AN ANCIENT SHOPPING CENTER

The Athenian Agora

AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
EXCAVATIONS OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA PICTURE BOOKS

5. *Ancient Portraits from the Athenian Agora* (1963)
6. *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade* (revised 1979)
9. *Lamps from the Athenian Agora* (1964)
10. *Inscriptions from the Athenian Agora* (1966)
13. *Early Burials from the Agora Cemeteries* (1973)
15. *Greek and Roman Coins in the Athenian Agora* (1975)
   French, German, and Greek editions
18. *Mediaeval and Modern Coins in the Athenian Agora* (1978)

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Cover: Slaves carrying a Spitted Cake from Market.
Title Page: Athenian Silver Tetradrachm. Late 5th century B.C.
Back Cover: Lead Weights for $\frac{1}{3}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ Stater. Hellenistic.
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AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY
1993
In one and the same place you will find all kinds of things for sale together at Athens: figs—Policemen!

Grapes, turnips, pears, apples—Witnesses!

Roses, medlars, porridge, honey-comb, peas—Lawsuits!

Milk, curds, myrtle-berries—Allotment-machines!

Bulbs, lamps—Water clocks, laws, indictments!

Euboulos (tr. Edmonds)

‘Whatever servant you order to buy something for you from the Agora, and bring it, not one of them will have any difficulty; everyone will plainly know where he must go to get each class of goods. The reason for this, I said, is simply that they are kept in their appointed places.’

Xenophon, Oeconomicus
THE COMMERCIAL AGORA

The political aspect of the Athenian Agora has been described in Picture Book 4; the commercial aspect from the 6th century B.C. to the 5th century A.D. will be sketched here. The area (1, 2), sloping down from the Areopagus to the Eridanos River, was occupied from the 15th to the 7th centuries B.C. by extensive cemeteries. At first the market place for the small town probably lay somewhere farther toward the east, but by the early 6th century it had been moved to the more level land at the north foot of the Areopagus. Temporary booths and tents were erected informally in open areas, as in the weekly markets that still serve different districts of Athens today.

By the classical period, localized bazaars gathered around the open civic Agora, especially on the north and east. Many groups where special products were sold were called 'circles,' such as those that provided fish, meat, clothing, perfume, flour, wine, and oil. Slaves were made to run naked around their circle; horses were also exhibited in the same way. In addition, small industries were carried on and their products sold in the courtyards of the houses; many craftsmen lived on the slopes of the Areopagus, such as herm-carvers and sculptors. Potters and manufacturers of terracottas and figurines gathered in the valleys where water was readily available. Metalworkers lived on the hill

2. Restored Perspective of the Agora looking South.
to the west of the Agora around the temple of their god, Hephaistos. Socrates often visited the shops of these craftsmen, learning many philosophical illustrations from them. One of the houses that he visited has been identified in the southwest corner of the Agora (20).

In the 2nd century B.C. Attalos II, a prince of Pergamon in Asia Minor who had studied in Athens, presented the city with a handsome Stoa or market building (3; see Picture Book 2). On two storeys it provided 42 convenient shops that could be locked. Valuables, like perfume, jewelry, textiles, and works of art, were presumably sold there. The rooms may also have served as offices for shipowners, merchants, or bankers, as in the market buildings of Ostia, the harbor town of Rome.

3. Model of Stoa of Attalos II. 2nd century B.C.
THE ROMAN MARKET

Finally, increased pressure for space caused the Athenians, with help from Caesar and Augustus, to construct an additional large commercial market place (4). On a pier near the main gateway are inscribed the regulations for the sale of olive oil in the 2nd century A.D. The names of certain merchants survive as well as holes sunk in the paving to hold bronze measures. Colonnades bordered all four sides behind which, in certain sections, lay rows of shops. The area also contained a fountain house, a public latrine, a large water clock, as well as an office for the officials that controlled weights, measures, and market business.

