

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1953¹

(PLATES 12-17)

THE eighteenth campaign conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora was historic in many respects. The field work, which extended from February into June of 1953, represented the last season of excavation on a large scale in the Agora proper. Further exploration remains to be carried out in connection with the study of individual buildings bordering the square, and large areas on the slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus have still to receive their final combing, but within the square proper the ancient levels have been exposed throughout and on the three sides of the square now available for exploration all the major monuments have been plotted.

Field work was concentrated in the south part of the Agora with very satisfactory results for our knowledge of the topographical development. The south side of the square in its earlier form is now seen to have been closed by a row of five public buildings dating from the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Two of these buildings appear to have been fountain houses; the third, South Stoa I, is a large and early example of a two-aisled colonnade backed by a row of rooms; the fourth may be identified with a high degree of probability as the *Heliaia*, the largest and most famous of the lawcourts of the ancient city, while the fifth has been recognized with something approaching certainty as the mint of Athens, the *Argyrokopeion*.

¹ The veteran staff remained as last year. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool served again as deputy field director for half the year and supervised excavation during the season; Miss Lucy Talcott continued in charge of records; Mr. John Travlos carried on as architect of excavations and Miss Alison Frantz as staff photographer; Miss Margaret Crosby supervised an area of excavation; Miss Virginia Grace kept up her study of wine jars; Mrs. H. A. Thompson in the spring of 1953 supervised an area of excavation and continued her study of terracottas. Miss Marian R. Holland for a second year served as assistant architect and gave particular attention to the new evidence for the study of the Temple of Ares. Much voluntary assistance was received from fellows and members of the School: Mrs. Glenn R. Morrow, Miss Helen Bacon and Miss Rosemary Hope helping with the records, Miss Eva Brann assisting in the supervision of excavation in the Middle Stoa, Misses Claireve Grandjouan and Elizabeth Chase helping Mrs. Thompson in the study of terracottas, Mr. Charles W. J. Eliot studying the "Donor's Monument" in front of the Stoa of Attalos. Mrs. J. L. Caskey again undertook the identification of coins from the current excavation while Mrs. J. P. Shear and Mr. Sydney P. Noe gave help on specific numismatic problems. To all the above the enterprise owes much.

Professor R. E. Wycherley of the University of North Wales, assisted by a grant from the American Philosophical Society, spent the Easter Vacation of 1953 in the Agora with a view to putting the finishing touches on his publication of the ancient literary testimonia on the monuments of the area.

The success of the season's operations, as in all previous campaigns, has depended on the devotion and energy of the Chief Foreman, Mr. Sophokles Lekkas, and of the technical staff who work under his spirited direction.

The expedition has continued to enjoy not merely the official support of the Service of Antiqui-

Of the great buildings erected in the southern part of the old Agora in the second century B.C. the South Stoa (henceforth to be designated South Stoa II) was this season exposed to its full length, and the foundations of the Middle Stoa were also laid bare throughout.

Just outside the official limits of the square at its extreme southwest corner were explored the ruins of a private house which in the late fifth and early fourth centuries B.C. was occupied by a shoemaker, recognized from the occurrence of his name in a graffito as Simon, perhaps the shoemaker of that name known to have been an intimate friend of Sokrates.

Among the individual finds of the season may be noted a terracotta head, bearded, helmeted and slightly over half life-size, of the mid fifth century B.C.; a score of ostraka; an inscribed base for a statue of the Iliad found in 1869, and a number of fragmentary but exceptionally fine early red-figured cups from the filling of a well.

Work of conservation was carried out on the Great Drain and in the area of the Metroon and Bouleuterion. The east inner frieze of the Hephaisteion was freed of a heavy coat of black grime and made accessible for proper study.

Concurrently with the season's excavation the work of reconstructing the Stoa of Attalos to serve as a permanent museum was actually started. The foundations of the building were drained and reinforced. A large proportion of the requisite stone and marble was quarried and worked and some of the stone was laid. The drainage operations brought to light a number of graves of the Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods beneath the north part of the Stoa while the discovery of a deposit of ballots beneath the north end of the Stoa terrace proves the existence of a lawcourt in that area in pre-Hellenistic times.

ties in the Ministry of Education of the Greek Government, but also the cordial personal interest of its members, particularly of Mr. John Meliades, Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, of Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzo, Director and Assistant Director of the National Museum, and of Mr. John Threpsiades, Ephor.

The start of work on the Stoa of Attalos would have been quite impossible without the whole-hearted and energetic cooperation of Professor A. Orlandos, Director of the Department of Restorations, ably seconded by his assistant, Mr. E. Stikas.

Professor J. L. Caskey, as Director of the School, maintained as always close contact with the routine progress of the excavation and in addition took a leading part in the negotiations connected with the beginning of work on the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos. In this connection particular acknowledgment must also be made to the Legal Advisor of the School, Mr. A. Kyriakides, and his assistant, Mr. V. Melas.

In a year marked by large-scale, costly and difficult operations the members of the staff are more conscious than ever of the degree in which the whole undertaking depends on the vigorous backing of the governing bodies of the School, viz. the Managing Committee and the Board of Trustees, which has been so effectively translated into action by their respective executives: Messrs. C. H. Morgan and W. M. Canaday. No less vital has been the continuing financial support received from many individuals and organizations whose names, though they may not be mentioned here, are none the less remembered with gratitude.

With the end of digging now in sight, preparations for landscaping have begun and a comprehensive design for the treatment of the area has been prepared by a competent landscape architect.

BUILDINGS ON THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE EARLY SQUARE

The "Heliaia"

The earliest and largest of the five public buildings that bordered the early Agora on the south proved to lie directly beneath a double modern house which had for many years served the expedition as workrooms, storerooms and dwelling for members of the Greek technical staff. The demolition of the building was made possible by transferring much of the material and working facilities to the remaining blocks of the Excavation House which lie to the south of the modern Asteroskopeiou Street and so fall outside the market square proper. The area thus made available, a thousand square metres in extent, was excavated under the supervision of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool.

Apart from a large cistern of late Roman date, little in the way of structural remains was encountered between the foundations of the modern houses and those of the ancient buildings, an interval of about four metres. The floor of the ancient structure, however, was overlaid in large part to a depth of half a metre or more by reddish sand sprinkled with tiny particles of corroded bronze. Consultation with the proprietor of a small bronze-casting establishment on the modern Hephaistos Street soon confirmed the suspicion that the sand had been used in making moulds for casting bronze and that the small particles were from the foam of the molten metal. The associated pottery and coins indicate that the metal workers had been active in the latter part of the third century after Christ, i. e. after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 to which the ancient building had fallen a victim. Evidence of metal working of the same date has been observed near the middle of the South Stoa and in the open area of the Commercial Agora. Occasional scraps of ancient bronze statuary found in these contexts point to the grim conclusion that the metal workers had drawn their raw material from the monuments of the then desolate old square. That much of the marble sculpture came to a similar end may be inferred from the existence of several limekilns, albeit of Byzantine date, near the southwestern and southeastern corners of the Agora.

Although the foundations of the ancient building had been thoroughly pillaged in late antiquity and its floor disturbed by innumerable wells and pits, enough remains to indicate the ground plan of its latest phase; the details of its original form have still to be determined by deeper probing (Fig. 1, Pl. 12).

The building was rectangular, approaching a square in outline, measuring actually *ca.* 32.40 m. from east to west and *ca.* 28.30 m. from north to south. It was

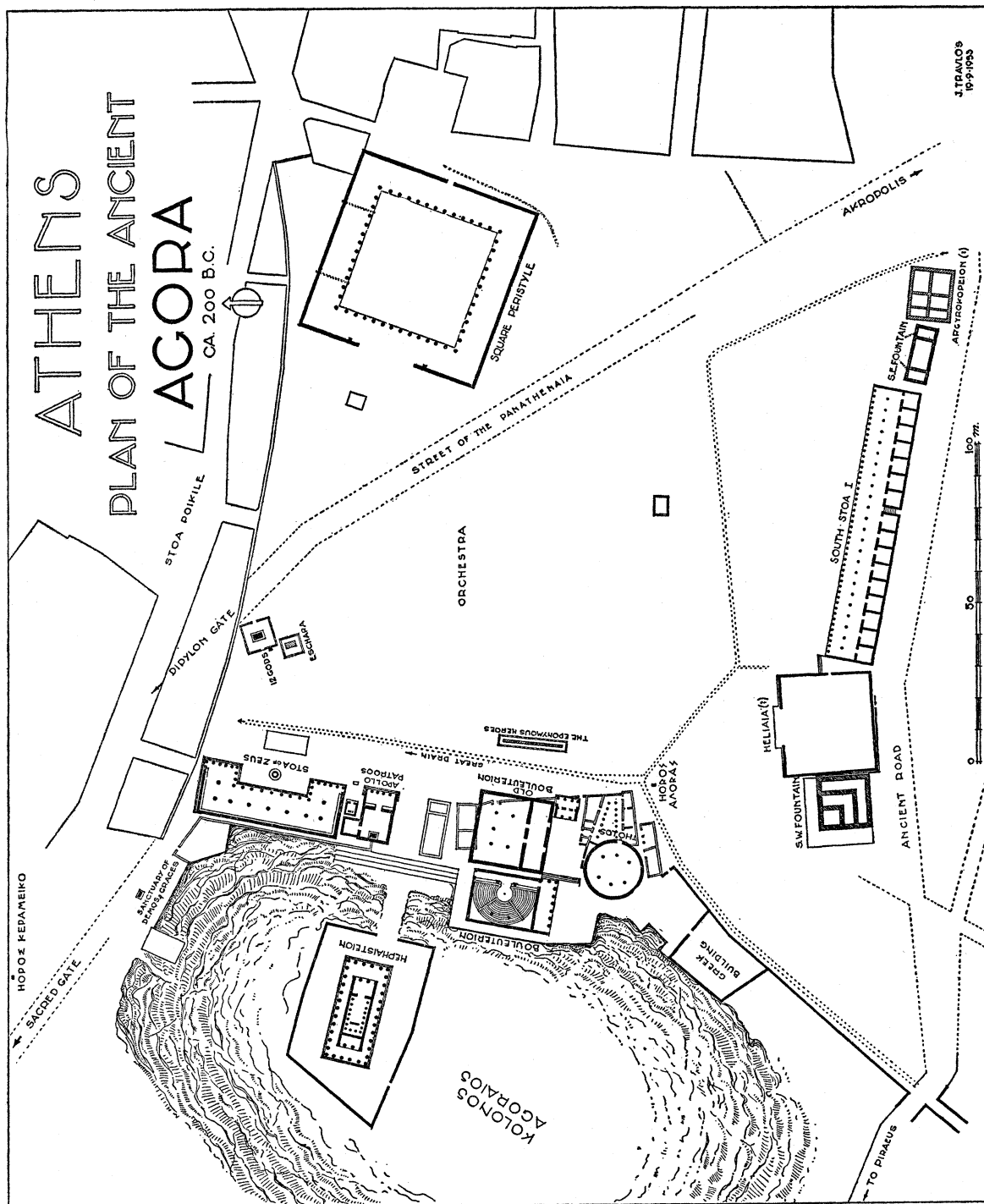


FIG. 1. Restored Plan of the Athenian Agora, ca. 200 B.C.

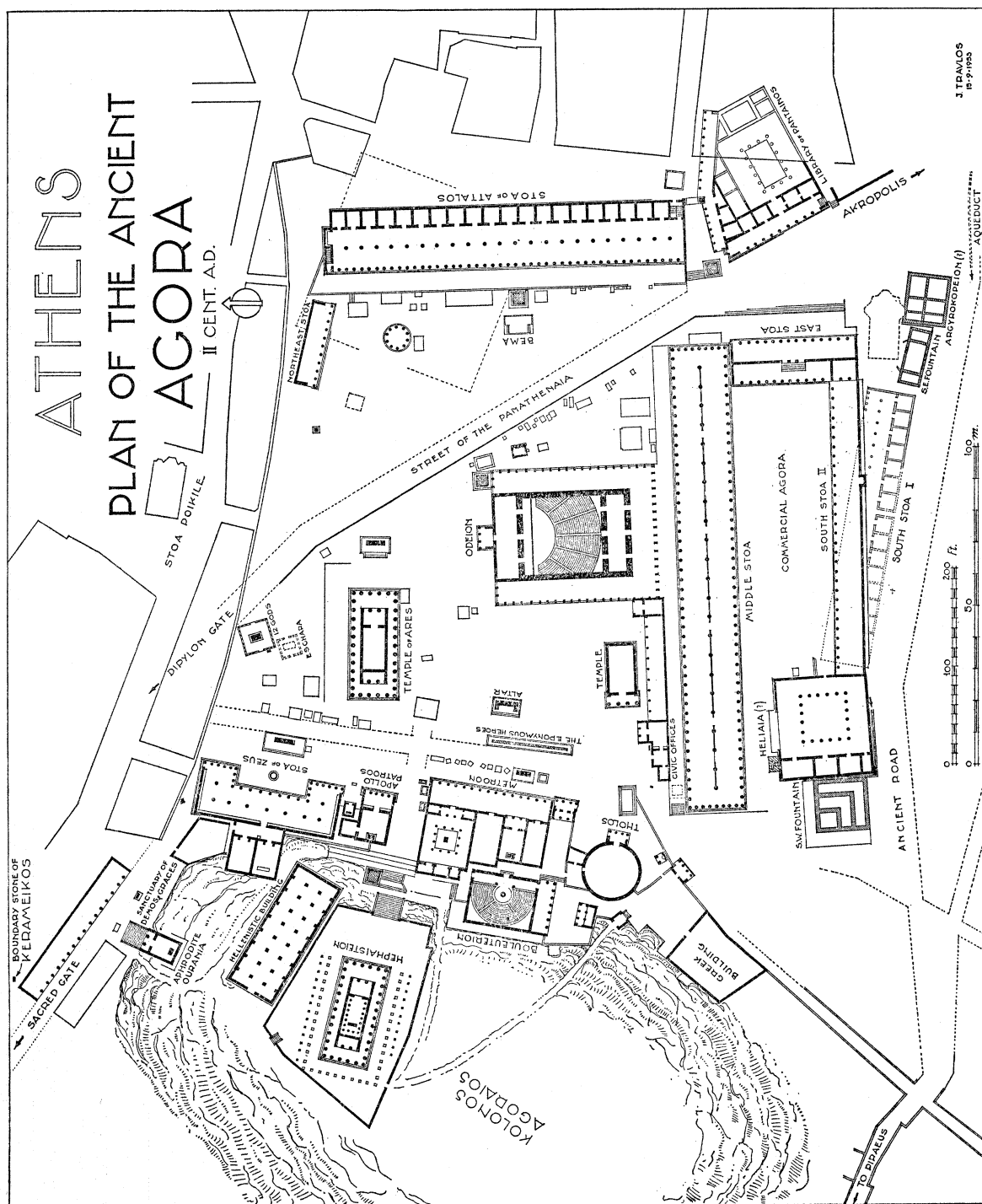


FIG. 2. Restored Plan of the Athenian Agora, 2nd Century after Christ.

approached from the Agora square, which sloped gently up to the north side of the building, by a continuous flight of three, or perhaps four, steps. The nature of the actual entrance or entrances on this side has not yet been determined. A short break in the foundations indicates the presence of a narrow doorway near the middle of the east side. The south side of the building was skirted at a level well above that of its floor by the arterial east to west road. No interior foundations have yet come to light which can certainly be associated with the outer walls in the earliest phase and it is probable that the structure in the beginning was little more than a walled enclosure. This interpretation is strengthened by the comparative lightness of the foundations.

