

# EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1951

(PLATES 19-31)

THROUGH the months of April to July, 1951, the sixteenth season of excavation was carried out in the Agora of Athens by the American School of Classical Studies. Field work was concentrated in the market square proper and was directed to the systematic clearance down to the early Roman level of large areas in the west central, north central and southeastern parts. Several new topographical discoveries were made, among them the existence of a temple of the early Roman period in the southwest quadrant of the square. New information was gained regarding previously known monuments such as the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, the Temple and Altar of Ares, the Middle Stoa. Conservation and reconstruction of a modest nature were carried out on the Temple of Ares, the Peribolos of the Eponymous Heroes and the Great Marble Altar to the east of the Metroon. A number of well furnished chamber tombs and individual graves dating from the sixteenth to the tenth century B.C. were explored beneath the northern part of the market square. Not least important, the year's work resulted in greater improvement to the general appearance and accessibility of the Agora than that of any single previous season (Pl. 19a).

Once more it is a pleasure to acknowledge the courtesies and help received from the authorities of the Greek Archaeological Service, especially from its Director, Professor A. Orlandos, from the Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, Mr. N. Kotzias, from the Ephor, Mr. John Threpsiades, and from the Director and Assistant Director of the National Museum, Mr. and Mrs. Chr. Karouzos.

The undertaking remains fortunate in the continuity of its staff. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool has once more divided his time between the academic curriculum of the School, the supervision of field work and the prosecution of his own studies of Agora material. Mr. John Travlos devoted practically the whole of his time to the architectural needs of the Agora Excavations. As staff photographer Miss Alison Frantz has met the current needs of field work, has produced large blocks of photographs for studies being prepared by members of the staff, has filled an increasing number of orders from outside scholars, has turned out many kodachrome lantern slides and has made a beginning in the use of the motion picture camera. Miss Lucy Talcott, in charge of museum records and workrooms has continued to keep the growing mass of material readily accessible and immediately useful to the Agora staff, to visiting scholars and to scholars at a distance; in all this she has been ably assisted by Miss Barbara Philippaki. Miss Margaret Crosby, in addition to supervising excavation along the north side of the Temple of Ares, has completed the sorting and recording

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of a vast amount of documentary pottery from the areas excavated by the late Arthur Parsons, and has thus salvaged a very great deal of evidence. Miss Virginia Grace has worked steadily on the study of wine jars in the Agora and elsewhere, especially on Delos where she is collaborating with scholars of the French School in processing the large mass of material excavated over many years by the sister school; Miss Grace reports that her book on the jars of Knidos, the first volume in a projected corpus organized by places of origin, is now well advanced. Miss Marion Welker devoted part of her time, on a voluntary basis, to drawing and painting for publication. Mr. Gerald F. Sullivan, while holding a Fulbright scholarship, supervised excavation for a second season in the north central part of the market square.

As many of the new members of the School as could be accommodated were invited this season, as before, to participate in the work of the Agora, an arrangement which advances the undertaking and assures first-hand acquaintance with archaeological methods for no small proportion of the rising generation of classical scholars.

Miss Elizabeth Lyding, Thomas Day Seymour Fellow of the School, working under the direction of Miss Virginia Grace, has studied the wine jars bearing Latin stamps found in the Agora excavations in conjunction with comparative material from Corinth, Delos and elsewhere. Miss Rebecca C. Wood, Ella Riegel Fellow from Bryn Mawr and Mr. Edwin L. Brown, a Fulbright Scholar, supervised areas of excavation. Miss Emily D. Townsend, a Fulbright Scholar, saw to the clearing of several ancient wells and of a Mycenaean chamber tomb, to the rich furnishings from which she has devoted a special study. Miss Claireve Grandjouan, a member of the School from Bryn Mawr, was likewise responsible for the clearing of a number of wells; she also produced a very useful tool for the study of the terracotta figurines from the Agora in the shape of a type index. Miss Ruth E. Fiesel, a Fulbright Scholar, and Mr. James C. Rubright, David M. Robinson Fellow of the School, assisted for shorter periods in the recording of material indoors.

In addition to the four pre-doctoral Fulbright Scholars mentioned above, several senior scholars holding Fulbright Research Grants again elected to devote their time to Agora material. In the summer of 1951 Professor Richard H. Howland returned to complete his study of the terracotta lamps of the Greek period. Professor Oscar W. Reinmuth, continuing his comprehensive study of the ephebic inscriptions and the place of the ephebic institution in Athenian education, spent much of his time in the Agora. Professor Henry S. Robinson in the year 1951-52 is preparing a comprehensive study of the pottery of all categories from the Roman period, a field in which the abundant finds from the Agora will permit of a major contribution. Dr. Norman Herz, a trained geologist, is straddling two disciplines in undertaking a study of the building materials used in Athens; he has made the Agora his base of operations, has contributed much to a more scientific understanding of many Agora buildings and has made his specific knowledge freely available to a wide community. Professor W.

Kendrick Pritchett, who has received a supplementary Fulbright grant in addition to a Guggenheim Fellowship, is wringing a wealth of new information from the shattered marble records of the sale of the goods confiscated from Alkibiades and his accomplices in 415 B.C.

Once more the field and technical work were carried out by the experienced Greek staff under the zestful direction of the Chief Foreman, Mr. Sophokles Lekkas.

The successful continuation of the enterprise is due in large measure to the ever ready cooperation of Professor John L. Caskey, Director of the School, to the skill and experience of the School's business staff, and to the wholehearted support of the governing bodies of the School in the United States. Both Mr. Ward M. Canaday, Chairman of the Board of Trustees, and Professor Charles H. Morgan, Chairman of the Managing Committee, visited Athens in the summer of 1951 largely to acquaint themselves with the progress of the work.

Once more the undertaking is enormously indebted to those friends whose financial contributions are rapidly bringing the completion of the job within view. May they derive some satisfaction from the knowledge that their help is not only leading to a better understanding of the past, but is also providing in the heart of the capital of Greece a clear indication of American interest in the present and future welfare of the country.

#### STOA OF ATTALOS — AGORA MUSEUM

The first lot of building stone for the reconstruction of the ancient structure was delivered at the site in the autumn of 1951: limestone from Peiraeus, identical with that used by Attalos, to be employed in the retaining wall of the Stoa terrace. This material has been paid for with Marshall Plan money received from Economic Cooperation Administration through the Greek Ministry of Education.

In anticipation of the start of work on the reconstruction, a number of ancient wells previously discovered in the area of the Stoa were cleared in the course of the season: one of the late Geometric Period behind the north part of the building, one of the fifth century B.C. near the middle of the building, one of the second century B.C. beneath its south part, and one of the latest Roman period near the northwest corner of its terrace. Of particular interest from the well of the fifth century is its terracotta curb which was recovered in fragments from the shaft (Pl. 21c); it proves to be a good example of a type of well head recently studied by Miss Mabel Lang.<sup>1</sup> In the well of the second century working chips from the Stoa itself were found together with pottery of the period of use, showing that the well had been employed during the construction of the Stoa, a significant circumstance for the dating of the pottery.

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 114-127.

A large proportion of the total sum of money needed for the reconstruction of the Stoa is already in hand and the work of rebuilding will commence as soon as the remainder is assured.

#### THE SOUTHEAST EXIT FROM THE AGORA

Under the direction of Mr. Edwin Brown a remnant of modern road (Areopagus Street) was removed in the area between the Middle Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos and southward (Pl. 19b). Below some 5 metres of accumulation of the Turkish, Byzantine and late Roman periods lay the continuation of the Panathenaic Way, its surface deeply scarified by the torrents that descended in consequence of the blocking of the main drains after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Both before and after the sack the line of the Panathenaic Way had been followed through this bottle neck by an amazing number of small terracotta water conduits, some round, others rectangular in section, most of them coming from the south, a few from the east, over a score in all.

Southward of the southeast corner of the Middle Stoa have appeared the foundations of a narrow structure that undoubtedly linked the Middle Stoa with the South Stoa; only its articulated east front has been indicated on the plan (Fig. 1). Its primary function, no doubt, was to screen the east end of the commercial market place; it must also have contained a stairway to make good the drop in level between the Panathenaic Way and the area between the Middle and South Stoa.

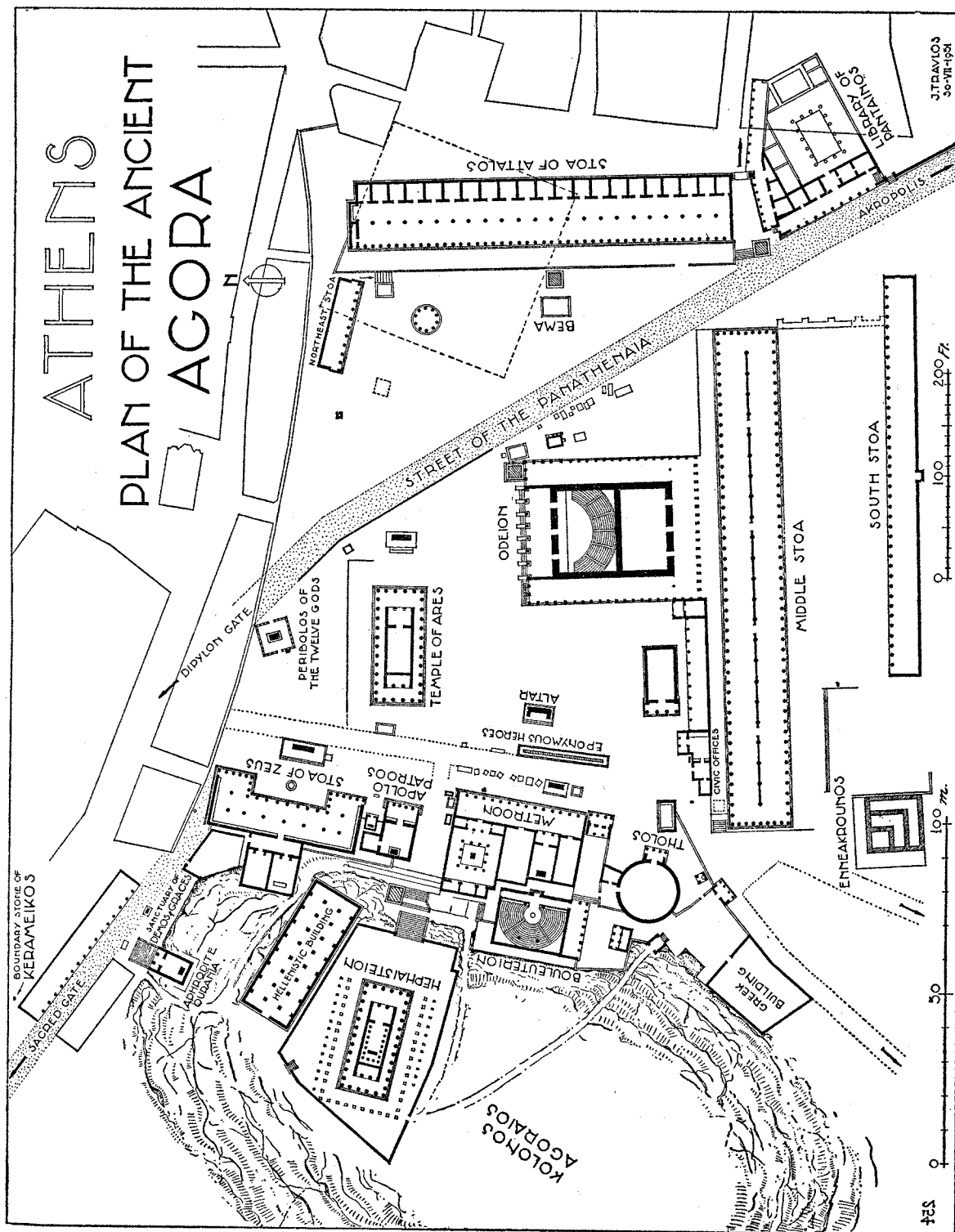
At the west edge of the Panathenaic Way appeared a shallow well that yielded an interesting group of late Geometric pottery.

