

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948

(PLATES 37-47)

THE THIRTEENTH annual campaign of excavation conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Agora of ancient Athens lasted eight weeks, through the months of March and April, 1948. As in all the post-War seasons, field work was directed toward completing the systematic exploration of sectors opened up before the War, in this case the area of the archaic Fountain House near the southwest corner of the market square, and the shallow valley to the west of the Areopagus which had long ago been designated as a site for the permanent Agora museum. Gratifying progress was made in the elucidation of many topographical problems, a group of houses of the 5th century B.C. was cleared and the season was enlivened by several individual discoveries of first-rate importance, notably a richly furnished burial of *ca.* 900 B.C. and the first certainly identifiable piece of sculpture from the pediments of the Hephaisteion.

Thanks are due to the Greek Archaeological Service headed by Professor A. D. Keramopoullos for facilitating the progress of our work despite the difficulties and uncertainties of the times. A particular debt must be acknowledged to Mr. John Threpsiades, late acting Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, for his readiness to make available material in the Acropolis and Kerameikos Museums for comparative study. Similar courtesies have been shown by Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzos at the National Museum and by Mr. M. T. Mitsos at the Epigraphic Museum.

Of the regular Agora staff, Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Mr. Rodney S. Young and Miss Margaret Crosby supervised field work; much of the following report is based on their summaries of the season's work. Mr. Vanderpool, as before, assumed charge during my absences in America. Miss Lucy Talcott has continued to be responsible for the records and the museum which are now in such shape that the vast mass of heterogeneous material and evidence is readily available not only to members of the staff but also to visiting scholars; the value of such adequate records is now coming to be appreciated more than ever as the definitive publication begins to be prepared. Miss Margaret Thompson, who had devoted the winter and spring of 1948 to the editing of the School's film, *Triumph over Time*, reached Athens in midsummer and within five months supervised the cleaning of the entire backlog of coins and completed the classification of all the coins found thus far in the Agora. At the end of November, 1948, Miss Thompson returned to the United States to continue the study of Agora coins in the American Numismatic Museum. Mrs. T. L. Shear spent some

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time at the Agora during her visit to Greece in the summer of 1948 and prepared to resume her part in the study of Agora coins. Mrs. H. A. Thompson devoted the summer months to the study of several groups of terracotta figurines, especially interesting because found in the coroplasts' workshops. Miss M. Alison Frantz, since the War an honorary member of the staff, continues to meet our photographic needs in black and white and this year has expanded her facilities to include the processing of color film. The position of staff artist has been well filled by Miss Marian Welker whose major work of the season was the recording of mosaics and wall paintings in private houses and the recovery of their designs. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the School, again gave the greater part of his time to the Agora. Mr. Sophokles Lekkas as Chief Foreman continues his competent direction of all the practical aspects of the undertaking, while our Greek technical staff (mender, model-maker, photographic assistant, cabinet maker) continue to give both skilled and devoted service. Because of the reduction in the scale of our field-work we have had to part company with two sub-foremen, Mr. George Nikolaides and Mr. Zacharias Nikolaou, to both of whom the School is indebted for long years of reliable service.

The Agora has profited from the fact that students of the School, finding many parts of the country and the major museums inaccessible, have given more of their time than usual to the School's excavations. Thus Miss Mabel E. Lang, Thomas Day Seymour Fellow, spent much of her year in the Agora, supervising an area of excavation, assisting with the records, and preparing for publication a series of terracotta well-heads. Miss Hazel Palmer, John Williams White Fellow, has also given useful service particularly in completing the records of closed groups of material from wells, cisterns, graves, etc., which now number approximately 1,000, constituting one of the principal contributions of the Agora Excavations.

Assistance has also been received from members of the British School, notably from Mr. Peter E. Corbett, Macmillan Fellow, who, under Miss Lucy Talcott's direction, has undertaken to prepare for publication a large and important group of pottery of the late 5th century. Mr. Bryan Shefton has written up an outstanding red-figured lebes.

We have again to acknowledge with gratitude much voluntary help. Mrs. Clayton Whipple has produced scores of drawings ranging in subject from ostraka to drain walls. Miss Margaret Cornelius has likewise used her talented pen and pencil to our advantage. Mrs. Laird Archer has given freely of her time in secretarial work. Three recent graduates in Classics from the University of Athens, the Misses Charikleia Papadopoulou, Maria Savatianou, and Ismene Zavitzianou, have helped in various capacities, especially in guiding classes of school children for many of whom a visit to the Agora is now becoming a regular part of the curriculum.

Many thanks are due to those friends who by financial assistance have provided

the sinews of war toward completion of an undertaking which through the circumstances of the times has become increasingly costly as its value becomes more apparent.

It is a sad duty to record the death on September 29, 1948, of Mr. Arthur W. Parsons, an active member of the Agora staff from 1933 to 1941. Parsons had supervised the excavation of practically the entire east side of the Agora zone: the Stoa of Attalos, the Library of Pantainos, much of the north slope of the Acropolis, the Klepsydra, the "Valerian Wall" and the great ramp that carried the Panathenaic Way up the hillside. Grateful as we must be for his two published reports on a water-mill of the late Roman period and on the Klepsydra,¹ the indication which those studies gave of his powers of interpretation and presentation make us painfully aware of how much we shall miss his publication of the other monuments.

AREA OF THE ARCHAIC FOUNTAIN HOUSE. PLATE 37

In the seasons of 1946 and 1947 the exit from the southwest corner of the market square had been cleared down to the classical levels.² During the past season the exploration of this area was continued under the direction of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool. The ancient roadway that led southward has now been exposed between the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa and the southwest corner of the archaic Fountain House, a distance of some 70 metres. This road follows a natural course from the area of the square over the west shoulder of the Areopagus toward southern Athens, and consequently may be assumed to have been in use from very early times. Its importance as early as the archaic period is indicated by the erection in the late 6th century of a boundary marker of the Agora at the point where the road issued from the square.³ It was this road too that served the archaic Fountain House.

After the construction of the Middle Stoa in the 2nd century B.C. the level of the area between Stoa and Fountain House was raised, an operation which called for the erection of a massive retaining wall along the east side of the road. It was probably at this same time that a flight of three limestone steps was thrown across the whole width of the road opposite the southwest corner of the Fountain House (Pl. 37 1). These stairs made the way up the steep grade easier for pedestrians, but they effectually closed the thoroughfare to wheeled traffic. It may be noted that the vital artery connecting the old Agora with the Market of Caesar and Augustus was also closed to vehicles by a stairway. One is reminded of the fact that the entrances to the Forum of Pompeii were deliberately obstructed against vehicles.⁴

The waste from the Fountain House and the natural drainage from the road

¹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90; XII, 1943, pp. 191-267.

² *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pp. 199 f.; XVII, 1948, pp. 151-154, with plan in fig. 1 on p. 152.

³ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205-6; Supplement IV, p. 107.

⁴ Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art*, p. 45.

itself were taken care of by substantial drains in part of stone masonry and in part of terracotta tiles. Among the cover slabs of one of the stone drains at the northwest corner of the Fountain House was found the complete inscribed marble stele noted below, p. 222.

As for the Fountain House itself, the west side of the building has now been fully exposed (Pl. 37 2). The east and south edges had been cleared in earlier seasons but the north side, where the masonry is best preserved, still remains to be explored. Detached blocks from the fabric of the building continue to come to light. In addition to the fragment from a draw-basin noted in the report for the season of 1947,⁵ a second fragmentary orthostate from a water-basin has appeared near the northwest corner of the building. Here too came out a corner step block, heavily worn. Within the very northwest corner of the structure, apparently in association with some adjustment of late Roman times, stands a column drum of poros: a base drum, 0.94 m. in diameter, with the start of twenty shallow and delicately cut Doric flutings around its lower edge. Perhaps to be associated with this column is a fragment of a Doric cornice block (A 1372), with mutule 0.404 m. wide, found in a mediaeval context to the southwest of the Fountain House. The hard, cream-colored limestone used in these members as well as their workmanship points to a date in the archaic period.