The lowest course of the foundations consists throughout of irregular masses of hard, creamy limestone. The northern steps are of the same material, but they are carefully worked with narrow anathyrosis, the joints being sometimes slightly oblique; the face of the riser is lightly stippled with a band of shallow drafting on the lower edge and on the ends. Near the south end of the east side several blocks of the first wall course remain *in situ*; they are of brownish poros, and one of them has on its end a mason's mark: *epsilon* and *pi* deeply cut in archaic characters. The only tool marks thus far observed were made by the point and the drove (a broad, smooth-faced chisel); the toothed chisel is not yet in evidence.

The foundations of the building invite comparison in respect of material and style of masonry with such buildings as the fountain house cleared last season at the southeast corner of the Agora, with the Old Temple on the Acropolis and with the Old Temple of Dionysos below the Theatre, all structures of the second half of the sixth century. The non-occurrence of the toothed chisel, however, would suggest a date somewhat earlier than that of those buildings.² Two wells that have been spotted and cleared within the area of the building had been closed in the early part of the sixth century, and pottery of the same period was found in the stripped foundation trench of a light wall which had been cut off by the steps of the north side. The ceramic evidence from these sources would suggest that the area had been converted from private to public use as early as the second quarter of the sixth century. In this connection it is no doubt significant that the newly found building agrees precisely in orientation with some of the earliest buildings on the west side of the square, viz. those represented by foundations which have come to light beneath the Old Bouleuterion and the Tholos (Fig. 1).

At some time within the fifth century a propylon of steps just over 11 m. in length was set against the original steps at the middle of the north side of the building. The new steps started one course lower than the old; they were of similar, hard creamy limestone but were worked in a more developed style. Little beyond the soft poros

² Cf. Casson, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 107 f.; Richter, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 188-193; Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, LI, 1947, pp. 116 f. Dinsmoor notes that the toothed chisel came into general use "fairly late in the Peisistratid period."

core of the addition remains in place but many fragments of the steps were found near by and several whole blocks have survived where re-used in other structures. The position of the new stairway, combined with traces of wear on its steps, indicates that it was a form of propylon intended, presumably, to give a more monumental aspect to the entrance or perhaps to channel traffic through a single entrance. The projection of the supplementary stairway does not appear to be great enough to allow the restoration of columns. It may be observed in passing that the new stairway, being of approximately the same width as the propylon of the fourth-century Pompeion and the two propyla of the Market of Caesar and Augustus, was clearly designed to permit the passage of many people.

At a date probably in the early Roman period radical changes were made in the interior of the structure (Fig. 2). A square peristyle with six columns to the side was inserted, and this was bordered on the west by a row of four rooms of various sizes. The lower foundations of the columns consist of heavy conglomerate blocks resting on a thin packing of field stone. Fragments of a marble Doric capital of a classicizing type were found on the spot, as also a lion-head water spout in terracotta from an outside corner of the building which would appear to be patterned on the lion heads of the Parthenon.

Various hydraulic arrangements in connection with the building remain to be mentioned. At some time apparently in the fifth century B.C. an underground aqueduct built of soft poros was led from the east under the ancient road which skirted the south side of the square. The channel hugged the south side of the building, turned at right angles around its southwest corner and thence continued northward.³ The primary function of this water channel was perhaps to supply the neighboring building to the west, now labelled the Southwest Fountain House. But it was probably also the source of two small pipe lines which were carried down over the northern steps of the older building near its northwest corner. And it may well have supplied a curious establishment which, in the middle of the fourth century B.C., was set close against those same northern steps in the space between the northwest corner of the building and the propylon. In the eastern part of this structure a shallow stone basin was set at the level of the original bottom step of the building; its plastered interior is heavily coated with water deposit. From this basin the water appears to have been led into a carefully constructed vertical shaft to the west, measuring 0.97 m. square inside with a depth of 2.53 m. The shaft drained near its bottom through a small metal-lined aperture which was accessible by means of a narrow staircase set between the shaft and the west and north walls of the structure. That we have to do with no normal type of fountain house is shown, *inter alia*, by the fragility of the parapet in the front of the shallow basin. A preliminary study would suggest, rather, a time-

³ On the part of this aqueduct exposed farther to the east cf. *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 32.

measuring device operated by water on somewhat the same principle as the familiar terracotta klepsydra but on a monumental scale.⁴

The identification of the great new building raises a tantalizing problem. No positive clue has been found on the site nor does the structure appear to be mentioned in Pausanias' systematic account of the Agora. On the other hand, its great size and its dominant position high on the south side of the square leave no doubt that it was a public building of major importance. Its proximity to the earliest administrative buildings on the west side, and the striking correspondence in orientation would suggest, though of course it would not prove, that the new building also served some function of government. The possibilities are few, and a little reflection will show that the most likely identification is with one or other of the lawcourts which would appear from the combined evidence of the literary references to have stood on or near the square. If this be so, the structure could scarcely be other than the largest and most famous of all the lawcourts, viz. the Heliaia.⁵

Harpokration described the Heliaia as "the largest lawcourt at Athens in which cases concerning the state were tried, the jury numbering 1000 or 1500." And Pausanias (I, 28, 8), apparently having in mind the situation in his own day, observed that "the largest lawcourt and the one in which the greatest number participate is called the Heliaia." There is good reason to believe that the jurors were seated in this court and that they sat under the open sky. Admission was controlled by grilles and railings. The beginnings of the Heliaia as an institution go back at least to the time of Solon, and even after the establishment of other lawcourts (the *dikasteria*) it retained its importance, as we have seen in Pausanias' reference, down into Imperial times.

The earliest structural remains as yet recognized can scarcely be as early as the time of Solon, but they may have been preceded by some less substantial arrangement. The general scheme of the building, i. e. a great walled enclosure apparently open to the sky, is certainly appropriate to the needs of the court, and its area, approximately three times that of the auditorium in the (new) Bouleuterion of the Five Hundred, would presumably have accommodated as many as 1500 jurors. The abundant provision of water within the building would have been appropriate for the supply of the movable water clocks which were such a characteristic part of the furnishings of a court, and the hydraulic installation set against the north façade, as we have seen, may

⁴ Eugene Vanderpool draws my attention to a similar installation in the Amphiareion at Oropos (Ἀρχ. Ἐφ., 1918, pp. 110-113). The terracotta klepsydra found in the Agora in 1936 is published by S. Young in *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 274-284.

⁵ On the history and functions of the Heliaia cf. R. J. Bonner and G. Smith, *The Administration of Justice from Homer to Aristotle*, Chicago, 1930, pp. 154 ff., and C. Hignett, *A History of the Athenian Constitution*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 97 f.; for the topographical problem and the interior arrangement cf. C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, Leipzig, 1890, pp. 359 ff.; and S. Dow, "Aristotle, the Kleroteria and the Courts," *H.S.C.P.*, L, 1939, pp. 1-34.

itself have been a monumental water clock. Nor is it unlikely that the terracotta water clock, which was found in 1936 in a well some 40 metres to the northwest of our building, came from it; certainly no more plausible candidate for a lawcourt has yet been recognized in this area.

Various other considerations of a more general nature are equally favorable to the identification. The traditional curse pronounced at the opening of the meeting of the assembly against "any speaker who should deceive the *Boule*, the *Demos* or the *Heliaia*"⁶ indicates the age-old recognition of the three-fold division of government into the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The executive branch, i. e. the *Boule*, was provided with a succession of buildings on the west side of the square, the earliest of them probably dating from the time of Solon. The legislative branch, i. e. the *Demos* meeting in the *Ekklesia*, found a quiet assembly place on the near-by slope of the *Pnyx* hill, starting perhaps as late as the time of Kleisthenes. We should have expected the *Demos* when meeting in its judicial capacity as the *Heliaia* to have had equally adequate accommodation, and such now appears to be available in the newly found building.

The identification here proposed can as yet be regarded as nothing more than a likely hypothesis. It is to be hoped that more conclusive evidence will be forthcoming from the further exploration of the building and its environs.

South Stoa I

Toward the end of the fifth century B.C. a long building consisting of a row of square rooms behind a double colonnade was inserted between the "*Heliaia*" and the Southeast Fountain House. The building stood until demolished to make way for a one-aisled colonnade without rooms about the middle of the second century B.C. Since it has not yet been possible to attach an ancient name to either the earlier or the later building, but since both could properly be described as stoas, we shall refer to them for the present as South Stoa I and South Stoa II respectively.

South Stoa I, like its successor, was first detected in the campaign of 1936 under the supervision of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool.⁷ Some additional clearance was carried out in 1952.⁸ In the present season the deep mass of earth filling thrown in by the builders of South Stoa II was stripped from the ruins of the earlier building and some soundings were made beneath its floors. The excavation in this area was directed in both 1952 and 1953 by Miss Margaret Crosby on whose reports I have drawn freely for the following account.

The floor level fixed for South Stoa II was two and a half metres lower than that of the older building, so that a great deal of bedrock had to be cut away, and

⁶ Demosthenes XXIII, 97.

⁷ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f., fig. 21.

⁸ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 28 f.

with it went the west end and most of the north side of the fifth-century building. Enough remains, however, to establish the existence of at least fourteen rooms in the early structure and, on the assumption that a narrow alley was left between this building and its neighbor to the west comparable with that which is well attested between this building and its eastern neighbor, the total number of rooms may be restored as sixteen and the length of the building as *ca.* 87 metres. Its width was 15.02 metres. Between the seventh and eighth rooms from the east was a corridor 1.40 m. wide; a stairway set in this corridor led up from the colonnade to the street that bordered the back of the building.

Plate 13, a will show the state of preservation: a few blocks in the south and east walls, a good many blocks in the median wall and in the cross walls between the rooms, a short length of pillaged foundation trench for the stylobate on the north side.

The wall foundations consist of a single course of large blocks of rather soft gray poros laid flat. On these rested one or two courses of similar blocks laid on edge, and these in turn carried the upper wall of sun-dried brick. There are striking irregularities in the quality of workmanship, but in general the wall construction shows signs of haste and frugality. Here and there are traces of repairs and rebuilding, natural enough in view of the long history of the building.

The rooms measure on the average *ca.* 4.80 m. (probably 16 feet) square inside. Each opened on the porch through a two-leaved door, the poros thresholds of which in several cases remain in place with slots in their tops to support simple wooden jambs. In all the rooms where enough is preserved to show the position of the doorway, it falls somewhat off centre toward the east. The rooms were floored with brown clay. The floor level rose on the average about half a metre in the lifetime of the building; the thresholds were raised accordingly.

The outer row of columns stood on a simple poros stylobate of which some four blocks have been found, only one retaining its full dimensions. At the east end of the building the levels indicate that there were no steps below the stylobate; farther west, however, the downward slope of the terrain would have called for steps. On the tops of some of the stylobate blocks are lightly dressed circular beds for unfluted columns with a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.52 m. A fragmentary Doric capital, found on the floor of the colonnade toward its east end, probably belonged to one of the outer columns (Fig. 3). It is of soft gray poros and seems not to have been stuccoed. Flutings were cut on the lower part of the capital, though this does not necessarily imply that the shafts also were fluted.⁹ Nothing of the shafts has been found, nor of the entablature. The column spacing in the outer row may be presumed to have been one half of that in the inner row, or 1.75 m.

⁹ In the Middle Stoa of the Agora, a building of the second century B.C., fluting is similarly cut on the capitals though the shafts were left smooth.

The bedding blocks for the five easternmost interior columns were found in place. The first block is centered *ca.* 3.10 m. from the inner face of the east end wall of the building; thereafter the spacing is 3.50 m. centre to centre. The bedding blocks are each a single piece of poros measuring 0.82 to 0.92 m. square and *ca.* 0.30 m. high.