It is intended in the season of 1952 to continue the clearance of this area southward in the hope of exposing at last the east end of the South Stoa.

#### MIDDLE STOA

The general program of the season touched both extremities of this enormous building, one of the very largest in Athens, measuring as it does close on 150 metres in length. The general scheme of the building has long been familiar from the published plans: a huge shed-like structure surrounded on all four sides by a colonnade and divided longitudinally by an inner row of columns which supported both the roof and a thin screen wall (Fig. 1). One half of the building faced northward across the principal plaza and was undoubtedly a fashionable promenade; the south half bounded the north side of the lesser square or commercial market place which was closed on its other side by the single colonnade of the South Stoa; this half of the building, therefore, presumably served as a market hall. In its double scheme and dual function the Middle Stoa finds its best parallel in the Stoa of Philip on Delos as it was enlarged at some time in the early part of the second century B.C.<sup>2</sup> It is tempting,

<sup>2</sup> R. Vallois, *Délos*, VII: *Les Portiques au Sud du Hieron*, Paris, 1923; *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos*, Paris, 1944, pp. 66-68, 164 f.



## 1. Restored Plan of the Agora

indeed, to believe that one of these buildings was patterned on the other. Their precise relationship can scarcely be discovered, however, until the dates of both are more securely established. The evidence at present available for the Athenian building (pottery, amphora handles, coins, etc. from its construction filling) suggests that it was under construction in the late 60's of the second century. The Stoa of Attalos II, built probably in the 50's as the second major unit in the remodelling of the old square, clearly took its orientation, its precise placing, and its floor level from the Middle Stoa.

Before the War the east end of the Middle Stoa had been established with the stumps of three of its unfluted Doric columns of poros still standing in place. During the season under review this end was cleared throughout its length under the direction of Mr. Edwin Brown. Over the southern half of the width of the building the three steps are well preserved: simple but good construction in soft brown poros (Pl. 19b).

The western end of the Stoa had likewise been partially exposed in earlier seasons. In 1951, however, Miss Rebecca Wood, in the course of a general tidying-up of this area, exposed more thoroughly the western extremity of the Stoa terrace. She soon discovered that the terrace had not originally extended to the very end of the building but had stopped short by 5.50 m. (Fig. 1, Pl. 20a, A). This setback was intended, no doubt, to reduce interference with traffic using the southwest exit from the square; the same consideration resulted in the curiously jogged plan of the Civic Offices in the first century B.C. and, still later, determined the placing of the Southwest Temple (see below, p. 90).

The western end of the Stoa terrace in its original form was occupied over a length of 6.65 m. by a massive foundation which bonds with the structure of the Stoa itself and so appears to be contemporary (Pl. 20a, B). The obvious function of this foundation was to support a monument which must have enjoyed one of the most effective locations in all Athens, rising as it did high up and in clear view of all who approached from the north on this principal thoroughfare along the west side of the square.

Such a monument immediately suggests a donor for the Stoa. In view of the parallels of the Hellenistic period elsewhere in Athens, in Delos and in Delphi, the donor can scarcely have been other than a foreign monarch. He must, moreover, have commanded considerable resources in the 60's of the second century in order to embark on such an undertaking. The fact that the Middle Stoa was only the first element in a carefully coordinated design, the second unit of which was immediately afterwards provided by Attalos II of Pergamon, would argue that the donor was on friendly terms not only with Athens but also with the Attalids. That the building was erected by the Pergamenes themselves is made altogether unlikely by the striking difference between it and the Stoas of Eumenes and of Attalos in respect of materials and technique.

Two princes at once come to mind as potential donors: Antiochos IV Epiphanes, King of Syria 175-164 B.C., and Ariarathes V, King of Cappadocia 162-130 B.C.<sup>3</sup> Both men were deeply interested in Hellenic culture; both had lived in Athens, and both had given other and well attested evidence of their regard for Athens. Both, moreover, were on the most intimate possible terms with the kings of Pergamon throughout their respective reigns. Of the two, Ariarathes would seem to be the more likely candidate. The chronological conditions imposed by the available evidence for the date of the stoa are rather better met by his reign than by that of Antiochos. Furthermore it was with Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.), the older brother of Attalos (159-138 B.C.), that Antiochos was most closely associated, whereas Ariarathes and Attalos had sat together in Athens at the feet of the philosopher Karneades, whom they had subsequently honored by the joint dedication of a bronze statue; Attalos had long loved and eventually married Stratonike, the sister of Ariarathes and the two men as reigning monarchs had repeatedly assisted one another in bitter struggles with their neighbors. Under these circumstances it is very easy to conceive that Ariarathes was induced to start the program of remodelling the square by erecting the Middle Stoa (perhaps also the South Stoa) soon after his accession and that the next major unit was provided by Attalos early in his reign. The greater height of the Stoa of Attalos (two storeys as compared with one in the Middle Stoa) and Attalos' use of a showy marble façade on the side toward the square in striking contrast with the limestone of the Middle Stoa, might be regarded as nothing more than evidence of friendly rivalry. We should have to assume, moreover, that between the start of work on the Middle Stoa and the start of work on Attalos' stoa, Eumenes II began the great stoa which bears his name on the south side of the Acropolis, for it is scarcely conceivable, in view of the known rivalry in such matters in this period, that a marble stoa like that of Eumenes would have been followed by a stoa of limestone. This sequence would allow the Pergamene architect and construction foremen who had undoubtedly been sent over by Eumenes, to continue, perhaps without a break, on his brother's project; this, in fact, is precisely what one might infer from the striking technical similarities between the stoas of Eumenes and of Attalos.

Further speculation is scarcely justified until the Middle Stoa has been more thoroughly explored and studied. For the present we can regard it as highly probable that the building is one more illustration of the typically Hellenistic attempt to balance international payments, a very visible export from some eastern monarch in return for his invisible imports of Attic culture. And we may ponder the intriguing hypothesis that the author of the building was Ariarathes V of Cappadocia, fellow student, brother-in-law and ally of Attalos II of Pergamon.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> For a convenient summary and evaluation of the relations between these two princes and Athens, cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 300-311.

<sup>4</sup> An additional link between Athens and Ariarathes has been provided by a Panathenaic

The open angle at the west end of the Stoa terrace was subsequently filled with a stairway that led up to the terrace from the west; much of the rough stone underpinning for the stair remains (Pl. 20a, C). This construction would seem to imply the previous dismantling of the great monument described above. The stair is probably later in date than the Civic Offices and most likely contemporary with the propylon to the south of the Tholos which has been dated in the Augustan period.<sup>5</sup> We may surmise that the object was to convert the Stoa terrace into an elevated east-to-west thoroughway across the square, the need for which would have been felt especially after the construction of the Odeion of Agrippa *ca.* 15 B.C. The plan (Fig. 1) will show how easily one could have reached the terrace on entering the square either from the west through the propylon to the south of the Tholos or from the east past the south end of the Stoa of Attalos. A somewhat similar convenience was effected by the construction of a stairway near the north end of the Stoa of Attalos in the early Roman period.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE SOUTHWEST TEMPLE

Earlier campaigns (1933, 1934) had brought to light traces of constructions of the early Roman period in the angle to the north of the Middle Stoa and to the west of the Odeion. These became intelligible only in 1951 with the removal, under Miss Wood's supervision, of fragmentary Byzantine foundations and masses of late accumulation. The structural remains, although extremely tenuous, justify the restoration of a temple-like building with a western porch, flanked to the south by a narrow colonnade set at the foot of the terrace of the Middle Stoa (Pl. 20b, D; Fig. 1).

The temple foundations were made of heavy conglomerate blocks above a packing of broken stone set in crumbly lime mortar. Blocks remain in place only at the southwest corner of the building, but cuttings and scattered traces of distinctive masonry permit the restoration of a plan with overall dimensions of *ca.* 11 x 21 metres. No elements of the superstructure have yet been identified with certainty; the restoration of four columns in the porch is inferred from the general dimensions and proportions. Such a plan, as also the proportions of our building, may be paralleled among temples of early imperial date in and around the Corinthian Agora.

The stoa to the south of the temple was of equally economical construction. Its stylobate was supported by a single row of conglomerate blocks laid as stretchers above a packing of field stone. Nothing now remains above the conglomerate. A column spacing of *ca.* 3.30 metres is indicated, however, by the greater depth of the stone packing at regular intervals. The width of the stoa was just under 6 metres, its

amphora recently found near the Olympieion; on this appears the name of a King Ariarathes, in all likelihood Ariarathes V, as *agonothetes*: M. T. Mitsos and S. Papaspyridi-Karouzou, *Αρχ. Εφ.*, 1948-1949 (1951), pp. 5-32.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, *The Tholos*, pp. 114-121.

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 55.



length *ca.* 33.30 metres. Between the stoa and the Odeion was interposed a closed room which would seem to have been entered not from the stoa but through a vestibule opening northward. It will be apparent from the plan that an approximate symmetry was intended between this room with its porch and the principal room of the Civic Offices, as also between the stoa with the rooms to east and west of it and the temple. Backed up against the terrace of the larger building, our stoa must have looked like a very late, and very poor descendant of the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi.

As to the relative sequence of all this construction there can be little question: Middle Stoa, Civic Offices, Odeion, temple, stoa to the south of the temple. The absolute date of the Middle Stoa, as noted above, is the second quarter of the second century B.C. The Civic Offices have been assigned to the time of recovery after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C., and the Odeion was built about 15 B.C.<sup>7</sup> For the new temple and stoa the evidence is extremely exiguous because the levels in this area have been violently altered and disturbed in late times. The construction of the temple, and more particularly the nature of the mortar in its foundations, would suggest, however, the early Roman period.

To whom was the temple dedicated? The sudden and comparatively late appearance of so large a shrine (its cella was more capacious than that of any other temple in and around the Agora) is perhaps most easily explained on the hypothesis that it was intended to house some imperial cult. The fact that the temple was placed in close proximity to the old civic buildings, contiguous to and facing on the precinct of the Tholos, suggests the possibility that the cult was in some way associated with the civic institutions.<sup>8</sup> In this connection it may be permissible to recall that in 1936 a marble base with setting marks for a bronze statue was found, though not *in situ*, near the northwest corner of the temple. The inscription on the front of the base records its dedication by the Council of the Areopagus to *Ιουλία Σεβαστή Βουλαία Τιβερίου μήτηρ*, i. e. Livia of the Boule; its date has been fixed between A.D. 14 and 37.<sup>9</sup> If this association is indeed significant, we should have the family of Augustus represented in the southwest quadrant of the square as it would appear to have been also in the Temple of Ares, newly transplanted to the northwest quadrant,<sup>10</sup> and in the Odeion of Agrippa in the middle.