We have thus to do with a building that was certainly a fountain house, large in scale (close to 20 m. square) and early in date. Since Pausanias (I, 14, 1), between his mention of the Odeion and the Hephaisteion refers to the most famous of all Athenian fountain houses, viz., the Enneakrounos, our building may with very great probability be so identified. Pausanias attributes the construction to Peisistratos, Thucydides (II, 15) to "the tyrants." Accepting Thucydides' statement, one is tempted to regard the work as a late activity of the family, left unfinished, like the Olympieion, at the time of their expulsion in 510 B.C.⁶

Much of the area of the ancient road where it passed the west ends of the Middle Stoa and the Fountain House was overlaid by the vaulted tombs or *osteothekai* to be associated with the 18th century chapel of the Prophet Elias and St. Charalambos that once stood here. Twenty of these tombs had been cleared before the War; six more were explored in 1948.⁷ The tombs were of a familiar type: rectangular in plan, vaulted, approached by a few steps at one end. Nor were their contents distinguished, consisting of no more than much disturbed bones and a few scraps of pottery and bronze trinkets. They will be memorable rather for the inclusion in the wall of one of them of the marble torso of Herakles from the east pediment of the Hephaisteion, discussed below, pp. 233, 238 f., 244 f.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 153 ff.

⁶ On the identification see now Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 133 f.

⁷ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 360, 442 ff.

AREA TO THE WEST OF THE AREOPAGUS. PLATE 38¹

The exploration of the deeper levels has been continued throughout this large area, systematically but slowly, for the repeated sacks to which the region was exposed necessitated as many renewals with the result that the excavator must work down through period after period whether he is dealing with buildings, roads or even drains. The excavation of the southern half of the area may be regarded as completed but a certain amount of supplementary investigation remains to be done in the northern part. Mr. Rodney Young again supervised the southern half, Miss Margaret Crosby the northeastern area and Miss Mabel Lang the northwestern.

The scraping of bedrock has revealed, as always in the Agora, a number of early burials. The oldest was a small cist grave in which had been folded the bodies of two children, aged about 5 and 8 years as shown by the state of their teeth (Pl. 38²).⁸ Near the middle of the grave lay the sole offering: a large, one-handled mug, slipped with white and decorated with a band of red glaze below the rim (Pl. 39¹). This type of cup is familiar in Attica in contexts of the latter part of the Third Late Helladic Period, i.e., about 1200 B.C.⁹ The children's grave may therefore be associated with the slightly earlier chamber tomb found in 1947 some 5 metres to the northwest, and with the apparently unfinished chamber tomb in the hillslope a little farther to the west.¹⁰

The burial next in date, though first in interest, came to light in the bottom of the valley at the northwest foot of the Areopagus just to the east of the Great Drain. This was a cremation burial, apparently of a woman, possibly of a woman and a man, to be dated from the style of its pottery just after the turn from the Protogeometric to the Geometric Period, i.e., ca. 900 B.C. Scattered burials of the same period have been found along the foot of the Areopagus farther to the east and there is good reason to expect more in the still unexplored intervening area. In the disposition and range of its offerings the grave closely resembles a group of burials opened by the Germans outside the Dipylon, but in the variety, richness and quality of its furnishings it is unmatched in Athens of the period. A detailed study of the burial will be published by R. S. Young in a later number of *Hesperia*.

In the report for the season of 1947 mention was made of cremation burials of children of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries B.C.¹¹ The work of the past season brought to light several more such graves among the ruins of early houses in the

⁸ We owe the observation to Dr. R. F. Sognaes of the Harvard School of Dental Medicine.

⁹ Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 381 f., Type 12, figs. 59 b and 64 a-d (North Slope of the Acropolis); Stubbings, *B.S.A.*, XLIII, 1947, pp. 34 f., pl. 9, fig. 14 (Acropolis, Kopreza).

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 163 ff., figs. 2 and 6. All three Late Helladic tombs are indicated on fig. 2, p. 154.

¹¹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 166 f.

bottom of the valley. Rather more surprising was the discovery in 1948 of a cremation burial of the late 5th century in the courtyard of a house that was certainly inhabited both before and after the burial was made. Whether the house was actually in use at the time of the interment or had been abandoned temporarily as a result of the disturbances at the end of the century is not clear. The offerings comprised six vases: a squat lekythos, a stemless cup, a one-handled lidded cup, a small red-figured lekanis, a skyphos and a small plate with stamped ornament (ovolos and dots) on its floor, all modest but pleasing examples of the everyday ware of their time (Pl. 39³⁻⁵). The types of vessel would seem more appropriate to an adult than a child and perhaps to a woman rather than a man.

The past season's work in the southern part of the area has filled a long-standing and serious gap in our knowledge of ancient Athens by bringing to light a group of houses of the 5th century B.C. (Pl. 38¹). Hitherto dwellings of the classical period have been found elsewhere in Athens, e.g., to the south of the Areopagus, and on the Pnyx hills, but only in such ruinous state as to permit of no satisfactory reconstruction. It has thus been impossible to compare living conditions in Athens with those in lesser Greek cities such as Olynthos, Priene, and Delos where the domestic architecture was much better known. We now have in the bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs the foundations of a row of four houses that were built about the middle of the 5th century and continued in use until at least the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries. Pending the detailed publication by their explorer, R. S. Young, a brief preliminary note may be offered here.

The best preserved of the houses was trapezoidal in outline with maximum dimensions of *ca.* 17.30 × 18.20 m. Some ten rooms of various sizes and shapes were grouped around a central courtyard that shows no certain trace of porches but has a well toward one side. The two largest rooms lay to north and south of the court. The walls of all the houses consisted of a stone socle, built along the front of the house, of substantial and pleasing polygonal masonry, with sun-dried brick above. There is no trace of painted wall plaster. The room floors were normally of rolled clay; the courtyards were paved with unpatterned pebble mosaic. These four dwellings were already standing in a close row when a great stone-walled drain was laid in the bottom of the valley at the beginning of the 4th century B.C. An entertaining compromise was achieved in adjusting the line of the drain to the fronts of the houses; one of the four lost a slice in the process, the other three gained.

These houses, so unpretentious both in design and furnishings and served by narrow crooked alleys, compare unfavorably with the contemporary dwellings of Macedonian Olynthos. One is reminded of the comment on Athens made by the pseudo-Dicaearchus, a visitor of perhaps the 3rd century B.C.: "The city is poorly laid out on account of its antiquity. The majority of the houses are cheaply made, few

of them are good. A visitor from abroad might well doubt at first glance whether this were really the famed city of the Athenians."

In justice to Athens, however, it must be observed that we are probably dealing with the dwellings of artisans. This is suggested by their propinquity to the abundant traces of the working of marble, bronze, and clay detected in 1947 on the west slope of the Areopagus. More specific evidence is provided by a hearth accompanied by masses of iron slag that came to light in one of the four houses. And another indication in the same direction may be read from a lead curse tablet (IL 997) found in a 4th century level in the adjoining room (Pl. 39²). This document invokes a curse upon two smiths (*χαλκεῖς*), Aristaichmos and Pyrrias by name, upon their labors and upon their souls.

Mention was made in the report for the season 1947 of large dwelling houses of the Roman period.¹² Further progress has since been made in the exploration and study especially of those on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs. Two contiguous houses in this area are now seen to have consisted essentially of large series of rooms grouped around colonnaded and marble-paved courtyards (Pl. 40¹). Their history extends from Hellenistic times into the 5th century of our era and since, in addition to the normal adjustments dictated by the whims of householders, their careers were violently disturbed by the sacks of 86 B.C. and A.D. 267, it is no wonder that their plans reveal little in the way of formal pattern.

Miss Marian Welker, by assiduously collating the scattered evidence, has succeeded in recovering the design of several of the painted walls. A typical specimen of a wall that was in use in the third century of our era is illustrated in Pl. 40² after a water color. The dado was here white, though more commonly stippled; the white upper wall is laid off in panels with borders of purplish red, mustard yellow and black; the vertical floral motifs are in green. Though remarkably restrained, the design is certainly not lacking in taste and a certain "Queen Anne" distinction.

Beneath the débris that filled a large room in one of these houses of the Roman period, a well-preserved marble bust was found in 1947.¹³ The completion of the clearing of the same room in 1948 brought back to light a second marble bust, presumably another distinguished ancestor, to be described below, p. 220.

