–7.

Round pit with ash and sheep bones. Large group of typical pyre vessels, with saltcellars, broad-based black-gloss bowl, olpe, two large ribbon-handled plates.

Shortly before 350

15. *Opferstelle* Eck 42. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 60–61, no. 62, fig. 33, pls. 11:4, 46:1.

Pit with ash and a few sheep bones. Two ribbon-handled plates, saucer, squat lekythos. Above *Kerameikos* XIV, no. 54 (no. 12, above). Date based on stratigraphy.

Shortly before middle of 4th century

Westpfad

16. *Opferstelle* Eck 7. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 71–72, no. 79, pls. 11:5, 47:9, 48:1, 2.

Round pit with burning and sheep bones. Typical pyre assemblage, plus olpe, black-gloss plates and small bowls, loomweight. Cuts grave containing gray unguentaria probably no earlier than ca. 300 (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 71, no. 78, pl. 47:3; *Agora* XXXIII, pp. 151–152, category 2 [3rd century]). Stratigraphy and presence of household-ware lopadia support published date.

300–290

Precinct of the Messenians (XIII)

17. *Opferstelle* Me 30. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 119–120, no. 126, fig. 48, pl. 52:2, 3.

Small round pit with ash, no bones. Possibly associated with nearby inhumation of young woman, ca. 22 years old (*Kerameikos* XIV, p. 119, no. 125 [Me 30], fig. 48). Household-ware lopadia, saucers, black-gloss saltcellars.

Late 4th century

18. *Opferstelle* Me 20. *Kerameikos* XIV, pp. 126–127, no. 159, figs. 48, 52, pls. 54, 55.

Small oval pit with ash and sheep and goat bones. Very large number of typical pyre offerings, as well as small hydria, imitation blisterware aryballoi, and gray unguentarium. Corinthian skyphos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 258, no. 157, fig. 12, pl. 15 (ca. 325–275); Attic skyphoi, cf. example from Agora pyre **62** (ca. 300–290). Possibly marks abandonment of precinct.

First quarter of 3rd century

Eridanos Cemetery

19. *Opferstelle* hS 114. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 45–47, no. 92, pl. 39:1.

Round pit with ash. Possibly associated with Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 45, no. 91 (hS 97), plan 4, inhumation grave of small child located 0.50 m to west. Cup, ribbon-handled plates, small bowls.

Late 5th century

20(?). *Brandgrab* hS 167. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 54–55, no. 107, pl. 42:1.

Shallow pit in bedrock with thin layer of burning, identified as child cremation on basis of "spärliche Knockenreste eines kleinen Kindes," but assemblage much like Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, no. 108 (no. 21, below), an *Opferstelle* that lay directly above.

Beginning of 4th century

21. *Opferstelle* hS 166. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 55–56, no. 108, pl. 42:2, 3.

Round shallow pit with ash, directly above Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, no. 107 (no. 20, above). Typical pyre assemblage.

Beginning of 4th century

22. *Opferstelle* hS 84. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 56, no. 109, pls. 41:3, 43:4.

Round shallow pit with ash. Lekanis, ribbon-handled plates, lopadion, incomplete red-figure hydria.

Beginning of 4th century

23. *Opferstelle* hS 52. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 63, no. 114, pl. 45:4, 5.

Large, rectangular pit with heavy burning. Probably contemporary with two other offering places not of pyre type (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 64, nos. 115, 116), preceding construction of large tumulus for adult sarcophagus burial (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 62, no. 113 [hS 42], plan 4). Typical pyre assemblage, with addition of small black-gloss hydria.

Middle of first quarter of 4th century

24. *Opferstelle* hS 182. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 71–72, no. 136, pl. 47:1.

Shallow trapezoidal pit with ash. Probably associated with adult sarcophagus grave (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 72, no. 137 [hS 177], plan 4), tumulus of which partially covers it. Typical pyre assemblage.

Shortly before 360

25. *Opferstelle* hS 374. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 72–75, no. 138, pls. 48–50.

Very large but shallow pit with thick layer of charcoal, connected with Breccia Building I/II. Typical pyre assemblage, with addition of three lebetes gamikoi, red-figure pyxis, lekanis with *epaulia* scenes, large covered bowl.

