

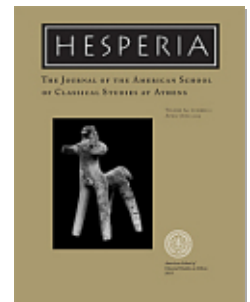


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The Southeast Fountain House in the Athenian Agora: A Reappraisal of Its Date and Historical Context

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THE SOUTHEAST FOUNTAIN HOUSE IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA

A REAPPRAISAL OF ITS DATE AND HISTORICAL CONTEXT

ABSTRACT

The Southeast Fountain House, consistently associated with the Peisistratids and often included among their additions to the built environment of Athens, stands at the center of a historical controversy surrounding the Late Archaic use of the Athenian Agora. Its identification and date have crucial ramifications for our understanding of the Agora in the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. A reappraisal of the pottery from the fountain house, overflow channels, and pipelines, together with an examination of the in situ architectural remains, demonstrates that the building should instead be placed among the earliest buildings of the new democracy; it is one of the structures that helped to define—both spatially and conceptually—the area of the new Agora.

INTRODUCTION

The Southeast Fountain House in the Athenian Agora is a structure often overlooked by tourists, dwarfed by its later neighbors, and relatively ignored in scholarship.¹ Nevertheless, it endures as one of the pivotal buildings of the Late Archaic period. Indeed, much weight has been placed on its slender shoulders: the fountain house has been championed as evidence for a Peisistratid overhaul of the Agora area and as an indication of the growing public dimension of the space to the northwest of the Acropolis during the Archaic period.² As such, it stands at the center of the debate regarding

1. Numerous people are owed thanks, and their comments, advice, and critiques have invaluable enriched this project. In particular, I would like to thank T. Leslie Shear Jr., Margaret Miles, John Camp, Kathleen Lynch, John Oakley, Susan Rotroff, the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewer, and John Lombardini. In addition, Jan

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forward successfully. All profile drawings are by Anne Hooten, and all photographs of sherds are by Craig Mauzy. All translations are my own.

2. See, for example, Shear 1978, p. 11; 1994, p. 231; Wycherley 1978, p. 32; Camp 1994, pp. 9–12; 2001, p. 35.

when the Classical Agora became “the Agora” of the polis. Despite this critical role, the fountain house has not been the subject of much sustained inquiry and examination since its initial discovery.³

The connection between the Southeast Fountain House and the Peisistratids—an association that has existed since the discovery of the fountain house in 1953—has tended to oblige archaeologists to date the building to the third or early fourth quarter of the 6th century B.C.⁴ In addition to the scant archaeological and ceramic evidence, this association was largely based on the supposed connections between the fountain house and the famed Enneakrounos, a structure embellished by the Peisistratids and identified and described by Thucydides and Pausanias. Although most scholars now agree that the fountain house in the Agora and the Enneakrounos are two separate entities, the link between the fountain house and the Peisistratids has remained, as has the date in the third or early fourth quarter of the 6th century. If this association can be removed, however, the date of the building must be reconsidered. A reevaluation of the structure’s date and context, then, is not only warranted but necessary at this time.

In this article, I propose a new date for the Southeast Fountain House: just before 480–ca. 450. Supporting evidence includes the architectural elements of the fountain house itself and the ceramics from the building and pipelines, all of which suggest a date in the first half of the 5th century, rather than the earlier ca. 525 date. This downdating, moreover, is bolstered by the historical context of the Agora’s development, the role of building activity in the early years of the democracy, and the importance of water in the decades immediately prior to and following the Persian Wars. This revised date has ramifications for how we reconstruct the narrative of the Agora’s development. It also affects our understanding of Peisistratid building activity in Athens, as well as how the new democracy attempted to articulate itself in its nascent stages.

In what follows, the discovery of the fountain house, the debate surrounding the Enneakrounos label, and an evaluation of the architectural details of the structure are presented with new and revised dating comparanda. A discussion of the ceramic evidence from the pipelines continues the argument, followed by an account of the proposed redating of the fountain house. The historical context of the fountain house is then considered and reevaluated. The evolution of the Agora is cursorily traced to provide the framework within which the Southeast Fountain House was originally inserted. Finally, the role of Themistokles in the promotion of water-based initiatives during the first few decades of the new democracy is suggested.

3. The initial excavation report for the Southeast Fountain House was published by Thompson in 1953 (pp. 29–35), with additional details added in 1956 (pp. 49–52), although sections of its pipeline had been reported earlier by Shear (1935,

pp. 334–336). The fountain house is also discussed in *Agora XIV* (pp. 197–200) and by Camp (1977, pp. 73–94; 2001, p. 35; 2010, pp. 157–158).

4. Thompson 1953, p. 32; *Agora XIV*, p. 197; Camp 1977, pp. 85–86.

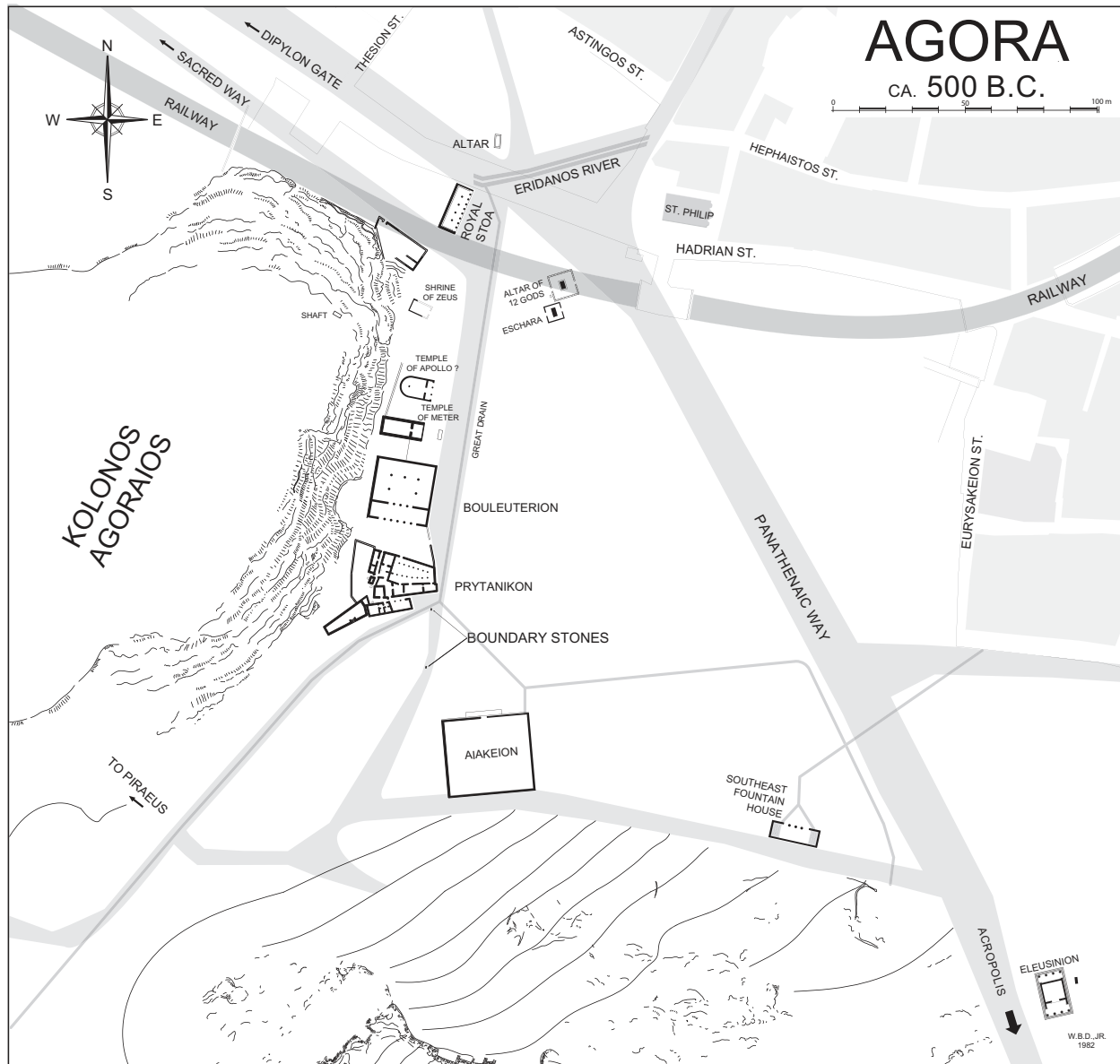


Figure 1. Plan of the Agora, ca. 500 B.C. Camp 2010, p. 17, fig. 3; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens

THE SOUTHEAST FOUNTAIN HOUSE AND THE SO-CALLED ENNEAKROUNOS

In 1953, excavators in the Athenian Agora discovered a rectangular Archaic building with two basins and terracotta water pipes in the southeast corner of the Classical Agora (Fig. 1). This structure was immediately suggested as a possible candidate for the fountain house called Enneakrounos as identified by Pausanias (1.14.1) in the 2nd century A.D. and located by him between the City Eleusinion and the Odeion of Agrippa, which had been built in 15 B.C. in the middle of the open square of the Agora just to the west of the Panathenaic Way; this is precisely where the building is situated.⁵ The structure is more commonly referred to as the Southeast Fountain House.

5. Thompson 1953, pp. 34–35; the controversy and previous arguments for and against the Enneakrounos being located in the Agora are discussed in *Agora III*, pp. 139–140.

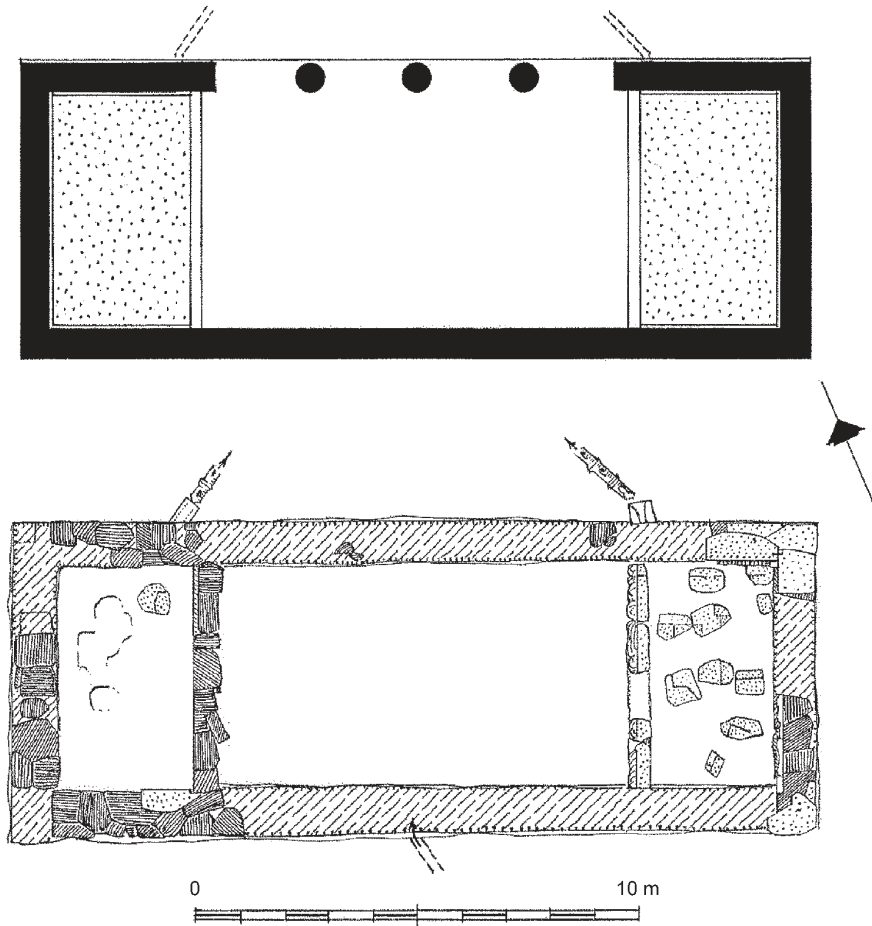


Figure 2. Plan of the Southeast Fountain House in its initial phase: (top) restored; (bottom) present state. *Agora XIV*, p. 198, fig. 50; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens

The southeast structure took the form of a long rectangular room, 6.80×18.20 m, possibly with three columns in antis, and it faced the open area of the Agora, which allowed access into the building from the north (Fig. 2).⁶ Although relatively small in comparison with other Agora structures, the fountain house can nevertheless be considered a monumental structure in that it is a spacious and permanent building, far larger than an individual or private well, and was built of stone, rather than mudbrick or timber.⁷ The foundations and walls were constructed of hard gray limestone, likely from the Acropolis foothills or the Kara quarries on Mt. Hymettos,⁸ and fashioned with careful polygonal masonry joins. The northeast corner preserves the remains of a cutting for a Z-clamp (Fig. 3). The interior space was divided into three bays, the two smaller sections on either end serving as water basins,

6. Few remnants of the superstructure survive, so the common reproduction of the building with three columns in antis along the north facade can only remain speculative. Camp (1977, pp. 77–81) notes the difficulties in the restoration of the facade and interior arrangement.

7. The small stature of the fountain

house is quite close to that of the Stoa Basileios; both buildings are significantly smaller than many of the other prominent structures in the Agora, such as the Old Bouleuterion and South Stoa, but nevertheless remain monumental.

8. The original excavation report describes the stone as “not creamy enough to be the normal Kara

limestone” (Thompson 1953, p. 30), although Camp (1986, p. 42) labels the stone Kara. To my knowledge, samples of the stone have never been tested. Visually, it bears a close resemblance to Kara stone, and this designation seems appropriate, given the general exploitation of these quarries in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods.



Figure 3. Detail of northeast corner of Southeast Fountain House showing Z-clamp cutting. Photo J. Paga

given the lime plaster remains found on the floors and structural provisions for drainage.⁹ These two side basins are small, measuring just 3.20×5.00 m each. The central area between the two bays appears to have been left open and unobstructed, and its floor was slightly elevated above the level of the side basins.¹⁰ It is not clear how many water spouts the fountain originally held, although we can assume at least two, one for each lateral basin.

The scale of this building, the quality of the materials and building technique used in its construction, and its placement near the Panathenaic Way and along the south road of the Agora all indicate that it was an important structure that would have been much frequented. The location, close to the intersection of the two roads—one of them a major religious route—would have served as a focal point for the relatively empty central area. The presence of water further elevated the building to a monumental status: for much of the second half of the 6th century, the area of the Agora had no consistent or publicly accessible water source.¹¹ In sum, the fountain house was a manifestly public building that allowed seemingly unrestricted access and provided space for more than a single individual to draw water, which was steadily refreshed through a series of terracotta pipes.¹²

When and how the area to the northwest of the Acropolis became the Agora of the polis is an issue intimately tied to the Southeast Fountain House. Given the development of this space in the Late Archaic period, the lack of a consistent and assured water supply would have necessitated the construction of a fountain house or other large-scale water facility at some point in the late 6th or the early 5th century. Thucydides (2.15) reports that the fountain house called the Enneakrounos was dedicated or embellished by the tyrants in the 6th century:

καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτως σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνη καλουμένη, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόη ὠνομασμένη ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι.

9. Thompson 1953, p. 29. For a detailed discussion of the provisions for overflow from the fountain house, see Camp 1977, pp. 82–85.

10. *Agora* XIV, p. 198.

11. The lack of water in the area of the Agora in the second half of the 6th century is discussed below.

12. For further details regarding the pipes, see Thompson 1953, p. 32; also 1956, esp. pp. 49–51; *Agora* XIV, p. 199.

The fountain which, due to the embellishments by the tyrants, is now called Enneakrounos [Nine Spouts] was called Kallirhoe [Fair Water] previously when the spring was found, and this is used for the most important occasions, since it is nearby, and even now, according to ancient practice, its water is used for ceremonies prior to weddings and other sacred rituals.

Earlier in this passage, Thucydides locates the Enneakrounos in a place close to the Archaic, or Old, Agora and the Ilissos River area; the ancient historian refers to the Enneakrounos in conjunction with the sanctuaries of Olympian Zeus, Pythian Apollo, Gaia, and Dionysos *en limnais*.¹³ All of these elements are described as being to the south (πρὸς νότον) of the Acropolis, near the older areas of habitation.¹⁴ Topographically, the siting of the Enneakrounos, as Thucydides identifies it, should be alongside these other monuments, outside the area of the Classical, or new, Agora.¹⁵

As mentioned above, when Pausanias visited Athens in the 2nd century A.D., he saw a fountain house that he identified as the Enneakrounos, embellished by Peisistratos (1.14.1):

ἐς δὲ τὸ Ἀθήνησιν ἐσελθοῦσιν Ὠιδεῖον ἄλλα τε καὶ Διόνυσος
κεῖται θέας ἄξιος. πλησίον δὲ ἐστὶ κρήνη, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν
Ἐννεάκρουνον, οὕτω κοσμηθεῖσαν ὑπὸ Πεισιστράτου. φρέατα
μὲν γὰρ καὶ διὰ πάσης τῆς πόλεως ἐστὶ, πηγὴ δὲ αὕτη μόνη. ναοὶ
δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν κρήνην ὁ μὲν Δήμετρος πεποιήται καὶ Κόρης, ἐν δὲ
τῷ Τριπτολέμου κείμενόν ἐστιν ἄγαλμα·

When you enter the Odeion in Athens, there is a statue of Dionysos worth seeing. Nearby is a spring, called the Enneakrounos, having been embellished in this way by Peisistratos. There are wells all through the city, but only this fountain. Above the fountain are temples, one to Demeter and Kore, and one in which there is a statue of Triptolemos.

As the passage reveals, Pausanias mentions this fountain house only briefly when he is in the Classical Agora, between references to the Odeion of Agrippa and the City Eleusinion, which is precisely where the Southeast

13. Thuc. 2.15: Τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ νῦν οὐσα πόλις ἦν. καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον. τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστὶ, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μάλλον ἵδρυται, τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἐν λίμναις Διονύσου . . . ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ . . . (Previously the Acropolis was the polis, and the area below this, especially facing the south. The evidence: there are sanctuaries of other gods on the Acropolis and outside [of the Acropo-

lis] there are sanctuaries in this part of the city, the temple of Olympian Zeus, the Pythion, the sanctuary of Gaia, and Dionysos *en limnais* . . . there are other ancient sanctuaries in this area as well. And the fountain . . .). The remainder of the passage is quoted in the main text above.

14. The Enneakrounos, near the Ilissos River area, would thus be in close proximity to the Old Agora and would have been an important source of water for that section of the polis. Prior to the establishment of the Classical Agora, the necessity for water would have been greater in the areas to

the south and southeast of the Acropolis. This point is also made by Papadopoulos (2003, p. 284). The location of the Old Agora is treated in greater detail below.

15. A location near the Ilissos River area for the Enneakrounos was first argued by Skias (1893), countering the earlier hypothesis of Dörpfeld (1892); Harrison (1906, pp. 111–136) also provides detailed coverage of the evidence and ultimately sides with Dörpfeld. For discussion of the issue and previous bibliography, see Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 204–205.

Fountain House was found.¹⁶ The location described by Pausanias, however, is notably different from the one provided by Thucydides.

Further complicating Pausanias's account, other ancient references to the Enneakrounos consistently place it close to the Ilissos River, either directly or via reference to the Kallirhoe.¹⁷ It is also mentioned by Hierokles in conjunction with the Temple of Zeus.¹⁸ These attestations overwhelmingly support the location of the fountain as identified by Thucydides over the claim of Pausanias.¹⁹ Based on the literary testimonies alone, the famed Enneakrounos, as embellished by the tyrants, should be located near the Ilissos River area, close to the Old Agora, somewhere to the south and east of the Acropolis. Pausanias, in this case, appears to have been mistaken.

Although the majority of scholars now accept that Pausanias's identification is unlikely—given the competing evidence offered by Thucydides and others—the structure in the southeast corner of the Agora is still considered a product of the Peisistratids and the name Enneakrounos has not been disassociated from the structure by all.²⁰ Despite reluctance on the part of some to remove the Enneakrounos name from the fountain house, such a separation seems warranted by the competing literary claims. Yet, even after the designation Enneakrounos had been disassociated from the Southeast Fountain House by most, its connection with the Peisistratids has been retained and its date has never been reevaluated. The removal of the Enneakrounos label, however, requires a reconsideration of the structure's dating.

The traditional dating of the building in the southeast corner of the Agora exacerbates the problems associated with its identification and historical context. The original excavators dated the structure to the second half of the 6th century partly on the assumption that its construction followed closely on the destruction of an Early Archaic house in the second half of the 6th century whose remains were found beneath the fountain house,²¹ and partly on the basis of the scant pottery remains from the pipelines and the overall architectural style of the building. It has since been described as belonging to the third or early fourth quarter of the 6th century.²² The

16. For an examination of Pausanias's movement through the area of the Agora, see Vanderpool 1949; Wycherley 1959, 1963. Pausanias's itinerary in Athens is also treated by Robertson 1998; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 285; Schmalz 2006, pp. 38–45.

17. Schol. Ar. *Eq.* 526; *Etym. Magn.*, s.v. Ἐννεάκρουνος; Himer. fr. I.7, Pl. [Ax.] 364a, b, d; Stat. *Theb.* 12.629–633.

18. *Hippiatrica*, preface to *De febr equi*. For a full catalogue of literary attestations of the Enneakrounos, including that of Hierokles, see *Agora* III, pp. 137–142.

19. In addition, we might be more inclined to trust Thucydides over Pausanias in this specific instance, largely due to Thucydides' chronological prox-

imity to the initial constructions by the Peisistratids; it is more likely that an Athenian citizen of the mid-5th century B.C. could correctly identify the location and patronage of the Enneakrounos, one of the most important water supplies for the city, than a Roman pilgrim in the 2nd century A.D. (pace Thompson and Wycherley, *Agora* XIV, pp. 198–199). Camp (1986, p. 43) takes a similar view on the trustworthiness of Thucydides in this case. For a defense of Pausanias, see Habicht 1985, particularly pp. 165–175.

20. For acceptance of Thucydides' assignation, see, e.g., Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 204–205; Camp 1986, pp. 42–43; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 284. For the retention of the name Enneakrounos for

the Southeast Fountain House, see, e.g., Wycherley 1978, p. 248; Hurwit 1985, p. 249; Shapiro 1989, pp. 6–7, 126.