Further testimony to the violence and abruptness of the disaster that struck this house was given by the condition of a small adjoining room which is clearly marked by its furnishings as a kitchen and larder (Pl. 41¹⁻²). In one corner of the room lay a tumbled mass of kitchen equipment: cooking pots and the upper portions of large jars that had been used as pot stands, glazed bowls, pitchers of terracotta and of bronze, a whole set of delicately blown drinking glasses, a great iron spatula, a

¹² *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 169 f.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178, pl. 56.

marble mortar and in it a marble pestle for grinding herbs, terracotta lamps, the carved bone handle of some iron implement probably a table knife (Fig. 1), a large plump jar for the storage of wine or oil. Stretched at full length alongside this débris lay the skeleton, not of the cook, but of a small donkey that had evidently taken refuge or had been concealed in the kitchen on the awful day of the sack and had then been trapped by the falling roof of the house as it burned. The date of the disaster is indicated by a purseful of 34 bronze coins found among the broken crockery. These pieces are of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era and, taken in conjunction with the more precise evidence of the 55 coins found in the adjoining room in 1947,¹⁴ they leave no doubt that the authors of the destruction were the Herulian invaders of A.D. 267.

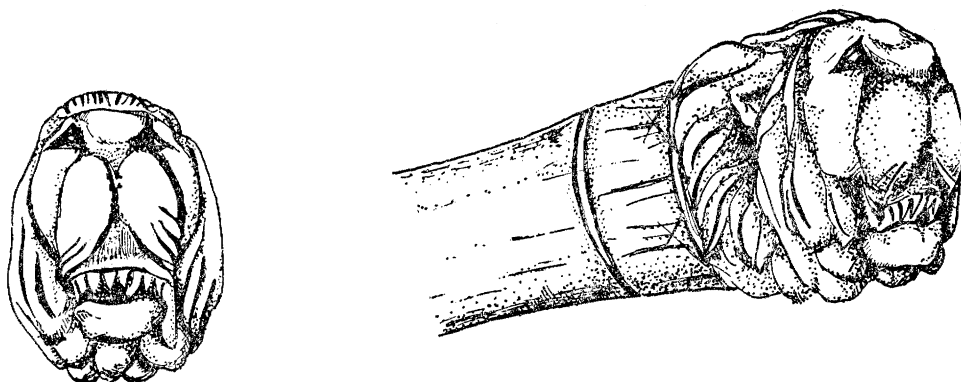


Fig. 1. Bone Handle

Of public buildings in the area to the west of the Areopagus two may be mentioned in this report. The field-work of 1947 fixed the general lines of a large trapezoidal structure of the second half of the 5th century B.C. set close in the northwest foot of the Areopagus (Pl. 38¹).¹⁵ Its identification as a *dikasterion* or law-court was then proposed. The further investigation of the structure has been slowed by the complexity of its later history and by the deep tangle of superimposed sets of foundations. The building's public career would seem to have been brief. Already in the Hellenistic period its north part at any rate was being used as sculptors' workshops, while there is evidence of metalworking in the south. In early Roman times most of the central part of the original structure was overlaid by what appears to have been a large dwelling, with a central court and well. This house continued in use with repeated alterations into late Roman times. No additional evidence has been secured

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 192.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 167 ff., fig. 6.

for the identification, but it is worth noting that in the original period of the building, as shown by the excavation of 1948, an important east to west road ran directly along its north end, while at the same time its long west side was flanked by a north to south road. The fact of its being set in such a prominent corner emphasizes the importance of the building.

To the east of the large public building, i. e., on the northwest slope of the Areopagus, has appeared another bathing establishment, the third in the area to the west of the Areopagus (at the top middle of Pl. 38¹). The building was of some size, measuring about 20 × 24 metres, with one marble-floored room of 7 × 14 metres. Much of the building was heated by hypocausts. Remnants of a surprising number of small marble and stone washbasins were found among the ruins. The history of the building is attested from the 1st into the 5th century of our era and falls into three main periods.

In the course of repairing a street that runs below the ancient assembly place on the Pnyx, city workmen came upon a stone water channel, a continuation of the pipeline that supplied Doerpfeld's "Enneakrounos" between Pnyx and Areopagus.¹⁶ At the request of Mr. John Threpsiades, acting Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, R. S. Young devoted several days to clearing and exploring the area. The water channel is cut in massive poros blocks securely bound together with iron clamps of double-T shape (Pl. 42¹). The pottery found alongside the blocks proves that this part of the channel cannot antedate the late 4th century B.C., a useful piece of evidence for this important conduit.

MODEL-MAKING

The making of models to illustrate various aspects of the results of the excavations has now become almost a full-time occupation for one member of the Greek technical staff, viz., Christos Mammelis, whose name is already familiar from his work on the models of the Acropolis and of the West Side of the Agora. In the course of the past year Mammelis prepared full-size replicas of the Agora klesydra and of a 4th century official measure for the South Kensington Museum. Under the direction of Professors Broneer and Stevens he has produced a very informative plaster model of the Lion of Amphipolis now illustrated in *Archaeology*, I, 1948, p. 178. The Altar of the Twelve Gods in its original form, dating from the Archonship of the younger Peisistratos, may now be studied in a plaster model, scale 1:200, executed by Mammelis under the direction of Mr. John Travlos (Pl. 42²).¹⁷ Finally, a start has been made on a model of the Agora Odeion to illustrate the impending publication of that building.

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 200 ff. The newly cleared conduit is a continuation in a north-westerly direction of that illustrated on p. 201, fig. 61.

¹⁷ For the detailed publication cf. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 82-103.

SCULPTURE

The sculpture found in 1948, although not as abundant as that of the previous season, included several pieces of considerable interest, with a wide range of date and theme.¹⁸

The bust of a youth illustrated in Pl. 43 ¹ was found sealed under by the burnt débris of one of the large houses of the Roman period on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs; the same house, indeed the same room, that had already yielded a marble portrait bust in 1947.¹⁹ The room was the large apartment, living room or dining room, adjacent to the kitchen to which reference has been made above, p. 217. The associated coins show clearly that the fire must be attributed to the Herulians of A.D. 267. Long before that year, however, the sculpture had suffered grievously. Its original plinth had been broken away and replaced with a makeshift base which looks suspiciously like the lower part of an unfinished support for a table or a wash-basin. The damage to the nose, moreover, and to the back of the head, from which a large piece is lacking, would seem certainly to have antedated the final disaster, inasmuch as the fragments are missing and the fractures are worn. A genial and placid youth is represented, the first downy whisker on his cheek. The bust form and the treatment of hair and beard would suggest a date in the time of Nero. It would thus be fifty years or so earlier than the bust found last year, but might none-the-less represent a more remote ancestor of the well-to-do family that occupied this large and well-furnished house.

With our next piece, Pl. 43 ², the life-sized portrait head of a young boy, we descend at once to the middle of the 3rd century.²⁰ So much is indicated by the shallow, linear treatment of the hair and the deeply plastic handling of the eyes. The tender years of the subject and the tight-leaved wreath around his head associate this portrait with one found in 1947.²¹ Last season's head wore on its back a long scalp lock, intended apparently for dedication. The back of the newly found head is broken away, but may very well have carried a similar lock.

Pl. 44 ² illustrates a marble medallion, an "oscillum," intended for suspension.²² The four small fragments thus far found come from among the ruins of the large houses of the Roman period on the northeast slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs and confirm the prosperous circumstances of their owners: such oscilla have been found in numbers at Pompeii, but normally only in the wealthier houses. A satyr, thyrus

¹⁸ A marble pedimental figure of the 5th century B.C. is published in its context, p. 233.

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178, pl. 56. The bust of 1948 is S 1319. Height, 0.43 m. Pentelic marble. The base (ST 430), likewise of Pentelic marble, is 0.25 m. high, 0.40 m. in diameter.

²⁰ S 1312. Preserved height, 0.205 m. Pentelic marble. From the wall of a practically modern pit to the northwest of the archaic Fountain House.

²¹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 179, pl. 58.

²² S 934. Diameter, 0.405 m. Pentelic marble. The back is smooth sawn.

in hand, strides right, surrounded by a wreath of bay. The low, crisp, subtle modelling is reminiscent of Augustan silver work and the finest of Neo-Attic marble cutting. Since our piece is of Pentelic marble, there can be no question of its Attic origin, a matter of considerable interest inasmuch as Lippold, writing in 1921, knew of some hundred examples of oscilla, the majority found in Italy and the west, only one to his knowledge being of eastern provenance, a piece in a dealer's hands in Smyrna.²³ The discs have every appearance, however, of being a typical product of Athenian marble works of the Augustan period intended primarily for export, and a close examination of the material of the other known examples together with a stylistic comparison with the Agora piece might well lead to interesting conclusions.