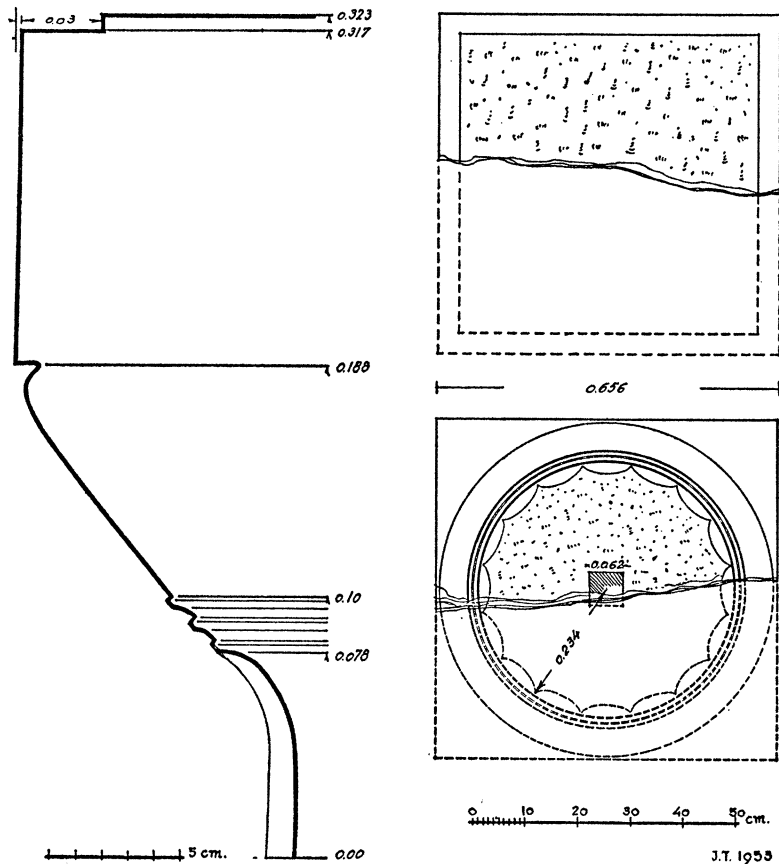


FIG. 3. Doric Capital of Poros from South Stoa I.

Their tops were flush with the original floor. Pressure and weather marks on the tops of the blocks attest the use of unfluted column shafts with a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.57 m. Of the stone shafts nothing remains, but several fragments of fine, white, marble-dust stucco with convex profile and a calculated diameter of *ca.* 0.56 m. probably derive from the shafts. No capital has yet been recognized so that the order of the interior columns is problematic. The analogy of normal practice in double stoas would suggest the Ionic. It is to be observed, however, that the imprint of the lower part of the second column from the east is preserved in the rubble masonry of a screen wall which was built around it in the later history of the building and there is no trace

of an Ionic base. The greater thickness of the shaft in the inner columns as compared with the outer (0.57:0.52 m.) will have corresponded, no doubt, to the greater height necessitated by the rising roof.

Several lion-head water spouts of painted terracotta found in the debris of the building are presumably from its roof; they are of more than one period. Pieces of one or more terracotta statues also picked up in the area of the building are possibly to be associated with it.

Within the colonnade are remains of two large pedestals dating from early in the history of the building: a long, narrow base, of which a few blocks remain, between the two rows of columns in front of the three eastern rooms, and an almost square base attested only by its plundered foundation pit between the front of the fourth room and the inner row of columns.

Somewhat later in the life of the building a curtain wall of rubble masonry was carried across the colonnade on the line of the second interior column from the east. It is altogether likely that this wall returned eastward to close the openings between the easternmost four columns of the outer row, thus forming a large room in the east end of the colonnade. Within this area, between the bases for the first and second interior columns, are a number of small stone bases of various shapes and sizes.

Evidence for the date of the building comes chiefly from a considerable mass of pottery found beneath the original floor levels at the east end. This material, though it has not yet been closely studied, appears to date chiefly from the third quarter of the fifth century B.C., to run down into the last quarter but to stop short of the end. The implication, therefore, is that the building was erected within the last quarter of the century, a date which would be compatible with the profile of the Doric column capital and with the working of the foundation blocks. The great accretion of flooring, the heavy wear on the thresholds and the multiplicity of monument bases in the colonnade combine to indicate that the building was much used in its life span of two and a half centuries.

From the point of view of architectural design the building is interesting as an early example of a row of rooms fronted by a two-aisled colonnade.¹⁰ It may indeed be the earliest known example of this architectural type, at any rate on a large scale; for in respect of ground plan there is little with which to compare it before the construction of the South Stoa at Corinth in the second half of the fourth century.

As in the case of the older building to the west, the size and prominent position of the structure may be taken to show that it was a public building of great importance. Although no specific clue has yet come to light, one is inevitably tempted to speculate on its function. It may be remarked, in the first place, that a building of this type is not likely to have been designed simply for shops at so early a date, though it may well

¹⁰ On the development of the type cf. R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora grecque*, Paris, 1951, pp. 454-458, Table III.

have been so used in its later history. The combination of rooms and colonnade also marks it off from such a fifth-century building as the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora which was presumably intended as a sheltered promenade for the citizens at large. It is particularly striking to have so great a colonnade as that of the new building erected on a site which called for a northern exposure, obviously less desirable than a southern. Can it be that the situation was determined by some functional relation between the new building and one or other of its neighbors? On the hypothesis that the great enclosure to the west was the *Heliaia*, one will see at once the desirability of having a capacious shelter conveniently near for the large number of jurymen who might be dispersed by sudden rain. It was apparently about this time that the stoa behind the scene building of the Theatre of Dionysos was erected to supplement the shelter previously supplied to the theatre-goers by the Odeion of Perikles and to be supplemented some two centuries later by the Stoa of Eumenes. Great colonnades, apparently for the shelter of attendants at the *Ekklesia*, were begun, though never finished, on the top of the Pnyx hill in the latter part of the fourth century B.C.¹¹ The citizens in their judicial capacity are not likely to have been more immune to the vagaries of the weather, and the newly found building would be ideally placed to serve their needs.

What, then, of the rooms back of the colonnade? The most striking feature of the chambers in their present condition is the asymmetrical placing of the doors. In buildings of similar ground plan when the rooms were intended primarily as shops, e. g. the Stoa of Attalos at Athens, the North Stoa at Priene, the door was placed on axis. Occasionally, as in the case of the inner rooms of the South Stoa at Corinth and the front rooms of the lowest storey of the great market building at Aegae, the door was set to one side to leave room for a window. But in these cases the door was shifted to the right of centre rather than to the left as in our building, an arrangement consonant with the normal Greek practice of using the right-hand leaf of a two-leaved door. A more likely explanation for the asymmetrical disposition of the doors in our building is that the rooms were designed to receive dining couches.¹² A simple calculation will show that a room of this plan would accommodate seven dining couches of normal proportions with the utmost economy of space and with regard for the Greek practice of reclining at meals on the left side so as to keep the right hand free (Fig. 4). Such an arrangement is well attested for several public dining rooms in other Greek cities, of which those in the so-called Banqueting House at the Argive Heraion and in the Asklepieion at Corinth provide the most illuminating parallels.¹³

¹¹ *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 269-301.

¹² This observation was first made by John Travlos who has long been engaged in a special study of ancient Greek dining rooms both private and public. The restored drawing in Fig. 4 was prepared under his direction by Piet de Jong.

¹³ A. Frickenhaus, "Griechische Bankethäuser," *Jahrbuch*, XXXII, 1917, pp. 121-130; C.

Several pieces of evidence that would favor the restoration of couches were observed in the course of the excavation: rough stone packing beneath the floor of the easternmost room adjacent to the walls, a certain amount of ash and charcoal on the floors of the rooms such as might have spilled from the braziers commonly placed in the middle of such dining rooms, and several small stone bases with sockets in their tops which

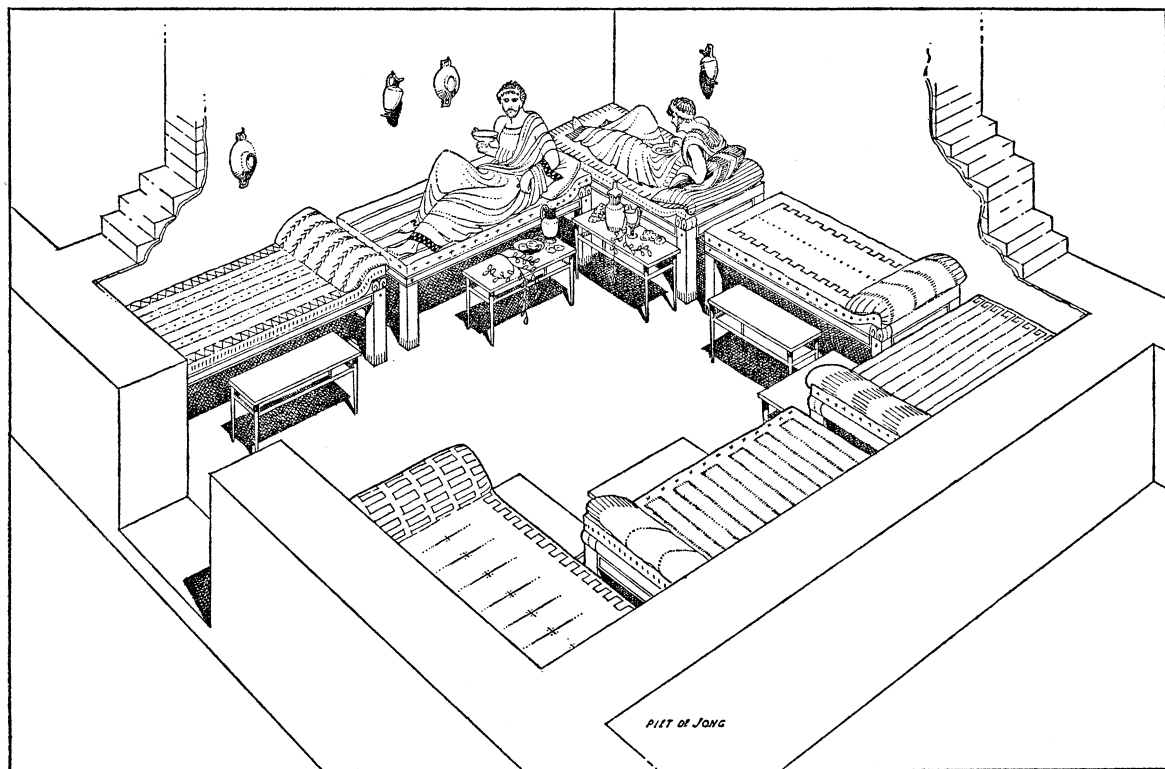


FIG. 4. Room of South Stoa I restored with Dining Couches.

may have supported dining tables in front of the couches. Beyond this, however, no trace of couches remains and it is quite possible that long before the final abandonment of the building the rooms were stripped of their original furnishings and used for other purposes.

There is good reason to believe, therefore, that we have to do with a building that was designed as a public dining place, one capable of accommodating upwards of one hundred guests at a time. Who these guests were we have at present no way of knowing since the identification of the building is as yet quite uncertain. There is no

Roebuck, *Corinth*, XIV, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton, 1951, pp. 51-55. The stone couches in the Asklepieion are 0.80 m. wide, 1.82 to 1.89 m. in length. Cf. also the small dining rooms in the Asklepieion at Troizen: G. Welter, *Troizen und Kalaureia*, Berlin, 1941, pp. 31-33.

reason to suspect here any cult connection such as accounts for the presence of the large dining rooms in the Asklepieia of Epidauros, Troizen and probably also of Athens. The scale of accommodation, moreover, seems too ample for the needs of any single board of magistrates.¹⁴

Can it be that the construction of the building is to be connected with one or other of the constitutional convulsions which occurred in the closing years of the fifth century and that the dining rooms were intended originally for some panel of citizens or councillors? If this was so, it would be easier to understand why the rooms ceased to be used for dining purposes in the later history of the building and why corresponding rooms were not included in the new building, South Stoa II, which took the place of the old structure in the second century B.C.¹⁵ But here we must leave the problem for the present in the hope that more specific evidence will eventually be forthcoming.

The Mint of Athens (?)

While considering the identification of the early buildings along the south side of the square, we may revert briefly to one which was cleared in 1952 at the east end of the row of five.¹⁶ This rectangular structure, measuring about 13.60 m. x 16.60 m. overall, is now seen to have been divided by interior cross-walls into six rooms of various sizes (Fig. 1). The foundations are of massive poros masonry; the date appears to be the second half of the fifth century B.C. As previously reported, there are clear traces of industrial activity within the building including the remains of two furnaces and of at least two water basins set down in the clay floor and carefully lined with hydraulic cement. A large tile drain led off from the northeast corner of

¹⁴ One might think of the Thesmotheteion which was one of the three *syssitia* or public mess-halls recognized by Hesychios, the other two being the Tholos and the Prytaneion (*s.v.* *πρυτανεῖον*: *τρία Ἀθήνησι συσσίτια, θεσμοθέσιον, θόλος, πρυτανεῖον*). In the Thesmotheteion, as we learn from a scholiast on Plato, *Phaidros*, 235 D, the Thesmothetai held their meetings and took their meals: *οἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται ἕξ εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ὁ τόπος, ὅπου συνήσαν καὶ ἐσιτοῦντο θεμίστιον* (read *θεσμοθέσιον*) *ἐκαλείτο*.

The association is especially tempting in view of the fact that the board of six Thesmothetai, who were responsible for the recording of the laws and for the functioning of the lawcourts, had a particular connection with the Heliiaia which is referred to in *I.G.*, I², 39, line 75 (446/5 B.C.) as "the Heliiaia of the Thesmothetai." Apart, however, from the incongruity in the scale of accommodations, it would be difficult to explain why the Thesmotheteion should have been founded so late and why it should have come to so abrupt and so early an end.