Characteristic goods that were sold in both the Greek and the Roman markets are shown in this Picture Book. For more information about other classes of material not covered here, see the list of Picture Books inside the cover.
5. Gold Stater of Kyzikos.  
5th century B.C.

4th century B.C.

Tetradrachm (4 drachmai; cf. title page)

MONEY AND WAGES

In earliest days, metal had been used as a medium of exchange and weighed out against standard units. The chief weights at Athens were the drachma, the mina (100 drachmai or about one pound), the stater (2 minai), and the talent (60 minai or about 60 pounds). Later, for convenience in merchandising, lead weights were usually inscribed with their weight or identified by fixed symbols (oil jar for a third of a stater, tortoise for a quarter; see the back cover).

In the 6th century B.C. in the newly established Agora, financial transactions were simplified by the use of silver coinage. It was related to the standard weights and guaranteed by badges of the city: a head of Athena and her owl (7). Except in times of emergency, Athens struck no gold but used such internationally accepted coins as that of Kyzikos (5) or of Alexander (6).

Modern monetary equivalents for these coins are difficult to suggest, but a notion of their value can be obtained by a comparison with the purchasing power of contemporary wages. During the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. the Athenian government paid as a welfare dole 2 obols a day to poor citizens who were unable to work. On the other hand, a skilled artisan or mercenary soldier would earn about three times that amount, namely, one drachma a day. Professional rates were much higher: teachers earned 500–700 drachmai yearly, sophists 50 drachmai per lecture, a flute girl 110 drachmai for an evening, while famous hetairai, doctors, musicians, actors made sizable incomes. Wages and prices naturally varied greatly with circumstances and toward the end of the Roman empire suffered immensely from inflation.
FOOD

Most ancient peoples produced their own food, but the city dweller depended on the farmer. Meat, except sausages, was rarely eaten by ordinary citizens, but it could be bought for important occasions at the cook shops. It was also distributed to the citizens after the sacrifices at festivals. Birds and fish (9) were esteemed delicacies, also sea urchins, octopus, eels, and oysters. The poor relied on unleavened bread, porridge, soup, eggs, greens, salt fish, tripe.

Attica was famous for her olives and olive oil, figs and wines (see Picture Book 6), bread, cheese, garlic and onions, the staples of ordinary diet. The pits of various fruits have been found in ancient contexts (10).

Chefs could be hired in the market along with table services suitable for special feasts, like weddings; one cook boasts of getting more pay than an actor. Clever chefs knew local tastes and adjusted the menu to the guests. Attic comedy is so full of food as to suggest that the members of the audience were often underfed. Poets cajole the populace with luscious promises, should Athens succeed in conquering the Persian Empire:

9. Fish Market. 4th century B.C.
'Why, fountains of plenty will bubble and gush, with never a word of command,
And streams of jolly black broth will rush down every high road in the land,
Bearing cakes of fine wheat, all glossy and sweet for any to take who chooses
And then Zeus will douse the tiles of our house with the choicest of crusted old boozes.
And the pipes from the roof, for our special behoof, spout grapes and cheese cakes like old Billy,
With mulligatawny all smoking and hot and cakes à la daffy-down-dilly,
While trees on the hill will shed at our will, not leaves but giblets of kid
And deciduous bushes drop fricasseed thrushes and succulent gobbets of squid.'
Pherekrates (tr. Edmonds)

10. Fruit Pits and Nuts from Wells.
Roman Period.

The range of prices for common commodities may be indicated by the following items:

**Wheat:** 3–6 drachmai per medimnos (about 1 1/2 bushels) in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C.
a soldier’s ration was a choinix (about a quart or liter) per day; its value would have been about 1/2 to 3/4 of an obol.

**Olives:** 2 drachmai per medimnos in the 5th century B.C.
**Olive Oil:** 12–18 drachmai per metretes (about 10 gallons) in the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C.
**Wine, local:** 4–5 drachmai per metretes; it was usually diluted with water (see Picture Book 6).