Our next marble also is of value as helping to localize a familiar sculptural type (Pl. 44 1).²⁴ The figure is worked in the round; its scale about one quarter life. Despite the loss of head and attributes, the subject may be identified with assurance as the reclining Herakles. In her recent study of this type²⁵ Miss Margarete Bieber was able to list two life-sized replicas in marble, ten statuettes, seventeen reliefs in marble, terracotta, stucco and bronze, two coins of the Roman period and a Pompeiian wall painting. In the type the hero reclines on his outspread lionskin, resting his left arm on the animal's scalp. In his left hand he may hold a cup or cornucopia or flutes, in his right hand a bowl, a club, an apple or, as in our example, nothing. The type has been identified as Herakles Olivarius, on the evidence of an inscribed base found in 1895 in Rome. This base bears the name of a younger Skopas who, on evidence drawn from two inscriptions of Delos, is believed to have been active *ca.* 100 B.C. From the number of copies or adaptations found in Attica, as also from the very evident indebtedness to the "Ilissos" of the Parthenon, the original is thought to have been set up in Athens. This probability is strengthened by the discovery of the present piece. Our example, moreover, would appear to be one of the earliest copies; the lumpy modelling and the surface finish may be paralleled in the Laokoön, the Aphrodite and Pan group from Delos, and other works of the 1st century B.C.

The Herakles had been incorporated in a repair carried out in the late Roman period on one of the large dwellings on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, within a few metres of the places where the archaic marble head of Herakles and the terracotta plaque of the mounted Herakles were found in 1947.²⁶ The combined evidence of these several pieces, though by no means conclusive, suggests that we are in the vicinity of the famous sanctuary of Herakles in Melite.²⁷

²³ *Jahrbuch*, 36, 1921, pp. 33-44: a good summary of the material with reference to earlier literature.

²⁴ S 1318. Height, 0.20 m., length, 0.37 m. Pentelic marble. The head had been attached in antiquity with a small pin; the tip of the lion skin was cut separately and cemented in place.

²⁵ *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 272-77.

²⁶ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 174, 180 f.

²⁷ Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², p. 353.

Reference has been made above to marble working chips as evidence for the activity of sculptors in the area to the west of the Areopagus. This evidence is supplemented by unfinished sculptures of which several pieces have been found in this region; a typical example is the statuette illustrated in Pl. 44³.²⁸ This piece comes from a well of the late Roman period associated with one of the houses on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs. The subject is one of the Dioscuri, presumably Castor, since his horse's head appears alongside his right leg. The sword in the left hand and the conical helmet complete the normal attributes. The carving of the figure proper has been almost completed with chisel and gouge; the accessories have been only roughly blocked out with the single point. One is struck by the easy competence of the craftsman, engaged though he was in the making of only a small thing for the adornment of a house. Since many such unfinished pieces are now available in the Agora, with a wide range of date and stage of completion, their study will add much to our understanding of ancient technique in sculpture and to our appreciation of its products.²⁹

INSCRIPTIONS

The study and publication of the great mass of inscriptions on marble go steadily forward under the direction of Professor B. D. Meritt of the Institute for Advanced Study with the help of associates and assistants. All documents of outstanding interest are published in *Hesperia* as soon as possible after discovery and the backlog of inscriptions of ordinary interest is being systematically presented in successive articles in the same journal so that other scholars may avail themselves of this fund of new historical evidence and our own editors may profit from their suggestions before preparing the definitive publication.

The work of the past season yielded some 35 inscriptions on marble. Of these the one likely to prove of greatest interest to the epigraphist and the historian is a stele that had been reused as a cover slab on a drain at the northwest corner of the archaic Fountain House (I 6096). The lettered face had been turned down and thus exposed to the erosive action of sand-laden water so that much of the middle part of the text is illegible. The preamble, however, can be recovered and indicates that the document was a decree in honor of the grain commissioners of the archonship of Lysitheides. This decree was passed in the archonship of Pytharatos when Isagoras, son of Isokrates of Kephale, was Secretary. Pytharatos had hitherto been dated from literary evidence in the year 271/270 B.C., but his secretary, now known for the first

²⁸ S 1342. Height, 0.34 m. Pentelic marble.

²⁹ A good parallel for the technique of our piece is the Dionysos and Satyr group in the National Museum at Athens which has been dealt with by C. Blümel in *Griechische Bildhauerarbeit*, 1927, p. 63, No. 27, pl. 33 and *Griechische Bildhauer an der Arbeit*, 1943, pp. 56 f.

time, does not fit into the cycle of secretaries as at present arranged. The relative dating of the archons Lysitheides and Pytharatos must also be revised. Lysitheides has usually been placed later than Pytharatos, sometimes considerably later, but the new stele shows that his archonship preceded that of Pytharatos, probably by a year or two. These changes are likely to affect the chronology of the middle Hellenistic period at a number of points. The stone is now being studied by Professor W. B. Dinsmoor.

Another document of chronological interest is the upper part of a stele that had been used as packing alongside a terracotta drain near the southwest corner of the Middle Stoa (I 6115). It is a prytany decree. The secretary's name, Kephalos Kephalou Kydantides, is preserved in full for the first time. The name of the archon, missing on the stone, may be restored as Euthykritos who must now be shifted from 202/1 B.C. It seems clear that some readjustment will also have to be made in the assignment of other archons near the turn of the century, though the exact nature of the changes is still subject to study. The new document assists in the restoration of a long-known honorary decree of the same year, *I.G.*, II², 978, and, furthermore, presents another irregularity in the civil calendar.

The earliest inscription of the season is a fragment of a stoichedon text written in large, handsome letters on a thin slab of grey-blue marble which was found incorporated in a Byzantine pithos to the west of the Areopagus (I 6091; Pl. 45¹). Parts of nine lines, thirty-eight letters in all remain. The stoichedon arrangement, the letter forms and the use of four-point stops indicate a date late in the 6th century. The content is still obscure but the monumental quality of the publication suggests a document of some consequence.

Among documents of the 4th century B.C. may be mentioned a fragment of a record of the *poletai* (I 6104) in which the boundaries of various properties are defined in familiar legal language, and a stone recording a mortgage on a house and lot, again in a well-known formula (I 6107).

Finally, we may note a fragmentary decree passed in the archonship of Sosikratos, apparently the Sosikratos of 111/110 B.C. (I 6108). A man of Alexandria is commended for his discharge of some priesthood on motion of a man of Antioch. Since the language is appropriate to a private assemblage rather than to the Council and Demos, the resolution may have been passed by some religious association.

VARIA

Since the major effort of the season was devoted to the clearance of buildings and the study of stratification, comparatively few ancient wells or cisterns were explored. A cistern that had served a dwelling at the northwest foot of the Areopagus yielded a quantity of pottery of the late 4th century B.C. including some of the latest

Attic Red-Figure. A shallow well to the west of the west end of the Middle Stoa would seem to have been closed when the Stoa was built. The pottery from the well, dating from the advanced 2nd century B.C., should therefore afford a *terminus post quem* for the erection of the Stoa. The pottery from a well associated with the bath on the northwest slope of the Areopagus provides valuable chronological evidence for the history of the bath through the 1st and 2nd centuries of our era. Two other wells were dug in the area to the west of the Areopagus; both had been used by householders in the 5th and 6th Christian centuries.

The fewness of wells kept down the bulk of pottery and of miscellaneous finds this season. Mention may be made, however, of a few representative pieces of various categories.

An outstanding example of a bowl of the early Roman date with plastic emblemata comes from a level of the appropriate period among the foundations of houses on the northeast slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs (Pl. 45²⁻³).³⁰ The bowl has a simple curved profile and rests on a low base-ring. The medallion on the floor contains a bust in relief, to the left, the head wreathed. The highly individual, angular features are clearly those of Augustus, and the representation is only slightly inferior in quality to the exquisite rendering of the same subject on an emblemata found in 1947.³¹

A good many fragments of red-figure were gathered during the season, especially among the ruins of early houses to the west of the Areopagus. Two typical pieces have been selected for special mention by Mr. Peter Corbett (Pl. 45⁴⁻⁵). A fragment from a calyx-krater³² by the Eucharides painter³³ shows a youth, nude save for a fillet round his head, moving right and looking back. The two cords and the staff which he holds in his left hand, and the position of his right, suggest that originally he was leading a horse, with his right hand grasping the reins near the head.³⁴

The second fragment is also from a krater, but from one of a different shape.³⁵ On it we see the head and shoulders of a woman facing right; she wears an Ionic chiton, himation, sakkos and earring, and plays the double flutes. It is by the Lenin-grad painter,³⁶ one of the Mannerists.