370–360

26. 1932 Eukoline 104. Stichel 1990, pp. 41–42, pl. 4:b, c.

Found in Kübler's 1932 excavations (Kübler 1932, cols. 192–193; Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 1–2, pl. 1:2). One of at least three *Brandgruben* in precinct 3, within area of Schlörb-Vierneisel's later Eridanos-Nekropole excavations (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, plan 5, labeled 3), and identified by Stichel as an *Opferstelle* rather than a grave because of the large amount of pottery. Skyphoi and multiple chytridia typical of pyres, saltcellars, miniature calyx cup, upper part of oinochoe. Attic skyphos, cf. examples from Agora pyres **16**, **36** (315–300); Corinthian skyphos may be earlier, cf. examples from Agora pyre **60** (340–330).

330–315?

27. *Opferstelle* hS 135. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 95, no. 168, pl. 59:4.

Oval pit with ash and three offerings: squat-rimmed cup-kantharos, ribbon-handled plate, lopadion. Cannot be associated with grave no. 166, as Schlörb-Vierneisel suggests, since the unguentarium in that grave dates it later than the pyre, in the first half of the 3rd century (Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 94, no. 166.1, pl. 59:1; cf. *Agora* XXXIII, p. 289, no. 411, fig. 62, pl. 52 [ca. 290–250]). Published date is early in last quarter of 4th century, but household-ware lopadion suggests pyre is later. Cf. Agora pyre **1**, with very similar shapes.

Ca. 315

28. *Opferstelle* hS 83. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, pp. 91–92, no. 160, pl. 58:3, 4.

Rectangular pit with ash and burnt animal bone. Typical pyre assemblage. Published date is early in last quarter of 4th century, but household-ware lopadia suggest slightly later date.

After 315

29. *Opferstelle* hS 17. Schlörb-Vierneisel 1966, p. 103, no. 188, fig. 10, pl. 61:5.

Shallow pit with charcoal. Typical late assemblage: Hellenistic kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, pp. 271–272, no. 279, fig. 19, pl. 28 (265–250); bowl with outturned rim, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 331, no. 880, fig. 59, pl. 72 (275–250); large black-gloss saucer with projecting rim, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 318, no. 737, fig. 52, pl. 66 (ca. 250); rilled-rim plate, miniature votive cup. Dated in publication to turn of 4th to 3rd century, but comparanda suggest later date.

275–250

South Side of the Street of the Tombs

30. *Opferstelle* of Dionysios of Kollytos, died 345–338. Knigge et al. 1984, pp. 56–61; Knigge 1988, pp. 123–126, no. 23.

Large pit lined with mud brick, with ash, charcoal, burnt animal bone, and over 100 vessels, deposited before completion of work on precinct. Offerings include black-gloss plates, two lekanai, lamp, unglazed vessels (chytridia and cooking-ware lopadia visible in photograph of deposit in situ, Knigge et al. 1984, fig. 50), bronze arrowheads.

345–338

North Side of the Street of the Tombs

31. 1937 Hegeso 41. Stichel 1990, p. 41, pl. 3:a, b.

Found in Kübler's 1937 excavations, exploring deeper layers of precinct of Hegeso and area to its east (Kübler 1938, col. 586). Typical pyre assemblage, with addition of broad-based bowl, saltcellars. Lopadia of cooking fabric and Corinthian skyphos comparable to examples from Agora pyre **18** (ca. 350); lekanis lid with profiled knob (probably before ca. 330).

350–330

North Side of the Sacred Way

32. Offering trench under wall of Classical grave precinct. Vierneisel 1963, pp. 27–28, pls. 22, 23; 1964, cols. 432–434, figs. 24–27; Knigge 1988, pp. 145–147, no. 44, figs. 142, 143, at 44 on plan, fig. 165.

Opferrinne measuring 5.00 × 0.80 m under eastern part of back wall of large grave precinct on north side of Sacred Way, at western edge of excavations. Ash, burnt animal bone, and large number of vessels: red-figure hydriai, lebetes gamikoi, pyxis, lekythoi, black-gloss vessels, spindle whorls, astragaloi, but also some vessels of pyre type (chytridion, two ribbon-handled plates, small Corinthian skyphos, small plates or saucers). Precinct also contained second, slightly later, offering trench.