21. Thompson 1956, p. 48.

22. Thompson 1953, p. 32.

Thompson and Wycherley (*Agora* XIV, p. 197) date the building to “the latter part of the 6th century.” Camp (1977, pp. 85–86) dates the building to the third quarter of the 6th century on the basis of masonry, building technique, remains of the Early Archaic house below the fountain house, and pottery from the overflow channels. Camp later (1994, p. 10) dates the building more precisely to 530–520. The elements involved in the dating are discussed in greater detail below.

carefully jointed polygonal masonry, the use of hard gray limestone, and the presence of a Z-clamp have all been compared to the Old Athena Temple on the Acropolis and the Archaic Temple of Dionysos on the south slope of the Acropolis, two buildings that had been dated, until the past few decades, to the late third or early fourth quarter of the 6th century.²³ This date, moreover, closely corresponds to the period in which the tyrants were in power in Athens.²⁴

The construction of the fountain house has been, and should continue to be, connected with the closure of nearby wells in the area that would become the Agora, a chronological relationship that implies a correlation between the two projects; it is likely that the removal of private sources of water would be followed—at some later date—by the construction of a new public source.²⁵ The building thus served an integral purpose as a public replacement for the private wells closed during the middle of the 6th century. By the late 6th century, only one open well remained in the area of the Agora, G 11:8. Located on the western edge of the space, along the Kolonos Agoraios, it should be associated with the private dwellings in that area (buildings C, D, and F). It was closed toward the end of the last quarter of the 6th century.

The construction of a large-scale fountain house in the area of the newly deprivatized Agora, and near the juncture of two important roads, clearly indicates the growing importance and widespread use of this space.²⁶ According to the traditional dating, the closure of private wells associated with the reign of Peisistratos and the construction of a fountain house toward the end of his reign or the beginning of that of his sons, are both elements pointing to the role of that elite family in the transition of the Agora into a public space. Only the first part of this relationship, however, can be attributed to the tyrants; the replacement of the private wells with a public source was, in fact, an undertaking of the new democracy, and its construction, therefore, carries a different set of implications, particularly for understanding the role of the nascent democracy in the spatial articulation of the Agora.

THE DATE OF THE SOUTHEAST FOUNTAIN HOUSE

The structure in the southeast corner of the Agora, as already noted, has been traditionally dated to the third or early fourth quarter of the 6th century and associated with the tyrants. The dating criteria have included the use of hard gray limestone, the carefully jointed polygonal masonry style visible in the in situ foundations, the use of a Z-clamp in the northeast corner of the building, the destruction of an Early Archaic house

23. The dating for these buildings is treated below.

24. It is unclear if the literary connections between the Enneakrounos and the presence of an Archaic fountain house in the Agora had a direct impact on the dating (i.e., to what extent the excavators, consciously or not, sought a date for the fountain

house within the reign of the Peisistratids). The rule of the tyrants can be considered to extend from 546/5, when Peisistratos truly came into control of the polis (*Ath. Pol.* 15), until 511/10, when Hippias and the last remaining male descendants of the Peisistratid family were exiled (*Hdt.* 5.65; *Ath. Pol.* 19).

25. See Shear 1978, p. 11. The closure of the wells is discussed in further detail below.

26. Thompson (1956, p. 51) further relates the construction of the fountain house to a growth in population at this time and a “rise in the standard of living.”

underneath the western chamber of the structure, the pottery collected from the overflow channels and outlets for the water pipeline, and the pipes themselves. Due to being dated to this time period, the Southeast Fountain House has been lauded as one of the means by which the space of the Agora had already been transformed from a private to a public area under the Peisistratids.²⁷

Addressing the architectural elements first, the following comparisons can be made. The hard gray-blue limestone and the careful polygonal masonry, particularly evident in the jointing at the northeast corner, draw their strongest parallels with the north wall of the Dörpfeld foundations on the Acropolis, the foundations for the Archaic Temple of Dionysos on the south slope of the Acropolis, the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion (Fig. 4), and the remains of the Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis (Fig. 5). The earliest comparanda are the Dörpfeld foundations, the initial phase of which can be dated to ca. 570–560.²⁸ The remaining structures, however, present a slightly more complicated chronology.

In the past few decades, many of the dates in the Late Archaic period have been reevaluated and several of these structures have been redated, although not without controversy. The date of the Archaic Temple of Dionysos is perhaps least controversial, and several scholars have proposed a date in the late 6th century, or ca. 500.²⁹ The Old Bouleuterion seems likely to date to this same period, although both the date and the plan of the building have been questioned.³⁰ The Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis has consistently been dated on the basis of its architecture—and without supporting ceramic, epigraphic, or other evidence—by stylistic comparison with the Old Athena Temple; if a date of ca. 500 is accepted for this building, the date for the Telesterion should likewise be adjusted.³¹ Further, the

27. Shear 1978, p. 11; Camp 1994, pp. 9–12. This proposal is vigorously argued against by Papadopoulos (2003, pp. 288–297), who would instead push the date for the creation of the Classical Agora to the post-Persian period. Papadopoulos (2003, p. 295, n. 141) notes the potential dating problems of the Southeast Fountain House but does not suggest an alternative to the ca. 525 date.

28. For a date of ca. 570–560 for the first use of the Dörpfeld foundations and ca. 500 for the Old Athena Temple, see Childs 1994. Thompson, the original excavator of the fountain house, compared its stone work to that of the Old Athena Temple (1953, p. 32). He was most likely referring to what we now call the “Dörpfeld foundations,” rather than the superstructure of the temple (either the H-architecture or the Old Athena temple), although this distinction is not made clear in his publication.

29. For a date in the late 6th or early 5th century for the Archaic Temple of

Dionysos, see Connor 1990, pp. 14–16, 24–26; Rehm 2002, p. 44; for ca. 500, see Paga 2012, pp. 378–380. See also Despinis (1996–1997, pp. 212–213), who dates the temple to the first two decades of the 5th century on the basis of its architectural and, principally, sculptural components. Despinis, however, also believes that this temple may have replaced, at least partially, an older temple from the third quarter of the 6th century.

30. For a date of ca. 500 for the Old Bouleuterion, see Camp 1986, p. 53; Shear 1993, pp. 419–422, 472–473; 1994, p. 236; 1995; Camp 2010, pp. 61–62; Paga, forthcoming. For the controversy concerning the date, plan, and use of the building, see Miller 1995b (answered by Shear 1995); Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 289–295; concerning the date of the Agora in general, without specific mention of the Old Bouleuterion, see Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos 2012, pp. 344, 348, 352. I find Shear’s response to Miller’s hypothesis thorough and persuasive, but I do

acknowledge the controversy.

31. For a date of ca. 500 for the Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis, see Paga 2012, pp. 443–459, where the date of ca. 500 is argued on the basis of additional architectural comparanda, the account of the events of 506/5 as presented in Herodotos, and the overall historical context. Note also Clinton (1994, p. 162), who remarks that the building should “certainly [be dated] after the third quarter of the sixth century, possibly even as late as the end of the century”; Hayashi (1992, pp. 20–29), who argues that the Peisistratid date for the building must be discarded; and Miles (*Agora XXXI*, pp. 27–28), who highlights the lack of ancient testimonia associating the Peisistratids with the Mysteries and further argues that both the Telesterion and the fortification walls should be considered products of the new democracy; the later date is also presented in Lippolis 2006, pp. 163–180; Lippolis, Livadiotti, and Rocco 2007, p. 589–590.



Figure 4. Foundations of the Old Bouleuterion, showing its hard gray limestone, from the north. Photo J. Paga



Figure 5. Interior angle of southwest corner of Late Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis, showing its hard gray limestone, from the northeast. Photo J. Paga

upper surfaces of the blocks at the northeast corner of the fountain house are worked with a broad-tined claw-tooth chisel and a drove chisel (Fig. 6). The interior edges of the upper surfaces of the blocks are smoothly finished with a reserved band, indicating that the next row of blocks would have been offset from this edge, while the vertical faces display anathyrosis. The visual appearance of the claw chiseling on the top surface lies somewhere between the rough and haphazard chiseling employed on the Dörpfeld foundations and the smoother and more controlled application

Figure 6. Detail of northeast corner of Southeast Fountain House, showing drove (left) and claw-tooth (center and right) chisel marks.

Photo J. Paga



of the chisel used for the limestone Temple of Athena Nike and the Stoa Basileios, which may suggest that the date of the fountain house falls somewhere between them.³²

The presence of the Z-clamp at the northeast corner of the fountain house can be compared with similar uses in the Archaic Temple of Dionysos, the Stoa Basileios, the forecourt of the Old Propylon, the Archaic Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, and possibly the Late Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis, all structures that date to ca. 500–480.³³ If the Southeast Fountain House dated to the third quarter of the 6th century, as has been alleged, this would be the earliest attested use of the Z-clamp in Attic architecture. A date of ca. 550–525 would not necessarily be too early for the introduction of the Z-clamp, but there would then be a subsequent gap of nearly 25 years before

32. Only the most general hypotheses can be made about the evolution of the claw-tooth chisel at this time. It would appear that the tool developed from a broad-tined instrument to a smaller-tined one. The method of its employment also changed: it was at first applied somewhat haphazardly in wide swathes to remove as much stone as possible; later, it seems to have been applied in shorter punches and used more delicately to smooth the surface. On the Southeast Fountain House, it was employed in conjunction with the drove chisel and seems to have been used primarily to remove the upper surface of the stone. That it was not applied to the bands of anathyrosis, however, is worth noting as a possible later element: the claw is used often in bands of anathyrosis in the mid-6th century, but less frequently at the end of the century and in the early 5th century. See Paga 2015 regarding the evolution of use of the claw-tooth chisel in Archaic Athenian architecture.

But just as the polygonal masonry style cannot be used as a single criterion to date the fountain house, the simple presence of claw-tooth chisel marks should not be considered a reliable or absolute dating method. Rather, I aim to demonstrate how the confluence of these various elements—the masonry style, chisel marks, and Z-clamp—can help us to come to a generalized date in the late 6th or early 5th century.

33. The Z-clamp in the Archaic Temple of Dionysos is visible in situ and documented by Dörpfeld and Reisch (1896, p. 15); see also Connor 1990, p. 24, where the masonry and clamps are compared to those of the Southeast Fountain House. The Z-clamp in the Stoa Basileios is discussed by Shear (1971, p. 244). The dating of this building is controversial; see Shear 1971, pp. 249–250; 1993, pp. 427–428; 1994, pp. 237–239; Camp 1986, pp. 53–57; 2010, p. 79; Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 291–292; Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos 2012,

pp. 344–352. For the present study, I have accepted the date of ca. 500 proposed by Shear and Camp, while noting that it is not without problems. For discussion of the Z-clamp in the forecourt of the Old Propylon, as well as its ramifications for dating purposes, see Dinsmoor 1980, pp. 20–21, 27–28. The use of Z-clamps on the Archaic Temple of Poseidon at Sounion, as well as its date of ca. 490–480, is treated by Paga and Miles (in prep.; see Paga and Miles 2011 for an abstract). The Late Archaic Telesterion at Eleusis may have employed Z-clamps, although their existence is no longer verifiable: Noack (1927, p. 54) comments on a Z-clamp used on an otherwise undocumented sima block, and in his figure 3, a Z-clamp is indicated in the southwest corner of the foundations, alongside double-T clamps, but it is not otherwise commented on in the text. The dates for these buildings are treated above, in nn. 28–31.

it would again be employed in Athens in the buildings mentioned above. Rather, it would seem that the carefully jointed polygonal masonry and the use of the Z-clamp are both architectural details more at home at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century than in the third or early fourth quarter of the 6th century. Together, the building material, masonry style, and use of Z-clamps put the Southeast Fountain House firmly in line with other buildings constructed at the end of the 6th or the beginning of the 5th century, and on the basis of the architectural elements, we should consider a date closer to ca. 500 more likely than one in the third quarter of the 6th century. These architectural details, however, cannot provide a firmer date, and so we now turn to the ceramic evidence.