³⁰ P 19,267. Height, 0.05 m.; diameter, 0.17 m. Light buff clay, covered inside and outside with thin glaze varying from black to red to dull brown.

³¹ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 181, pl. LXI, 4.

³² P 19,291. Maximum dimension 0.105 m. Relief contour: dilute glaze for some of the internal markings; white for the fillet; red for one of the reins and relief line for the other.

³³ Beazley, J. D., by letter, February 27, 1949. See Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (*A.R.V.*), pp. 153-157.

³⁴ For similar long reins on a riding horse, compare *C.V.A.*, Louvre 8, III I c pl. 58, 1, 4 and 7. The staff may be a spear shaft, as there, or it may be a mounting pole—cf. *A.R.V.*, p. 220, 2.

³⁵ P 19,282. Maximum dimension, 0.062 m. Relief contour. Probably from a column krater, since the school to which our painter belonged favoured this form rather than the volute krater.

³⁶ Beazley, by letter, February 27, 1949. See *A.R.V.*, pp. 373-376 and p. 398, 46.

The collection of lamps in the Agora has now passed the 4,500 mark, a wealth of material that illuminates the whole history of the development of lamps in Athens and sheds special light on the state of this ever interesting art at many particular moments. Such a moment is the middle of the 3rd century of our era when the lamp-makers of Athens exhibited a burst of ingenuity of design coupled with great technical skill. A typical product of the period is illustrated in Pl. 46 1.³⁷ The scene is evidently the Ransoming of Hektor and the moment chosen is that described at the end of the *Iliad* when Priam kneeling and clasping Achilles' hand has brought tears to the hero's eyes by reminding him of his own father. A veiled woman, presumably Briseis, stands in an attitude of grief behind Achilles. To the left are Hermes, Priam's escort, likewise mourning, and the head of one of Achilles' horses. Achilles' plumed helmet fills the exergue.

The scene is effectively disposed on the discus of the lamp. It takes on additional interest, however, from the fact that it is but an excerpt from a larger composition that included the whole of Achilles' team and chariot with the body of Hektor attached as well as Priam's equipage and Trojan attendants. The full design appears on a number of sarcophagi of the middle of the 3rd century that have been found in Athens, Sparta, Rome, Sicily, even at Adalia in Asia Minor.³⁸ Several of the sarcophagi are of Pentelic marble which attests their Athenian origin. The case for Athenian origin of the design itself is strengthened by its echo on our lamp.³⁹

The two bone discs, of which both the obverses and reverses are shown in Pl. 46 2, were found among the ruins of houses of the Roman period to the west of the Areopagus.⁴⁰ The first has on its obverse in low relief the bust of a man clad in tunic and wreathed, seen in three-quarter view from behind. Carefully incised on the reverse are both the Greek and Latin characters for "12." The disc is pierced at the top edge. The second disc bears a satyr mask with sketchy wreath on its obverse, and is numbered "9," again bilingually, on its reverse. Similar discs, found at many points in the ancient world, have been interpreted variously as theatre tickets or gaming pieces. The latter interpretation appears the more probable.⁴¹

An interesting group of old jewellery appeared among the ruins of the bathing

³⁷ L 4490. From the floor of a house on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, destroyed in A.D. 267. Pinkish buff clay, unglazed. Diameter 0.125 m. Signed by the maker Primus.

³⁸ Robert, *Die Antiken Sarkophagreliefs*, II, pls. 15, 17, 24.

³⁹ The Ransoming is represented also on a series of terracotta plates made in imitation of metal vessels. *Arch. Anz.*, 1914, col. 306, fig. 4; *Jahrbuch*, XXX, 1915, p. 197. These references I owe to A. J. B. Wace who tells me that he has knowledge of several other such plates in Alexandria.

⁴⁰ BI 602: diameter, 0.022 m. BI 606: diameter, 0.029 m. From the same context as BI 602 came three coins of Gallienus (A.D. 260-268).

⁴¹ Theatre tickets: Bieber, *Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen*, pp. 84-86; *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, p. 350. Gaming pieces: Rostowzew, *Rev. Arch.*, 1905, i, p. 110; Dilke, *B.S.A.*, XLIII, 1948, p. 181, note 2.

establishment on the northwest slope of the Areopagus, the immediate context being of the second half of the 3rd century of our era (Pl. 46³⁻⁹). The lot would appear to comprise the odds and ends of worn and broken jewellery that might have accumulated in a woman's jewel box. Most interesting are the seal stones, all detached from their rings. One (J 111) shows Aphrodite, semi-nude, in three-quarter view from behind, resting her left elbow on a column. Her attributes stem from a contamination of the Venus Victrix and the Judgment of Paris types: in her left hand a spear, its point resting on a shield, in her right an apple in place of a helmet. The second stone (J 112) is engraved with a draped figure, a carrying pole with baskets over her shoulder, a spiny object or creature in the left hand. The third (J 110) carries a bizarre hybrid: a satyr head supported on bird's legs, its peaked hat terminating above in a bridled horse's head with wreath in mouth; a cornucopia occupies the saddle while the rump effloresces in a ram's head holding two heads of barley in its mouth; in the field to right a palm branch and dolphin. This general type is exceedingly common in the imperial period, but our example is more carefully cut than most.⁴²

The rest of the little hoard comprises an earring of thin gold with a pear-shaped drop suspended from a pelta (J 106), a garnet drop on twisted gold wire that shows long wear (J 107), a cluster of seed pearls strung on gold wire (J 108) and a many-faceted glass bead (J 109). All these jewellery forms are characteristic of the 2nd and 3rd centuries of our era.

THE AGORA MUSEUM (PLATE 47)

For many years the question of the permanent Agora museum has been a perennial subject for debate. From the beginning, to be sure, it had been agreed that all the finds from the excavation should be kept together as a unified collection and eventually housed in a permanent building on the spot so that the individual objects might be viewed in association with their original setting and so that at the same time the site might be enlivened by the evidence of its ancient furnishing. The need for a permanent building has been made urgent by the fact that the group of 19th-century private houses which now shelter the finds and the work-rooms are bursting at their seams and have become inadequate for the proper display of much of the material. Standing as they do near the middle of the excavated area these modern houses also confuse the visitor's comprehension of the ancient site and actually interfere directly with the exploration of at least two important monuments: the archaic Fountain House and the South Stoa.

⁴² On the type cf. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I, pl. XLVI, 33 and 36. For representative parallels cf. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steinen im Antiquarium*, no. 8532; Walters, *British Museum Catalogue of Engraved Gems and Cameos*, nos. 2574-85; Richter, *Metro-politan Museum Catalogue of Engraved Gems*, no. 274.

Agreed that a permanent building should be erected, where was it to be placed? In the 30's a site was tentatively chosen to the southwest of the Agora proper, in the valley bounded by the Areopagus on the east, the Pnyx and Hill of the Nymphs to the south, Kolonos Agoraios on the west. This site had much to recommend it: placed here, the Museum would have lain outside the ancient square yet would have been within sight and easy reach of the main area of the excavation; it would also have been easy of access from the modern street that runs between the Hephaisteion ("Theseum") and the Acropolis, two "musts" on the itinerary of every visitor to Athens.

The excavation of the area to the west of the Areopagus, begun in 1939 and largely completed in the post-war seasons, has, however, brought out certain serious disadvantages in the site. A modern building of a size adequate to house the museum could not have been set down in this region without appearing obtrusive in the natural setting, nor without conflicting to some extent with the view of the principal ancient building in the area, viz., the Temple of Hephaistos. A final blow was given to this provisional choice by the excavations of the past two seasons which have revealed many remains of ancient buildings both public and private of such importance that even their partial obliteration by a modern building could not be tolerated.

As an alternative it was proposed to place the permanent museum in the "Theseum Park" to the west of the Temple of Hephaistos. Here again, however, the evident advantages of the site were more than outweighed by its defects. If placed at this distance the museum would have been out of sight of the Agora and the finds would thus have been divorced from the site. Its remoteness would also have constituted a practical inconvenience in the use of the building as a base of operations for the continued exploration of the Agora. Still another major obstacle of a practical nature was the necessity of making a thorough archaeological examination of the proposed site before confirming the choice; this would have been a costly operation and might well have led again to the discovery of antiquities of sufficient importance to rule out the use of the site.