430–420

Northwest of the Rundbau

33. *Brandopfergrube* WRb 17. Knigge and Freytag gen. Löringhoff 1974, p. 193, marked 17 on the plan, fig. 20; Knigge 1975.

Large, triangular pit (2.50 × 1.80 m) with several layers of ash, northwest of Rundbau. Some pyre vessels (drinking cups, Lykinic lekanides, plate), along with small bowl, stemmed dishes, large ribbon-handled plate with starburst decoration,

red-figure oinochoe, bronze and iron weaponry. Identified as possible cenotaph for soldier buried at state expense.

Ca. 430

Grave Precinct B (Precinct of Kleomenes)

34. *Brandopferstelle* 60. Knigge, Stichel, and Woyski 1978, pp. 56–57, figs. 12:60, 22, 23; Knigge 1988, pp. 152–153, no. 56, fig. 147.

Large offering pit lined with mud brick and containing about 150 vessels, among them typical pyre offerings (many lopadia and small saucers, small drinking cups), as well as phialai, red-figure chous, other shapes. Possibly associated with abandonment of precinct.

Ca. 350

Precinct of Theonichos

The following assemblages are from excavations carried out in 1942 and 1943 by K. Gebauer and K. Kübler in the Precinct of Theonichos, between the Rundbau and the Querweg, and immediately to the north of the Precinct of Kleomenes. Most were published as cremation graves, but the contents suggest they are pyres.

35. Theonichos QO IV. Braun 1994, pp. 29, 32, nos. 5, 9, pls. 4:α, 7:δ.

Catalogued twice, once as *Brandopferstelle,* once as *Brandgrab.* Small Attic skyphos similar to examples from Agora pyres **16**, **36** (ca. 315–300), pyre lekanis, ribbon-handled plate, saucers, household-ware lopadia. Household-ware vessels indicate date after 315, not necessarily as late as second quarter of 3rd century, as Braun suggests.

315–300 or later

36. Theonichos QO IX. Braun 1994, pp. 29–30, no. 6, pls. 5:α, 8:β.

Published as *Brandgrab.* Catalogue description does not agree with illustration, leaving some doubt about what was included, but illustration shows typical pyre assemblage. Classical kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 243, no. 13, fig. 4, pl. 2 (290–275). Use of typical pyre assemblage suggests pyre is earlier than published date of 270–255.

290–275

37. Theonichos QO III. Braun 1994, pp. 31–32, no. 8, pls. 5:γ, δ, 8:γ.

Perhaps associated with grave of Theonichos. Typical pyre assemblage, with addition of six squat lekythoi, surprising at this late date. There is apparently some confusion about which objects belong to which deposit, so the lekythoi perhaps have been misplaced. Classical kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 243, no. 17, fig. 4, pl. 2 (ca. 275).

Early in second quarter of 3rd century

38. Theonichos QO I. Braun 1994, pp. 30–31, no. 7, pls. 4:β, γ, 10:α, β.

Published as *Brandgrab,* but typical pyre assemblage. Small Hellenistic kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 265, no. 224, fig. 16, pl. 21 (ca. 250); fragmentary bowl-kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 256, nos. 136, 138, fig. 11, pl. 13 (275–260). Braun dates pyre in second quarter of 3rd century, but presence of typical pyre vessels suggests it was buried not long after ca. 270.

Early in second quarter of 3rd century

39. Theonichos QO II. Braun 1994, p. 33, no. 10, pl. 9:α, β.

Published as *Brandgrab.* Typical pyre assemblage, but with small echinus bowl, imitation blisterware aryballos. Small Hellenistic kantharos, cf. *Agora* XXIX, p. 265, nos. 221–224, fig. 16, pl. 21 (275–250). Presence of typical pyre vessels suggests date early in range proposed by Braun (second quarter of 3rd century).