The terminus post quem for the fountain house is relatively uncontroversial and can be established as ca. 550: around this time, an Early Archaic house, originally built ca. 600 and located underneath the western side of the fountain house, was destroyed.³⁴ The destruction of this house, along with those arranged on either side of it, was likely a project contemporary with the closure of the nearby wells. The overall clearing of the area and removal of private dwellings must have included the filling and abandonment of wells alongside the abandonment of houses. It does not de facto imply, however, that the Southeast Fountain House was the cause for the destruction of the Archaic house or that the fountain house was built immediately afterward; it demonstrates only that at some point around the mid-6th century, the Archaic house was destroyed, and at some point after that, the Southeast Fountain House was built.

The terminus ante quem of the fountain house is more difficult to establish. Pottery associated with the fountain house was recovered from three different areas: the western and eastern outlets of the smaller original pipeline that extends north from the structure, and the northern overflow channel, which runs underneath the later Library of Pantainos.³⁵ The pottery collected from the two outlet pipe channels in the 1955 excavation of the fountain house consists of a few dozen sherds; these pieces were recovered from trenches directly over and surrounding the pipelines where they connected with the fountain house, ensuring the relationship between

34. Thompson 1956, p. 48; Camp 1977, pp. 85–86. Excavation of the houses provided no additional evidence about the circumstances of their destruction.

35. The following information concerning the pottery was collated from several Agora notebooks and pottery tin tags; relevant notebook and pottery lot numbers are provided below. Results from personal autopsy of the pottery lots are also discussed in more detail below. For the two different sets of pipes, see Thompson 1953, p. 32; 1956, pp. 49–51. The original pipes (often referred to as the “smaller” or “earlier”

pipes) were circular in section and fitted together with a system of collars and flanges. Slightly larger pipes replaced the original ones at some point in the second half of the 5th century; this later pipeline extends northward from the fountain house at a more acute angle than the earlier line, and its pipes were laid in new trenches. Many of these later pipes bear the inscription of “Charon,” as they seem to have been reused from the original supply pipeline to the fountain house, which had been put out of use (Camp 1977, pp. 87–89). The excavators were careful to distinguish between the two

pipelines and their foundation trenches in the field notebooks (see T XXX, pp. 5918–5928), and the size differential makes it easy to discern between the two sets (see photos LXXIX-15, 38, and 39 from field notebook T XXX for the two sets of pipes in situ). In both phases, the two outlet pipes carried the overflow water northward, and joined into a single pipeline a short distance north of the fountain house; this single pipe in each phase eventually turned slightly east and ran underneath the area of the Library of Pantainos. The pipes are treated in more detail below.

the ceramic evidence and the building. The excavators dated the pottery from the western deposit to the second half of the 6th century and from the eastern deposit more precisely to the third quarter of the 6th century.³⁶ The northern overflow section of the pipeline was excavated several decades earlier, in 1933, and the pottery recovered at that time was described as “chiefly archaic, 6th (and early 5th??).”³⁷

It is certain that the three deposits belong together. Pipe fragments recovered from the earlier excavation of the northern overflow channel are identical to the pipelines later uncovered in the eastern and western outlets, which are directly connected to the fountain house.³⁸ The identical pipes indicate that the overflow channel for the fountain house was originally carried off toward the north and east, away from the central area of the Agora.³⁹ The collective pottery from the three individual deposits, therefore, should be considered together as an indication of the date of the initial construction and use of the Southeast Fountain House. Personal examination of the pottery indicates that this date should be altered. In the following catalogue, the relevant late sherds from the three deposits are presented with comparanda.⁴⁰

1 Black-gloss plate

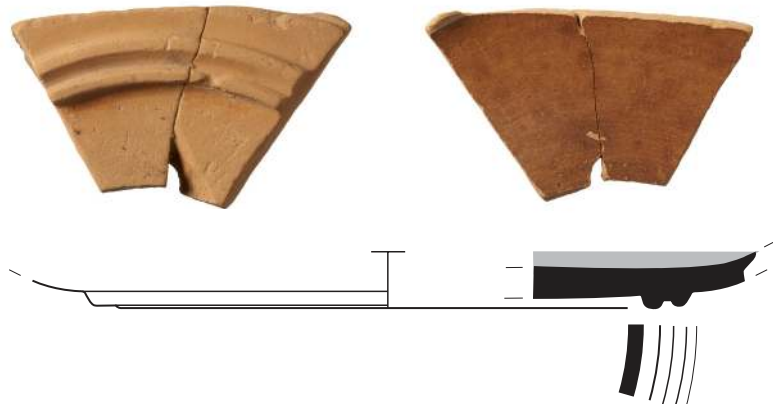
Fig. 7

P 37329. T 474, western outlet of pipeline in front of Southeast Fountain House.

P.H. 0.004; p.W. 0.058; est. Diam. foot 0.110 m.

Two joining fragments. Low ring foot, grooved, of plate with broad rim. Misfired black-gloss interior. Reserved: underside.

Figure 7. Black-gloss plate 1, 520–500 B.C. Scale 3:4



36. Agora field notebook T XXX, pp. 5925–5926; pottery notebook T XXIX, p. 5637; the western outlet pipe = lot T 474; the eastern outlet pipe = lot T 475.

37. Agora pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517; see Agora field notebook I II, pp. 238, 246–250, for the field notes. The two question marks are part of the original description.

38. The identical nature of the pipes is confirmed by Thompson (1956, p. 50).

Personal examination of the three pottery lots verified again that fragments of pipe collected and inventoried from all three lots are identical.

39. This evidence and the possible uses for the overflow water are presented by Camp (1977, pp. 82–85).

40. For the western and eastern outlet pipelines, see Agora field notebook T XXX, pp. 5918–5928, and pottery notebook T XXIX, p. 5635; for the northern overflow pipeline, see Agora

field notebook I II, pp. 238, 244–246, 249–250, and pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517. In total, 36 sherds and 1 pipe fragment were collected and retained from lot T 474; 52 sherds from lot T 475; 266 sherds and 2 pipe fragments from lot I 116. I thank John Camp and Kathleen Lynch for their assistance in the ceramic analysis. In addition, Mark Lawall helped with the identification and comparanda for the amphora toe.

Field notebook T XXX, p. 5925; pottery notebook XXIX, p. 5635.

Similar to *Agora* XII, p. 306, no. 1003, fig. 9, pl. 36 (P 7887, E 14:5); cf. P 1349 and P 1389, both from the upper fill of the Rectangular Rockcut Shaft G 6:3 (Vanderpool 1946, p. 321, nos. 254, 257, pls. 64, 65); Callipolitis-Feytmans 1974, BII.14.

520–500 B.C.

2 Black-gloss psykter or pyxis

Fig. 8

P 37330. T 475, eastern outlet of pipeline in front of Southeast Fountain House. P.H. 0.023; p.W. 0.017; p.Th. 0.004; est. Diam. 0.075 m.

Fragment, rim. Projecting rim with offset flange to receive lid, flaring concave wall below. Reserved: inner face of rim, outer face of flange, line along interior of flange.

Field notebook T XXX, p. 5926; pottery notebook T XXIX, p. 5635.

Similar to *Agora* XII, p. 239, nos. 38, 39, fig. 2, pl. 2 (but 2 has thinner walls and a smaller diameter), and p. 328, nos. 1310–1312, pl. 43 (but 2 has a broader diameter, more pronounced rounded flange, and more concave flaring body); also similar to Lynch 2011, p. 246, no. 109, fig. 98 (but the flange of 2 is oblique rather than horizontal to the body and the join with the body is thinner).

Ca. 500–400 B.C.



Figure 8. Black-gloss psykter or pyxis 2, ca. 500–400 B.C. Scale 1:1

3 Red-figured cup

Fig. 9

P 2986. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.

P.H. 0.032; p.W. 0.031; est. Diam. 0.160 m.

Fragment with partial inscription. Rim of cup. Outstretched right forearm of female, draped, on right, with upturned hand and rigid attenuated fingers. Bent elbow of second figure at left. Fragmentary inscription above figures: NA. Reserved line at lip, interior and exterior.

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.

Agora XXX, p. 323, no. 1434.

Initially published as “probably second quarter of the 5th century” (*Agora* XXX, p. 323), but more likely ca. 500 or first quarter of the 5th century.⁴¹

4 Black-gloss skyphos

Fig. 10

P 37322. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.

P.H. 0.013; p.W. 0.063; est. Diam. base 0.080 m.

41. Both John Oakley and Kathleen Lynch have suggested that this fragment be redated to the first quarter of the 5th century or ca. 500 (pers. comm.).

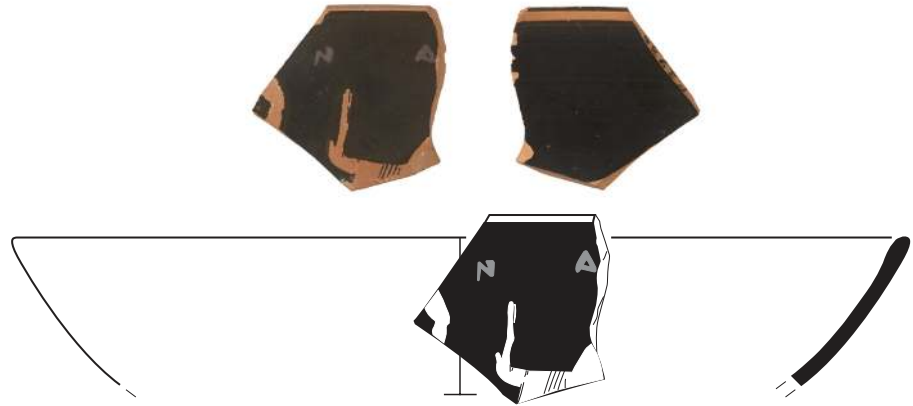


Figure 9. Red-figured cup 3,
ca. 500 B.C. Scale 3:4

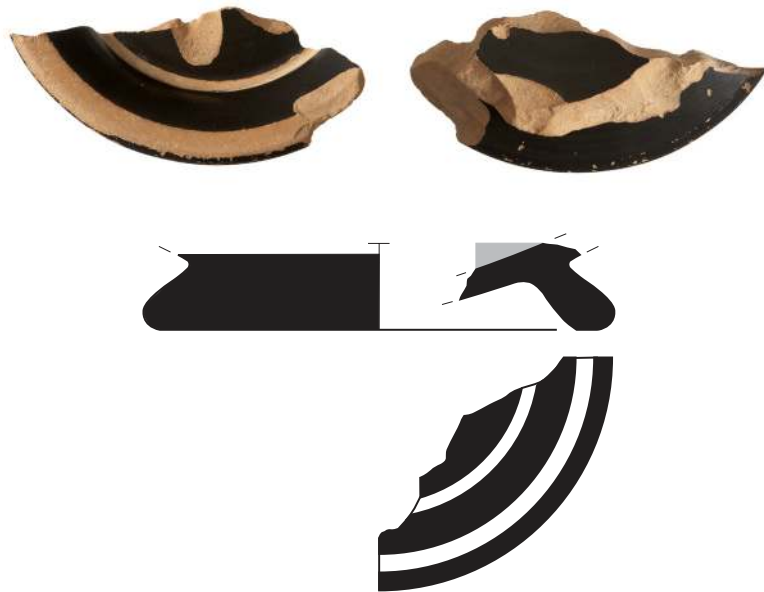


Figure 10. Black-gloss skyphos 4,
ca. 480–450 B.C. Scale 3:4

Fragment, base. Flaring ring foot with slight torus molding above flat resting surface. Part of exterior wall preserved at top of base, part of interior bottom of vessel preserved. Reserved: resting surface, ring on underside at juncture of foot and bottom.