#### THE EPONYMOUS HEROES AND THE ALTAR OF ZEUS AGORAIOI

Two other monuments that had been first exposed in the earliest years of the excavation also profited from Miss Wood's attention in the summer of 1951: the

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 153 (Civic offices); XIX, 1950, p. 140 (Odeion).

<sup>8</sup> Vitruvius (IV, 5), in discussing the orientation of a temple, gave it as a rule that the building should face *west*; if, however, the temple adjoined a river or a roadway, it should face on the same.

<sup>9</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 464, no. 12.

<sup>10</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 49-52.

Monument of the Eponymous Heroes and the great marble altar to the east of the Metroon.<sup>11</sup>

It will be recalled that the long pedestal which supported the statues of the heroes was also used for the display of public notices and for the preliminary publication of official documents such as laws in the process of revision. These notices were protected from the fingers of the public by means of a fence consisting of stone sill, posts and cap with rails of wood. In order to make the arrangement more intelligible to the visitor, two bays of the fence have been reconstituted on the west side of the enclosure out of surviving fragments supplemented with reinforced concrete; this has been illustrated in an earlier fascicule of the current volume (cf. above, pp. 58-60, pl. 16). The intriguing monument requires still more thorough exploration and study.<sup>12</sup>

The great marble altar to the east of the Metroon was found in 1931 stripped to its lowest foundation except for the step blocks on its west side, the sheer bulk of which had discouraged late Vandals, and for one enormous orthostate from the altar proper which had been swung around through an angle of 90° to be incorporated in the foundations of a Byzantine house (Pl. 21a). In order to make these remains more readily intelligible, the podium has been reconstructed of ancient building blocks and on its top have been set at their proper level both the huge orthostate which was found near by and a companion piece which was recovered in scores of fragments from the curbing of a late well in the porch of the Metroon (Pl. 21b). One can now begin to appreciate the scale and the scheme of what must be regarded even in its present sad state as the best preserved of the monumental altars of ancient Athens.<sup>13</sup>

It was demonstrated long ago by Richard Stillwell that, although the architectural style of the altar pointed to the latter part of the fourth century B.C., the structure had been transferred from elsewhere to its present site at a much later date.<sup>14</sup> Subsequently it was observed that the dimensions of the altar corresponded perfectly with a rock-

<sup>11</sup> For the preliminary publication of these two monuments, cf. R. Stillwell, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-148.

<sup>12</sup> B. D. Meritt has drawn my attention to a possible reference to the Eponymous Heroes in an inscription of 426/5 B.C. published in *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, p. 52 with discussion in III, p. 16. Interim accounts showing the state of each ally's contributions were inscribed on wooden tablets and posted πρόσθε[ν τῷ βέματος, according to the restoration proposed in *A.T.L.*, but perhaps better πρόσθε[ν τῶν ἡρώων on analogy with the common fourth-century formula, πρόσθεν τῶν ἐπωνύμων. This would be the earliest known reference to the monument, the next being Aristophanes, *Peace*, lines 1183 f., of 421 B.C. or possibly the *Knights*, lines 977-80, of 424 B.C.

<sup>13</sup> For practical reasons the two orthostates have not been replaced in their original order. The two blocks set end to end would seem to have formed the back on the east side of the altar proper, the more completely preserved one toward the north, the other toward the south. Along the east, north and south sides the orthostates were set in *ca.* 0.50 m. from the edge of the podium; on the west a wider platform was reserved for the priest.

<sup>14</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 147 ff.

cut bedding on the Pnyx made for the altar associated with the third period of the assembly place, to be dated in the time of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.).<sup>15</sup> There can be little doubt that our altar did originally serve the needs of the Assembly when it met on the Pnyx and that, when the Assembly abandoned the Pnyx in favor of the more comfortable Theatre of Dionysos, the altar was moved to the Agora. The most precise evidence for the date of its removal is given by the letters cut by the masons for their own convenience in re-assembling the blocks. The general appearance of these roughly cut letters and the occurrence among them of one alpha with a broken and one with a curved bar would point to a time toward the middle of the first century B.C. so that we are perhaps justified in assigning this operation to the series of minor activities such as the construction of the Civic Offices and the porch of the Tholos that occurred in this part of the square as the city began to recover from Sulla's ravages.

One would gladly know to what divinity the altar was sacred. The fact that it lies on the axis of the group of buildings comprising the Metroon and Bouleuterion, coupled with its probable connection with the Pnyx, points to some civic association. The divinity to whom sacrifices were made in the meetings of the Assembly on the Pnyx is nowhere directly named, but from passages in Aristophanes' *Knights* (lines 409 f., 425, 499 f.) we may infer with probability that it was Zeus Agoraios. This inference is strengthened by the fact that Plutarch (*an seni respublica gerenda sit*, 10) couples together Zeus Agoraios, Zeus Boulaios and Zeus Polieus as the sources respectively of oratory, good counsel and protection. Since Zeus Boulaios was established in the Bouleuterion (Antiphon, VI, 45) and Zeus Polieus on the Acropolis (Pausanias, I, 24, 4), it is a fair assumption that Zeus Agoraios was properly at home in the Assembly Place. The transference of our altar from Pnyx to Agora would explain the otherwise enigmatic comment of the scholiast that "Zeus Agoraios is set up in the Agora and in the Assembly Place."<sup>16</sup>

#### TEMPLE OF ARES AND ENVIRONS

Readers of Professor Dinsmoor's study of the Temple of Ares<sup>17</sup> will recall that the foundations were preserved only toward the eastern end of the building and that the remainder of the plan was recovered from a deep cutting in the bedrock. Since this vast pit inevitably gathered water in the rainy season and hence was a menace both to the appearance and to the health of the locality, it has been re-filled. Prior to re-filling, however, the area was carefully explored, drawn and photographed. From the foundation packing at one point was recovered a large terracotta bowl of distinctive shape and fabric which happily confirms the Augustan date indicated by the masons'

<sup>15</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 300, note 38.

<sup>16</sup> Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, line 410: 'Αγοραῖος Ζεὺς ἴδρυται ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ καὶ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

<sup>17</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-52.

marks on the marble blocks of the superstructure as the time when the fifth-century temple was transferred to this site. And deep beneath the Augustan foundations appeared burials of the Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods, of which more below.

In the process of conservation, the outline of the temple was completed by means of a wall of re-used ancient blocks devoid of special significance; the basin within this wall was then filled with field stone from the excavation and surfaced with crushed rock. On this surface will be laid in order the marble blocks from the superstructure that were found in the area. The position, orientation and size of the temple are now apparent at a glance and the area can be easily maintained (Pls. 19a, 22a).

From the late foundations stripped away in the environs of the temple were recovered a number of additional marbles from its superstructure that will make the restoration more precise. These will not be published until the possibility of further additions is tested by the clearance of the area to the south of the temple, probably in 1952.

In last year's report a male head and a female torso (Pl. 22b [d]), both in high relief, were associated with the Altar of Ares.<sup>18</sup> It is now possible to add to this group two female heads and three female torsos which have come to light in the neighborhood of the altar and which are uniform in material, scale, style, quality of workmanship and height of relief (Pls. 22b [b, c, e], 23).<sup>19</sup> The original height of the figures may be calculated as between 0.85 and 0.90 m., very close, that is, to the figures of the Nike Temple Parapet. The salience of the relief is also very similar to that of

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 57 f., pl. 29 b, c and 30 a.

<sup>19</sup> Inv. S 1538: veiled head (Pl. 23 a). Preserved height 0.132 m. Garment drawn over back of head. Right ear pierced for ring. Worked in the round, but shown by the rough finish of its back to have been turned slightly towards its proper left.

Inv. S 1494: head with luxuriant hair bound by spiral turns of a ribbon (Pl. 23 b). Preserved height 0.133 m. Worked in the round but in such a way as to show that head was turned toward proper right. Left ear pierced for ring.

Inv. S 676: torso from shoulders to point below waist (Pl. 22 b[e]). Preserved height 0.447 m. On the left shoulder rests the right hand of a neighboring figure. Clad in sleeved chiton with cord belt and short overfall; himation over left arm. A remnant of the background indicates that the figure was turned slightly toward its proper right.

Inv. S 820: torso from shoulder to point below waist (Pl. 22b[b]). Preserved height 0.473 m. Clad in Doric chiton with girdle and long overfall; the end of an himation appears from behind over the right shoulder. The line of breakage shows that the figure was set almost in profile against the background. Marked weathering.

Inv. S 679: torso from waist to knee (Pl. 22 b[c]). Preserved height 0.498 m. Clad in Ionic chiton and himation. The figure looked out full front from the background. The background, rough picked behind, is here preserved to its full thickness of 0.06 m.

The attribution of the three torsos was proposed by Mr. Gerald Sullivan. The association of the five new pieces, as also of the male head (S 1459) and female torso (S 1072) mentioned in last year's report, may be regarded as certain. Other heads sufficiently close in scale and style to merit consideration as possible candidates for the same company are S 320, 367, 1078, 1451, all female.

the Nike Parapet: the torsos were worked almost in the round but are firmly attached to the background, whereas the heads were cut completely or almost free. The composition was evidently a series of quietly standing figures, for the most part openly spaced but comprising at least one two-figure group, in the manner of the Parthenon, Rhamnous and Hephaisteion pedestals or of the east frieze of the Nike Temple.

Within narrow general limits a great deal of variety was achieved among the individual figures of the frieze: the angle at which the torsos were set against the plane of the background varies from full front to full profile; the chitons of some are thick and heavy, of others light and filmy; some have sleeves and some have not; there are flat girdles and round girdles; long and short overfalls or no overfall whatever; the two surviving female heads have strikingly different coiffures. But all are equally uncommunicative, for not a single attribute or other clue is yet available to permit identification.

A date in the 30's of the fifth century was proposed last year for the first two pieces. This date will easily fit the newcomers. The drapery shows an appreciable refinement on the stage represented by the Panathenaic frieze, yet there is no suggestion of the diaphanous quality of the Erechtheum or Nike Parapet sculptures nor of the wind-blown effect that is scarcely absent even from the quiet figures of the Parapet. We appear to be in the period of the Parthenon pediments though in quite a different key.

Little more evidence is available this year than last for the exact determination of the relationship of the sculpture to the altar. The one piece of technical evidence is provided by the preserved thickness of the background behind the fragment from the lower part of a torso (S 679): 0.06 m. This is too little for a metope, too little also for the whole thickness of a parapet; and the rough treatment of the back proves that it was not exposed. It would appear, however, that this piece was exceptional, for the manner in which the other figures have broken from their backgrounds indicates that they were carved on much heavier blocks.