¹⁵ It is tempting to suspect some connection between the present building and the scheme for feeding the citizens which Aristophanes put into the mouth of Praxagora as she elaborated the design of the new communistic order in the *Ekklesiazousai* of 393 B.C. When asked where the public meals will be served she replies (line 676): *τὰ δικαστήρια καὶ τὰς στοῖας ἀνδρῶνας πάντα ποιήσω*. The Sacred Stoa of Priene, a building of essentially the same ground plan as ours, was used for official banquets as we know from an inscription engraved on its wall (*Inschriften von Priene*, No. 113, line 59: *κατακλείνας τε π[άντ]ας τοὺς διὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας ἐπὶ τὰ δῖπνα κληθέντας ἐ[ν τῇ] ἱερᾷ στοᾷ τῇ ἐ[ν] τῇ ἀγορᾷ*). For other instances of dining in stoas cf. Martin, *L'Agora grecque*, pp. 498 f.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XII, 1953, p. 29.

the building and water could easily have been drawn from the underground aqueduct which flowed beneath the street to the south of the row of early buildings.

In the summer of 1953 workmen engaged in clearing the ancient drain at the northeast corner of the building produced a clue to the nature of the industrial activity that had gone on within. Immediately beneath the latest ancient ground level outside the building appeared a mass of small pieces of bronze covered with corrosion. Their appearance after cleaning will be apparent from Pl. 14, b. Eight of the pieces prove to be discs which had been painstakingly severed from a rod about the size of one's finger by repeated strokes of a chisel. There are, besides, two fragments of such discs, perhaps broken in the process of cutting, and the tail end of a rod which had presumably become too short to hold.¹⁷ Light facets on the edges of the discs and the remnant of the rod show that the rod had been forged by hammering.

Discs like those described above have long been recognized as the flans for the making of coins. Forty-three of them, of bronze, were found in the ruins of a building tentatively identified as the mint at Chersonesos Taurika in the Crimea; they were dated by the excavator in the Greek period.¹⁸ Others, of silver, have come from Eretria.¹⁹ Three, of bronze, had been found earlier in isolated contexts in the Agora.²⁰ The laborious method of severing the discs from the rod was presumably intended to

¹⁷ The diameter of the discs varies from 12 to 14 millimeters, their thickness from 7 to 10 millimeters, the average being about 8. The eight complete discs range in weight from 5.5 to 7.7 grams, the average being 6.525. The stub end of the rod weighs 17.1 grams.

I am indebted to the Misses Margaret Crosby and Mabel Lang for weighing and measuring the bronzes.

¹⁸ D. N. Kościuszko-Waluzynicz, *Numismatic Miscellany of Moscow Numismatic Society*, III, 1914, pp. 2 ff. The pieces found here measured 14 to 17 mm. in diameter and 2 to 3 mm. in thickness. These dimensions are close enough to those of the bronze coins of Chersonesos dated to the fourth century to support the excavator's claim for a date within the Greek period. Some at least of the group had been smoothed by hammering preparatory to being struck with the dies. I am grateful to Miss Margaret Thompson of the American Numismatic Society for drawing this publication to my attention and to Mr. Richard Breden, Librarian of the Society, for translating the Russian text.

On the technique of ancient coinage in general cf. G. F. Hill, "Ancient Methods of Coinage," *Numismatic Chronicle*, Ser. 5, vol. II, 1922, pp. 1-42.

¹⁹ Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 11; C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, London, 1933, p. 21, pl. I, 4. Professor William P. Wallace has kindly shown me a piece from this find now in his possession; it proves to be identical with the Agora flans in the preparation of the rod and the cutting of the discs.

²⁰ 1. Found in Section Theta, March 6, 1933, no. 27, probably in the construction filling of the Middle Stoa (mid second century B.C.). Weight 5.8 grams, diameter 11 mm., thickness 9 mm.

2. Found in Section Iota, June 30, 1933, no. 6, in a disturbed context with material as late as the seventh century after Christ. Weight 3.55 grams, diameter 10 mm., thickness 6 mm.

3. Found in Section Sigma Alpha, May 9, 1949, no. 6, in a disturbed context in the area of the Stoa of Attalos. Weight 9.5 grams, diameter 17 mm., thickness 6 mm.

The edges of No. 2 are much worn. No. 1 shows the same technical characteristics as the pieces found in 1953. No. 3, after being severed from the rod in the same manner as the others, had been flattened slightly by being struck with a smooth hammer like those from Chersonesos.

preclude the flan from being deformed in the process. The preliminary hammering noted on one of the pieces found earlier in the Agora and on some of those from Chersonesos would have assured a cleaner die impression. The analysis of one of the fragmentary discs found in the Agora in 1953 shows a relatively high admixture of lead and a touch of zinc, the relative proportions of the various metals being close to those previously established for Athenian bronze coins of late Hellenistic and early imperial date.²¹

The fact that so many of the discs were found in a very limited area together with a remnant of the parent rod makes it altogether probable that the material originated near by. There is, in fact, little room for doubt that it came from the six-roomed building beside which it was found. The small furnaces are exactly what we should have expected for the preparation of the metal in its various stages, and the ample provision for water was equally essential to the technical processes. No less appropriate is the very substantial construction of the building itself in which at times considerable quantities of bronze and probably also of the precious metals must have been stored, not to mention the dies.

Additional evidence for the localization of the mint at the southeast corner of the Agora is provided by a fragmentary marble inscription recording a decree of the latter part of the fifth century B.C. which was found in 1937 in the filling of the "Valerian Wall" above the south end of the Library of Pantainos, i. e. *ca.* 40 meters to the northeast of the six-roomed building.²² Though much mutilated, the decree clearly had to do with matters concerning the mint; there is mention of Laurion, gold,

²¹ The analysis reads as follows:

Copper	66.54%
Tin	7.09%
Lead	25.63%
Iron	0.13%
Nickel	0.07%
Cobalt	trace
Zinc	0.10%
Silver	0.08%
<hr/>	
Total	99.64%

The analysis was carried out by Mr. Wallace H. Deebel, a graduate student at the Ohio State University, under the supervision of Professor Earle R. Caley, to both of whom I am greatly indebted. Professor Caley points out that in the development of Athenian bronze coinage through Hellenistic and Imperial times the proportions of copper and of tin decline while that of lead rises in a fairly consistent trend; he also observes that the presence of zinc normally indicates a late rather than an early date.

On the whole subject cf. E. R. Caley, *The Composition of Ancient Greek Bronze Coins*, (*Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. XI), Philadelphia, 1939.

²² B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 119-122. I have profited from discussion of this document with Professor Meritt.

the exchange of currency, bankers, etc. The part of the inscription specifying the place where the decree was to be set up has suffered perhaps beyond hope of certain restoration, but it may be taken as altogether probable, in view of the subject matter, that the document was displayed in front of the mint, as was certainly the case with the more familiar and somewhat earlier decree prescribing uniformity of weights, measures and currency throughout the Athenian empire.²³ The topographical evidence to be drawn from the discovery of any single object found in the "Valerian Wall" (of the late third century after Christ) is not, to be sure, by any means conclusive, but the present discovery, when it accords so well with the other evidence, may be regarded as significant.

As things now stand, it appears highly probable that the six-roomed building served as a mint for the coining of bronze, and presumably also of gold and silver, from the fifth century B.C. to the time of its destruction by the Herulians in A.D. 267. Further exploration, we may hope, will add to our knowledge of the interior arrangements of the building, permit of more precise dating and furnish other positive clues to its identification.²⁴

THE COMMERCIAL AGORA

South Stoa II

The season's work has made more impressive both on the ground and on paper the bold remodelling of the square carried out in the second century B.C. in the course of which the southern part of the old square was separated from the northern by the construction of the Middle Stoa and was then closed to east and south by lesser colonnades so as to constitute an independent plaza which appears to have served as a Commercial Agora or market place.

In the course of the season the last masses of accumulation of the late Roman period were stripped from the floor of the long, one-aisled colonnade, South Stoa II, which now took the place of South Stoa I, and the west end of the building was at length exposed (Fig. 2).²⁵ Like its predecessor, South Stoa II was fitted in between

²³ Meritt, Wade-Gery, McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, 1949, pp. 61-68 (D 14). A copy of the law was to be set up ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ τῇ[ς πό]λεως [ἐκάστης] and in Athens [ἐμπροσθεν] τοῦ ἀργυροκοπίου. Cf. M. N. Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, I², Oxford, 1946, No. 67. The records of the exchange of money, foreign for Athenian, were to be inscribed on tablets and these likewise were to be displayed ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀργυροκοπίου.

²⁴ On the situation of the Athenian mint, or mints, cf. C. Seltman, *Athens, its History and Coinage*, Cambridge, 1924, especially pp. 64-70. L. Robert, in his article "Les drachmes du Stéphanéphore à Athènes" (*Études de numismatique grecque*, Paris, 1951, pp. 105-135) has at last demolished the connection between the mint of Athens and a hero, Stephanephoros. The view, occasionally maintained, that the civic mint was at times located at Sounion or on the Acropolis, even in the Parthenon, seems highly improbable, but the further discussion of this point had best be deferred until the newly found building has been made to yield more of its secrets.

²⁵ The building had been discovered and in large part cleared in 1936: *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f. Further clearance, at the east end, was carried out in 1952: *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 37 f. Both Mr. Vanderpool and Miss Crosby have worked in this area.

two earlier buildings, in this case the archaic "Heliiaia" on the west, and the East Stoa, which was only very slightly earlier in date than South Stoa II itself, on the east. Its over-all length proves to be 93.60 metres, which permits the restoration of thirty columns spaced almost exactly three metres from centre to centre. Its single aisle has the generous width of 8.50 metres measured from the face of the back wall to the front edge of the stylobate. This figure corresponds closely to the width of each half of the Middle Stoa which suggests that a certain degree of symmetry was aimed at as between the north and south sides of the Commercial Agora.

The façade throughout its length rose from a stylobate and one additional step, both members being of gray poros. The stylobate is preserved over a length of two column spaces at the east end; elsewhere the stylobate and even much of the step are missing. Of the columns only a single sliver has thus far been identified; it comes from a fluted Doric shaft of gray poros. A couple of small fragments of triglyphs are of the same material.

The back wall of the stoa, sheltered by the higher ground to the south, is relatively better preserved than the façade. In its lower part it consisted of a massive retaining wall of reddish conglomerate faced with fine ashlar masonry of gray poros. Late in the history of the building, probably in the first half of the second century after Christ, a length of about $20\frac{1}{2}$ metres of the conglomerate backing of the wall near its middle²⁶ was rebuilt in massive concrete which was brought to a smooth and level finish 5.04 m. above the level of the stoa's stylobate. It is not yet clear whether this concrete work represents a repair or some alteration, such as the addition of a second storey in the mid part of the building.

A niche in the face of the back wall of the stoa, somewhat to the east of centre, originally accommodated a small fountain consisting of a basin with a parapet in front into which water was fed through a pipe-line coming from the south. Subsequently the water was cut off, the parapet removed and the area treated as a simple niche.²⁷

For the date of the stoa much new evidence has been gathered in the removal of the vast mass of earth filling thrown in by its builders behind its back wall to level the area. A preliminary study of the pottery and stamped amphora handles from this context would indicate a date but little lower than that of the Middle Stoa, and probably close to the middle of the second century B.C.

It was observed last year that South Stoa II was the latest to be erected of the three colonnades that bordered the Commercial Agora. The reason for this sequence would now appear to have been the desire to retain the old building, South Stoa I, until such time as equivalent new accommodation was available in the Middle Stoa and

²⁶ The middle of the rebuilt section falls 2.80 m. east of the mid point of the stoa.

²⁷ A similar fountain existed in the back wall of the Stoa of Eumenes.

East Stoa. The decision to replace the old building was probably not based merely on a Hellenistic penchant for tidy, rectangular planning. We have already commented on the flimsy nature of the construction of the old stoa; one can readily believe that, after a life of two and a half centuries, the foundations had settled unevenly, that the building had begun to look down at the heels and that maintenance charges were high. It is interesting to note that the colonnade of the new building had almost the same floor space as that of the old. The rooms, however, were dispensed with in the new design; were they perhaps compensated for by the rooms in the Stoa of Attalos?

Middle Stoa

The laying-out of the Commercial Agora in the second century B.C. entailed a very ingenious manipulation of levels. In its original natural state this whole region had sloped gently down from south to north and from east to west. It was obviously desirable, however, to have the court of the Commercial Agora level. This involved setting South Stoa II, as we have seen, some $2\frac{1}{2}$ metres lower than its predecessor. It also meant raising, by as much as 3 metres, the area between the old "Heliaia" and the new Middle Stoa; this was effected by throwing in a great mass of earth filling. Another of the major considerations in the operation was the desirability of having a level approach from the Panathenaic Way to the east end of the Middle Stoa terrace. The terrace, maintaining its level throughout its length while the ground sloped down, then proved to be some 5 metres above the market square at its west end. This outcome suited the designer well, for it meant that, in the days before the erection of the Odeion, citizens strolling on the terrace commanded a splendid view of the great northern square, comparable with that to be had from the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos. On festival days thousands of spectators standing on the floors and terraces of these two stoas must have enjoyed to the full the processions that swept up between them on the Panathenaic Way.

In order to examine the structure of the Middle Stoa in its western parts and to recover the configuration of the area in pre-Stoa days, the earth filling thrown in by the stoa builders has been removed from within the limits of the Stoa in its western half and from the area between the Stoa and the "Heliaia." The exploration within the Middle Stoa, as also around its northwest corner, was supervised by Mrs. Thompson with the assistance of Miss Eva Brann and Miss Claireve Grandjouan. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool was responsible for the area between the two buildings. From the stratification in these areas could be read off the exact sequence of operations in the construction of the Stoa foundations.