In the face of these difficulties a third alternative was proposed and has now been adopted, viz., the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos to house the museum. This market hall, with overall dimensions of *ca.* 116.50 × 19.40 metres, was erected by Attalos II, King of Pergamon, in the second century B.C. (159-138 B.C.). Consisting of a row of twenty-one shops that opened through a double colonnade on a broad terrace, with a second story above, the great building had stood for 400 years effectively closing the square toward the east, offering splendid promenades from which thousands of citizens might overlook the monuments of the square, the stir of life and passing processions. As we know from the bases found in and in front of the Stoa, as also from references in ancient inscriptions, the building was adorned with sculpture and painting.

After the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 the Stoa was partially dismantled and incorporated in the new system of fortification, the so-called "Valerian Wall." Since this wall continued in use throughout the Middle Ages, the Stoa survived in a remarkably complete state as compared with the buildings of the Agora to the west. Its walls still stand in places to their original height and enough of the significant elements of the superstructure remain either in place or on the site to permit the recovery of the original scheme in all essential details. The reconstruction can be effected, moreover, without prejudice to the ancient fabric of the building and without obscuring the archaeological evidence for its study. The workmanship, though good, is not, like that of the Periclean buildings, of such superlative quality as to discourage the emulation of modern craftsmen. The same materials must and can be used in the reconstruction, i. e., marble for the façade and for trim in the interior, Peiraic limestone for the walls.

The Stoa as rebuilt will provide ample room for museum purposes. The space occupied by the shops may be used for display galleries. The second story will accommodate the vast mass of material, especially groups of vases from tombs, wells and cisterns, of interest chiefly to students. On the second floor also may be installed workrooms essential for the continuance of the excavation. Large storerooms can be economically secured by scooping out the ancient filling inside the foundations of the terrace and the colonnade proper. The magnificent porch of the ground floor will serve ideally, as it did in antiquity, for the display of statuary, as also of heavy architectural marbles from the buildings of the Agora, the foundations of which will be in clear view from the terrace.

In addition to its immediate and practical value as a solution to the museum problem proper, the reconstruction of the Stoa has much else to recommend it. In this way, as in no other, the scheme of the ancient building will be made intelligible to layman and scholar alike and it will stand as a splendid example of one of the commonest types of Greek civic architecture facing west toward the Temple of Hephaistos, a first-rate specimen of temple design. So far from quarreling with the lines of the ancient thoroughfares and buildings the Stoa will again, as in antiquity, close the east side of the Agora square, helping the eye to visualize its extent and disposition. In its combination of utility and beauty the Stoa as rebuilt will be comparable with the Panathenaic Stadium, the reconstruction of which in 1896 we owe to the munificence of a single citizen, M. Averoff.

Recommended by such considerations, the Stoa-Museum project has appealed to and has been approved by the Greek authorities, both the archaeological and the town planning, as also by Greek public opinion, so that the work begins in an atmosphere of friendly enthusiasm in agreeable contrast to the reluctant tolerance with which previous proposals had been greeted. The undertaking was viewed with favor by the European Coöperative Administration as one that would substantially augment the

cultural and touristic resources of Greece, a source of revenue on which the country is bound to be more dependent in the future. It has therefore been included in the current program for the rehabilitation of museums and archaeological sites in Greece with the aid of funds made available under the Marshall Plan. The first allocation of money has permitted the work to begin in April, 1949, and it is hoped that renewed grants in the subsequent years of the Marshall Plan may go far toward completing the project.

The Stoa of Attalos was erected in the second century B.C. by an easterner who owed his education to the schools of Athens and who was imbued with admiration for the already venerable city. It is a happy chance that the reconstruction of the Stoa should be undertaken in the twentieth century of our era with the assistance of westerners who are equally indebted to Athens as the common source of their cultural inheritance.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY



1. West End of Middle Stoa, from the West. (A = southwest corner of Stoa foundations, B = steps in roadway)



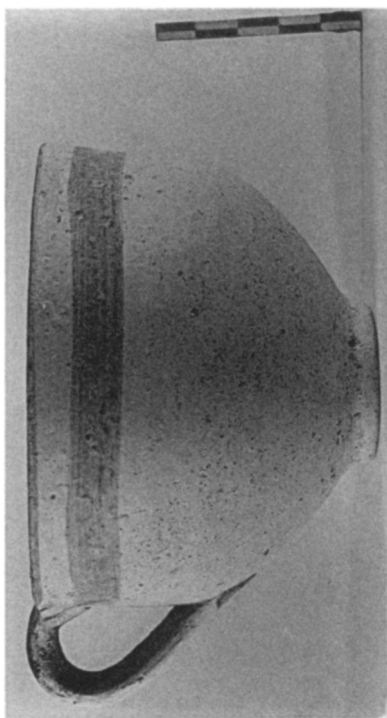
2. Foundations of archaic Fountain House, from the East. (The sloping roadway immediately beyond the Fountain House has been cleared to its early Roman levels. The arrow marks the northwest corner of the Fountain House)



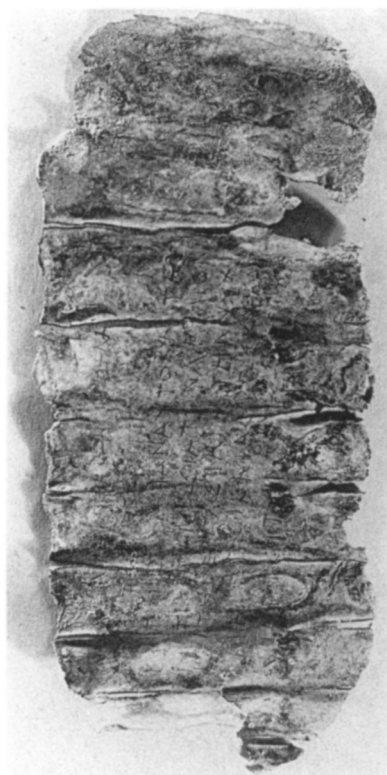
1. Area to the West of the Areopagus, from the Southwest. (Note the diagonal course of the Great Drain. The arrow marks the southeast corner of the "Dikasterion")



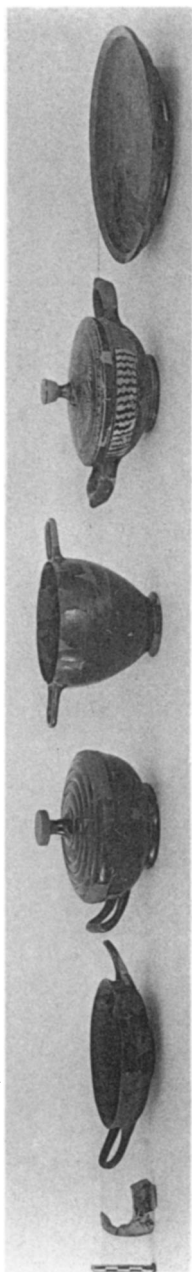
2. Cist Grave of two Children (L. H. III)



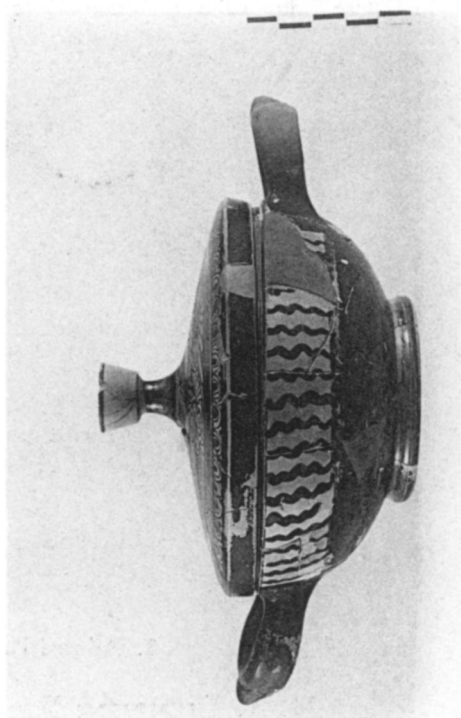
1. Mug from Children's Grave (L. H. III) (P 19,211)