It may be worthwhile to recall in this connection the figure of a wingless Nike, now in the National Museum at Athens, which was found in 1891 in the cutting of the railway trench at a point some 30 to 40 metres north of the west end of the Temple of Ares.<sup>20</sup> This piece has in common with the torso of our Plate 22b (e) the chiton with girdle and short overfold, a somewhat rare mode, and it shares with the torso of Plate 22b (d) heavy folds distributed in a restless pattern. Since the statue found in the railway cutting is evidently an akroterion, appropriate in scale and date to the Temple of Ares, one might consider its association with the temple.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, figs. 725, 726; *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 241, note 30.

<sup>21</sup> The attribution to the Hephaisteion made by Studniczka and favored by Richter (*op. cit.*, p. 280, n. 183) is now rendered improbable by the discovery of a more likely candidate of utterly different style in the "Hesperides" of *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 235, F. The drawing on the

The further clearing of this season has brought to light provision for a terrace varying in width from  $6\frac{1}{2}$  to 8 metres along the north flank and around the northeast corner of the temple (Pl. 22a). The retaining wall is built of re-used blocks supported in places on a packing of small field stones. Although only about one metre in height, the terrace made good the northward slope of the land; here, too, may have stood some of the numerous statues described by Pausanias as "around the temple," and from here some hundreds of citizens might have enjoyed a good view of the Panathenaic Procession as it swept up the Dromos. A number of rough bedding blocks set down in the firm earth filling between the temple front and altar indicate that this area was paved, presumably with marble slabs.

A number of monument bases have appeared in the immediate environs of the temple, all of them thoroughly pillaged. Three of them, all large, lie to the south of the building: one overriding the southeast corner must be later than the temple, one near its southwest corner and one near its middle will be of the fourth century or Hellenistic period. Between the northeast corner of the temple terrace and the Panathenaic Way stands the one surviving corner of a foundation that may be restored from the imprint of the missing blocks as *ca.* 2.40 m. square (Pl. 22a, E). It appears to have consisted of three steps cut from well worked blocks of hard, cream-colored poros. Material, workmanship and levels would suggest a date in the late sixth or first half of the fifth century. Since this monument would seem to have been the cause of a bend in the Panathenaic Way, it must have been not only of considerable antiquity but also of importance. Closely similar in dimensions, construction and material to another base on the other side of the Panathenaic Way (cf. below, p. 102), this base probably served a similar purpose which was most likely the support of a large herm. Subsequently, but scarcely later than the fourth century, the base was extended westward.

A few metres to the north of the Altar of Ares and bordering on the Panathenaic Way, a marble block that would seem originally to have been a small altar was firmly bedded in the earth, its top flush with the early Roman level of the area (Pls. 21d; 22a, F). A massive iron ring was fastened to the top of the block by means of an eye-pin leaded into the marble.<sup>22</sup> Such rings have been reported occasionally in connection with altars where they were used for fastening the sacrificial beasts,<sup>23</sup> and

red-figured calyx crater in Würzburg, in which both Bulle and Dinsmoor have recognized the Temple of Ares, appears to call for Nike akroteria ('Αρχ. Έφ., 1937, pp. 473-482; *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 48, fig. 18). The discovery, in the spring of 1952 just to the east of the temple, of the left knee which joins the statue perfectly, offers strong confirmation of the connection of the Nike with the temple.

<sup>22</sup> The heavily rusted ring has been removed to the Museum for safe-keeping.

<sup>23</sup> In the pavement along the west side of the Altar of Artemis at Magnesia are traces of 11 such iron rings: A. von Gerkan, *Der Altar des Artemis Tempels in M. a. M.*, Berlin, 1929, p. 4, fig. 2. An eschara in the Agora of Thasos has an iron ring at its edge: *Fasti Archaeologici*, III, 1948, p. 158, para. 1530, fig. 35 (P. Amandry).

the procedure is clearly illustrated by a marble relief found in the Sanctuary of Demeter at Pergamon.<sup>24</sup> Tempting as it is to connect our hitching block with the Altar of Ares, the association is dubious in view of the distance of the block from the altar and the fact that it is aligned with the road rather than with that altar. Some smaller altar may have stood in closer proximity to the block.

Another considerable stretch of the Panathenaic Way has been exposed to the northeast of the Temple of Ares (Pl. 22a). Here, as throughout its course in the market square proper, the roadway had been maintained by successive applications of gravel. Along its southwest side the thoroughfare was precisely defined by a stone water channel with settling basins placed either in its line or immediately alongside; a minimum width of 12 metres of firm trodden gravel has been established but the northeastern edge of the roadway was in fact probably vague.

The course of the drain that issued from the orchestra of the Odeion was traced northward between the east terrace and altar of Ares to the Panathenaic Way (Pl. 22a, C). Among the cover slabs of the drain in the stretch opposite the northeast corner of the temple terrace were noted three fragmentary marble sima blocks, two raking and one horizontal, all undoubtedly deriving from one and the same late archaic building. To the same series must be assigned another fragment of horizontal sima found previously in a disturbed context in this same area (Inv. A 758), a fragment of raking sima picked up behind the Stoa of Attalos and so perhaps from the "Valerian Wall" (Inv. A 390), another fragment of raking sima from a late wall in the southwest part of the Agora (Inv. A 1835) and three tubular spouts from the packing beneath the floor of the Annex of the Stoa of Zeus (Inv. A 769). The best preserved fragment of the raking sima (Inv. A 1892) is illustrated in Pl. 24a and of the horizontal sima (Inv. A 758) in Pl. 24b; their profiles and dimensions will be apparent from Fig. 2. All are carefully worked of coarse-grained island marble. The heavy weathering to which they have been exposed has removed all trace of the painted patterns that must have adorned their faces.

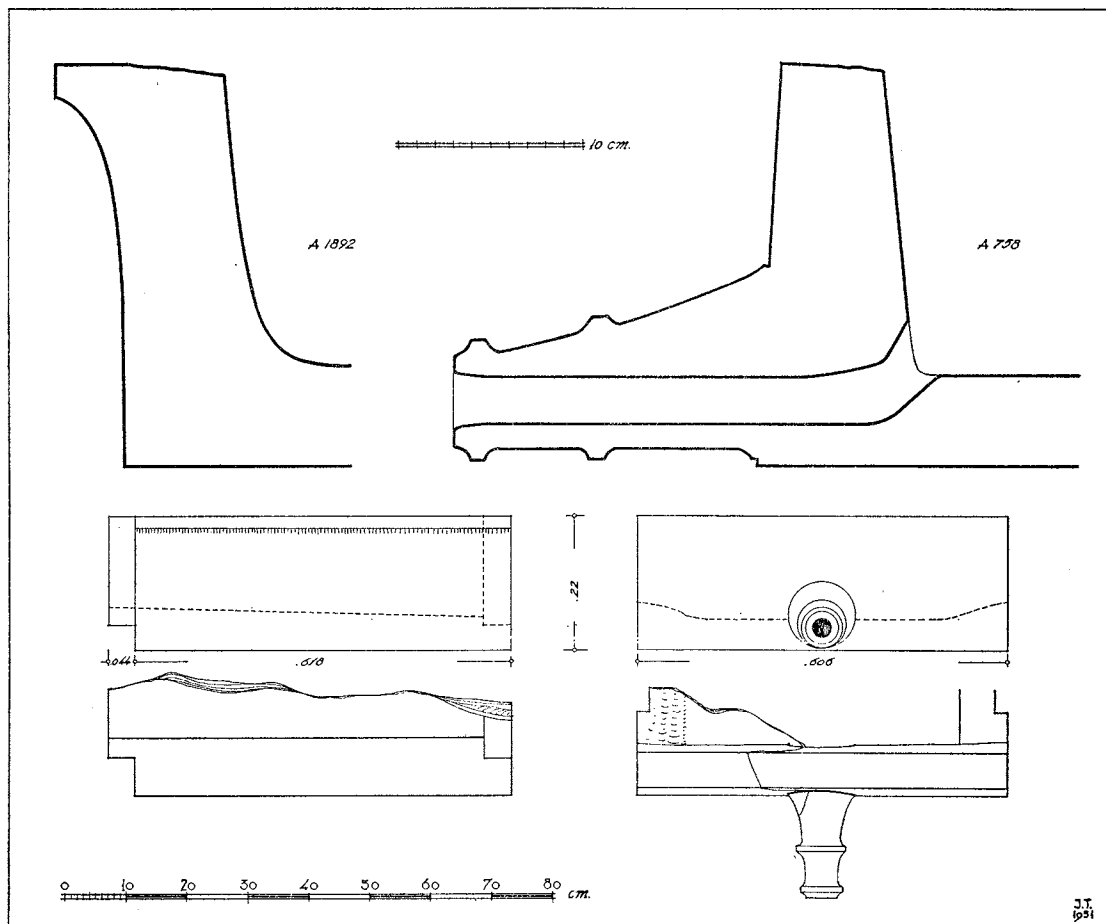
These fragments are of considerable interest on more than one account. They belong to a very small series of cavetto simas in marble rather than terracotta which have been assigned to the latter part of the sixth century.<sup>25</sup> In view of their number, they would seem to derive from a building of that period standing in or near the Agora.<sup>26</sup> The fragments found in the Odeion drain and beneath the Annex of the Stoa of Zeus were available for re-use in the Augustan period.<sup>27</sup> It would be surprising

<sup>24</sup> H. Hepding, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXV, 1910, p. 511, pl. XXIX a.

<sup>25</sup> L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, pp. 131 f., pl. LXII, 15-17; the Agora fragment Inv. A 390 appears as pl. LXII, 17.

<sup>26</sup> With regard to scale it may be noted that the sima of the Hephaisteion, as also of the Temple of Ares, measures 0.224-0.2245 m. high as compared with the 0.22 m. of our fragments (*Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 32-36; Supplement V, pp. 110-116).

<sup>27</sup> For the date of the Stoa Annex cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 64.



2. Archaic Marble Simas (Cf. Pl. 24, a and b)

if a building of the late sixth century had survived the Persian sack to be dismantled in whole or in part during or shortly before the time of Augustus, yet this must be admitted as a probability, for the weathering on our fragments is much heavier than that on other marble simas from the Perserschutt on the Acropolis. Since no building in the part of the Agora thus far explored would seem to meet all the requirements, we may conjecture that the fragments come from some structure of the late archaic period on the northern border of the square. The exploration to the east and north of the Temple of Ares was supervised by Mr. Gerald Sullivan and Miss Margaret Crosby from whose observations I have profited in writing the above summary.

#### SANCTUARY OF THE TWELVE GODS AND OF PITY

Supplementary exploration in the summer of 1951 led to the clarification of certain points in both the structure and the history of the sanctuary; the results have been reported in an earlier fascicule of the current volume (cf. above, pp. 47-82).



## THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE SQUARE

In view of the likelihood of construction beginning on the Stoa of Attalos-Agora Museum project, it has seemed well to complete the exploration of the area in front of the Stoa. During the summer of 1951 the northern part of this region, i. e. the angle between the Stoa of Attalos and the Northeast Stoa and the area westward toward the Panathenaic Way and southward toward the "Bema," was worked over under the direction of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool from whose preliminary report this brief resumé is extracted. Everywhere exploration was carried down to the level of early Roman times and over a considerable part of the area to bedrock.