Prices increased sharply with inflation:

- **6th century B.C.:** an ox cost 6 dr., a sheep 1 dr.
- **5th century B.C.:** a cow cost 25–51 dr.
- **4th century B.C.:** a sheep cost 12–20 dr.
- **2nd century B.C.:** an ox cost 70–120 dr.

For a family of four in the time of Socrates, the yearly income has been roughly calculated at between 272 dr. and 396 dr.
HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

An Athenian house (11) was bare according to our notions. Since it had no closets, clothing was kept in chests (12). Wine was bought in amphoras, large jars that were often re-used to store other liquids (see Picture Book 6). Light was provided by small clay or bronze lamps, sometimes set on tall stands (see Picture Book 9). Cooking was done in outside ovens or on portable braziers (14). For details concerning common pottery tableware and cooking...
utensils, see Picture Book 1. Drinking water was carried in from public fountains; household water was usually drawn from cistern or well in the courtyard of the house by pottery jar or wooden bucket (15). Time was told by a water clock (see Picture Book 4) or by a sundial (13).

Hardware used in Athenian houses was very like that used in old-fashioned houses today. Made in or near the Agora, it is often found in ancient wells and houses. A selection indicates the types of yardarm, iron hammer for dressing stone, bronze and iron spikes and nails, bell for horse or donkey, fish hooks, and house keys with convenient finger rings (16). These tools were not cheap. In the 5th century B.C. a hoe cost 3 dr.; a ladder, 2–8 dr.; an oar, 3 dr.; a drill, 5 dr., 1 obol; an upper millstone of imported volcanic stone, 5–10 dr.; iron nails in Roman Egypt sold for 2–8 dr. per mina (about 1 pound).
CLOTHING

Two basic garments were worn by both sexes: a linen chiton or peplos and a woolen himation or cloak of some sort over it. The raw material was usually produced by the householder or, in the case of the poorer citizen, bought in the market. The woman of the house and her daughters and slaves then carded the wool, spun and wove it themselves (17). For the spinning, distaffs and spindles of wood and spindle whorls of terracotta were required. These disks or whorls acted as tiny flywheels; they were large for wool and tiny for spinning the threads of flax (18). Early looms stood upright (17); the warp threads were held taut by weights of terracotta or lead. The weaver walked to and fro passing a shuttle between the threads to form patterns. Loomweights dating from the 6th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D. show great variety (19). In the 2nd century A.D. a horizontal loom was adopted that required no weights.
Accessories of dress were few; buttons fastened the women's sleeves; pins or fibulae, the men's cloaks. These were rarely ornamental (41). The decoration took the form of woven or embroidered borders, occasionally in gold thread, especially in Hellenistic and Roman times. Ready-made clothing could be obtained in the market, but it was expensive. A good himation cost 20 dr.; a cheap one, 16 dr.; a slave's working chiton provided by the state, 7 dr.; a lady's cloak cost from 30 to 200 dr., a fine embroidered dress could reach as much as 1000 dr. In terms of the minimum wage, these prices seem excessive and explain the slow shifts in fashion and the modest wardrobe of the ordinary citizen during the classical period.
Many small shops clustered around the market place. One of these lay at the southwest corner, just above the boundary stone that delimited the official Agora (see Picture Book 4). After the Persian Wars it was occupied by a shoemaker. His clay floors were thickly strewn with hobnails and bone eyelets for the thongs of sandals and boots. Near by the door of the house, in a deposit of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., was found a fragment of a wine cup bearing the roughly incised name of the owner, Simon.

Was Simon the shoemaker whom Socrates used to visit near the Agora? He made notes on what he remembered from Socrates' visits and his 'dialogues' were published as 'The Shoemaker's' long before those of Xenophon and Plato.