Early in second quarter of 3rd century

RHAMNOUS

40. Rhamnous, Peribolos of Phanikrates B. Petrakos 1989, pp. 6–8.

Pottery burnt, but no evidence of burning in situ. Large deposit of pottery (none illustrated) includes banded ribbon-handled plates, chytra.

Beginning to middle of 4th century

41. Rhamnous, Peribolos of Phanikrates A. Petrakos 1989, p. 6, pl. 2.

Lined with upright plaques on two sides. Pottery burnt, but no trace of burning in situ. Over 100 vessels, among them ribbon-handled plates, lopadia (probably of cooking ware), saucers, guttus.

Dated to last quarter of 4th century, but well-made ribbon-handled plates may point to earlier date.

42. Rhamnous, Peribolos of Phanikrates Γ. Petrakos 1989, p. 8.

Three chytrai, perhaps later than those of pyre A (no. 41, above).

Second half of 4th century?

Pyrelike Deposits outside of Attica

The summaries here are limited to subfloor deposits in apparent domestic contexts; similar deposits associated with sacred and public structures are not discussed.

1. Ambracia

ArchDelt 26, B′2, 1971, p. 332, pl. 307:δ; *ArchDelt* 31, B′2, 1976, p. 194; *ArchDelt* 32, B′1, 1977, p. 146; *ArchDelt* 36, B′2, 1981, p. 275, pls. 167:β, 168:α; *ArchDelt* 37, B′2, 1982, pp. 261–262; *ArchDelt* 41, B′, 1986, pp. 109–110, pl. 102; *ArchDelt* 45, B′1, 1990, p. 241, pls. 107:β, γ, 108:α; Andreou and Andreou 2000; Evely et al. 2008, p. 61.

Subfloor deposits of miniature pottery, ash, and burnt animal bones are a regular feature of Ambracian houses. Most date to the late 4th or early 3rd century, but a few Archaic, earlier Classical, and Hellenistic examples have also been found. There is usually one deposit per house, and the deposits lie under the earliest floor. The offerings are mostly miniatures, imitating a wide variety of domestic objects: cups, kraters, jugs, amphoras, plates, bowls, footed bowls, lamps, mortars, trays. There are also sometimes figurines of humans, animals, and furniture. The excavators interpret the deposits as building or foundation deposits.

The Ambracia deposits resemble Athenian pyres in deposition under a floor, the presence of bones and burning, and the inclusion of miniatures, though the types of miniatures are different and far more varied than those of Athenian pyres. The occurrence of a single pyre per house, under the lowest floor, also suggests a different purpose.

2. Leukada

ArchDelt 48, B′1, 1993, p. 300; Fiedler 1999, p. 418, ill. on p. 419; Zachos and Douzougli 2003, p. 53.

Two deposits of miniature vessels, charcoal, and animal bones have been found in houses excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service in the modern town of Leukada. One, of the second half of the 5th century, included miniature jugs, hydriai, a krateriskos, a footed bowl, a lamp, and a miniature wine press. The other, Hellenistic in date, had 39 miniature vessels: cups, one-handled bowls, plates. The deposits have been interpreted as building offerings. The types of offerings, though miniature, are different from those of the Athenian pyres.

3. Eretria

ArchDelt 23, B′1, 1968, p. 239; *ArchDelt* 24, B′1, 1969, p. 197, pls. 204, 205; *ArchDelt* 25, B′1, 1970, p. 256; *ArchDelt* 29, B′2, 1973–1974, p. 465; *Ergon* 1974, p. 24, pl. 19; Themelis 1974, pp. 39–42, pls. 17–20; Metzger 1978a; 1978b; Kalligas 1983, p. 115, pls. 44:γ, 45:α; Mekacher 2003, pp. 71–75, 85 (summary of contents of deposits), plan 3 (locations of all deposits).

Eleven "pyrai"—deposits combining burning, bone, and offerings—have come to light in Eretria, mostly among the houses of the city or just outside the wall. They await full study, but have been collected and discussed in considerable detail by Nina Mekacher in the context of her publication of the terracotta figurines from the Swiss excavations at the site. Metzger (1978b, pp. 86–87) connects the largest of them with the celebration of the Anthesteria, a hypothesis that finds no support in the material evidence (Themelis 1983, pp. 342–343; Gex 2003, pp. 120–121; Mekacher 2003, p. 75). Other explanations include infant burials (Metzger 1978a, p. 4; Kalligas 1983, p. 115) or offerings from a small shrine (*ArchDelt* 24, B′1, 1969, p. 197; Themelis 1974, pp. 40–41).