Structural remains of the Byzantine period were scanty in this region, in striking contrast with the thickly built residential district to the west. In the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ, however, the area had been occupied by private houses separated by an aqueduct from the great gymnasium that flourished in this period above the ruins of Agrippa's Odeion.<sup>28</sup> The plan of one of these houses could be recovered from its floors and lower walls: a modest six-room structure which flanked the ancient roadway bordering the north edge of the square. These late buildings, after being studied and recorded, were removed.

The season's work has shed some light on the previously obscure question of the layout of the area in the centuries prior to the regularization of this part of the market place through the construction of the Stoa of Attalos. In particular we can now visualize how two of the market structures that preceded the Stoa of Attalos were related to the major thoroughfares.

First a word about the square market building the remains of which underlie the north half of the Stoa. As reported previously, this structure was designed as a colonnaded court with solid outer walls and an inner colonnade surrounding an open area about 39 metres square.<sup>29</sup> The additional ceramic evidence gathered this season makes it very probable that the work was initiated by Lykourgos during the years when he controlled the finances of Athens: 338-326 B.C. It has now transpired, however, that the building was never completed, at any rate in its western part. Whereas at the northeast corner of its court one may still see in place a stylobate block with the setting marks for a column base, the foundations for the outer wall on the west side, south half, were never carried even to ground level, and the empty trench above the blocks that were laid was found full of earth and rubbish of the third quarter of the fourth century. In the middle of the west side, moreover, there is a complete gap of over 17 metres in the line of the wall where not even the lowest foundations were ever laid. We may suppose with some confidence that the intention was to have the principal entrance of the building at this point with an ornamental gateway facing northwest-

<sup>28</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 327.

<sup>29</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 320 ff., plan in fig. 1.

ward across the plaza or, more correctly, set in such a way as to admit a thoroughfare that must have branched from the Panathenaic Way near the point where the northeast corner of the Temple of Ares was later to rise. In the season of 1950 an opening of much more modest proportions (2.00 m. wide) was established at the middle of the east wall of the building. Hence one might conceive of the square market building as a widening, with monumental treatment, of an important thoroughfare which continued its course on both sides of the structure. We may assume that the program of construction was interrupted, like Lykourgos' magnificent undertaking on the Pnyx<sup>30</sup> by the troubling circumstances of the last quarter of the fourth century. Nearly three centuries later the plans would seem to have been taken out of their pigeon-hole to serve as the basis for the design of the Market of Caesar and Augustus which has essentially the same scheme of colonnaded court with a monumental entrance in the west side and a smaller entrance in the east.

Of an earlier and more informal arrangement for market purposes which has been previously reported as lying beneath the square colonnaded building and the Stoa of Attalos,<sup>31</sup> the westward continuation was pursued this season. Although the western limit was not clearly established there is some indication that the western as well as the eastern limits of the earlier enclosure coincided fairly closely with those of the square building. In the earlier structure, however, we have as yet found no roofed area. The arrangement consisted of a gravelled enclosure open to the sky bounded on the south by a wall that ran due east and west, and on the north by a second wall with a northwest-southeast orientation almost identical with that of the later building. At the eastern extremity where these two walls converged a broad stairway of two or three steps communicated directly with the same roadway that later served the square structure. No wall has yet appeared on the west side, but we may be sure that the principal entrance was from this side in the earlier as in the later design. One narrow entrance is established in the north side (near the fifth inner pier of the Stoa of Attalos counted from the north) and others may have existed. A water channel interrupted at intervals by substantial stone basins bordered the area at the foot of the south enclosure wall. The date of the enclosure, as indicated by a good deal of ceramic evidence, is the end of the fifth or the very beginning of the fourth century.

Numerous but exiguous lengths of light wall consisting of rubble stone socle with sun-dried brick above have appeared beneath the north end of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos, south of the Northeast Stoa and still farther toward the west (Pl. 25b). These are the remains of private houses or shops or, more probably, combinations of house and shop that closely bordered the large enclosure and the roadway that

<sup>30</sup> *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 300 f., 333 ff.

<sup>31</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 324 f., plan in fig. 1, p. 321.

approached it from the northwest. No structural remains of earlier date have yet been found in this area, although habitation is attested by wells of the fifth, sixth, seventh and eighth centuries.

The general development of marketing facilities would seem to emerge as follows. Down to the end of the fifth century marketing presumably took place in and around the open area that was bounded on the west by the administrative buildings, on the north by the Stoa Poikile and on the south by the old fountain house, or rather by the east-to-west stepped terrace wall of which a length is now visible to the northeast of the fountain house. There was as yet no clearly defined eastern limit to this area nor any substantial buildings on the east side comparable with those on the west side. With the erection of the Stoa of Zeus, perhaps also the New Bouleuterion, in the latter part of the fifth century it must have appeared desirable to regularize the eastern side and to segregate marketing activities from the political, judicial, dramatic, religious and other less mundane proceedings that took place in the principal plaza. The solution adopted was the early enclosure, a makeshift piece of construction reminiscent of the equally shoddy remodelling of the Assembly Place on the Pnyx which was carried out by the Thirty Tyrants of 404/3 B.C.<sup>32</sup> This arrangement was tolerated for about three quarters of a century, after which time the improvement in the city's financial position under Lykourgos and the practical spirit of Lykourgos himself led to a remarkable series of improvements in the public utilities: the theatre, stadium, marine arsenal and the Assembly Place on the Pnyx. It was obviously this same spirit that conceived the conversion of the simple old market enclosure into a more commodious, convenient and beautiful market building, a transformation that is exactly paralleled by the change from the Second to the Third Period of the Assembly Place on the Pnyx.<sup>33</sup> Both the new market building in the Agora and the great complex of buildings on the Pnyx, falling late, it seems, in the Lykourgan program, were caught by the early frost of the war scare and left unfinished. The third century saw practically no construction in Athens.<sup>34</sup> Early in the second century, however, even the eastern part of the square market building was demolished to be replaced by a modest row of two-roomed shops that ran east and west just south of the Square building.<sup>35</sup> Work on this structure was interrupted by the decision to carry out a general remodelling of the whole Agora. Provision was first made for a new commercial market place by the construction of the Middle and South Stoa; immediately thereafter the unfinished shops were razed to make way for the Stoa of Attalos which was to comprise a large

<sup>32</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 113-138.

<sup>33</sup> *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 139-192. For the dating cf. *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, pp. 297-301.

<sup>34</sup> It is significant that Herakleides the Critic, giving his impressions of Athens as it was at the end of the third century B.C., mentions the Parthenon, Theatre, Odeion, Olympieion and gymnasia but has not a word to say of the Agora. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, pp. 261-263.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 320.

number of handsome shops and a magnificent promenade. These facilities satisfied the needs of the city for a century and then the cycle was resumed, so to speak, by the erection, with the help of Julius Caesar and Augustus, of a closed and colonnaded commercial market place to the east of the old Agora.

Brief mention may be made of several lesser monuments in the northeast corner of the square. The oldest of these is a square stepped base of poros that lies some 10 metres to the west of the Northeast Stoa (Pl. 24c, Fig. 1). It consists of three steps of which the lowest is also euthynteria and foundation. A weathered trace on the top of the monument as we now have it marks the position of a missing block 0.82 m. square which was presumably the plinth of the monument proper. At the northwest corner of the middle step is the leaded stump of a small marble stele, 0.13 m. x 0.20 m. in section, which had been broken off in antiquity and subsequently much worn by traffic. The material, workmanship and dated parallels in the Dipylon cemetery would suggest a date in the fifth century, more likely in its first half. Pairs of mason's marks (Α Β Γ Δ) flanking the joints of the middle step betray a transplanting of the monument. The letter forms and the adjacent levels would indicate for the re-setting a date in the early Roman period; the shift may have been occasioned by the erection of the Northeast Stoa or the transplanting of the Temple of Ares. The enormous amount of wear, which gives the base a very venerable appearance, shows clearly that it had always stood in a much frequented place. Its scheme and dimensions would be appropriate to a monumental herm and it is perhaps significant that the marble stump still in place at the corner of its middle step has a cross section more suitable to a herm than to an inscribed stele. As noted above (p. 96) this base would seem to be of the same category as that at the northeast corner of the terrace of the Temple of Ares, and it may well be that they carried two of the numerous herms which are known from ancient authors to have stood in the northern part of the square.

To the southwest of the Northeast Stoa the deep exploration revealed a cutting in bedrock for a monument base *ca.* 4.80 m. square overall (Fig. 1). Only two conglomerate blocks remain in place. The position and orientation of the base suggest that it was intended to face on the roadway that led up to the square market building, than which it should therefore be later. From the pottery in the plundered foundation pit it would appear that the monument was moved at some time in the second century B.C., perhaps to be shifted eastward and set against the admirable background provided by the terrace wall of the Stoa of Attalos.

Some interesting new facts were established concerning the small monopteros (Vitruvius' term for a round temple with columns but no cella wall) which was discovered in 1936 in front of the north part of the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>36</sup> The foundations consist of a single ring of poros blocks with an outside diameter of 8.10 m. Many

<sup>36</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 354-356.

fragments of the columns have now been recognized; they are unfluted and made of serpentine marble, pale green in color mottled with patches of dark green and white. The attribution is confirmed by the occurrence of working chips of the same material in the construction filling of the structure. Some fragments of bases and Composite capitals, richly carved of Pentelic marble, were found in the area and may derive from these columns. Three curved cornice blocks from the building remained on the spot, obviously because they had been regarded by late pillagers as of little value for re-use (Pl. 25a). The tops of these blocks slope gently down toward the middle of the building; they retain traces of mortar, and their inner faces are cut as segments of a sphere, all of which suggest that the building had been roofed with a dome. This is now amply confirmed by the discovery alongside the building of a mass of masonry with bricks laid in horizontal courses, its inner face conforming to the segment of a sphere. A deep continuous groove cut in the tops of the cornice blocks near their outer edge was obviously intended for the reception of a vertical member to mask the base of the dome. A thin slab of the same serpentine marble as that used in the columns was found near the building and appears to come from this place. We have to do, therefore, with a colorful little building and one of the few genuinely domed buildings of the Roman period known in Greece. A date in the Antonine period as suggested by the florid style of the carved ornament is supported by ceramic evidence.

A curved marble member found in a late deposit immediately to the north of the monopteros may have some significant connection with it (Pl. 24d, Fig. 3). The piece comes from the top of a circular parapet and is crowned by a cornice cut in one piece with the wall. Weathering on top of the block indicates that nothing rested on it. One end is finished with anathyrosis and has a cutting for a hook clamp in its top, the other end is finished to be visible and has no clamp cutting, from which it appears that this block flanked an opening in the side of the drum. The inner face of the block is rather roughly picked. The inner diameter of the drum may be restored as 1.584 m., the outer diameter as 1.90 m. The use of a protective cornice may be taken to imply the existence of relief sculpture on the outside of the drum in its lower part after the fashion of the Base of the Muses from Halikarnassos now in the British Museum.<sup>37</sup> The workmanship and the profiles of the mouldings would suggest a date in the second century B.C.