Still more interesting was the emergence of the firmly gravelled earlier floor of the Agora throughout the area. Its configuration as found by the Stoa builders had already been established as early as the fourth century B.C., at which time the contours had been adjusted, partly by shaving off and partly by filling, so as to create to the

north of the "Heliaia" a smooth floor that sloped gently away from the building and that terminated eastward in a slightly defined rim which passed between the eighth and ninth central piers of the later Middle Stoa, counting from the west. The remains of a small altar, its walls made of marble slabs set on edge, came to light beneath the terrace of the Middle Stoa to the south of the easternmost room of the Civic Offices (below the "E" of "OFFICES" on the plan, Fig. 2); it may be thought to have stood at the focal point of this theatral area. Marks of very heavy traffic suggest that the place was much used. It is tempting, indeed, to suppose that this was the scene of many public gatherings. Here, too, when notable trials were in progress the citizens undoubtedly milled about awaiting the decision and eager to hear something of the speeches.²⁸ Nor is it unlikely that ostracism took place here; a large proportion of all the ostraka found thus far have come to light along the west edge of the area.

In and beneath the earlier floor of the square in this region the excavation revealed an amazing sequence of water channels, of stone, of terracotta and of lead, that had carried water northward from the Southwest Fountain House into the square. Almost equally numerous were the drains, both stone-built and of terracotta in various schemes. The significance of these many systems could be demonstrated, however, only by means of detailed plans.

Exploration in the deeper levels around the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa brought to light a complex of small rooms and yards which, to judge from their relationship to the boundary stone of the Agora (ὉΡΟΣ ΑΓΟΡΑΣ of Fig. 1), had stood just outside the official limits of the square (Pl. 13, b). Their slight construction and the informality of their plans would suggest that they were private rather than public buildings, in all likelihood houses or shops, or, as was commonly the case, a combination of the two. Their history can be traced from the latter part of the sixth century B.C. down to the end of the fourth century B.C.

We learn much about the inhabitants of these houses from the contents of two wells which had served the houses in succession. One of the wells, which had been cleared already in 1933, proved to have been in use in the latter part of the fifth century B.C.; from it was recovered the terracotta klepsydra that has been mentioned above. The other well, which was cleared in the summer of 1953, contained at its bottom a number of complete water jars, black-glazed pitchers and black-figured vases of various shapes datable to the first quarter of the fifth century. Two characteristic specimens are illustrated (Pl. 15, i, j): a late black-figured neck-amphora decorated with a quadriga on one side, three warriors in combat on the other,²⁹ and a black-

²⁸ On the crowds that gathered outside the courts cf. S. Dow, "Aristotle, the Kleroteria and the Courts," *H.S.C.P.*, L, 1939, p. 21.

²⁹ Inv. P 23200. This piece may be regarded as a product of H. R. W. Smith's "one busy firm" which produced so many late, black-figured neck-amphorae (*C.V.A., University of California*, fasc. 1, pl. XX, 1-4).

figured kylix with banqueting scenes on the exterior, a running Silen in the medallion.³⁰ The latest material from the accumulation of the well's period of use is comparable with that from a number of other deposits in the Agora which have been associated with the Persian destruction of 480 B.C.³¹ It would appear, therefore, that the well went out of use at that time and was filled up soon afterwards. The filling contained a large proportion of field stones, perhaps remnants from a collapsed curbing. For some two generations thereafter the residents must have drawn their water from elsewhere until eventually they opened a new well, that cleared in 1933.

Among the few pieces of pottery found in the rocky upper filling of the early well are several fragments of red-figure of which eight are illustrated on Pl. 15, a-h.³² All eight may be dated within the last two decades of the sixth century B.C., which may, therefore, be taken as the time of the construction of the curbing, and, except for Pl. 15, g and h, assigned to the Pithos painter, all appear to have been painted by artists whose work now reaches us for the first time. Several of these pieces are of interest both for the competence of the drawing and for the subjects represented. Plate 15, a shows a dancer reclining at a banquet, the pose familiar from several larger and well-known works of about the same time; she still holds the krotalon with which she had marked the rhythm of her dance. Plate 15, b depicts a hoplitodromos with knees bent and feet close together poised at the moment of the start of the race. The study of a woman at her bath (Pl. 15, e) is remarkable for its freshness and strength, and the large scale female head (Pl. 15, f) is a welcome example of this rare and effective method of decorating a tondo. Further details of these cups are given below:

Pl. 15, a (Inv. P 23133). From a cup of type A. Part of floor and start of stem preserved; ring at junction of stem and bowl set off by two scraped grooves. Max. dim. 0.055 m.

A nude woman reclining left; her left elbow probably rested against cushions; she holds a krotalon in her left hand. Her right arm is outstretched, perhaps with the elbow resting on her raised right knee. She wears a triple fillet tied at the back in long loops, and disc-earrings.

Relief contour; red for fillet. The outline of

the hair above is rendered by incision. Light red clay; good glaze. The underside of the floor, within the stem of the foot, reserved and decorated with a glazed circle.

Other more or less contemporary representations of women reclining at symposia are (1) on the shoulder of the hydria by Phintias in Munich, with an inscription toasting Euthymides (Munich no. 2421: *ARV* 22, 5; Pfuhl, fig. 385); compare the pose of the right hand figure there with that of the new piece; (2)

³⁰ Inv. P 23199. On such late black-figured cups cf. F. Villard, "L'Evolution des coupes attiques à figures noires," *Rev. Ét. anc.*, XLVII, 1945, pp. 153-181, pl. III, 15 and 16: (*dates de grande diffusion*: 500-480 a.J.C.).

³¹ Cf. especially the upper filling of the "Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft," which has been dated, largely on the basis of the associated ostraka, in the first two decades of the fifth century (E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pp. 265-336).

³² The following account of the red-figure was prepared by Barbara Philippaki and Lucy Talcott.

on the cup by Oltos in Madrid (no. 11267; *ARV* 38, 46; Pfuhl, fig. 319); and (3) on the psykter by Euphronios in Leningrad (no. 644; *ARV* 17, 12; Pfuhl, fig. 394), where the toast is to Leagros.

520-510 B.C.

Pl. 15, b (Inv. P 23172). Part of floor and of stem preserved. Max. dim. 0.075 m.

Within a narrow reserved border a hoplitodromos, to right. He stands with knees bent and feet held tight together; he wears greaves and carries his shield. This attitude of the hoplitodromos at the start is classified by Sir John Beazley as type *a* (*B.S.A.*, XLVI, 1951, pp. 10 ff.).

Part of an inscription in red is preserved: ΗΙΠ[]ΡΟΜΕ[ΔΟΝ. The restoration is Beazley's (*Paralipomena*, p. 1955); he suggests that we may have here a new kalos-name, though neither the restoration nor that the name was followed by *kalos* is certain. He notes that Hippomedon is the name of a youth on the calyx-krater with athletes by Euphronios in Berlin (2180: *ARV*, 16, 4; Pfuhl, fig. 396).

Relief contour; pinkish buff clay fired grey in places; good glaze.

ca. 510-500 B.C.

Pl. 15, c (Inv. P 23151). Part of floor and of stump of stem preserved. Max. dim. 0.052 m.

A bearded man reclining right plays a seven-stringed lyre: his left hand plucks the strings, his right holds the plectrum which is attached to the lyre by a long cord. His lower body is wrapped in an himation.

Relief contour; anatomical markings indicated both in relief line and in dilute glaze. Red for the bridge of the lyre and for the cord. Pinkish buff clay and good glaze.

510-500 B.C.

Pl. 15, d (Inv. P 23166). Mended from two pieces. Part of floor and start of stem preserved. Max. dim. 0.082 m.

Male figure seated on a couch left, leaning forward to offer or to grasp something of which a trace only is preserved in his extended right hand; in his left he holds a cup with offset lip.

An himation around his lower body; on the wall a provision basket covered with a cloth.

Relief contour. Red for the tassels of the basket. Pink clay fired grey in places; good glaze, but the surface of the picture much scratched.

The dry drawing of the drapery somewhat recalls the cups by the painter of Agora P 1275 (*ARV*, 67, V; *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. XXX, especially nos. 34 and 35), though these are slighter pieces.

ca. 500 B.C.

Pl. 15, e (Inv. P 23165). From a cup of type C. Most of floor and stem preserved; ring at junction of stem and foot set off by two scraped grooves. Max. dim. 0.075 m.

A naked woman kneeling on her right knee bends forward to wash in a large lekane. The profile of the basin, with concave upper wall, is unusual. To the right, the tip of an uncertain object, possibly a wine-skin.

Relief contour. Pink clay; good glaze.

ca. 500 B.C.

Pl. 15, f (Inv. P 23146). From a cup of type C. Mended from two pieces. The tondo, part of the stem and of the ring at junction of stem and foot preserved, the ring set off by two scraped grooves. P. H. 0.047 m.; diam. as preserved, 0.095 m.

Within a reserved border the head of a woman to right; she wears a patterned sakkos with folds over the forehead. The ear was not drawn in. Two lines at the base of the neck could be a necklace.

Relief contour. Pinkish buff clay; the glaze rather dull on the inside, good on the outside.

Large heads to fill tondi of cups are very rare in Attic vase-painting (cf. Watzinger, *F. R.*, III, p. 370). A well-known example is on a cup by the Elpinikos painter in Bonn (Inv. 63: *ARV*, 86, 2; *CV*, pl. 3, 5 and pl. 4, 5). A second fragmentary cup of this same class (Inv. P 23330) came also from our well, but of the tondo only the woman's neck is preserved; she wears a necklace with small pendants.

ca. 500 B.C.

Pl. 15, g (Inv. P 23125). From a cup of type C. Mended from several pieces; most of the floor preserved; the stem and foot, one handle, and much of the rim missing. P. H. 0.055 m.; diam. at rim est. 0.165 m. Only the tondo is illustrated.

Within a reserved border a warrior to left, kneeling on his right knee and defending himself with his shield. Attic helmet; shield device, two concentric circles. Nonsense inscriptions in red in the field.

Relief contour except for feet; anatomical markings both in relief line and in dilute glaze. The inside of the handle and the handle-space reserved. Pinkish buff clay; good glaze.

Attributed by Sir John Beazley to the Pithos painter (*ARV*, 116-117); added as no. 8 bis in the list of the painter's works (*Paralipomena*, p. 1951).

ca. 500 B.C.

Pl. 15, h (Inv. P 23178). From a cup of type C. Part of floor, stem and foot preserved, the foot chipped. P. H. 0.04 m.; diam. of foot 0.074 m. Short thick stem and heavy disc foot;

two scraped grooves define a flat ring at the junction of foot and stem. For the profile compare Bloesch, *F.A.S.*, pl. 32, 3 a-b (Berlin F 2044: "Kleine Schalen C, konservative Richtung").

A naked male, squatting to right, both arms outstretched, very likely a satyr at a wineskin.

Relief contour. Pinkish buff clay, the glaze fired greyish or brownish in places. The outer face of the foot, the resting surface and the space inside the foot at the top reserved.

Attributed to the Pithos painter by Sir John Beazley (oral communication of summer, 1953); he notes that the foot is unusually heavy for this painter.

A number of other pieces by the Pithos painter have been found in the excavations of the Athenian Agora, several of them in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft; for the pose of the figure on the new piece compare especially the satyr at a wineskin, Inv. P 1382 bis (*Hesperia*, XV, 1946, pl. XXXI, 39). The subject is a favorite with this painter.

ca. 500 B.C.

In a yard associated with one of the houses of the complex opened an unlined pit about 1½ metres in diameter and about the same in depth. Whatever its purpose (sump hole, rubbish dump?), it had been maintained from the late sixth into the early fifth century B.C. Among the field stones with which it was filled were found some 22 ostraka including the names Aristeides, son of Lysimachos (3), Hippokrates the Alkmaeonid (3), Themistokles of the Phrearrhian deme (2) and Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos (9), a combination of names which has frequently occurred in other deposits of ostraka and which points to the ostrakophoria of 482 B.C. when Aristeides was the victim.

At levels of the late fifth and early fourth century B.C. in the same yard as the pit with the ostraka were found a great many short, broad-headed, iron tacks which can scarcely be anything but hobnails. With the tacks were associated a number of small bone rings, conceivably used for securing the cords of sandals. The hobnails alone were sufficiently numerous to justify the view that the establishment had been occupied for a time by a shoemaker. It is perhaps the name of this shoemaker that occurs, in the genitive case, $\Sigma\text{IMONO}\Sigma$, incised in letter forms of the late fifth century, on the underside of the base of a black-glazed cup (Inv. P 22998) which was found at an appropriate level in the area. Diogenes Laertius, in his *Lives of the Philosophers*,

II, 122, tells of one Simon, a shoemaker, who was known to Perikles and had often been host to Sokrates. Simon made notes of his conversations with Sokrates and later worked them up for publication as dialogues; Diogenes records 33 titles: Of Virtue, that it cannot be taught, On Guiding the People, On Good Eating, On the Art of Conversation, etc. Apart from the reference in Diogenes Laertius, Simon is a very shadowy figure, but, if any reliance at all is to be put in Diogenes, one can scarcely resist the association with our establishment: a cobbler's shop of the appropriate period on the very edge of the market square in which Sokrates spent much of his time.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STOA OF ATTALOS

In previous reports reference has been made repeatedly to the project for reconstructing the Stoa of Attalos to serve as an Agora museum.³³ After lengthy discussion the proposal had been adopted by the governing bodies of the School, tentatively approved by the Greek authorities and warmly welcomed by the people of Athens. A great deal of archaeological exploration had been carried out in the deeper levels beneath and around the building and vast quantities of earth had been removed. A small amount of Piraeus limestone had been assembled on the site.

There remained the task of raising the necessary money, a sum in the neighborhood of one million dollars, which, judged by academic standards, seemed indeed a formidable problem. By the spring of 1953, however, a number of the friends of the School had emulated the Philhellenism of the original donor of the building to the point where a start on actual construction was felt to be justified.³⁴ A substantial sum of money must still be raised, but it is hoped that as the work progresses the undertaking will so commend itself as to elicit the additional support.

In the month of June 1953, Mr. Ward M. Canaday, President of the Board of Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies, being in Athens, conferences were held with the Ministers of Education, of Finance and of Coordination in the Greek Government, all of whom expressed their approval of the project and pledged their support in its implementation. Involving as it does the reconstruction of an ancient monument, the project will be carried out under the general oversight of the Department of Restorations in the Ministry of Education, but at the cost of the School. With the resources now in hand and in prospect, the restoration of only the northern two thirds of the building is at present envisaged, with the expectation that the remainder will be completed as the means become available. On this understanding the Archaeological Council has granted its approval in principle.