Mekacher divides the deposits into two groups: (1) three large deposits, ash layers covering as much as two square meters, with animal bone, pottery, lamps, and terracotta figures (Mekacher 2003, p. 72, G1–G3); (2) eight smaller deposits characterized as small pits, pockets, or lenses of burning (pp. 72–73, K1–K8), which are more closely similar to the Agora pyres. Seven of the small pyres are spread through various residential quarters, while the eighth is located in a necropolis just outside the walls. The contents include charcoal, burnt fruits and seeds, and calcined bone (birds and an adult human tooth have been identified). Most contained multiple terracotta figurines, usually of girls and boys; some also contained pottery of various shapes (cups, lekythoi, unguentaria), as well as astragaloi. Of those clearly dated, one belongs in the third quarter of the 5th century, the others at the turn from the 4th to the 3rd century. In light of the figurines, Mekacher suggests that the small deposits represent offerings associated with children. She interprets the large deposits, which contain large numbers of mammal bones and table wares, as the refuse of ritual meals; the figurine types present (siren, mourning woman, pomegranate, eggs) suggest a connection with funerary cult.

4. Euboia, Dragon House on Mt. Ochi

Moutsopoulos 1992, p. 50, fig. 9.

At least six one-handled cups were found under the disturbed pavement of a "dragon house," a small and remote stone structure of uncertain purpose. Moutsopoulos believes the deposit was placed there at the time of the undated first destruction of the flooring of the building.

5. Nemea

Miller 1975, pp. 148–149, pl. 33:a, b, d, e.

An area measuring 0.50 × 1.00 m of bones, ash, and pottery was found during cleaning in the southeast corner of the "Xenon," a building of unknown purpose in the sanctuary of Zeus. The location, in a sacred precinct, puts the deposit outside the parameters of this appendix, but I include it in consideration of the unknown and possibly residential function of the building in which it was found. The deposit is cut by the south wall of the building and therefore predates it; it has been interpreted as a building deposit by Müller-Zeis (1994, p. 102, no. 79). Of 50 inventoried objects, a full-size skyphos and one-handler, four small bowls, 37 miniature cups, and two small figurines are illustrated. The deposit also included a coin and a fragmentary strigil. It is similar to Attic pyres in the presence of bone and ash, the combination of full-size drinking cups with miniatures, and the inclusion of a coin. Last third of 4th century.

6. Thasos

ÉtThas XII, pp. 103–104, 114–118, pls. 45, 48, 49.

Two clusters of small vessels were found on a floor of room 1 of House a of Insula I in the quarter of the Silenus Gate at Thasos. Presumably they were put in place when the succeeding floor, of the third phase of the house, was laid. The vessels were neatly placed, upside down, in two corners of the room: 21 in the southeast corner and 14 in the southwest corner. The report makes no mention of burning or bone. The vessels are mostly of normal size or small, but not miniature. Shapes include a skyphos, one-handlers, saltcellars, a broad-based bowl, a rilled-rim plate, a pyxis lid, duck askoi, and lamps. Most vessels date in the third quarter of the 4th century, but a lamp is considerably earlier. The deposits differ significantly from the Attic pyres in the absence of miniatures, burning, bone, and the careful arrangement of the pottery, though some of the shapes are paralleled at Athens.

7. Epizephyrian Lokris

Barra Bagnasco 1989, pp. 41, 172, 242, 246, nos. 162, 277, 282, pls. III:3, XXVI, XXXI, XXXIII, XXXV.

A deposit of seven full-size pots was buried at the time of construction in the northern corner of room F-5 of House F, Insula I_2. They include five nearly complete vessels for wine or oil (olpe, bottle, two lekythoi, unguentarium) and two fragmentary impasto olle. 3rd century. Vessel types are different from those found in Athenian pyres, and apparently were not associated with burning or bone.

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