On the analogy of two similar but better preserved monuments on Delos, our fragment may be supposed to have formed part of a screen around a small altar.<sup>38</sup> It is tempting to regard the monument as a link between the late archaic circular base with cuttings for a parapet found in 1950 beneath the north end of the terrace of the Stoa

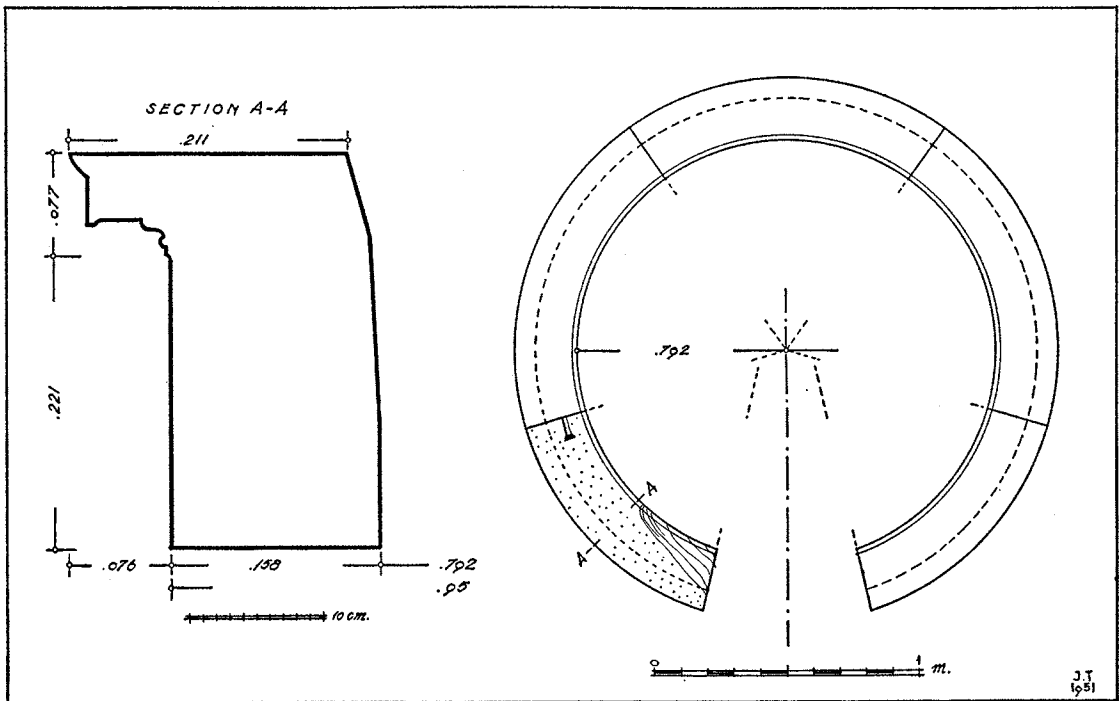
<sup>37</sup> *B.M. Catalogue of Sculpture*, II, p. 135, no. 1106; Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 363, 1-4.

<sup>38</sup> *B.C.H.*, LIII, 1929, pp. 166-179.

of Attalos<sup>39</sup> and the Antonine monopteros in front of the Stoa. But beyond this point all is speculation.

### EARLY BURIALS

The deep exploration of the past season brought to light a number of burials of the Late Helladic and Protogeometric periods beneath the northern part of the market square. To the Late Helladic period belong three chamber tombs, four pit graves and two sepulchral deposits laid in small pits; to the Submycenaean period, one pit grave, and to the Protogeometric period three pit graves, one urn burial and one cremation burial.



3. Round Marble Curb (Cf. Pl. 24 d)

These are not the first early burials to be found in the level area that later became the market square. Previous campaigns had revealed a well burial as early at least as the Middle Helladic period in front of the Metroon,<sup>40</sup> and Late Helladic pit graves to the south of the Temple of Ares, to the south of the Odeion,<sup>41</sup> beneath and behind the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>42</sup> Plotting these on a map at once makes it probable that the

<sup>39</sup> *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 49, pl. 24 b.

<sup>40</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 20-21.

<sup>41</sup> *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 21-23.

<sup>42</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 325 f.

whole area is underlaid by a large prehistoric cemetery and that more burials are likely to be encountered as the deeper levels are explored in the intervening areas. All this is in addition to the scattered graves and family burial plots of the Late Helladic, Protogeometric and Geometric periods that have been cleared on the hillslopes adjacent to the market square. Apart from attesting the great extent of the early burial grounds at Athens, the new finds are important in that they come from a cemetery which was in continuous use over a very long period, i. e. from early in Late Helladic II to the late Protogeometric period, say the fifteenth to the tenth century B.C., and also because they include the earliest groups of Late Helladic material yet found in Athens.

Since additional graves are likely to be discovered in the course of the next few years, no comprehensive presentation will be made at this stage. The following samples, however, will give some indication of the variety and chronological range of the new finds.<sup>43</sup>

Since the chamber tombs were cut in the very soft argillaceous bedrock in a practically level area, the chambers were necessarily small and were approached through steep dromoi. The best preserved of the three, which lay to the west of the Northeast Stoa, is illustrated in Plate 25b, A and Figure 4. The chamber proper had been used primarily for the burial of adults, the niches for children.<sup>44</sup> The two earliest occupants of the chamber had been swept to the back of the room to make way for a second pair whose skeletons were found in order at the sides of the chamber, lying on their backs with knees drawn up. Subsequently the roof of the chamber collapsed and the body of a child was laid in from above rather than through the door; its skeleton rested 0.60 m. above the floor. In the right-hand niche lay the remains of two children, in the other a single child's skeleton. The doors both of the main chamber and of the niches had been closed with rough rubble walls after the final use.

The offerings comprised seven terracotta vases (Pl. 25c), a bronze knife, a gold bead, a paste bead and two stone whorls. The circumstances of burial would indicate that the tomb was in use over a comparatively short period and this is confirmed by the style of the vases which form a fairly compact series within Late Helladic III A and B.

<sup>43</sup> We are greatly indebted to Professor Carl Blegen for giving us the benefit of his wide experience in the excavation of the tombs and for many helpful comments on the material. Most of the dates given below have been suggested by him on the basis of a preliminary study.

<sup>44</sup> Niches in the walls of dromoi, but on one side only, have been reported at Markopoulo in Attica (Stais, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ., 1895, cols. 215 f.), Nauplia (Lolling, *Ath. Mitt.*, V, 1880, p. 162), Mycenae (Wace, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae*, Oxford, 1932, pp. 128 f.), the Argive Heraeum (Blegen, *Prosymna*, Cambridge, 1937, pp. 234 f.) and Asine (Frödin and Persson, *Asine*, Stockholm, 1938, p. 172). Nilsson, while admitting that these niches were sometimes intended for interment, has also maintained that they were at times used in the funeral cult (*Minoan-Mycenaean Religion*, 2nd ed., Lund, 1950, pp. 587-589). Ours is a clear case of interment, the intention being no doubt to keep down the dimensions of the principal chamber by providing these smaller supplementary repositories.





rate as found in tombs, had serve some ritual purpose and it would, indeed, seem more practical for the pouring of libations than for any familiar domestic use.<sup>46</sup> The shapes of both the bronze bowl and of the terracotta jug point to a date well on in Late Helladic III B or even in C.

The discovery of the third chamber tomb resulted from the rebuilding of the north foundation of the Temple of Ares. The workmen of the Augustan period had cut away most of the upper part of both chamber and dromos but had stopped short of the burials proper. At least 13 and possibly as many as 17 interments had been made over a period, as indicated by the vases, of more than two centuries. The furnishings of the tomb comprised 24 complete and three fragmentary vases, a bronze dagger, five arrowheads of bronze and four of obsidian, a small ivory comb and miscellaneous beads. The three vases illustrated in Pl. 26a will indicate the range from the earliest to the latest. The two-handled goblet, with its sharply profiled lip and high swung ribbon handles, must stand very close to such metal prototypes as the silver vessels from Dendra.<sup>47</sup> Its exterior is cream colored, its interior a deep, chocolate brown. Its date is undoubtedly Late Helladic II. The pitcher with broad shoulders and trough spout also shows the refinement induced by the potter's emulation of the metal worker. This is an admirable example of one of the most pleasing shapes current in Late Helladic II and III A, and the fresh naturalism of the octopus design would argue for a date early within this span.<sup>48</sup> The third vase, the bell-shaped bowl, is likewise decorated with marine motives: two fish and a water bird swimming forever around the inside of the rim. But here the drawing is crude and lifeless, matching the heavy, coarse fabric on which it is done. The shape too implies a late date, for it occurs in the Mycenae Granary Class and in the Late Helladic fountain house on the North Slope of the Acropolis.<sup>49</sup> We have therefore descended to Late Helladic III C, and are probably within the twelfth century.<sup>50</sup>

The earliest and most richly furnished of the individual graves was a small pit (0.50 m. x 1.35 m. x 0.75 m. deep) containing the skeleton of a child, presumably a girl; it lay just west of the chamber tomb with the niches. The small grave was packed with objects: a comb and a pin of ivory, a necklace of paste beads and gold pendant, a handful of sea shells and the ten vases illustrated in Pl. 26c. These vases have such close affinities with those from Shaft Grave I at Mycenae and from Grave III in the Prehistoric Cemetery below the Lion Gate<sup>51</sup> as to suggest for the burial a date no

<sup>46</sup> H. Kenner, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 127-130.

<sup>47</sup> A. W. Persson, *New Tombs at Dendra*, Lund, 1942, p. 136, fig. 117 (above).

<sup>48</sup> On the shape cf. F. H. Stubbings, *op. cit.*, pp. 49 f., fig. 20 B.

<sup>49</sup> O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 371 f.; Stubbings, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

<sup>50</sup> Miss Emily D. Townsend who supervised the excavation of this tomb is preparing a special study of it.

<sup>51</sup> A.J.B. Wace, *Mycenae*, Princeton, 1949, pl. 70 a.

later than Late Helladic III A. The lily bowl, the shape of which is derived directly from metal bowls with flat rims and vertical handles, may well claim a place among the most attractive vases of the Late Helladic period yet found in Attika.

Plate 27a will illustrate a typical example of the simple pit grave of an individual. The grave measures 0.50 m. x 1.60 m. x 0.65 m. deep. Two rough slabs of stone tilted on edge over the body may have formed part of a covering. Between the head and the end of the pit lay the offerings: a three-handled jar with net pattern on its shoulder, a handsome pitcher and a small bronze knife. For the vases (Pl. 27b) a date has been suggested in Late Helladic III A or B.

Another individual pit burial south of the Northeast Stoa was more carefully prepared. A ledge in the sides of the pit just above the level of the body supported a covering of close-set stone slabs. On the chest of the well preserved skeleton of an adult lay the solitary offering: an iron pin. Close similarity in construction between this grave and better furnished graves outside the Dipylon indicate a date in the Submycenaean period.<sup>52</sup> The dearth of offerings may well be symptomatic of a general decline in prosperity.