³³ Cf. especially *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 226-229; XIX, 1950, pp. 316-326; XX, 1951, pp. 49-53; XXI, 1952, pp. 85 f. and *Archaeology*, II, 1949, pp. 124-130.

³⁴ This situation has been achieved through the generous support of Mr. John D. Rockefeller Jr., Mr. Arthur V. Davis and Mr. Ward M. Canaday, to whose munificence the building itself will be a monument.

The architectural firm of W. Stuart Thompson and Phelps Barnum of New York City has been charged with carrying out the reconstruction; Mr. Manuel A. Tavarez has been sent to Athens as supervising engineer and the construction firm's representative on the spot. Mr. W. Stuart Thompson, a former Fellow of the American School of Classical Studies, has had abundant experience of construction in Greece; of particular value for his work on the Stoa will be his experience in erecting the Gennadius Library (1923-26), a marble building in the classical style. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the School's Excavations, has assumed responsibility for recovering and following faithfully the original design of the building. Mr. George Biris, who had made a detailed technical study of the structure in 1950, has been named consulting engineer. The supervision of the marble and stone work has been entrusted to Mr. Constantine Mastoras who had long ago participated in the work of reconstruction on the Acropolis and Hephaisteion and had been in charge of the marble work on the Gennadius Library.

The authorization for the beginning of work having been granted by the Greek Government, negotiations were at once opened for securing the necessary limestone and marble. A limestone quarry on the peninsula of Akte close by the east side of the entrance to Piraeus Harbor was made available by the Municipality of Piraeus to be worked in the name of the Ministry of Education at the cost of the American School. A force of quarrymen was speedily organized by Mr. E. Stikas of the Department of Restorations and masses of gray limestone, closely comparable with that in the original building, were soon being blasted out and roughly shaped in the quarry. Since there are traces of ancient quarrying on the spot, it is not by any means impossible that Attalos drew his stone from this same area. The blocks are carried by motor truck from the quarry to the Agora where they are brought to their final form by a team of skilled marble workers seated in the shelter of a great stoa-like workshed. In order to speed up the supply of stone, and to secure a harder stone for those places where it will be subject to greatest strain in the building, a contract was entered into with a commercial firm operating at Drapetsona on the western outskirts of the city of Piraeus overlooking the Straits of Salamis. From here, too, a steady stream of gray blocks is now making its way to the Agora.

For the supply of marble an experimental short-term agreement was entered into with the Dionyso-Pentelikon Marble Company whose quarries lie on the side of Mt. Pentelikon remote from Athens. Up to the end of the calendar year 1953 some 37 cubic metres of marble had been delivered at the site of the Stoa.

Another of the most urgent preliminary operations was the drainage of the stoa area. The region had become waterlogged, chiefly through wastage from the modern network of pipes in the area to the east. Deep drains parallel to the Stoa have been carried along both the east and the west side of the building, so designed as to catch

the ground water before it reaches the foundations and to pour it into the drain beneath the railway tracks which skirt the north end of the Stoa.³⁵

The ancient foundations have been exposed throughout to permit of a thorough examination. Faulty blocks have been removed and gaps in the masonry caused by late intruders have been made good with concrete.

A number of early burials and evidence for the identification of a pre-Stoa law-court which came to light in the course of these operations will be described in subsequent sections.

By the end of the calendar year 1953 work was well advanced on pouring the concrete footings for the additional interior piers required to support the ceilings of the basement storerooms. A start has also been made in laying the newly cut limestone blocks in the walls. The troublesome problems relating to the substructure once out of the way, work will be pushed rapidly on the superstructure in the hope that the reconstruction may be completed by the end of 1956.

Early Tombs beneath the Stoa of Attalos

Drainage operations and the examination of the ancient foundations have brought to light a number of early burials beneath the north half of the Stoa and in the areas immediately behind and in front of the Stoa. These clearly represent the eastward continuation of the extensive cemetery of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age which is now known to have underlain most of the market square of classical times.

Some ten tombs of the Late Helladic period were opened up to the end of 1953. They range from pit graves with but a single skeleton to chamber tombs with three or four skeletons and as many as twenty vases. Apart from a few stone beads and pendants and an ivory comb, the offerings consisted of vases which run in date from LH II or III A into LH III C, i. e. from the late fifteenth into the twelfth century B.C., the majority being LH III A or B. The two vases of Plate 16, b come from a pit grave with a single skeleton to the west of Stoa Pier 12, counting from the south. They are a useful pair: a wine jug and a drinking cup. The beaked pitcher with spirals on its shoulder is a good example of one of the most widespread and most pleasing shapes of the early Mycenaean period.³⁶ More unusual is the shallow cup

³⁵ We are much indebted to the Athens-Piraeus Electric Railway Company for granting this facility.

³⁶ Inv. P 23587. Height 0.29 m., diameter 0.253 m. Trough spout. Strap handle ridged down the middle and with a bulge at the lower attachment. Slightly defined ridge around base of neck. Greenish buff clay. Black glaze, somewhat flaked.

Cf. A. Furumark, *The Mycenaean Pottery*, Stockholm, 1941, Type 144 (III A:1), Motive 49. Furumark (pp. 361 f.) points out that the stemmed spirals owe something to the disintegration of a lily design. Parallels for the shape might be quoted from elsewhere in Attica (cf. Stubbings, *B.S.A.*, XLII, 1947, p. 49), the Argolis, Thebes and Rhodes.

with its two high swung handles and band of tangential spirals on the wall.³⁷ Both vessels may be dated late in LH II or early in LH III A, i. e. in the late fifteenth century B.C.³⁸

A group of three burials of the Protogeometric period, probably a small family plot, was encountered deep beneath the colonnade of the Stoa to the northwest of Stoa Pier 19 from the south. One of the three had been laid over a Mycenaean chamber tomb of LH III A-B date, the roof of which had previously collapsed. Two of the graves were lined and floored with thin stone slabs; the third was a simple trench. Their mouths would appear to have been closed only with a layer of small field stones. The best preserved of the three is illustrated in Plate 16, a and the vases from it in Plate 16, c. The skeleton, flat on its back with head to south, was that of a child, presumably a girl. Over each shoulder was a long pin, head up, clearly for fastening the peplos; one pin was of bronze, the other had an iron shaft with a bronze ball near its top. Each wrist wore a bronze bracelet; on a finger of the left hand was a bronze ring. Three small lekythoi had been placed, one beside the head, one over the heart and one by the left knee. A larger lekythos was found in the upper filling of the grave and an oinochoe at its edge.³⁹ These are modest but carefully made pieces of early Protogeometric style to be dated, no doubt, somewhere in the tenth century.⁴⁰

A LAW COURT AT THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE AGORA

On the day after Thanksgiving, 1953, workmen engaged in preparing the foundations for the basement storeroom to be inserted beneath the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos, at a point about 15 metres from the north end of the terrace, exposed the corner of an earlier room (Pl. 14, d). The walls had been of sun-dried brick on a socle of rubble stone covered with clay plaster; the floor was of clay. From the mass of brick fallen from the upper walls emerged a pair of water channels, rectangular in section, *ca.* 0.60 m. long, standing upright at a little distance from one another, with

³⁷ Inv. P 23588. Height of bowl 0.06 m., height with handles 0.127 m., diameter 0.142 m. The rim is sharply offset. Yellow clay. Glossy brown glaze.

The shape is hard to match. It is covered by Furumark's Type 241 (III A:2) and this version of the running spiral is his Motive 46, no. 50. One of the few even fairly close parallels is C. W. Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge, 1937, p. 429, no. 779, fig. 354. The shape is perhaps to be thought of as a kylix without a stem rather than as a shallow cup with an extra handle.

³⁸ I am grateful to Professor Alan Wace for comments on the Mycenaean pottery. For his present views on the chronology of the Late Helladic period cf. A. J. B. Wace in E. L. Bennett, "The Mycenae Tablets," *Proc. of the Amer. Phil. Soc.*, XCVII, 1953, p. 424, note 8; Wace, *B.S.A.*, XLVIII, 1953, note 22.

³⁹ The large lekythos (P 23559) is 0.144 m. high, the oinochoe (P 23560) as restored 0.18 m., the small lekythoi (P 23556, 23557 and 23558) range from 0.106 to 0.115 m. Buff clay; glaze black to brown, flaked but lustrous.

⁴⁰ These graves and their contents will be dealt with in detail by Mrs. E. L. Smithson in her comprehensive study of the Protogeometric material from the Agora.

their concave sides turned inward. Their lower ends were firmly imbedded to a depth of several centimetres in the clay of the floor. On the floor, within the hollow of one of the tiles, lay five bronze dikastic ballots of the familiar wheel shape, all with solid hubs, hence all for acquittal; a sixth ballot, likewise solid, lay near by on the floor (Pl. 17).⁴¹ Such a concentration of ballots, hitherto unparalleled, could scarcely occur outside of a lawcourt. The evidence of the new discovery is strengthened by the finding, in earlier seasons, of three other ballots and one dikast's name plate at various points within the same general area.⁴²

Less certain, and fortunately of less significance, is the determination of the function of the re-used water channels. In view of the awkward shape and the absence of any proper floor, it is hard to believe that they were designed as a container for ballots. A more likely interpretation is that they formed the support for a table top of wood or marble on which would have rested a container, conceivably the bronze urn for the reception of the ballots that counted or the wooden vessel for the discards.⁴³ Why the five ballots happened to have come to rest within the hollow of the water channel we can scarcely hope to learn. These few had perhaps spilled from one of the containers to the floor and had subsequently been put here, out of sight, by an attendant.

The room in which the deposit of ballots was found lay just to the south of the curious round poros base ringed with sockets which was cleared in 1950.⁴⁴ And there can be little doubt that it formed part of the same complex as the large gravelled courtyard bordered by a shed on the north side and a stone water channel on the south

⁴¹ B 1055: inscribed $\psi\eta\phi\sigma$ δημοσία on one face, stamped \odot on other face

B 1056: plain on one face, cast with a large E on other face

B 1057: inscribed $\psi\eta\phi\sigma$ δημοσία on one face, stamped E on other face

B 1058: as B 1057

B 1059: inscribed $\psi\eta[\phi\sigma\ \delta\eta\mu\sigma\iota]a$ on one face, stamped (twice) Γ (?) on other face

B 1061: plain on one face, cast with a large Γ on other face

The individual letters stamped on the ballots have long been recognized as designations of the dikastic sections, numbered, according to Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., LXIII, 4, from one to ten. It may be supposed that difficulty in reading the small letters led to the use of a bolder format illustrated by two of the newly found ballots.

⁴² B 947: ballot with pierced hub, from a context of the fourth century B.C. above the unfinished west foundation of the Square Peristyle beneath the north end of the Stoa of Attalos.

B 922: ballot with pierced hub found under the Stoa, area of Pier 19 from the south. Inscribed $\psi\eta\phi\sigma$ δημοσία on one face, stamped on the other face with the letter O (for \odot ?).

B 1000: ballot with solid hub. Inscribed $\psi\eta\phi\sigma$ δημοσία on one side, stamped \odot on other side.

B 1003: fragmentary dikast's name plate found in Stoa filling in Shop IX from the south.

I am indebted to Mr. Eugene Vanderpool and Miss Mabel Lang for useful notes on all this material. Miss Lang also observes that various fragmentary terracotta vessels found in the same general area and marked with indications of volume may have been used in connection with klepsydrai.

⁴³ Aristotle, 'Αθ. Πολ., LXVIII, 4.

⁴⁴ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 49, pl. 24 b.

which had been cleared in previous seasons beneath the Stoa of Attalos a little to the south.⁴⁵ Both the courtyard and the adjacent rooms appear to date from the close of the fifth century B.C.; they were razed to make way for the great Square Peristyle in the latter part of the fourth century.⁴⁶ There are indications that adjustments were made in parts of the old structure to permit its continued use even during the early stages of the construction of its successor, and the surprisingly flimsy nature of the installation in which the ballots were found perhaps marks it as another makeshift expedient dating from the final days of the old building. Work on the Square Peristyle was broken off, perhaps by the military situation in the late fourth century; subsequently only the north part of the building was carried above the foundation level and that in a very economical style.

In previous reports both the early building and the Square Peristyle which succeeded it were tentatively identified as market buildings. In the light of the new evidence, however, it may be taken as virtually certain that the older building was a lawcourt, and as highly probable that its successor, the Square Peristyle, was designed for the same function. The plan of this later building, as far at least as its foundations were laid, comprised merely a great square court surrounded on all four sides by a deep colonnade; there are indications that it was to have been entered from the side of the square through a broad propylon and there is clear evidence of a lesser doorway in the opposite wall. Are we perhaps justified in regarding this building as a combination of the elements contained separately in the "Heliaia" and in South Stoa I, i. e. a spacious court, in which perhaps the jurors would have sat, and an equally roomy colonnade in which they might take shelter from the weather? It is to be observed that the "Heliaia" in its latest form did actually combine these same elements in itself.

A word, finally, about the name of the lawcourt. The one court that is known from a dependable literary reference to have stood in or on the Agora is the Parabyston. The earliest reference to it is in Antiphon's fifth oration.⁴⁷ Since the early date and prominent position of the great rectangular enclosure on the south side of the square recommend its identification as the Heliaia, the building at the northeast corner of the square becomes a strong candidate for the name of Parabyston. Some supporting evidence of a most tantalizing nature is provided by very fragmentary inscriptions painted on equally fragmentary roof tiles which were found at a couple of points among the debris of the building. Two of the inscriptions might be restored to read Πα]ρα[βύστο and τὸ Π[αραβύστο.⁴⁸ The Parabyston, after the

⁴⁵ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 324 f.; XXI, 1952, p. 100.

⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, XI, 1952, p. 101.

⁴⁷ Antiphon V, 10. Cf. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, II, pp. 365-7.

⁴⁸ Inv. A 1668 and 2011. The tiles were of a simple convex and concave (Laconian) type. The inscriptions, written freehand in paint of which only the stain remains, are to be compared with those on a set of similar tiles which were found near the Tholos and are inscribed ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ (*Hesperia*, Supplement IV, *The Tholos*, pp. 78 f.).

Heliaia, was the oldest Athenian lawcourt of which we have knowledge. In it the Eleven presided, and here were tried, among others, thieves and robbers caught in the act.⁴⁹ Pausanias includes the Parabyston in his list of lawcourts in such a way as to leave little doubt that the court was still functioning in his day, though only for trivial cases.⁵⁰

A thread of structural continuity can, in fact, be traced in the existing remains from the fifth century B.C. down into the second century after Christ. The building in which the deposit of ballots was found dates from the late fifth century and made way for the Square Peristyle in the late fourth century. Although only the north part of the Square Peristyle was completed to the point of usability, this may have served the court until the construction of the Stoa of Attalos. The original plan of the Stoa, comprising only the length of the eighteen southern shops, would have spared this fragment, but the addition to the Stoa of the three northern shops greatly curtailed its area. A remnant of the early building, however, still remained behind the Stoa and continued in use until overlaid by an enormous structure with concrete foundations, which was erected probably in the second century after Christ, but quite possibly after Pausanias' visit in the middle of the century.

A WARRIOR'S HEAD IN TERRACOTTA

The head illustrated in Plate 14, a was found, in over sixty fragments, among the ruins of the water basin (see above, p. 37) which was set against the north façade of the "Heliaia" in the middle of the fourth century B.C. and which was demolished at the time when the Middle Stoa was erected some two centuries later. The scale of the head is slightly over half life-size.⁵¹ Traces of a beard and drooping moustaches are just visible. The helmet is of the so-called "Thracian" type much in vogue in the second quarter and middle of the fifth century. We may restore a low crest springing from a point well back of the forehead. The cap of the helmet came far down over the brows and was strengthened by a frontlet which swept back on either side to terminate above the ear in a prominent volute. Two small round holes in either

⁴⁹ Harpokration, *s. v.* παράβυστον· οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτό τι τῶν παρ' Ἀθηναίοις δικαστηρίων ἐν ᾧ ἐδίκαζον οἱ ἰά.

⁵⁰ I, 28, 8: ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἄλλα δικαστήρια οὐκ ἐς τοσοῦτον δόξης ἤκοντα (as the Areopagus). τὸ μὲν οὖν καλούμενον παράβυστον καὶ <τὸ> τρίγωνον, τὸ μὲν ἐν ἀφανεί τῆς πόλεως ὄν καὶ ἐπ' ἐλαχίστοις συνιόντων ἐς αὐτό, τὸ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ σχήματος ἔχει τὰ ὀνόματα (read τὸ ὄνομα?).

⁵¹ Inv. T 3253. Total height as preserved 0.213 m.; height from middle of mouth to top of nose 0.05 m.; width 0.132 m. Both head and neck are hollow. The wall consists of a layer, *ca.* 1 centimetre thick, of greenish yellow clay containing fine brown grit tempering; it was surfaced with a coat of extremely fine yellow clay 1 to 5 millimetres in thickness. Traces of purple paint remain at many points on the helmet. Brown paint, now dull, was used for the eyebrows, the edges of the lids and the interior markings of the eyes.

I am indebted for many useful observations on the head to my wife who will publish it in more detail together with fragments of a number of other terracotta statues from the Agora excavations.

cheek will undoubtedly have served to fasten raised cheek guards. On either side of the cap a red-figured Pegasos springs into flight; in red-figure technique also is the maeander on the sides of the crest.

In sculptural style the head is to be placed perhaps a trifle before the Parthenon metopes, and close to the great bronze from Artemision. A date in the neighborhood of 460 B.C. would also be consistent with the close similarity between these Pegasoi and the horses of the red-figured masters of that time, e. g. the Penthesilea Painter.

In view of the present condition of our piece it would be difficult, and perhaps even rash, to try to determine the attitude of the figure. The wide open eyes and the slightly parted lips might be taken, however, to suggest the strain of action, hence perhaps a figure in combat and conceivably a group of two. The use of terracotta, and the evident traces of ancient weathering suggest that the statue adorned the roof of a building, most probably as an akroterion. It would seem possible, though there can scarcely be certainty, that the work is to be associated with some one of the many periods in the history of the great building near which it was found. However that may be, the piece forms a notable addition to the very limited number of terracotta statues known from Athens. It is admirable in its own right for the heroic dignity and the monumental quality which utterly belie the modesty of its scale and substance.

THE ILIAD BASE

The yield of marble inscriptions was meagre this season as was to be expected in view of the fact that most of the excavation was carried out in the area of the Commercial Agora which has been much less productive of inscriptions than the great northern square.

One piece, however, proved to be of outstanding interest on various accounts. This marble (I 6628) came from a well of the Byzantine period which was encountered within the area of the Middle Stoa toward its east end, near the third interior pier counting from the east. The treacherous nature of the formation had necessitated the curbing of the well. The curb took the form of a great square shaft constructed of ancient stones and marbles. Among them were fragments of sculpture, inscriptions, and architectural members, including a number of bases and capitals apparently from the Gymnasium which had been erected above the ruins of the ancient buildings in this area *ca.* A.D. 400. The inscription in question was cut in the front of a statue base of Pentelic marble which has been reconstructed from over sixty fragments (Pl. 14, c).⁵² The statue had been carved in one piece with the base, and there remains part of the left foot, of life size, clad in a heavy boot and supported on a high protuberance with a point toward the front of the base; the outline of the right foot may be distinguished in its proper place on the top surface of the base. A left leg, though it

⁵² Height in front 0.195 m.; width *ca.* 0.902 m.; depth front to back 0.785 m.

does not actually join the foot, may be regarded as certainly belonging. On the front of the block is inscribed the distich:

Ἰλιάς ἡ μεθ' Ὀμηρον ἐγὼ καὶ πρόσθεν Ὀμήρ[ου]

Πάρστατις ἱδρυμαι τῶι μὲ τεκόντι νεώ[ι]

"The Iliad, I that was both after Homer and before
Homer, have been set up alongside him that bore me
in his earlier years."

We have to do, clearly, with a personification of the Iliad. From the second line we may at once infer the existence of a statue of Homer as part of the same group, while the emphasis on the fact that the Iliad was the child of the poet's youth or prime immediately implies the presence also of the Odyssey which, according to the ancient view represented, for instance, by Longinus, was a work of Homer's old age.⁵³ We may therefore restore the group with a standing Iliad and Odyssey to either side of the poet who will, no doubt, have been seated (and so of greater scale), with sceptre and scroll in his hands.

The group thus restored may be compared with two other representations of Homer in company with the Iliad and Odyssey. On the relief with the "Apotheosis of Homer," carved by Archelaos of Priene and now in the British Museum, Homer appears seated, sceptre in left and roll in right hand.⁵⁴ Beside the throne on the poet's right crouches the Iliad carrying a sword in her right hand; on the other side the Odyssey in the same attitude holds up the *aphlaston* from a ship's stern.⁵⁵ On a silver goblet from Herculaneum Homer is born aloft on an eagle flanked on his right by the Iliad wearing helmet and lance, on his left by the Odyssey with rudder in hand and sailor's conical cap on her head.⁵⁶

We need not, however, go so far afield. In the year 1869 the Archaeological Society in Athens brought to light at a point just to the south of the Stoa of Attalos, and about forty metres to the northeast of the well from which the inscribed base was recovered in 1953, a pair of statues of Pentelic marble representing female figures in armor. Heads, legs and forearms are broken away but the torsos are well preserved.

⁵³ *On the Sublime*, 9, 13: ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς αὐτῆς αἰτίας, οἶμαι, τῆς μὲν Ἰλιάδος γραφομένης ἐν ἀκμῇ πνεύματος ὅλον τὸ σωματίον δραματικὸν ὑπεστήσατο καὶ ἐναγώνιον, τῆς δὲ Ὀδυσσεΐας τὸ πλεόν διηγηματικόν, ὅπερ ἴδιον γήρως. My attention was drawn to this passage by Mr. N. G. L. Hammond.

⁵⁴ British Museum, *Catalogue of Sculpture*, III, no. 2191, pp. 244 f.; Cf. Watzinger, 63. *Berlin. Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1903; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel, 1943, pp. 148 f.

⁵⁵ Behind the enthroned poet on the relief are figures labelled Chronos (Time) and Oikoumene (the World). Are we to read some similar implication of time and space out of the first line of the epigram on the newly found base?

⁵⁶ V. Spinazzola, *Le Arti decorative in Pompei e nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli*, Milan, Rome, Venice, Florence, 1928, p. 231.

Some twenty years later the figures were recognized by Georg Treu for what they surely are, viz. personifications of the Iliad and the Odyssey.⁵⁷ The clue to the identification was given by the representation of Scylla, Sirens, Aiolos and Polyphemos, all appropriate to the Odyssey, on the armor of one of the figures. From traces on the left shoulder Treu inferred that this figure had carried a steering oar.

The companion piece wears plain armor, but the remains of a sword on her right side, taken in conjunction with the fact that she is a pendant of the Odyssey, amply serves to establish her identification as the Iliad. It is evident from the set of the thigh that the left foot was raised. Although no direct join has been established between this figure and the inscribed base, their complete correspondence in material, scale and workmanship puts their association beyond doubt.

In restoring our group we should, no doubt, on the analogy of the relief of Archelaos and the silver goblet from Herculaneum, assign to the Iliad the place of honor on the poet's right. It is perhaps significant that the figure of the Iliad is slightly larger in scale than the Odyssey, as would be appropriate for the elder sister.

Treu, writing in 1889, dated the statues, on the basis of style, to the time of Trajan or Hadrian and suggested that they might once have stood in the Library of Hadrian. We now know of a more probable place, viz. the library erected by T. Flavius Pantainos in or about A.D. 100 just to the south of the Stoa of Attalos and within a few yards of the points where both the statues and the inscribed base were found.⁵⁸ The close similarity in lettering between the statue base and the lintel of the Library would suggest that there was but little difference in date. No trace of an appropriate pedestal has come to light in the part of the Library thus far explored, but there can be little doubt that the principal room of the building was in its eastern part which still lies deeply buried outside the zone of excavation. In view of the monumental scale of the Homer group one would be inclined to think of it as the principal ornament of the Library and as such, according to the well attested practice in ancient libraries,⁵⁹ it should have stood in the corresponding room. In the plan of the building as restored in Figure 2, the group would therefore have stood in the central room on the east side looking out on the colonnaded court. One is inevitably reminded of the *Homereion* in New Smyrna described by Strabo, immediately after his mention of the library, as "a quadrangular portico containing a shrine and a wooden statue of Homer."⁶⁰

⁵⁷ *Ath. Mitt.*, IV, 1889, pp. 160-169. The statues are at present in the magazines of the National Museum in Athens where I have been enabled to examine them through the courtesy of the Director, Dr. Chr. Karouzo.

⁵⁸ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 330-333; IX, 1940, pp. 294 f.; XV, 1946, p. 233, no. 64; Supplement VIII, 1949, pp. 268-272.

⁵⁹ Schefold, *Bildnisse*, pp. 25, 191; C. Callmer, "Antike Bibliotheken," *Opuscula Archaeologica*, III, 1944, p. 189.

⁶⁰ XIV, 1, 37: ἔστι δὲ καὶ βιβλιοθήκη καὶ τὸ Ὀμήρειον, στοὰ τετράγωνος, ἔχουσα νεὼν Ὀμήρου καὶ ἑόανον.

One would gladly know the epigram that must have been cut on the pedestal of the central figure of the poet in the Athenian monument. Its tenor may be surmised, however, from an epigram preserved in the Palatine Anthology, which was culled, no doubt, from a similar monument in Kolophon: "Homer, son of Meles, thou hast won eternal glory for Hellas and thy fatherland Colophon, and these two daughters didst thou beget by thy divine soul, writing from thy heart the twain tablets. The one sings the many wanderings of Odysseus in his homecoming, and the other the Trojan War." ⁶¹

CONSERVATION

In keeping with the practice of recent years, work of conservation was carried out last season on certain buildings which had been long exposed and already studied. The first structure to receive attention this past season was the Great Drain, both the main channel, which runs northward from a point opposite the Tholos, and the east branch which has been traced from the extreme southeast corner of the square to the point where it joins the main channel opposite the Tholos. These two sections have a combined length of close to 350 metres. The ancient channel was built of stone throughout, i. e. walls, floor and ceiling, and measured internally from two to three feet in both width and height. Through much of its course the drain was found intact. Where the stonework had been removed the gaps were made good either with stone masonry or, more commonly, with concrete sewer pipes having an internal diameter of 60 centimetres. This great cloaca is now functioning again as the principal drain of the area. It catches both the surface and the ground water that comes down from the slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus and pours it into a large drain beneath the railway tracks whence it is carried to a low-lying area in the outskirts of the city.

The Tholos having been put in shape in 1950 and the Stoa of Zeus and Temple of Apollo in 1952, a start was made in 1953 on the conservation of the remaining buildings of the west side, viz. the Metroon and the Bouleuterion. The general appearance and the intelligibility of these two famous but extremely ruinous buildings have been greatly improved, but, since the work had not been completed at time of writing, a more detailed account will be deferred to the next annual report.