2. Lead Curse Tablet (IL 997)



3. Vases from Cremation Burial of late 5th Century (P 19,316; P 19,315; P 19,317; P 19,314; P 19,313; P 19,318)

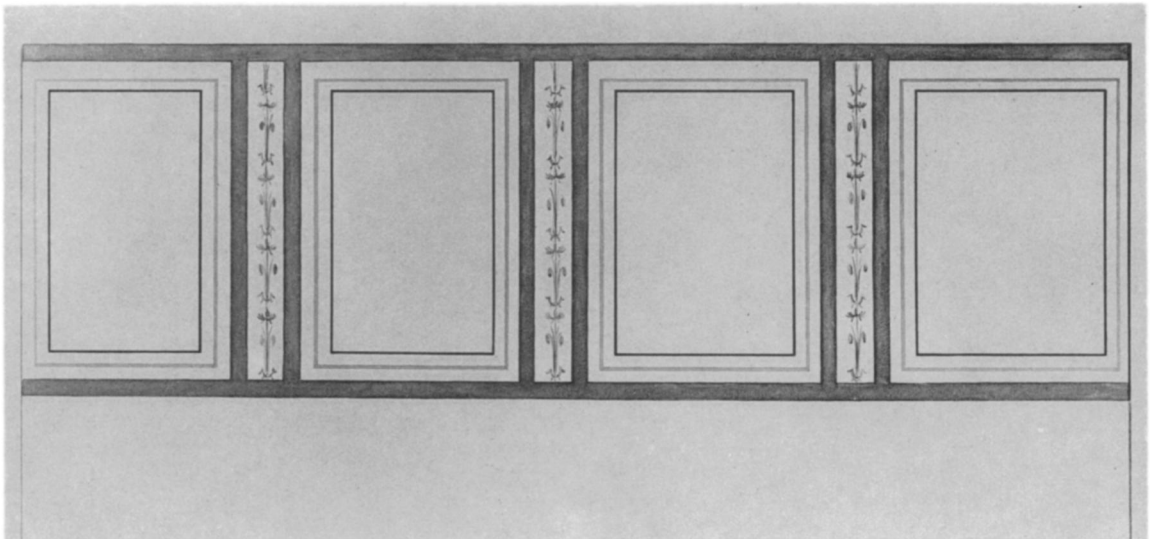


4-5. Lekanis from Cremation Burial (P 19,313)





1. House Foundation of Roman Date on Northeast Slope of Hill of Nymphs, from the Northwest.
(A = Courtyard, B = Room of the two Marble Busts, C = Kitchen)

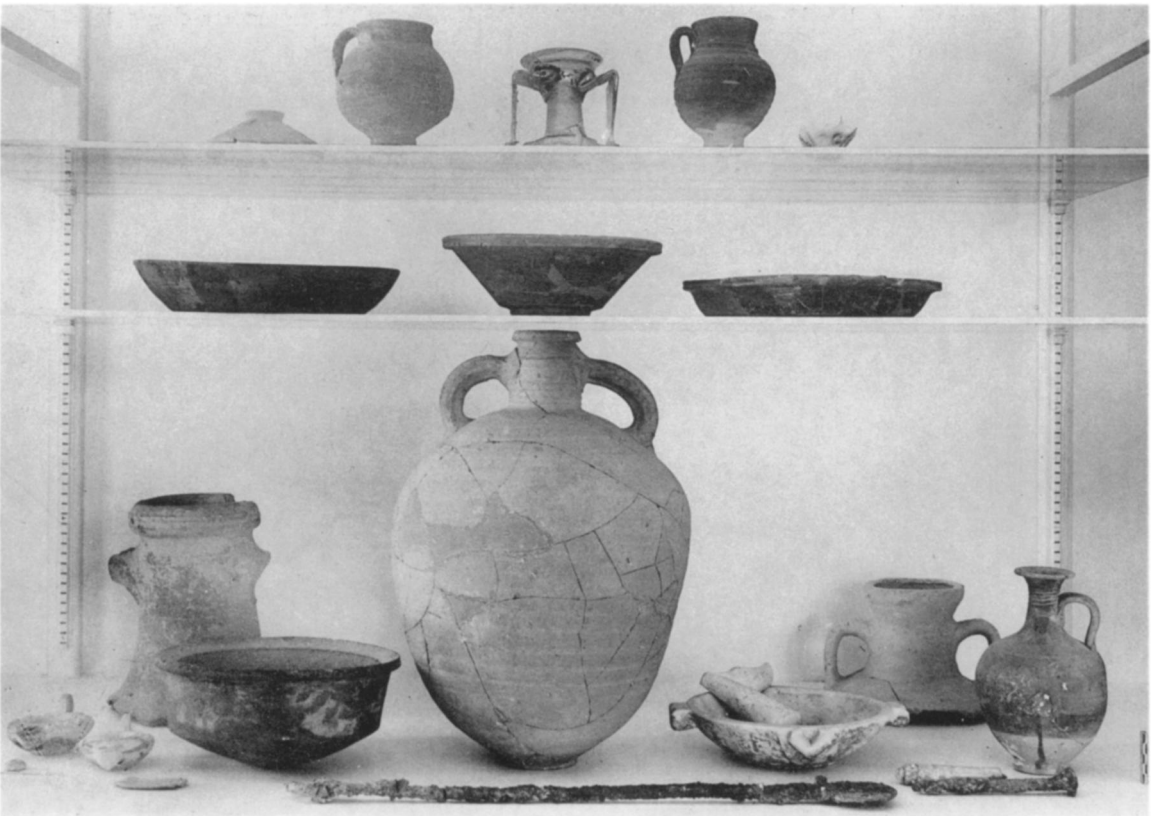


2. Painted House Wall of Roman Period (restored)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948



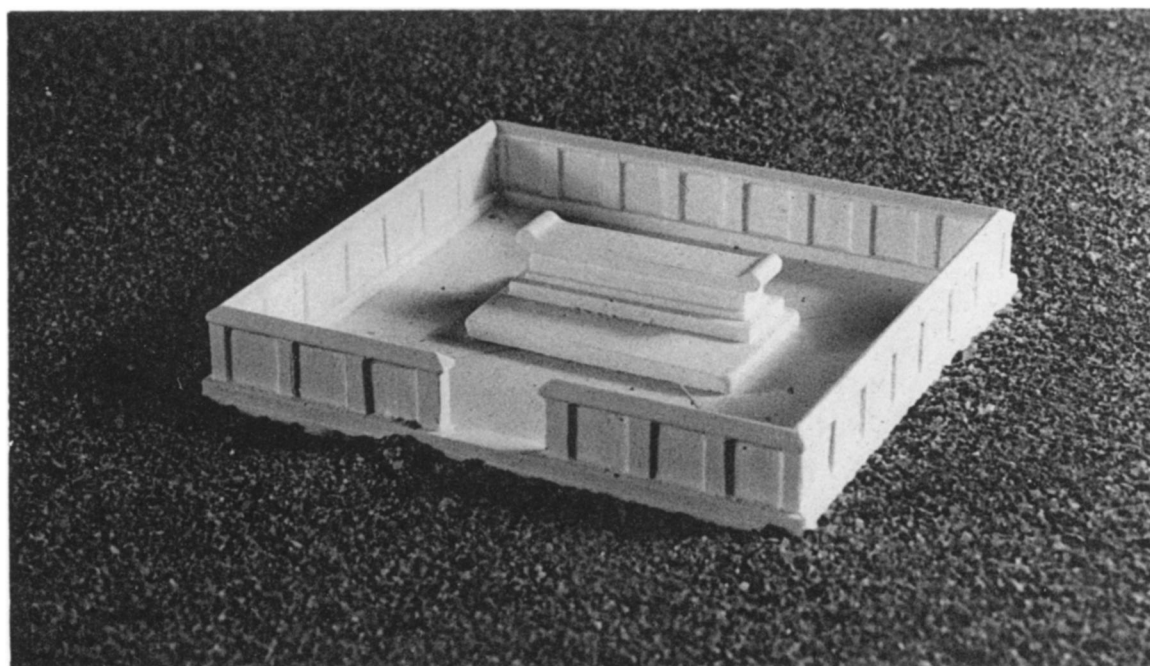
1. Corner of Kitchen destroyed in A. D. 267