A typical grave group of the late Protogeometric period from a child's inhumation to the west of the Northeast Stoa is shown in Plate 27c. The cups on conical feet and pitcher are thoroughly standard products of their period. Nor is the hand-made bowl with elaborate incised decoration unusual. More striking and without close parallel is the tall pyxis with lid in the form of a mastos equipped with pairs of vertically pierced lugs for cords. Like so many offerings in the graves of children of this period the vases are small.

#### SCULPTURE AND TERRACOTTAS

Two out of a number of marble sculptures found this season merit special notice.

The first is a much battered fragment of island marble picked up on a marble pile to the north of the Civic Offices (Pl. 28b).<sup>53</sup> The thumb of a left hand is readily discernible. A second glance will discover the mid part of the muzzle of a dog nuzzling his master's hand, the well of the ear at the bottom of the fragment, the eye at mid height. This fragment recalls the lower part of a grave stele recovered in 1947 from the curbing of a late well in the area of the Civic Offices (Pl. 28a).<sup>54</sup> The marble of the two pieces proves to be identical; so too does the surface finish, the sensitive modelling, the angular, large-jointed members. We have, therefore, the two feet and one hand of the man, the tail and the muzzle of his hound. The picture of Pollux and his dog from Exekias' amphora in the Vatican will assist the eye in

<sup>52</sup> I owe the parallels to Mrs. E. L. Smithson.

<sup>53</sup> Inv. S 1276 b. Maximum dimension 0.16 m.

<sup>54</sup> *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, pp. 373-377.

recovering the composition. We can only hope that some lucky chance may eventually bring us more of what must be accounted one of the noblest Athenian gravestones from the third quarter of the sixth century.

The second marble comes from a Byzantine house foundation between the Altar of Zeus Agoraios and the Odeion (Pl. 28c, d).<sup>55</sup> A girl sits on a boulder; she may have rested her left hand or some attribute on the now broken top of the knob of marble at her side. She wears a very diaphanous chiton and a mantle over her legs. The type is one commonly used for Muses as, for instance, on the Mantinea Base and on the Apotheosis of Homer relief from Priene now in the British Museum, to name only the most familiar.

The rear view will show that the figure was at first worked completely in the round but was then dressed off slightly behind, a procedure which implies that the statue was placed on a shelf of limited width and backed against a wall. The comparatively unweathered state of the marble indicates that it was protected above. These conditions would be met best in a pediment.

Close sculptural parallels for the style of our piece would be hard to find; but the broad hips and narrow waist, the soft flesh and the artist's evident delight in contrasting areas of highly transparent drapery with heavy masses are characteristics to be found in combination on the bronze mirror reliefs and on the Kertsch vases of the third quarter of the fourth century.

The only pedimented building suitable in scale and date within significant proximity to the place where our marble was found is the Temple of Apollo Patroos, some 60 metres to the northwest.<sup>56</sup> Since Apollo is represented as kitharoidos in the cult statue from this building,<sup>57</sup> he would presumably have found the muses congenial company in one of the pediments. It is perhaps worth recalling that in the pediments of the closely contemporary temple of Apollo at Delphi, Pausanias (X, 19, 3) recorded statues of Artemis, Latona, Apollo, the Muses, the setting of the Sun, and Dionysos with the Thyiad women. Of these, Artemis, Latona, Apollo and the Muses are likely to have occupied the front gable. Pausanias notes that the first of the statues were the work of Praxias, an Athenian and a pupil of Kalamis; after the death of Praxias the gables were completed by Androsthenes, another Athenian. The possibility of some personal connection between the artists responsible for the groups in Athens and in Delphi is perhaps strengthened by the fact that Kalamis, the master of Praxias, is reported by Pausanias (I, 3, 4) to have been the author of a statue of Apollo that stood in front of the Temple of Apollo Patroos.

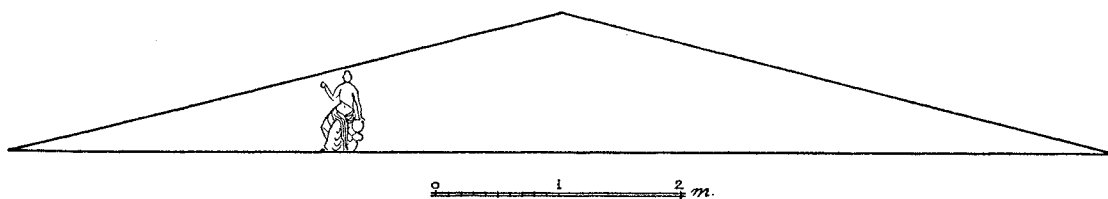
The sketch, Figure 5, will show our figure restored and drawn to scale in a pedi-

<sup>55</sup> Inv. S 1530. Height 0.423 m., depth from front to back 0.24 m. Pentelic marble. The left foot was fastened with an iron dowel and is now missing.

<sup>56</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 90-104.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108, fig. 56.

ment of the Temple of Apollo Patroos. There would appear to be room for Apollo on axis flanked to right and to left by his mother and his sister; beyond them to either side a standing muse, after which would come our seated muse to be balanced by a seated sister in the other wing and, finally, a reclining muse toward either extremity. Such a combination seems possible, yet in view of the meagreness of the evidence the suggestion is made with great reserve.



5. Pediment of the Temple of Apollo Patroos

A number of interesting terracotta figurines and moulds have been recovered from a vast mass of rubbish that was dumped over the ruinous west end of the terrace of the Middle Stoa soon after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. A typical specimen from this group is shown in Plate 30b: an actor, to judge from his stance and costume, modelled with effective simplicity.<sup>58</sup>

### POTTERY

In the course of the season a number of ancient wells were encountered and cleared: three of the Geometric period, one of the archaic, two of the fifth century and one of the Hellenistic period. Interesting groups of pottery were recovered from all the wells, but since the menders have not yet finished with the groups at the time of writing, a few isolated pieces may be selected to show the chronological range and variety.

The krater with stand and "goat-head" handles of Plate 29a, b, comes from a well of the eighth century to the south of the Northeast Stoa; it is a good example of a shape of the developed Geometric repertory hitherto represented in the Agora only by fragments.<sup>59</sup> The spouted krater of Plate 29c, not far removed in date from the previous piece, comes from a well to the east of the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>60</sup> The horses of the handle zone are evidently just emerging from the narrow paddock of the Geometric style and are gingerly trying out their legs for the open spaces that lie ahead.

<sup>58</sup> Inv. T 3074. Height 0.15 m. Pale buff clay, traces of bright blue paint. The small nodules on the surface suggest the use of a mould made not of terracotta but of plaster such as were commonly employed in Egypt and occasionally elsewhere (Goldman, *Tarsus*, I, Princeton, 1950, pp. 298-300). Actual moulds of this material, however, have not yet been found in the Agora.

<sup>59</sup> Inv. P 21706. Height 0.29 m., diameter at rim 0.233 m.

<sup>60</sup> Inv. P 21233. Height 0.235 m., estimated diameter 0.32 m.

From a well of the first half of the sixth century to the south of the Northeast Stoa comes a small fragment of a large lid decorated with a lion strongly reminiscent of the great vases from the Vari cemetery (Pl. 30d).<sup>61</sup> The same deposit yielded about one half of a black-figured plate decorated by the "Polos Painter" according to his common formula which was inspired largely by Early Corinthian models (Pl. 30a).<sup>62</sup> Characteristic is the treatment of the floor with a zone of sphinxes, polos-crowned, separated by a dotted zone from a medallion that is here missing but which is elsewhere frequently filled with a floral motif. Less usual is the ring of rosettes on the rim which are paralleled among the works of the Polos Painter only on an unpublished piece in Karlsruhe which is close to ours in style.<sup>63</sup> The solitary sphinx of the underside, as also the rays beneath the rim, follow the regular practise of the Polos Painter, unknown apart from his work in Attica although common in Middle Corinthian.

The well that yielded the ostrakon of Perikles (cf. below p. 113) produced also a quantity of pottery of the mid fifth century that ranks well above the average run of household deposits in the quality of both its red-figured and black-glazed vases. Since the whole group is being prepared for publication by Professor Cedric Boulter only one sample is here illustrated: a scrap from the upper wall of an amphora bearing the figure of a young warrior about to depart from home (a second fragment preserves his outstretched right hand holding a phiale) (Pl. 30c). The drawing has been attributed to the Barclay Painter.<sup>64</sup>

During the 1951 season two fragments of vases by the Dinos Painter were added to the several pieces by this painter or in his manner already in the Agora collection.<sup>65</sup> The new pieces are illustrated here together with two others close in style, found earlier (Pl. 31a-d). Plate 31a, shows a fragment from a bell- or calyx-krater<sup>66</sup> with the head and left shoulder of a youth to right; he wears himation and fillet in faded white. The head and right hand, holding two spears, of another youth appear on an amphora fragment<sup>67</sup> found this year (Pl. 31b). He carries two spears and wears a

<sup>61</sup> Inv. P 21565. Maximum dimension 0.162 m., estimated diameter 0.43 m.

<sup>62</sup> Inv. P 21568. Height 0.025 m., estimated diameter 0.21 m. On the Polos Painter cf. Beazley, *Hesperia*, XIII, 1944, pp. 53 f., nos. 77-92. I am indebted for a note on this vase to Miss Denise Feytmans of the French School in Athens who is engaged in a special study of the shapes and painters of archaic plates.

<sup>63</sup> Inv. B 1507 (Welter, *Catalogue*, 497).

<sup>64</sup> Inv. P 21403. The attribution was proposed by Barbara Philippaki and confirmed by Beazley who now lists the vase in *Paralipomena to A.R.V.*, pp. 1121-2. For both the subject and style cf. the neck amphora in the Louvre: *C.V.A. III Id*, pl. 39, 1-4 and 6 = *A. R. V.*, p. 663, no. 4.

<sup>65</sup> For this account of the Dinos Painter's work I am indebted to Miss Barbara Philippaki.

<sup>66</sup> Inv. P 17089. From a Hellenistic filling in the area west of the Areopagus. Max. dim. 0.044 m. Relief contour for profile; glaze worn; black-brownish glaze inside. Attributed by Beazley in his *Paralipomena to A.R.V.*, p. 790: "add as no. 6 bis."

<sup>67</sup> Inv. P 21534. From a narrow trench near the northeast corner of the market square, north-east of the Circular Building, the filling contemporary with this piece; from the same trench, partly excavated in 1936, the black-glazed cup-kotyle *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 343, no. 146. Max. dim. 0.096 m. The curls rendered in thick black glaze; relief contour; thick fabric, black inside. Compare

wreath with two berries, once white, over the forehead. A band of egg-pattern frames the picture above. These two heads though identical in details differ in mood. The revery of the cloaked youth has given place to an eager determined expression on the part of the wreathed youth with the spears. The fragment from a bell-krater <sup>68</sup> gives the upper half of a woman standing to right (Pl. 31c). She wears a girdled peplos with apoptygma at the back. Loose curly hair falls over her shoulders; she probably held a necklace. This is the first figure at the left of the picture; a little of the handle attachment is preserved. On our fourth fragment <sup>69</sup> a youthful maenad stands with the same dignity (Pl. 31d). She wears a short chiton and a girdled skin across her left shoulder; a thin necklace is rendered by a relief line. With great attention she offers a full kantharos to a figure seated at the right. Of this figure the right knee and a tiny piece of short chiton remain; he is probably Dionysos.