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.

Similar to *Agora* XII, pp. 258–259, no. 333, fig. 4, pl. 15, but with less steep underside and more rounded outer face of foot.

Ca. 480–450 B.C.

5 Black-gloss cup

Fig. 11

P 37323. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.

P.H. 0.013; p.W. 0.019; p.Th. 0.003; est. Diam. 0.140 m.

Fragment, rim. Open vessel fragment with outwardly flaring rim, concave below rim with no clear indication of a return. Entirely black gloss. Possible type C cup (diameter too large for a mug and wall too slender for a skyphos).

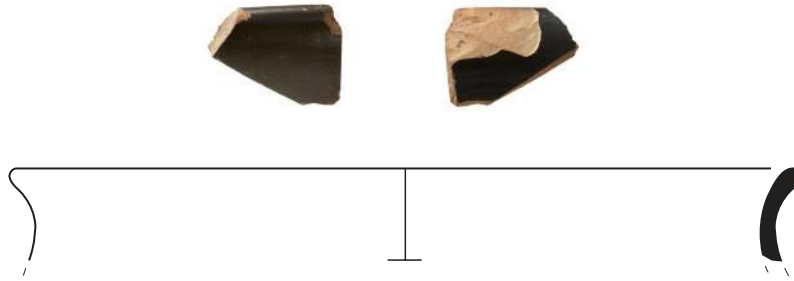


Figure 11. Black-gloss cup 5,
ca. 500–480 B.C. Scale 3:4

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.
Similar to *Agora* XII, p. 263, nos. 403–407, fig. 4, pl. 19.
Ca. 500–480 B.C.

6 Black-gloss Vicup

Fig. 12

P 37324. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.
P.H. 0.030; est. Diam. base 0.060 m.

Fragment, base. Low foot with concave vertical edge, partial juncture with stem preserved. Misfired upper surface, added red line at edge of resting surface and black gloss on underside. Reserved: resting surface, exterior vertical face of foot.

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.

Similar to *Agora* XII, p. 265, nos. 434, 435, 437, 438, fig. 5, pl. 20.

Just before 480 to ca. 450 B.C.



Figure 12. Black-gloss Vicup 6, just
before 480–ca. 450 B.C. Scale 3:4

7 Black-gloss one-handler

Fig. 13

P 37325. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.

P.H. 0.016; p.W. 0.057; p.L. 0.033; est. Diam. 0.135 m.

Fragment, rim. Flat rim. Bell-shaped handle with widespread roots at juncture with body. Black gloss on interior, streaky on top of handle. Reserved: upper surface of rim, handle zone.

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.

Similar to *Agora* XII, p. 289, nos. 746, 747, fig. 8, pl. 31.

Just before 480 B.C.⁴²

42. Kathleen Lynch suggests that the reserved flat rim could indicate that this is an early version of its type, where the details are still being worked out (pers. comm.).

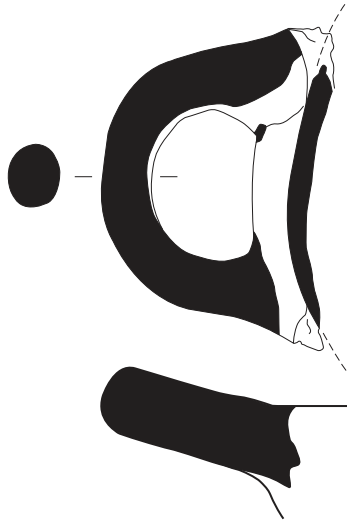


Figure 13. Black-gloss one-handler 7,
just before 480 B.C. Scale 3:4



Fig. 14

8 Banded one-handler

P 37326. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.

P.H. 0.034; p.W. 0.061; p.Th. 0.003; est. Diam. 0.145 m.

Fragment, rim. Rounded rim with slight overhang on interior. Black gloss misfired on interior and rim, black gloss misfired single band on exterior body.

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.

Similar to *Agora* XII, p. 288, nos. 734, 736, pl. 30; incurved rim similar to *Agora* XII, p. 288, no. 735, fig. 8, pl. 30.

Ca. 500–480 B.C.



Figure 14. Banded one-handler 8,
ca. 500–480 B.C. Scale 3:4



Fig. 15

9 Black-gloss saltcellar

P 37327. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.

P.H. 0.028; p.W. 0.039; est. Diam. rim 0.060, foot 0.065 m.

Fragment preserving entire profile. Convex wall with inturned rim, recessed underside with rounded resting surface, totally black glossed.

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.



Figure 15. Black-gloss saltcellar 9, 500–480 B.C. Scale 3:4

Similar to *Agora* XII, p. 300, nos. 899, 900, pl. 34 (early echinus wall saltcellars); recessed underside similar to *Agora* XII, p. 300, no. 901, fig. 9, pl. 34 (echinus wall saltcellar); note also convex saltcellar *Agora* XII, p. 299, no. 890, fig. 9, pl. 34 (but foot of 9 is smaller and the wall curves inward more sharply).

500–480 B.C.

10 Plain globular lekythos

Fig. 16

P 37328. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.

P.L. 0.042; p.W. 0.027; est. Diam. 0.060 m.

Fragment. Round body with offset neck, handle broken at attachment to shoulder. Entirely unglossed except for traces of dripped black gloss on interior of neck.

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.

Similar to *Agora* XII, p. 314, nos. 1109, 1110, pl. 38; surface treatment similar to Roberts 1986, p. 49, no. 328, fig. 30, pl. 13.

Early 5th century—ca. 450 B.C.⁴³

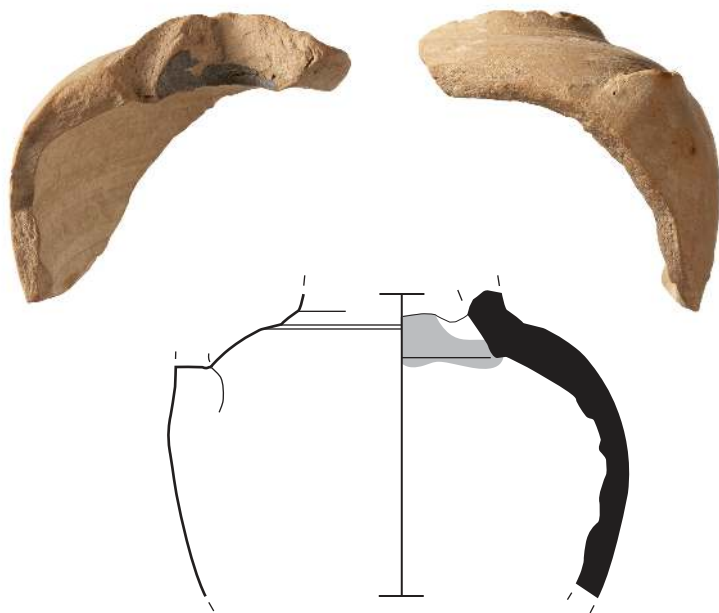


Figure 16. Plain globular lekythos 10, early 5th century—ca. 450 B.C. Scale 1:1

43. According to Lynch, the surface treatment of the vessel (very fine clay but undecorated) is something that went out of fashion by the mid-5th century (pers. comm.).

Figure 17. Amphora 11, late
6th century–ca. 480 B.C. Scale 3:4



11 Amphora

Fig. 17

SS 15143; I 1843. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.
P.H. 0.071; Diam. toe 0.052 m.

Fragment, toe. Concave-sided toe of possible Chian amphora with partial bulging lower body, deeply hollow underneath. Entirely unglossed, with quadripartite incuse stamp near base of toe.

Field notebook I II, p. 246; pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.

Similar to Knigge 1976, nos. 17, 34, 95, pls. 45:8, 48:2, 51:6; Roberts 1986, p. 67, no. 419, fig. 42, pl. 18; Lawall 2011, p. 303, no. A9, fig. I:7.

Late 6th century–ca. 480 B.C.

12 Lamp

Fig. 18

L 6171. I 116, northern overflow channel of pipeline.

P.H. 0.030; p.L. 0.036 m.

Fragment. Nozzle of type 44D lamp with traces of burning on upper surface. Ovoid wick hole and rounded triangular upper face with flat bridge. Reddish brown gloss.

Field notebook I II, p. 246 (noted as a late intrusion from construction of Roman wall); pottery notebook I VIII, p. 1517.

See *Agora* IV, p. 143, nos. 577, 578, pls. 21, 25, 47.

1st century A.D., likely second quarter



Figure 18. Lamp 12, 1st century A.D.
Scale 3:4

Taken together, the pottery from the eastern and western outlets of the Southeast Fountain House (lots T 474 and T 475: 1, 2) indicates a date in the last two decades of the 6th century or in the early 5th century. The pottery from lot I 116 (3–12), the northern overflow channel for the fountain house, on the other hand, provides evidence for a later date for the initial period of use. Of particular note among the diagnostic sherds is part of a black-gloss saltcellar with a thick concave wall, verging on the

echinus type, and an inset or recessed underside (9). The saltcellars with recessed bottoms, which are earlier than their flat-bottomed successors, are generally associated with the first quarter of the 5th century and rarely appear before 500.⁴⁴ The form of the saltcellar from the north overflow channel supports an overall date for the pottery deposit of ca. 500 at the earliest, particularly due to the similarities it has with comparanda from the Rectangular Rockcut Shaft and from well N 7:3, which are dated to the mid-5th century.⁴⁵

In addition to the saltcellar, a black-gloss base from a kylix or, more likely, a Vicup further solidifies a date within the late first or early second quarter of the 5th century (6). The Vicup is a particular type of cup that was manufactured for a brief time, perhaps for only a single generation, and almost all of its examples date to the second quarter of the 5th century.⁴⁶ It is believed that the shape originated prior to 480, but it cannot be pushed much earlier.⁴⁷ It is, moreover, a cup type that was frequently manufactured for the public kitchens and inscribed with the ΔE ligature, although 6 regrettably lacks this marker.⁴⁸ The presence of the Vicup base signals a significantly later date for the Southeast Fountain House than previously thought. The connection between Vicups and public dining also supports a date in line with the new democracy in the early decades of the 5th century, when public dining in and around the area that would become the Agora was common, rather than a date aligned with the tyrants of the third quarter of the 6th century.

The fragmentary red-figured cup (3) cannot, unfortunately, provide much clarification in terms of the date. The form of the hand with the rigidly extended fingers should be placed in the first quarter of the 5th century; the partial inscription does not narrow this range of ca. 500–475 to any greater degree. The rim with flange (2), if it is a psykter, should belong to the type produced just prior to the Persian sack.⁴⁹ If it is a pyxis, however, it may be an early predecessor to the forms that appear around the middle of the 5th century, or a singleton.⁵⁰ Unfortunately, the rim is not preserved well enough to determine its original form. The amphora toe with quadripartite incuse stamp (11) presents a unique example of a likely Chian import, and should be placed in Knigge's C1 group, which dates from the late 6th century to ca. 480.⁵¹ Overall, the bulk of the late sherds are consistent in that

44. *Agora* XII, p. 136. Several echinus-type saltcellars with recessed undersides were found in the Rectangular Rockcut Shaft, including *Agora* XII, p. 300, no. 901.