20. Simon's Shop, looking Southwest. Late 5th century B.C.
Among the shoes made in Simon’s establishment would have been sandals, some studded with iron hobnails for tramping on rough roads (24). Softer shoes were needed for women’s indoor life (23). Shoes cost about 4–6 dr.; some even reached 8 dr. a pair. A shoemaker made a profit of about 2 dr. per day.


26. Trinket Box. 5th century B.C.

27. Bone Hair Pin. Roman Period.


Ladies of all periods loved bronze and bone hairpins (25, 27) and toilet spoons for unguents (28). In the 5th century B.C. they kept their jewels and makeup in plain black-glaze boxes (26), but the Romans preferred boxes of bronze and silver.

Jewelry in earlier days was owned only by the very rich. It was usually passed down in a daughter's dowry. Only a few pieces of the classical period have been found in the Agora area: rings and earrings (30, left).

In Hellenistic times, particularly in Alexandria and the East, gems and metal rings bearing the portraits of queens became popular among court ladies; a cheap version in bone has been found in the Agora (29); it was probably imported from Egypt. Later, Greek jewelry became ornate, rich with inlaid stones. Roman rings and bracelets were even heavier (32). They were sometimes set with carved gems, often bearing seal devices of magical nature (31).
LUXURIES

MIRRORS OF BRONZE (33), sometimes inlaid with silver, and combs of ivory or wood (34) were valued toilet articles of both sexes. In early days, men and women wore long hair; later, men wore short hair and began to follow the Macedonian fashion of shaving; it was not until the 2nd century A.D. that beards again became fashionable. Barber shops therefore did a flourishing business in the Agora; they were particularly popular as centers of gossip.

Ladies of fashion wore their hair in various styles according to the period. In classical times, they piled their hair on the top of their heads or wound it in braids around them. Curls and bowknots, deep waves, and ringlets were common in Hellenistic times. Nature could be assisted by the purchase of ringlets or made-up coiffures. Locks of hair were often dedicated to a divinity before the dangers of a journey, a battle, or a marriage (35).

In Roman times, women's coiffures became fantastic, especially in court circles. Hair was imported for wigs. Hairpins also became elaborate (27). Makeup was ground in alabaster or marble dishes with a pestle shaped like a finger (28). Strong and precious perfumes were carried in colored glass bottles (38).
35. Warrior Cutting Votive Lock.
5th century B.C.
36. Oil Flasks. 5th century B.C.
PERFUME

At all periods the luxury most sought after by both sexes was perfume. In Athens, it was sold in its special 'circle' where beardless youths, not welcome in the civic Agora, would sit and chatter. Perfume in antiquity was not distilled, but made by boiling down the petals of flowers, especially roses. As early as the 8th century B.C. foreign perfumes such as frankincense and myrrh were imported and distributed in elegant little perfume bottles, mostly manufactured in Corinth.

The containers permitted the scented oil to be poured in tiny drops. Many have been found in the Agora, both imports and local versions. The classical type was a small bottle or lekythos (36) or a round aryballos, which was easily hung by thongs from the athlete's wrist for use in the rub downs of the gymnasium (see Picture Book I).

In Hellenistic and Roman times, oil flasks were imported. Hellenistic types were mostly made of gray clay, perhaps imitating silver (37); Roman types were red and flat-bottomed in imitation of the more popular glass shapes (38).
FOR CHILDREN

Equipment for the very young included cradles and high chairs (39). A terracotta ‘potty-chair’ (40) for a young aristocrat was found in a well of the early 6th century B.C. It is decorated with birds and beasts and comfortably fits a child of a year or two. At that age babies had their animal toys (42); in Roman times, the animals were often rattles.

41. A Boy’s Possessions. Greek Period.
Older children tossed sheep’s knucklebones as dice (41). Each of the four different sides had a name. Various games could be played with them, particularly the trick of tossing them into the air and catching all on the back of the hand. Dice of bone, stone, and bronze were great favorites. The numbers on dice were so arranged that those on opposite sides add up to seven, just as they do today. Games like draughts or checkers were played with bone counters (44).