These four fragments from the Agora belong to the earlier period of the Dinos Painter's activity, about 425-420 B.C. Here also belong the maenad stamnos in Naples, the bell-krater in Syracuse, the fragment now in Copenhagen (notes 67 and 68 above) and the calyx-krater in Oxford (1937.983; *A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 11). The *ἡθος* of the Parthenon world is still apparent, though less strong than in the preceding generation. Representative of the next phase of the painter's career are pieces like the dinos in Berlin (2402; *A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 3), the calyx-krater in Bologna (300; *A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 7), the volute-krater in Bologna (283; *A.R.V.*, p. 789, no. 1) and the dinos fragment in Palermo (*A.R.V.*, p. 790, no. 6). In the vases of this decade the spirit of the Nike Parapet prevails; to a people tired after ten years of war, gaiety and charm appeal more than does the solemnity and dignity of the Parthenon years. The work of the Dinos Painter, like that of many other artists of the time, reflects this change in taste and feeling. A bell-krater in Cracow University (103; *A.R.V.*, p. 791, no. 29) shows a last transformation in the spirit of our artist. With this piece we come down to the end of the fifth century; in shape, style and sentiment it belongs

especially the maenads of the Naples stamnos (2419; *A.R.V.*, p. 789, no. 2; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 582) and the Oineus of the bell-krater in Syracuse (30747; *A.R.V.*, p. 791, no. 13; *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 486, fig. 11).

<sup>68</sup> Inv. P 5865. From the Theseion Plateia, in a mixed layer over bedrock. Max. dim. 0.085 m. Relief contour except for the left shoulder and part of the back. Noted in *A.R.V.*, p. 792, no. 9, as Manner of the Dinos Painter; Sir John Beazley now thinks the piece may be from the painter's own hand (by letter, June 29, 1951). Compare the fragment now in Copenhagen, Inv. 318 (*A.R.V.*, p. 792, no. 33, and *Paralipomena*); the bell-krater in Syracuse noted above, and the bell-krater in Berlin (2643; *A.R.V.*, p. 791, no. 27; *Arch. Zeitung*, 1865, pl. 202, no. 1).

<sup>69</sup> Inv. P 21526. From a fifth century filling in the northeast part of the market square. Max. dim. 0.074 m. Relief contour for the maenad's profile, neck, right hand and thigh, and for a piece of drapery at the right. The dots on the nebris are of thick glaze; a little curl in dilute glaze. Good black glaze inside; probably from a bell-krater; the thickness of the walls and the scale of the figure suggest a small one. The attributions suggested for this piece [Talcott] and for the youth with the spears [Philippaki] were kindly confirmed by Sir John Beazley, by letter.

rather to the period which follows, and it reminds us how much the vase-painters of the fourth century owed to the Dinos Painter.

#### INSCRIPTIONS AND OSTRAKA

In the course of the season the inventory of marble inscriptions rose from 6323 to 6417. Among the new pieces may be mentioned a fragment of a *poletai* account (Inv. I 6354) of the second half of the fourth century containing the records of two transactions: the sale of some confiscated property for 900 drachmai and the lease of a silver mine. This appears not to be part of any of the similar records previously found in the Agora. A tantalizing marble with lettering of the early fourth century B.C. proclaims itself a boundary marker of the Sanctuary of Olympian Zeus (Inv. I 6373); it was found, though not *in situ*, to the west of the Odeion. Another fragmentary document that suggests interesting historical implications (Inv. I 6367) records a decree in honor of one Arri[. . . who had been, or was in the service of a King Antiochos. The letter forms are most appropriate to the period of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, King of Syria 175-163 B.C. whose benevolent attitude toward Athens is otherwise well attested. The inscription was found at a low level to the east of the south end of the Eponymous Heroes.

The season's work yielded only five ostraka, presumably because exploration was confined to the market square proper whereas the overwhelming majority of ostraka have been found outside the square toward the southwest. At any point, however, a stray ostrakon may turn up at the appropriate level. Of the present season's yield, one (Inv. P 21581, Pl. 31e) proves to be the first known ballot cast against the notorious demagogue, Kleophon, son of Kleippides, the "Lyre-maker" of the comic poets; this piece is dealt with in a separate article by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool (cf. below, pp. 114-115). Another (Inv. P 21527) bears the name of Perikles, son of Xanthippos, in painted rather than incised characters (Pl. 31 f). This is the second known ostrakon cast against the great man, the first having been found in the Agora in 1940.<sup>70</sup> The new sherd came from the well noted above (p. 106) between the Panathenaic Way and the Northeast Stoa together with a quantity of red-figured pottery of the mid fifth century. It may well have been cast in 443 B.C. when Perikles was charged by Thukydides, son of Melesias, with extravagance in the use of the public monies of Athens and her allies. The future of the Periklean building program was therefore at stake and the decision of that day's voting, which resulted in the banishment of Thukydides rather than of Perikles, was fateful for the future of Athens and of Europe.

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<sup>70</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, pp. 2-3, fig. 2.



a. The Agora from the West (August, 1951). Temple of Ares in lower left, Altar of Zeus Agoraios (?) in lower right



b. Southeast Exit from the Agora, from the North. East end of Middle Stoa in lower right





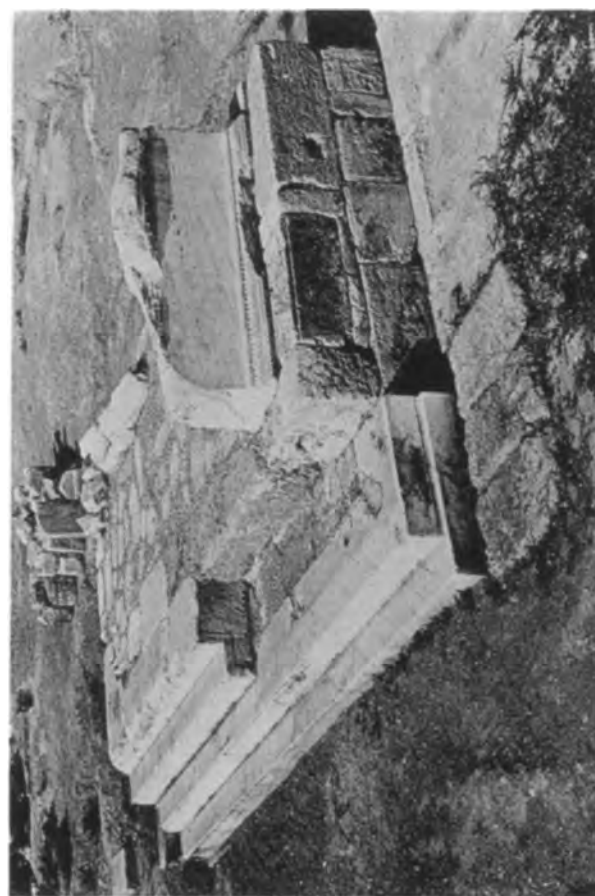
a. Northwest Corner of Middle Stoa, from the Northwest. A: original west end of terrace, B: monument base, C: underpinning for stair



b. West Side of Agora, from the South (August, 1951). A: foundation for north stylobate of Middle Stoa, B: Civic Offices, C: Southwest Temple, D: stoa at foot of terrace



a. Altar of Zeus Agoraios (?), from the Southwest, as found



b. Altar of Zeus Agoraios (?) from the Southwest, as conserved



c. Terracotta Wellhead of Fifth Century B.C.



d. Hitching Block beside Panathenaic Way



a. Temple and Altar of Ares from the Northeast (October, 1951). A: Altar of Ares, B: terrace wall, C: Odeion Drain, D: water channel flanking Panathenaic Way, E: early monument base, F: hitching block



b. Relief Sculpture associated with Altar of Ares (S820, 679, 1072, 676)



a. Marble Head associated with Altar of Ares (S1538)



b. Marble Head associated with Altar of Ares (S1494)





a. Archaic Marble Raking Sima (A 1892)



b. Archaic Marble Horizontal Sima (A 758+769)



c. Poros Base to West of Northeast Stoa, from the Northwest



d. Curved Marble Curb (A 1794)



a. Cornice Blocks from Monopteros



b. Area of early Graves to Southeast of Northeast Stoa, from North. A: chamber tomb with niches, B: chamber tomb of bronze bowl, C, D: LH graves, E: Submycenaean grave



c. Vases from Chamber Tomb with Niches (LH III A and B)



a. Vases from Chamber Tomb beneath Temple of Ares (LH II-III C)



b. Vases from Chamber Tomb near Northeast Stoa (LH III B or C)



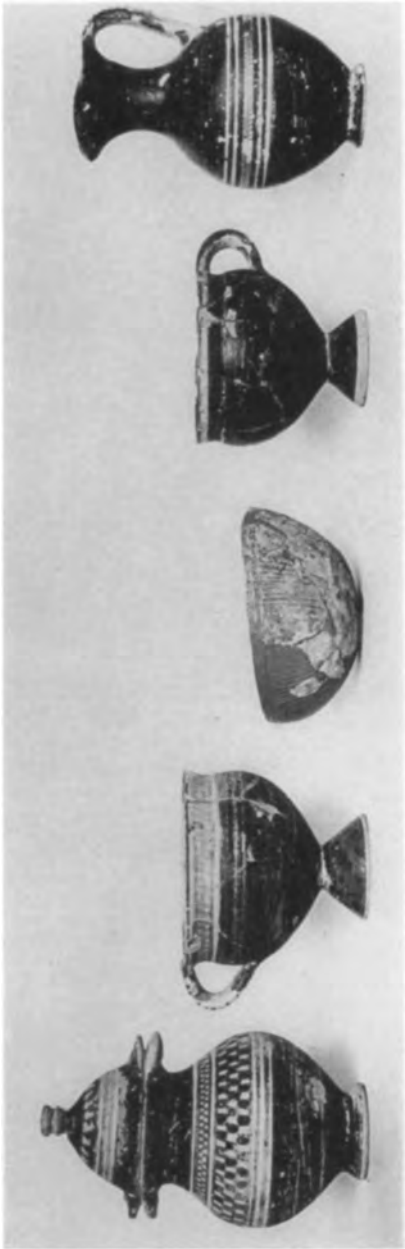
c. Vases from Child's Grave near Northeast Stoa (LH III A)



a. Pit Grave near Northeast Stoa



b. Vases from Pit Grave (LH III A or B)



c. Vases from a Child's Grave (Protogeometric)

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1951





a-b. Fragments of Archaic Grave Stele (S1276)



c-d. Seated Statue found to West of Odeion (S1530)



a-b. Late Geometric Krater (P21706)



c. Late Geometric spouted Krater (P21233)

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1951



a. Black-figured Plate by Polos Painter (P21568)



b. Terracotta Actor (T3074)



c. Fragment of Amphora by Barclay Painter (P21403)



d. Fragment of Lid (P21565)



a-d. Fragments by the Dinos Painter (P17089, 21534, 5865, 21526)



e-f. Ostraka of Kleophon (P21581) and Perikles (P21527)

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1951

EUGENE VANDERPOOL: KLEOPHON