Mention may be made in this section of the cleaning of the east inner frieze of the Temple of Hephaistos which was carried out in the months of June through September, 1953, under the direction of Miss Alison Frantz. This band of sculpture in

⁶¹ Ὡὲ Μέλῃτος Ὅμηρε, σὺ γὰρ κλέος Ἑλλάδι πάσῃ
καὶ Κολοφῶνι πάτρη θήκας ἐς αἰδίων,
καὶ τάσδ' ἀντιθέῳ ψυχῇ γεννήσας κούρας,
δισσὰς ἐκ στηθέων γραψάμενος σελίδας·
ὑμνεῖ δ' ἥ μὲν νόστον Ὀδυσσέως πολύπλαγκτον,
ἥ δὲ τὸν Ἰλιακὸν Δαρδανιδῶν πόλεμον.

The Greek Anthology, XVI, no. 292 (trans. by W. R. Paton in Loeb Classical Library).

high relief, comprising twenty-nine figures rather more than half life-size, depicts a battle between Greeks and barbarians in the presence of six divinities. Although the occasion of the battle, if indeed there is any kernel of historical or even mythical truth, has never been recognized with certainty, the frieze is of great interest artistically as the best preserved and most elaborate in point of composition among the various units of sculptural adornment on the building. Yet its study, and even its photography, had been greatly interfered with by a thick deposit, almost black in color, left by the rain water which through the centuries of neglect had dripped down through the cracks in the marble ceiling.

The work of cleaning was begun after consultation with the technicians of the National Museum in Athens, of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston and of the British Museum in London, and after chemical analysis of the deposit.⁶² The simplest means soon proved to be the most effective. When it became apparent that the deposits softened somewhat under soaking with plain water, the figures to be worked on next were kept swathed in wet burlap. For the actual removal of the crust, experiments were made with implements of hardwood, bone, copper and brass; but it was eventually learned that the speediest and safest method was a flaking process effected by a light steel chisel in the hands of a reliable technician. In this way it has been possible to expose the original surface throughout with an absolute minimum of injury. The surface of the lovely Parian marble proves to be in a surprisingly fresh condition. Flecks of color here and there indicate that the background was once a deep blue, that red was used on the drapery and that the rocks on which the divinities sat were green.

The most gratifying result of the cleaning, however, has been the revelation of previously unsuspected delicacy of modelling and painstaking perfection of craftsmanship. Now at last one may enjoy the monument for its own sake and compare it effectually with the few other comparable monuments of its time. A complete photographic record has been made and will be incorporated in a picture book on the temple now in preparation.

LANDSCAPING

The special law of Greece covering the Agora Excavations specifies that "on the completion of the excavation, and insofar as consistent, in the opinion of the Archaeological Council, with the good preservation and the proper display of the ancient remains, the area shall be turned into a park."⁶³

Since the actual excavation is now rapidly drawing to a close, serious thought must be given to the question of landscaping. The School has been fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Ralph E. Griswold, a landscape architect of Pittsburgh.

⁶² In this connection I wish to thank most warmly Messrs. Chr. Karouzo, W. J. Young and H. J. Plenderleith.

⁶³ Law 4212 of March 23, 1929, article 3.

As a former Fellow in Landscape Design of the American Academy in Rome, and as the architect responsible for the landscaping of the United States Military Cemetery at Anzio, Mr. Griswold is well acquainted with Mediterranean flora, climate and soil conditions. After devoting the month of August to an intensive study of the Agora area and to observing landscape practice elsewhere in Athens and in Greece, Mr. Griswold has prepared a comprehensive design for the landscaping of the Agora and its environs, a total area of about 25 acres. One illustration from his report is reproduced in Plate 17.

The problems here posed are difficult and challenging. Cognizance must be taken of the surroundings which include, *inter alia*, the Acropolis and Areopagus, the best preserved of ancient Greek temples, a Byzantine church, and an electric railway, all closely enveloped by the huge modern city. The parking of this area must be related to existing public gardens to the west of the Hephaisteion and on the upper slopes of the hills; it must also be capable of eventual expansion eastward on the supposition that the excavations will one day be extended to include the Market Place of Caesar and Augustus. It will be desirable to distribute the planting in such a way as to help the eye of the visitor who stands on the Acropolis or looks down from an aeroplane to distinguish the ancient square from its surroundings at a glance. By judicious planting it should be possible to define the courses of the ancient thoroughfares that passed through the square, to clarify, rather than to obscure, the scheme of the ancient buildings, and perhaps even to suggest the monuments that once rose from now desolate pedestals. The planting should be of such a sort as to provide perpetual pleasure for the near-by residents as well as an invitation to the passing visitor. In meeting all these desiderata the designer must nevertheless respect the ancient tradition, using only native plants and restoring as far as possible the actual trees and groves which are known from the authors to have formed such a significant and attractive element in the ancient setting of public life.

Here again money is needed: for the building of fences, the laying out of roads and paths, the provision of water, as well as for the planting of trees, shrubs and flowers. At the same time, this program affords a great variety of ways in which individuals or organizations may share in the adornment of both the ancient and the modern Athens. A number of contributions have already been received from Greek and American sources, and on January 4, 1954, Their Majesties, King Paul and Queen Frederika, graciously participated by planting an oak and a laurel respectively on either side of the great marble altar which stood at the focal point of civic life in the ancient square.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY
PRINCETON



South Part of the Agora, from the Northwest (August, 1953).
HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1953



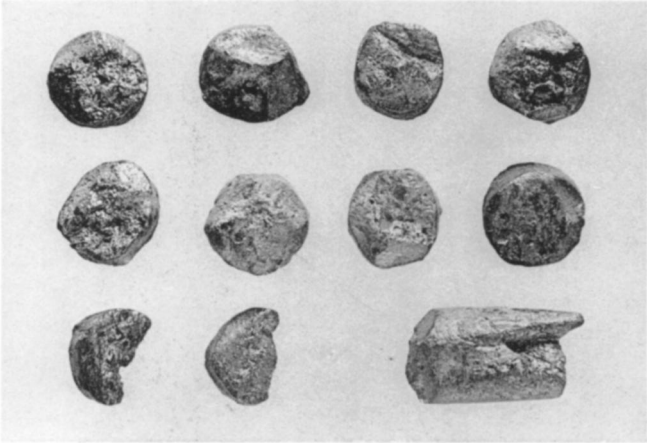
a. South Stoa I, from the East.



b. House behind the Agora Boundary Stone, from the North.



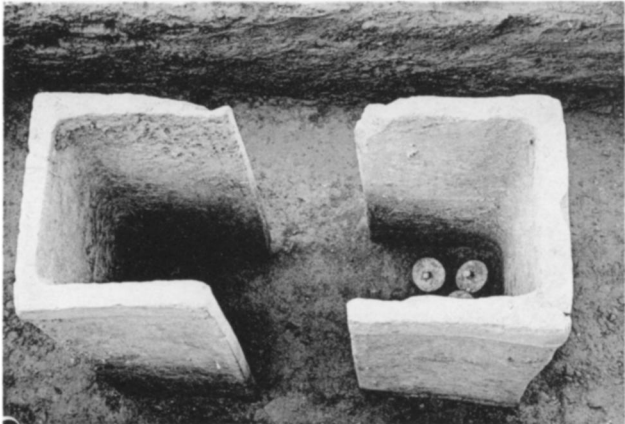
a. Terracotta Head (T 3253).



b. Flans for Bronze Coins (B 1046).



c. Inscribed Base for Personification of the Iliad (I 6628).

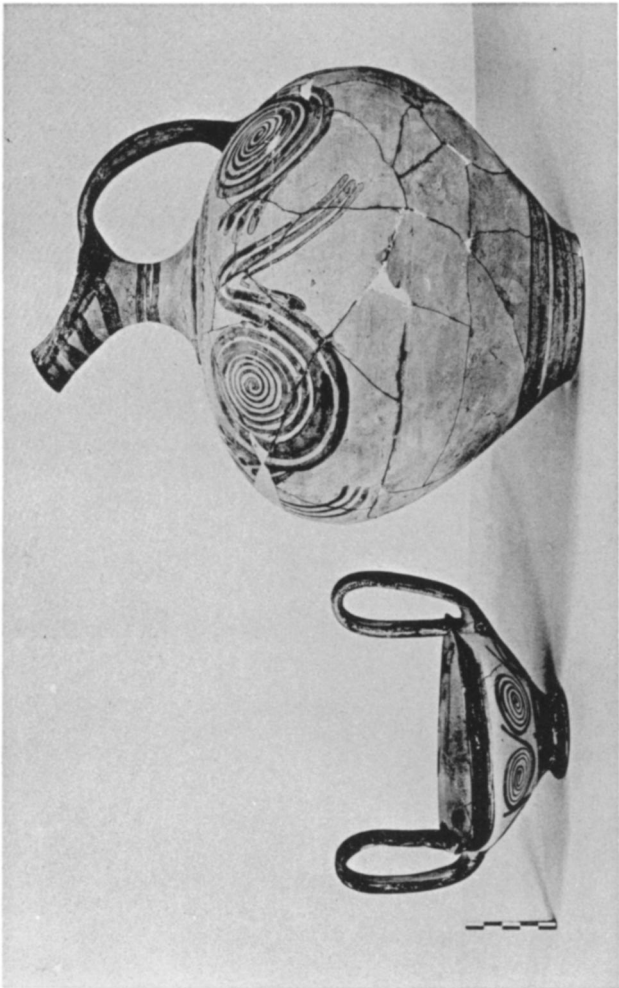


d. Support for Ballot Box found *in situ* beneath Stoa of Attalos



Vases and Sherds from Well near Agora Boundary Stone.

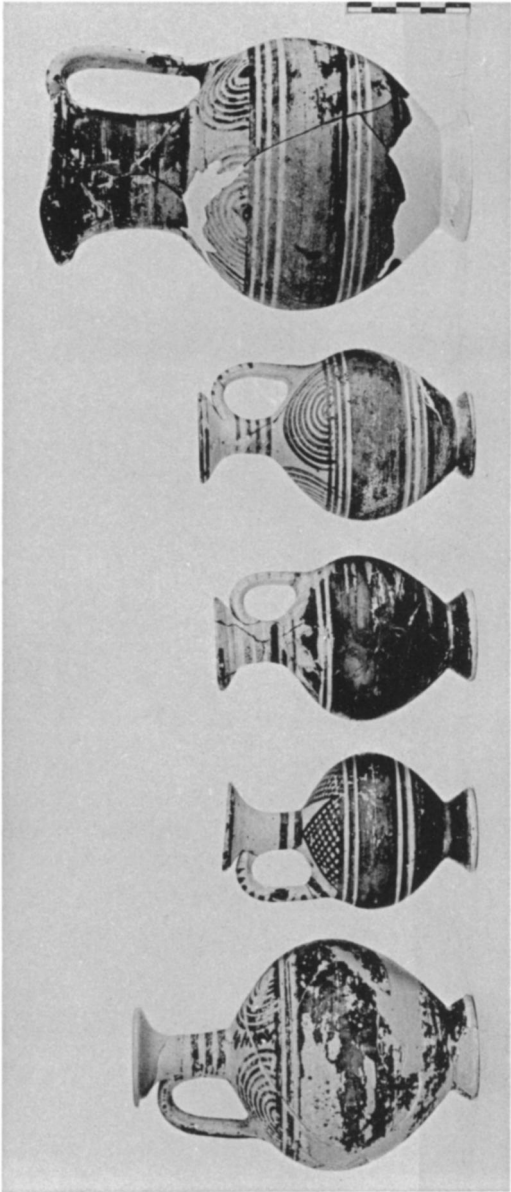
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b. Vases from Mycenaean Grave beneath Stoa of Attalos (P 23588, 23587).



a. Protogeometric Grave beneath Stoa of Attalos.

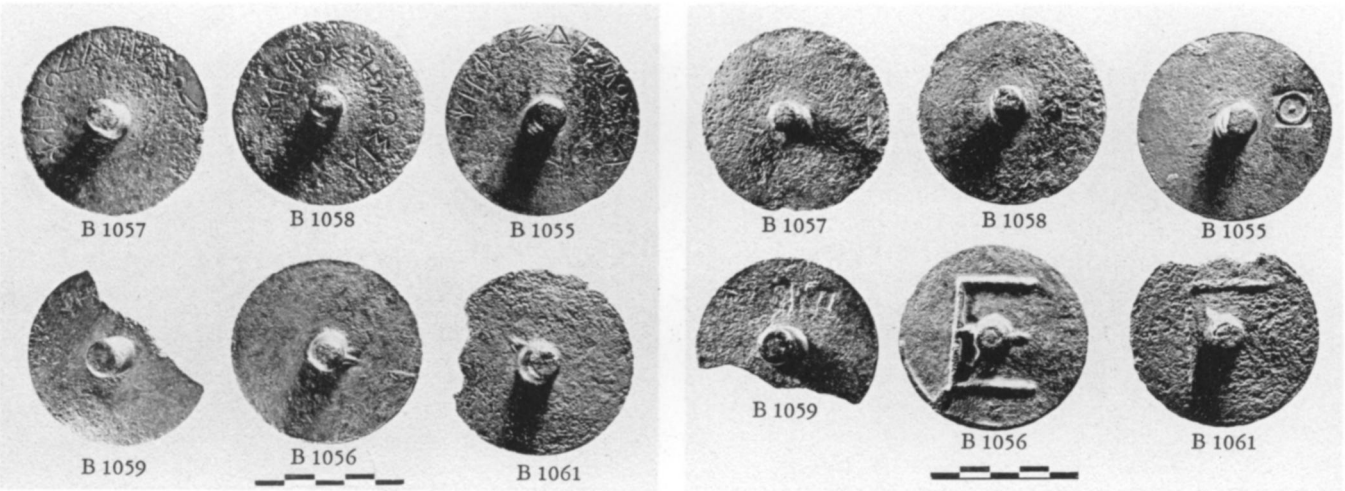


c. Vases from Protogeometric Grave in a (P 23559, 23556, 23558, 23557, 23560).

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Design for Agora Landscaping, view from West (Ralph E. Griswold).



Ballots found in Dikasterion under Stoa of Attalos (Cf. Pl. 14, d)

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