Little girls played with dolls; some had movable arms so that they could be dressed (43). Miniature pots exactly copied mother’s (43). Small boys fastened their cloaks on their shoulders with pins like those of their fathers (41).
SECONDARY SCHOOLS were private institutions in Athens, but a surprising proportion of the population was literate, at least as regards simple writing and reading. For writing on wax tablets a pointed instrument or stylus was used; many examples have been found in the excavations, in bone and bronze (46). Boys also had to learn music. They learned to chant poetry and play the flute (47).

Books were written on papyrus, which was expensive because it had to be imported from Egypt; they were therefore owned only by the rich. Socrates remarks, however, that one could be bought in a place in the Agora called the 'Orchestra' where drama and choral dancing must have taken place before the erection of the theater.
MEDICAL SUPPLIES

Medical treatment fell into two categories. The first was given by the priests in the sanctuaries of the healing gods, like that of Asklepios on the south slope of the Acropolis. Diet and cures in dreams allegedly by the visiting god were credited with many successes. In gratitude, the patient made offerings, from statues to modest figurines and tablets. The manufacturers of such offerings had shops in the Agora as well as at the entrances of the sanctuaries. Many deposits of these objects have been found (see Picture Book 3).

Professional doctors, like those from the school of Hippokrates at Kos, later practiced more scientifically; they too kept records. A vase shows a clinic where a doctor bleeds a patient into a large basin (48). No bleeding cups have been found in the Agora, but a few instruments have been identified as suitable for medical or surgical uses (49). Small roughly made bottles of terracotta and lead (50) are inscribed with the name of the drug, either salve for the eyes or cathartic. Herbs and drugs were mostly derived from plants in the neighborhood (see Picture Book 8); they formed the basis of simple domestic medicine, as they still do today.
FOR THE SACRIFICE

For thank offerings as well as for many prayers, small cheap pots and figurines were sold in the market. In many houses of the 4th and 3rd centuries in Athens, a special domestic sacrifice was offered. The remains of a burned offering of a chicken or small bird were deposited on the floor, usually of the court, along with certain characteristic small vessels: shallow saucers and plates, covered dishes, wine cups, and lamps (52). They were then covered by the clay floor. Their purpose is unknown; perhaps they were made in prayer for the dead as a memorial service; perhaps they served to inaugurate the house.

A vast number of tiny, cheap vessels, copies of actual pots, have been found in household shrines and small sanctuaries, like those of Hekate. The better examples are glazed and decorated; later types are mass-produced trifles (51).
FOR THE SOLDIER

The well-to-do Athenian youth going on military service as a hoplite required certain equipment: sword, breastplate, and helmet, spear, shield, and greaves to protect his legs (53, 54). He might also order parade armor, such as a sword with an ivory handle (55) or a relief buckle to fasten his belt (see Picture Book 3, 29). After a long war these possessions were no longer popular, as Aristophanes reports:

This is better than a Captain hated of the gods to see,
Triple-crested, scarlet-vested, scarlet bright as bright can be, . . .
Running like a tawny cock-horse, he’s the first to quit the scene,
Shake and quake his crests above him, I stood gaping while he flew—
Peace (tr. Rogers)

53. Graffito Sketch, Fighting Pygmy. 5th century B.C.

54. Charging Warrior. 5th century B.C.

55. Ivory Chape. Hellenistic Period.
Weapons were made in the area around the Hephaisteion, especially bronze and iron arrowheads, spear points and butts as well as lead sling bullets (56), which were decorated with a thunderbolt or encouragingly marked, 'Take that.'

Prices in the 5th century reached astronomical levels during the Peloponnesian War; Aristophanes quotes 1000 dr. for a breastplate. After the war, he describes the lowly domestic uses which a proud helmet had to fulfill. Reasonable prices seem to have been: a spear, 4 dr.; a shield, 20 dr. and up.