45. Seventeen saltcellars from the Rectangular Rockcut Shaft (Vanderpool 1946, p. 325, nos. 283–292, pl. 66; Shear 1993, p. 448); five saltcellars with recessed bottoms from well N 7:3 (Boulter 1953, p. 87, pl. 29).

46. *Agora* XII, p. 93: Sparkes and Talcott suggest that the distinctive shape and brief life span of the Vicups indicate that a single workshop

manufactured all of them.

47. *Agora* XII, p. 93. This is confirmed by Shear (1993, p. 414).

48. *Agora* XII, p. 93.

49. The closest comparison is Lynch 2011, p. 246, no. 109, fig. 98, which she dates to ca. 500–480. I believe that this sherd is a psykter rather than a pyxis, but I admit that the comparanda are not precise; its small size precludes certainty.

50. For singletons, see Roberts 1978, pp. 33–41.

51. For the amphora type, see Knigge 1976, pp. 23–24. For the

development of Chian amphoras, see Grace 1979, pp. 22–23; Dupont, in Cook and Dupont 1998, pp. 146–151; Lawall 1998, pp. 75–84; 2011, p. 302. Similar examples of this type of Chian amphora are documented at several other sites in the Aegean, all dating between the end of the 6th century and ca. 480 (Lawall 1998, pp. 75–79; 2011, p. 302, with additional bibliography for deposits at Miletos, Klazomenai, and Istros; Lawall et al. 2010, pp. 358–359). Later Chian amphoras of the second half of the 5th century are often stamped on the handle with a typical

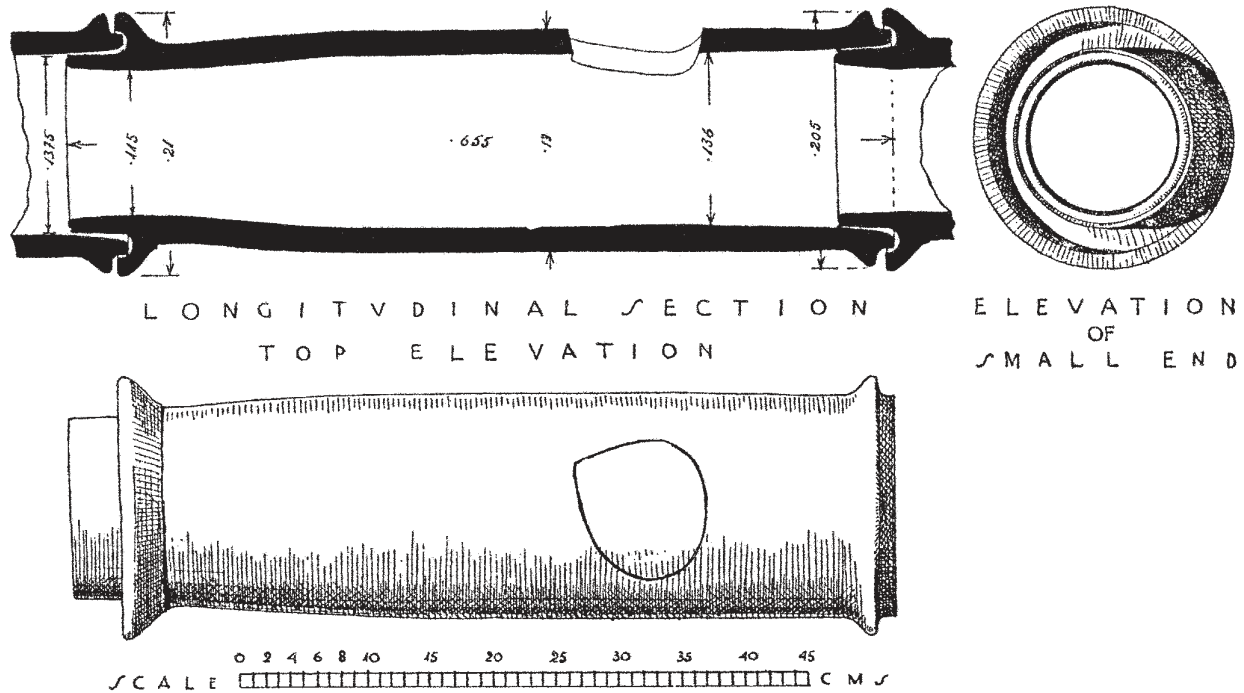


Figure 19. Section drawings of early (small) water pipes from the Southeast Fountain House, showing collar design and maintenance hole.

Shear 1935, p. 336, fig. 23; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens

they indicate a date in the early 5th century rather than the second half of the 6th. At the earliest, given the presence of the skyphos with flaring base, the Vicup base, and the black-gloss one-handler (4, 6, and 7, respectively), the ceramic evidence indicates a date just before 480 to ca. 450.

The pipes themselves constitute additional evidence that helps to corroborate the links between the three pottery lots and the revised dating. The terracotta pipes associated with the initial period of use of the fountain house are smaller than their later replacements; circular in cross section, they measure 0.60–0.71 m in length per section, with a maximum diameter of 0.21–0.30 m.⁵² The individual tubes are secured to each other by means of a collar that projects from one end, which would have fit around the neck of the subsequent section with a system of flanges and grooves (Fig. 19). Each pipe section also had a roughly circular hole with a lid or stopper for maintenance and the initial fitting of the pipes.

Although highly unlikely, the possibility exists that the pottery from the northern overflow chamber (lot I 116) could potentially represent an early- or mid-5th-century repair to a late-6th-century building. There is

Chian coin stamp, displaying a sphinx seated next to an image of a Chian amphora (Grace 1979, p. 23, figs. 48, 49). This example, however, of a stamp that resembles the incuse of a coin, appears to be unique. Although Dupont (in Cook and Dupont 1998, p. 149) notes that “small, simple or concentric circles, and crosses” do occasionally appear on the necks, and more rarely on

the rims, lower handle attachment, and feet, of Chian amphoras of the first quarter of the 5th century, he does not draw an analogy with coinage, nor are any examples documented. For the appearance of this type of incuse on Chian coinage, see Baldwin 1914, pp. 6–8; Mavrogordato 1915a, 1915b; Hardwick 1993. I thank Mark Lawall and William Bubelis for their assistance

with the provenance of the amphora and details of its stamp, respectively.

52. The pipeline is discussed in detail in Shear 1935, pp. 334–336; *Agora* XIV, pp. 199–200; for the original pipeline and northern overflow channel, see also Camp 1977, pp. 67–70, 81–83. The diameter is provided as 0.21 m in Shear 1935, p. 336, fig. 23, and as 0.30 m in *Agora* XIV, p. 199.

no positive evidence, however, for such a repair in the architecture of the building or in the pipelines. The pipes in the overflow channel are identical to those in the outlets, and none of them show evidence of damage, repairs, or cleaning. The initial description of the pipes in the northern overflow chamber (where the pottery from lot I 116 was recovered) observes that “apparently, the trough [pipeline channel] was not opened at any later time for the purpose of cleaning the interiors of the sections [of pipe].”⁵³ It may also be possible that the—admittedly vague—label “in and around the pipeline”⁵⁴ included stratigraphic material that had subsequently built up around the pipeline following its installation, thus accounting for the late sherds, but the field and pottery notebooks clarify that the sherds are “from the fill of the trench and from close beside the pipes.”⁵⁵ Such a hypothesis—that the later sherds represent an intrusion—would imply that the overflow pipeline was visible or openly accessible in some way in the early 5th century in order for the later sherds to accumulate around it; such a scenario seems highly unlikely, if not inconceivable. In addition, the photograph of the *in situ* pipeline taken at the time of its excavation in 1933 clearly shows the narrow trough or trench into which the pipe was originally set (Fig. 20). The photographic evidence, together with the remarks in the original excavation notebooks, suggest that the pottery in lot I 116 was collected from a carefully excavated and recorded channel that was specifically designed to receive the pipeline itself. Therefore, I treat the pottery from lot I 116 as indicative of the initial installation and use of the Southeast Fountain House, and I do not believe that it represents later accumulation, later repairs, or improper excavation methods.

The pottery evidence therefore suggests a date no earlier than just prior to 480 and perhaps as late as 450. The combination of the pottery, the polygonal masonry style, and the use of Z-clamps indicates that the fountain house belongs to the late first or early second quarter of the 5th century. This date is firmly in line with the other building projects undertaken in the area of the Agora by the new democracy, such as the Old Bouleuterion and the Stoa Basileios.

The closure of the private wells in the second and third quarters of the 6th century is not disputed, but their function was not replaced by a public source of water for nearly 50 years. It remains true that the general area of the Agora was gradually being transformed from a strictly private to a more public space under the Peisistratids, but the Southeast Fountain House can no longer be considered an element of this shift. Rather, as the civic activities of the polis were transferred from the Old Agora to the new space in the last decade of the 6th century and the first few decades of the 5th, so, too, was it necessary to provide a new source of water for both civic and utilitarian purposes. The ornamentation of the Enneakrounos by the Peisistratids, as we have seen, should be connected with the Ilissos River area; it provided a source of water to the Old Agora, located to the east of the Acropolis. When the government buildings and their administrative functions were moved to the new Agora, a new source of water had to be piped in for general consumption, and this should be considered the impetus behind the construction of the Southeast Fountain House.

53. This conclusion was made on the basis of the “tight fit” of the pipeline’s service hole stoppers and the lack of ceramic evidence that would support a later period of repair; see Shear 1935, p. 336.

54. This note was handwritten on the tag for the pottery tin of lot I 116.

55. Agora field notebook I II, p. 246.



Figure 20. Early pipeline from the northern overflow channel of the Southeast Fountain House, in situ. Shear 1935, p. 335, fig. 22; courtesy American School of Classical Studies at Athens

Although it may be impossible to determine with certainty, it remains to consider whether or not the fountain house was constructed before or after the Persian destruction of the city. If the pottery can be dated to just before 480, then the possibility remains that the structure was built just prior to the second Persian invasion. If the pottery should fall after this threshold, then we might imagine that, when the Athenians returned to their devastated city, they had a need for a fresh and uncontaminated water source, and that this was the impetus for the construction of the fountain house; such a scenario has been envisioned for the systematic closure of wells in the area of the Agora in the years immediately following the Persian destruction.⁵⁶ I believe, however, that there is some reason to justify a pre-Persian construction date for the building.