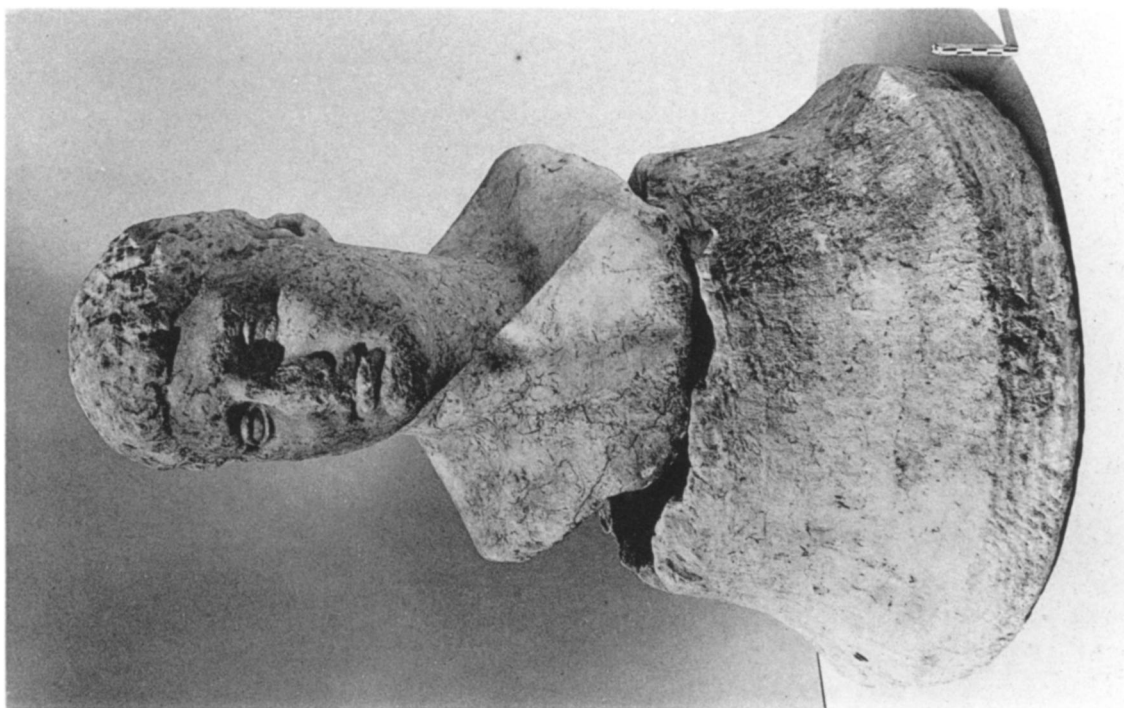
2. Selection of Kitchen Equipment



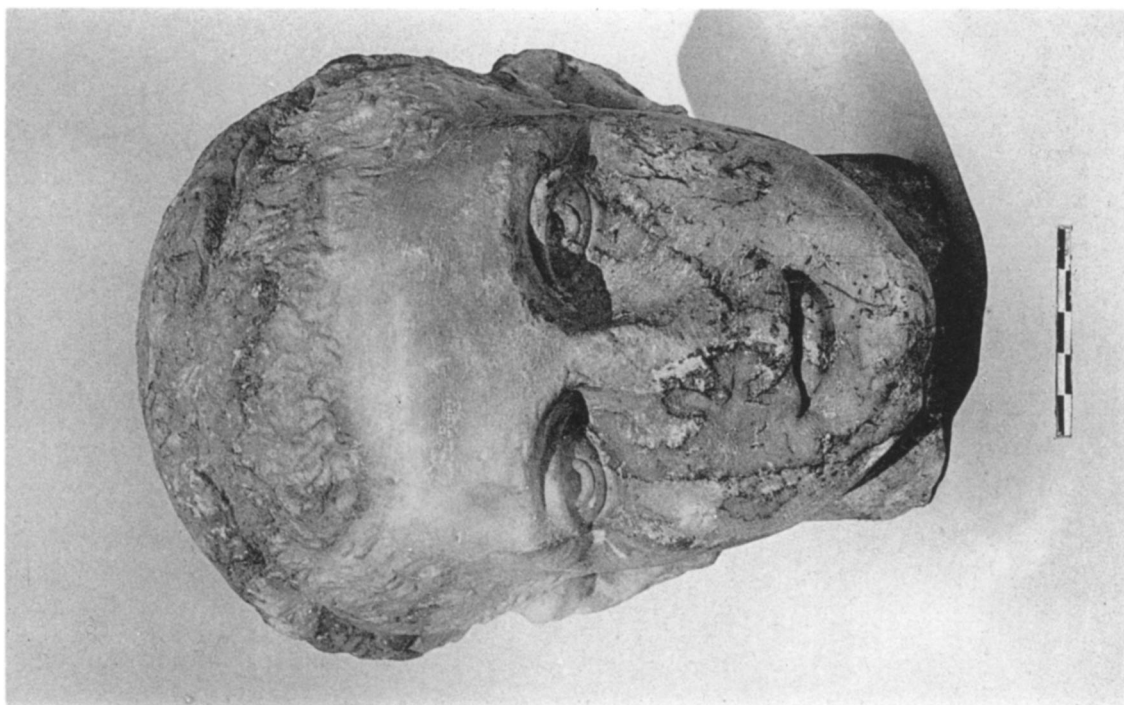
1. Water Channel to North of Pnyx, looking Northwest. (The terracotta channel to the left represents a late repair)



2. Model of the Altar of the Twelve Gods



1. Marble Portrait Bust from House destroyed in
A.D. 267 (S 1319)



2. Marble Portrait of a Boy (S 1312)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948



1. Marble Figure of Reclining Herakles (S 1318)



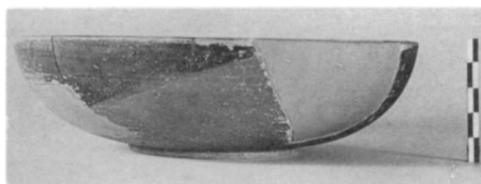
2. Marble Medallion (S 934)



3. Unfinished Marble
Statuette of Castor
(S 1342)



1. Archaic Inscription on Marble (I 6091)



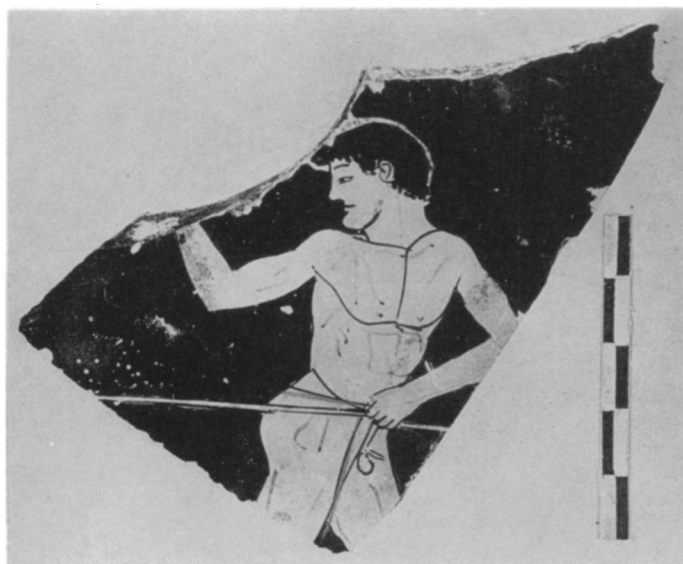
2. Terracotta Bowl with Portrait Emblema (P 19,267)



3. Detail of Emblema (P 19,267)



4. Fragment of a Krater by one of the Mannerists (P 19,282)



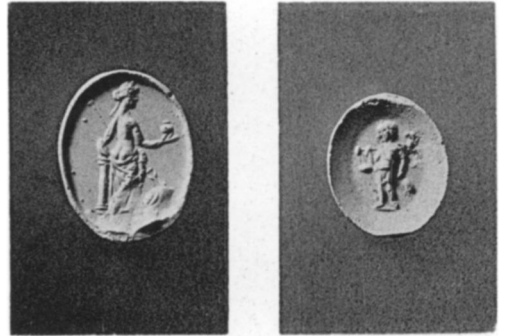
5. Fragment of a Krater by the Eucharides Painter (?) (P 19,291)



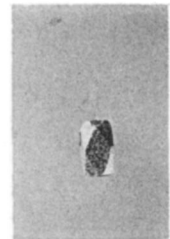
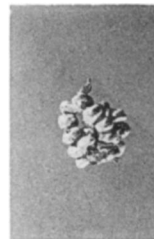
1. Terracotta Lamp with Ransoming of Hektor (L 4490)



2. Bone Discs (BI 602, BI 606)



3-5. Seal Stones from Ruins of Roman Bath (J 111, J 112, J 110)
(Enlarged 1½ times)



6-9. Jewelry from Ruins of Roman Bath (J 106, J 107, J 108, J 109)



1. South End of Stoa of Attalos, from the Northwest



2. Stoa of Attalos, from the Southeast

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1948