FOR THE WEDDING

Ancient weddings required many special objects traditional for the occasion.

On the day before the ceremony a loutrophoros (58), the traditional marriage water jar, was carried to fetch water from the ancient spring, Enneakrou-
Another marriage vase, the lebes gamikos (59), is shown filled with branches on vases depicting wedding preparations, perhaps for lustral purposes.

Young friends helped deck the bride before the wedding (57). On arrival at their home the young pair were pelted with figs and dates, the forerunners of our rice. They then performed sacrifices on the altar before retiring to their room. The next day friends brought gifts for the bride and the house: pottery, equipment for spinning and weaving, boxes of linens—all doubtless to be obtained in the market.
FOR THE DOMESTIC SHRINE

WORKS OF ART in bronze or marble could be obtained in the Agora by ordinary people who wished to propitiate the guardian spirits of the house. In the 4th century and later, a relief of the popular Oriental goddess, the Mother of the Gods (60), was often set into the wall of the court. Daily libations to the deities were poured on an altar in the center of the court or by the front door. Poorer people set up small terracotta altars as incense burners and tiny votive cups to hold token offerings. The figure of a pig wearing a sacrificial garland was an acceptable substitute for a real boar (61).

FOR THE FUNERAL

In Athens the dead could be cremated or buried. In either case, the family and friends brought vases, sometimes containing food for the Underworld, and other offerings, wreaths, figurines, and sometimes jewelry. Funerary vases, especially alabastra (64), held perfumed oil; it was also given in less expensive clay lekythoi painted with scenes in bright colors on a white ground. These scenes often show the grave mound, the tall tombstone as a background for touching scenes in which the living present offerings to the dead 'on the other side.'

Gravestones of the classical period took various forms; many were tall decorated slabs bearing the name of the dead; others copied the sepulchral lekythoi and loutrophoroi in monumental stone (63). The rich indulged in fine sculptured reliefs of farewell scenes; these sometimes reached the level of major art. In the Hellenistic period, when elaborate memorials were forbidden, simple columnar shafts inscribed with the name of the deceased and crowned by a ring fillet (65) took the place of all other types of gravestone.
PETS

A Greek family often kept pets. The most highly prized were hunting and racing horses and dogs to protect the house as well as to join the chase. These animals fetched high prices in the market.

At home the children enjoyed puppies, and birds, particularly geese and ducks (66). Older boys bought fighting roosters and quail. A favorite pet, easily bred in the city courtyard, was the hare, which youths often presented as love tokens (67).

66. Child’s Jug. 5th century B.C.

67. Youth carrying a Hare. Cup by the Gorgos Painter. Early 5th century B.C.
ILLUSTRATIONS

Photographs of objects in the Agora Museum, which are listed by their inventory numbers, are by successive staff photographers. Others are reproduced by courtesy of their respective owners.

1. Drawing by Richard C. Anderson.
2, 4, 11. Drawings by John Travlos.
17. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Fletcher Fund, 1931, No. 31.11.10.
18. MC 948, BL 92 + 476, MC 373, 97, 364, BI 55.
33. P 475. 34. W 39.
36. P 16328, 24326, 1402.
40. P 18010. 41. BI 759, 420, 313, 419; B 217, 770, 115.
42. T 1432, 2131, 2185. 43. T 1803, P 13022, 23119, 23929.
44. BI 360, MC 787a.
46. BI 421, 404, 137. 47. BI 672.
49. B 1109, 696, 1001. 50. II 853, 854, 904.
51. P 27182, 10014, 16797, 12998, 19845.
52. L 4060; P 18543, 19063, 26195, 19069, 18544, 18548, 18546.
61. P 14041, 15553, 12996; T 3316, 919.
63. S 2214. 64. ST 193. 65. I 7037. 66. P 28326.