At some point in the second half of the 5th century, the fountain house underwent extensive repairs and reconstruction, including an entirely new floor for at least one of the interior basins: the marble floor was replaced

56. Shear 1993, pp. 416–417.

by a limestone floor in the western basin, and the floor of the central area was also reworked.⁵⁷ In addition, a new source pipeline seems to have been installed to bring water to the building, as possibly evidenced by a stone gutter running to the south and east of the building.⁵⁸ Finally, the original overflow pipes that carried the excess water to the northeast were replaced with the larger series of tubes, many of which are reused portions of the original supply line, bearing the well-known “Charon” inscriptions.⁵⁹

If the first phase of the fountain house is dated to the years after 479, the second building phase may have occurred within approximately 50 years; this scenario would result in a relatively short life span for a permanent civic monumental building. In addition, the character of the claw-tooth chisel marks and the presence of a Z-clamp, as discussed above, are better suited to the first quarter of the 5th century rather than the second quarter or middle of the century. In the frantic period of rebuilding that occurred after the Persian destruction of Athens, the primary focus was on defensive and residential structures, with civic and religious buildings coming second (Thuc. 1.89–90). In this case, we may imagine that quickly dug private or single-shaft wells, rather than an elaborate public fountain house, would have been the priority at that time. The construction of a fountain house in the Agora in the years immediately after the Persian destruction does not resonate with the type and scope of building activity we tend to associate with the post-Persian rebuilding in Athens. Moreover, given the pre-Persian historical context and the possible role of Themistokles, which will be explored in more detail below, as well as the contemporary buildings in the area, a reliable source of water would likely be considered necessary during the early decades of the democracy, when the Agora was physically being transformed into the new civic center of the polis. These reasons, admittedly largely circumstantial, are not intended to put the argument to rest, but may make us more inclined to view the Southeast Fountain House as a structure built immediately prior to the Persian invasion of 480, perhaps within the general spate of post-Marathon constructions, alongside buildings such as the Old Parthenon and the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion. Ultimately, however, the evidence is not fine-grained enough to specify a date other than just before 480 to ca. 450.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGORA IN THE ARCHAIC PERIOD

Prior to considering the full ramifications of the new historical context of the Southeast Fountain House, it is beneficial to recount its traditional treatment and role in Athenian topography. In the Archaic period, before the development of the Classical, or new, Agora, the civic and administrative buildings of the polis were located in an area known as the Old Agora.⁶⁰

57. Thompson 1953, p. 32; Camp 1977, pp. 87–88.

58. Camp 1977, pp. 86–87.

59. Thompson 1953, pp. 32–33; Camp 1977, pp. 88–89. See n. 35, above.

60. There is only a single extant ancient reference to the “Old Agora”: Harpokration, s.v. *πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη*, where it is referred to as the *ἀρχαία ἀγορά*. The terminology of the Old Agora and the new, or Classical, Agora

is employed here in order to distinguish clearly the Agora of the Archaic period from the Agora associated with the beginnings of the democracy. The precise “start date” of the Classical Agora has long been a contentious

The precise siting of this area is unknown, although its general location can now be established with a relative amount of certainty to the east of the Acropolis.⁶¹ Positive physical remains for the Old Agora have not yet been definitively identified, however, so the precise location of the area can only be suggested.⁶²

Despite the absence of physical remains, literary sources describe several structures located in the Old Agora. According to the author of the *Ath. Pol.* (3.5), the primary magistrates of the Athenian state had their offices in the Old Agora: the Archon Basileios in the Boukolion, the Polemarch in the Polemarcheion, the Eponymous Archon in the Prytaneion, and the other six archons in the Thesmotheteion. The Old Agora functioned as an administrative center during the Peisistratid tyranny, providing for the needs of the populace. The area to the east of the Acropolis would thus have been one of the major spheres of activity during the Archaic period, serving both administrative and governing needs, as well as a location of ritual events, given the proximity of various cults along the Ilissos River. It is also possible that, like the later Classical Agora, the Old Agora functioned as a marketplace or general gathering area for the populace, as is implied through its very designation as an *agora*. Although some of the structures in the Old Agora, such as the Prytaneion, continued in use throughout the 5th and 4th centuries, most of the administrative functions were shifted to a new area toward the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th century.

For the purposes of the current study, the precise location of the Old Agora is not of vital importance, but it is worth emphasizing that the switch from the Old Agora to the Classical Agora represents a distinct spatial break in Athenian topography. Major spheres of activity were shifted from the eastern side of the Acropolis to the northwestern, a process that involved the construction of new buildings, installation of new infrastructure, and definition of a new marketplace in order to address and fulfill administrative, civic, and public needs. What remains to be determined is how this transition occurred and if it is possible to define the chronology in more precise terms.

issue in Athenian archaeology. Most scholars have placed the beginning of the Agora in the first half of the 5th century, prior to the Persian Wars, or even earlier in the 6th century (e.g., *Agora XIV*, pp. 19, 25–26, where the conversion of the area into the Agora is attributed to Solon; Wycherley 1978, pp. 27–33; Shear 1993; 1994, pp. 228–245; Camp 1994, pp. 9–12). This view, however, has been challenged by Papadopoulos (1996, pp. 125–126; 2003, pp. 285–292, 295–297), building on the earlier hypotheses of Thompson 1981, pp. 345–346 and Miller (1995a, 1995b), who place the beginnings of the Agora in the post-Persian War period. Martin-Mcauliffe and Papadopoulos (2012, pp. 344, 348–352) also argue for a later, post-Salamis, date.

61. The publication in 1983 of an in situ base and nearby stele that refers to the sanctuary of Aglauros brought greater light to bear on the general vicinity of the Old Agora (Dontas 1983). Herodotos (8.53) and Pausanias (1.18.2) both mention the Aglaurion: the former in reference to the steep eastern slope of the Acropolis and its eventual breach by the Persians, and the latter in reference to the Persian breach and the location of the revered Prytaneion of the *astu*. The actual location of the Aglaurion, however, was unknown prior to the discovery of the stele. The stele and base were found in a cave at the far eastern side of the Acropolis, slightly to the north of the Belvedere. The Old Agora, then, should be located in the area to the east of this cave. Shear (1994, pp. 226–228) places the

Old Agora to the northeast of the cave of Aglauros. Papadopoulos, on the other hand (1996, pp. 109–112; 2003, pp. 280–288), argues that the Old Agora should instead be located to the east and slightly south, closer to the Ilissos River area (cf. Robertson 1998). In contrast, Kenzler (1997) retains the Old Agora in the same location as the Classical Agora.

62. Schmalz (2006) has proposed that the remains of a Classical building discovered in the area of the Plaka to the east of the Acropolis are to be associated with the Prytaneion. While the theory may be tempting, there is no positive evidence to make this connection certain. The date of the remains, moreover, is inconsistent with a 6th-century Archaic Agora.

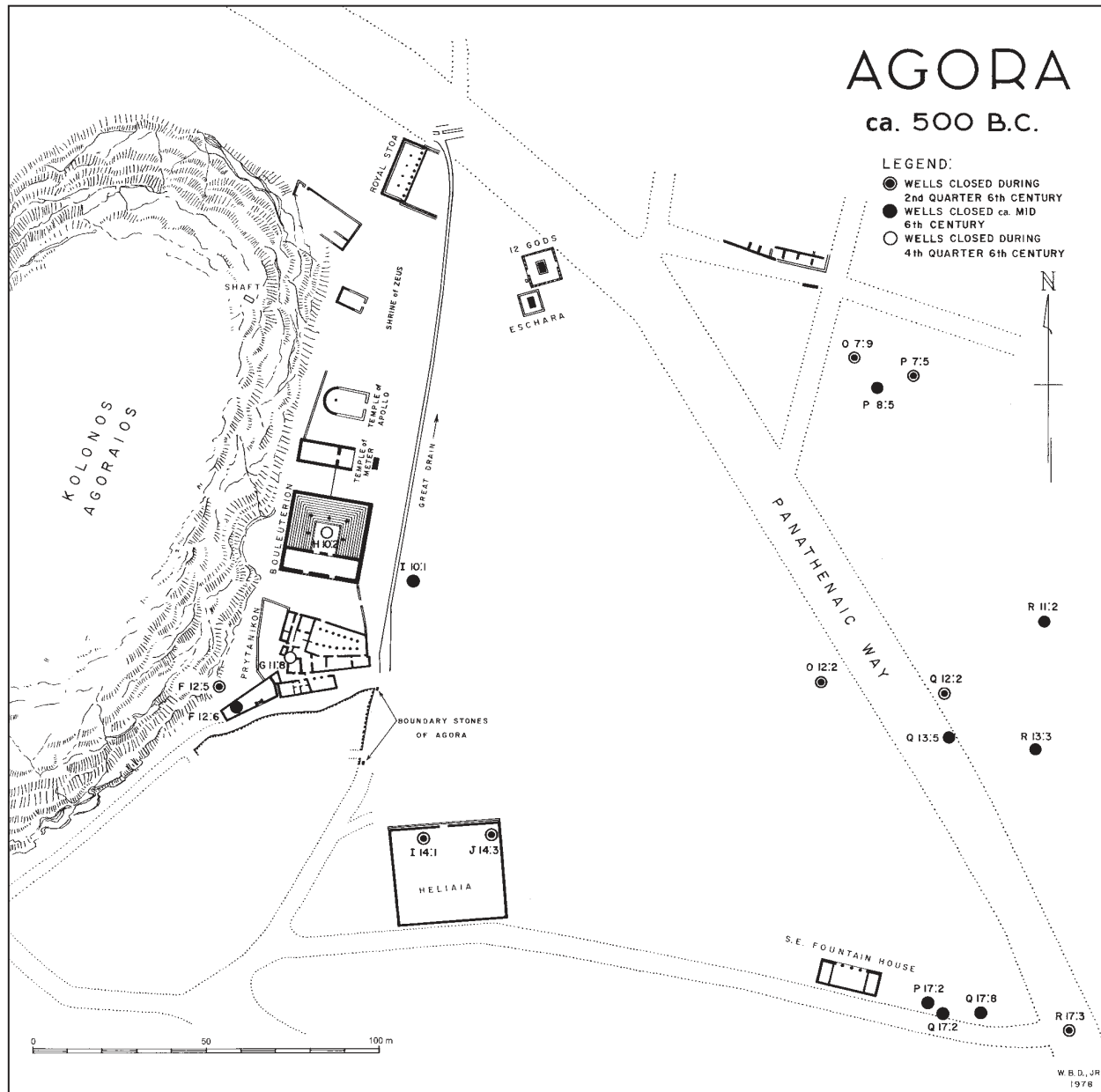


Figure 21. Plan of the Agora ca. 500 B.C., showing Archaic well closures. Shear 1978, p. 17, fig. 1; courtesy T. L. Shear Jr. and W. A. P. Childs

Over the course of the 6th century, the area that would eventually become the Agora witnessed a gradual but marked transition in use from a largely domestic, residential, or industrial area, to an increasingly deprivatized space. One of the most dramatic indications of the transformation of the area during the 6th century is the closure of 19 private wells. These wells were clustered primarily along the borders of the area: to the east underneath the space later occupied by the Stoa of Attalos, in the southeast corner, and near the southwest corner (Fig. 21). Some of the wells could be considered “inside” the triangular area that would become the Agora (e.g., I 10:1, I 14:1, J 14:3, and O 12:2), but the majority are at the edges of the space. This selective distribution suggests that habitation was primarily at the borders or edges of the Agora, among the gently sloping foothills of the Areopagos and Acropolis, and close to the Eridanos River.

The architectural remains of these early domestic houses are largely lost, but the wells associated with the dwellings can provide some clues as to the character of the 6th-century habitation in this area. The nature of the ceramics recovered from the wells suggests that they were private: primarily cookware or unglazed vessels, water jugs, and some plain black-gloss wares.⁶³ The relatively small size and depth of the wells also implies a domestic or private use, as does their brief period of use.⁶⁴ Furthermore, the sheer number of wells around the area of the Agora would seem to argue against the presence of any public water supply in the nearby vicinity.⁶⁵ No manifestly public or monumental buildings existed in the area prior to ca. 500.⁶⁶ Overall, the evidence points to a domestic occupation of the area that would later become the Agora. One major exception to the area's lack of public buildings is the Altar of the Twelve Gods, dedicated by Peisistratos the Younger in 522/1 (Thuc. 6.54). Although it served a public purpose, it cannot be considered monumental in the sense of large-scale architecture: the altar was relatively small and, at least in its initial phase, modestly outfitted.⁶⁷

The closure of the private wells around the Agora was not a single operation. Shear has shown that 17 of the wells were closed in two major series (see Fig. 21).⁶⁸ The first series of closures witnessed the filling and abandonment of eight wells, all datable to post-570. The second series saw the filling and abandonment of nine additional wells, all securely dated to soon after ca. 550.⁶⁹ The two periods of well closures, as Shear argued, share a remarkable chronological consistency with what is known of the historical

63. For deposit summaries, see *Agora* XII, pp. 383–399; additional discussion of the deposits can be found in Camp 1977, pp. 199–205; Shear 1978, pp. 4–5; see also Lynch 2011.

64. The average depth of the Archaic wells in the Agora is ca. 6.50 m (Camp 1977, p. 105). The period of use for most of the wells around the Agora, when determinable, averages 25 to 50 years. In many cases, the period of use was difficult or impossible for the excavators to distinguish from the point of destruction, as the deposit summaries in *Agora* XII make clear. The lack of distinction between the period of use and the destruction is more likely to exist when the destruction or closure of the well occurs without a gap from the period of use. The brief span of many of the Agora wells would indicate a minimal gap, if any, between the period of use and final closure.

65. Camp 1977, p. 105.

66. This assessment of the space assumes that building F was domestic and did not serve a public function.

67. For the Altar of the Twelve Gods, see Gadbery 1992.

68. Shear 1978, pp. 4–5.

69. The eight wells closed in the second quarter of the 6th century are F 12:5, I 14:1, J 14:3, O 7:9, O 12:2, P 7:5, Q 12:2, and R 17:3. The nine wells closed near the middle of the 6th century are F 12:6, I 10:1, P 8:5, P 17:2, Q 13:5, Q 17:2, Q 17:8, R 11:2, and R 13:3. For the dates and additional bibliography, see the deposit summaries in *Agora* XII (pp. 383–399) and the well summaries in Camp 1977 (pp. 198–207). There is a problem, however, with P 17:2. No deposit summary for this particular well is listed in *Agora* XII or in Camp 1977, although it is included in the list provided by Shear (1978, p. 13, n. 16), and it appears on his figure 1 (reproduced here as Fig. 21). Well P 17:1, on the other hand, appears in *Agora* XII as a well with a period of use of ca. 520–500 (p. 397), but appears in Camp 1977 twice, once as a Proto-Attic well, dated to the 7th century (p. 197), and once in concordance with the *Agora* XII listing (p. 203). The Agora notebooks appear to support the dating of this well to the 7th century (see, e.g., field notebooks T VII, p. 1255 and T XIV, pp. 2695–2696), but the date is later crossed out

and revised as late 6th century or early 5th century on some of the catalogue entries (see, e.g., the catalogue card for P 22748, a storage amphora, or P 22493, a pitcher or pseudo-hydria). It is possible that this revision from 7th century to late 6th or early 5th is what caused the confusion between P 17:1 and P 17:2; it is a result of duplication. This might also explain why P 17:1 appears on various plans of the Agora as a Proto-Attic or Late Archaic well (cf. PD 2538, where P 17:1 is Proto-Attic, and PD 1230, reproduced in *Agora* XII, fig. 25, where P 17:1 is dated 525–ca. 480). If this is the case, P 17:2 does not exist and we should assume that P 17:1 is a Late Archaic well. To continue this line of argumentation, P 17:1 would have augmented the number of wells in use in the second half of the 6th century, alongside the continued use of G 11:8 (see above), and we should remove P 17:2 from the list of wells closed near the middle of the 6th century. It is unclear what relation—if any—there is between well P 17:1 and the Southeast Fountain House.

events in Athens during the 6th century.⁷⁰ Peisistratos's first attempt at the tyranny took place in ca. 560 (Hdt. 1.59; *Ath. Pol.* 14.1), and he was firmly ensconced in Athenian political power in 546/5 after the battle at Pallene (Hdt. 1.62–64; *Ath. Pol.* 15). The well closures, possibly at the behest of Peisistratos himself, are indicative of a broader movement to transform the area to the northwest of the Acropolis from a residential or domestic quarter into a space for more public activities and uses. The appropriation of the land from private hands appears to have been systematic and final: after the closure of the nine wells in the middle of the 6th century, only one—or possibly two—remained in use (and only for a brief period of time), and no new wells were dug in the area.

The organized filling and abandonment of the 17 wells is one of the clearest indications that the area, which had previously been used almost solely for domestic dwellings, was becoming less private. It is important to note, however, that just because the area was becoming “less private” does not mean that it therefore was becoming “more public.” The lack of private residences did not make the area a public space, but simply cleared it for that possibility. The destruction and abandonment of the wells and houses does not imply that the use of the area was immediately transformed, or even that a transformation of the area was intended or planned. It can only be adduced as evidence that the area was no longer reserved for private residences and private wells. What would eventually happen to this area, however, did entail a transition from private to public, and from small-scale residential structures to monumental civic and public edifices.

It is within the context of the closed wells in the middle of the 6th century that the Southeast Fountain House has traditionally been placed, with the idea that it served as a replacement for the private wells that were no longer in use.⁷¹ It is now possible, however, to reevaluate the historical circumstances surrounding the fountain house. The building can no longer be posited as an element in the Peisistratid transformation of the Agora into a public space, but rather, it stands as a structure integrally connected to the efforts of the new democracy to define physically its new civic space. As such, the Southeast Fountain House should be viewed alongside the construction of the Old Bouleuterion and the Stoa Basileios; the three structures monumentally demarcate the boundaries of the new Agora and give corporeal form to the priorities of the new political regime.

The construction of this building has also been linked to the proliferation of images of women drawing water from fountain houses in black-figured pottery of the late 6th and early 5th centuries: there are 79 Attic vases dated between ca. 520 and 480 with depictions of women drawing water from fountains.⁷² The abundant appearance of these well-known scenes (Fig. 22), together with their relatively confined chronological range, has frequently resulted in their being associated with the elaboration of the Enneakrounos—wherever it was located—and the Peisistratids.⁷³ Regardless of the actual location of the Enneakrounos and the real name of the Southeast Fountain House, water was clearly on the minds of the Athenians during the Late Archaic period. As the redating demonstrates, however, we should connect the black-figured scenes not only with the

70. Shear 1978, p. 7.

71. Shear (1978, pp. 10–11) presents the fullest treatment of the connection between the private wells and the Southeast Fountain House.

72. Ferrari 2003, pp. 44–50. The vases have been catalogued most recently by Manakidou (1992–1993, pp. 51–91), but see additions by Ferrari (2003, p. 45).

73. See, for instance, Tölle-Kastenbein 1986. For the general connections between the tyrants and building activity in Athens, see Kolb 1977; Shapiro 1989.



Figure 22. Women at a fountain, black-figured hydria, ca. 520–500 B.C., attributed to the AD Painter, London, British Museum 1843-1103.49. Image © Trustees of the British Museum

Peisistratid elaboration of the Enneakrounos in the Ilissos River area, but also with the construction of a brand new fountain house in the southeast corner of the Agora by the new democracy.

CONCLUSION

Within this revised historical context, it is worth noting the passage in Plutarch's *Life of Themistocles* (31.1), in which the exiled Athenian statesman encounters a bronze statue of a water carrier in Sardis. It was, in fact, the very bronze statue that he had set up in Athens when he served as water commissioner; the financing for the statue was derived from the fines that

Themistokles imposed on those convicted of stealing or tapping into the public water supply:

εἶδε δὲ ἐν μητρὸς ἱερῷ τὴν καλουμένην ὑδροφόρον κόρην χαλκῇν,
μέγεθος δίπηχυν, ἣν αὐτὸς ὅτε τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ὑδάτων ἐπιστάτης ἦν,
ἐλὼν τοὺς ὑφαιρουμένους τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ παροχετεύοντας, ἀνέθηκεν
ἐκ τῆς ζημίας ποιησάμενος.

He saw in the sanctuary of the Mother the bronze statue of a girl called the Water Carrier, two cubits tall, which he himself, when he was water commissioner in Athens, had made and dedicated out of the fines he collected from those convicted of stealing and tapping the public water supply.

The statue had been taken by Xerxes' men when they sacked the city in 480, which makes it clear that Themistokles' service as water commissioner predated that event. To the passage from Plutarch, we might add the discussion of the office in the *Ath. Pol.* (43.1), where the position of water commissioner is listed alongside the treasurer of military funds and the official in charge of the Theoric fund as an elected office, rather than as one chosen by lot.⁷⁴ The water supply of the city was evidently an important issue, serious enough to warrant the creation of an *epistates* in charge of water and for this official to be chosen by election, rather than lottery; the imposition of penalties and fines for misuse further highlights the significance of the position.⁷⁵

The closure of wells in the area around the Agora during the middle of the 6th century would have resulted in a general lack of water in the vicinity of the new Agora, which in turn may have led to people stealing water from the public pipeline that was later installed for the Southeast Fountain House. The construction of the fountain house, along with the appointment or election of a water commissioner, indicates that water was a cause for concern in the early 5th century and that the public water supply was susceptible to siphoning. After 508/7 and the move from the Old Agora to the new space, the public water supply evidently became a matter that was under state supervision. The necessity of a constant supply of fresh water to the new Agora resulted in a public fountain house and an individual specially designated to oversee its use (and abuse).

In contrast with many of the other buildings that were constructed in the Agora during this same period, such as the Old Bouleuterion and the

74. τὰς δ' ἄρχὰς τὰς περὶ τὴν ἐγκύκλιον διοίκησιν ἀπάσας ποιοῦσι κληρωτάς, πλὴν ταμίου στρατιωτικῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῶν θεωρικῶν καὶ τοῦ τῶν κρηνῶν ἐπιμελητοῦ· ταύτας δὲ χειροτονοῦσιν, καὶ οἱ χειροτονηθέντες ἄρχουσιν ἐκ Παναθηναίων εἰς Παναθήναια (All of the officials concerned with ordinary administration are elected by lot, except the treasurers of the military funds and of the Theoric fund and the water commissioner; these are elected by show of hands,

and those having been elected hold the office from one Panathenaic festival to the next). Although there is no firm evidence for when the position of water commissioner was established, this passage indicates that it was present by the 4th century at the latest; there is no reason to suppose that the office did not exist from the very earliest stages of the democracy, and perhaps Themistokles even served as the first water commissioner. A clean and safe water supply is a crucial

concern for any settlement, and the appropriation of the oversight of such by the new political regime would have served as a clear indication of the transfer of power from the tyrants to the democracy. I thank the anonymous *Hesperia* reviewer for drawing my attention to the *Ath. Pol.* reference.

75. For the role of the *epistatai* more generally, particularly in the Periclean period, see Marginesu 2010.

Stoa Basileios, the Southeast Fountain House had no particular administrative or bureaucratic function, but it was nevertheless crucial for the use of the area as the new civic center of the polis. It provided a valuable commodity and its location, in close proximity to the new government structures and the Panathenaic Way, denotes its integral importance to the area. In several ways, the Southeast Fountain House helped to define this space as the new Agora: the fountain house provided an important and necessary resource, anchoring and articulating the southeast corner of the triangular space in monumental visual form; it represented a physical break from the Old Agora and the Enneakrounos of the tyrants; and its construction aided in the transition from the Old to the Classical Agora by reintroducing fresh and abundant water into the new space—no longer private water, gathered from wells, but public water, regulated and maintained by the state.

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