

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1949

(PLATES 98-107)

THE fourteenth season of exploration conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora will be memorable chiefly as having witnessed the actual beginning of work on the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos to house the finds from the excavation. Less spectacular but no less essential to the completion of the enterprise was the progress made in the systematic final exploration of the vast area opened up hastily in the 30's; such work this year was confined to the area to the west of the Areopagus. Apart from the field work, steady progress was made in the study and publication of material brought to light in earlier campaigns, and the mechanics of study were greatly eased by the reorganization of the records both in Athens and in Princeton.

This season, as ever, the undertaking in the Agora is indebted to the officials of the School for their active interest on its behalf. A particular obligation must be acknowledged to Professor Carl W. Blegen who during his directorship in 1948-49 conducted the negotiations that have begun to make a reality of the long dreamed-of Agora Museum and who also, both in Washington and Athens, smoothed the way for the program of Fulbright fellowships that has already so vitally affected the work in the Agora as in other departments of the School's activities.

We owe much also to the skill and devotion of our Greek technical staff. Mr. Sophokles Lekkas, our chief foreman, to name but one, has shown amazing energy and ingenuity in mastering the technical problems raised by the work on the Stoa of Attalos.

Field work was directed by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Mr. Rodney S. Young, and Miss Margaret Crosby, for lesser periods by Mr. G. Roger Edwards, Mrs. Evelyn Lord Smithson, and Miss Evelyn B. Harrison. I am again indebted to Mr. Vanderpool for assuming charge of the Agora during my absences in America. Mr. John Travlos as Architect of the School's Excavations devoted practically the whole of his time to the Agora and above all to the Stoa of Attalos, concerning himself with the solution of the many problems that were still outstanding regarding the original design of the building and beginning to grapple with the practical problems of the reconstruction. Miss Marian Welker as staff artist completed a set of rendered drawings and water colors of the Odeion and many drawings of vases for various studies by members of the staff.

We are once more deeply indebted to Miss M. Alison Frantz who has again given freely of her time and skill to attend to our photographic needs. In addition to the

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routine work, she has this year completed the photography of all the sculpture of the Hephaisteion, both the friezes on the building and the recently identified pedimental figures. It is hoped that these photographs together with a brief text may soon be incorporated in a book on the temple. Another part of the season's photographic program was the making of 300 color transparencies for lantern slides.

Miss Lucy Talcott as the one in charge of the records and museum has welcomed back to the Agora all the material that was cased and sent for safekeeping to the National Museum on the outbreak of World War II. As many of the objects as could be accommodated in the now crowded temporary museum were again put on display. No damage whatever was suffered by these objects, among them a number of fragile ivories, during their long incarceration, for which happy outcome we are indebted to the generosity with which the authorities of the National Museum placed some of their best storage room at our disposal. Miss Talcott in the course of the year has also seen to the labelling and more convenient classification of the many thousands of photographs in the Agora files so that they can now be used with ease either by members of the staff or by visitors. In this undertaking she has had the assistance of Mrs. Evelyn Lord Smithson, Miss Evelyn Harrison, Miss Ellen Kohler, and Miss Marian Jenkins, all first-year members of the School in Athens. At the same time a duplicate set of photographs was put in order by my assistant, Mrs. Robert France, in the Institute for Advanced Study at Princeton.

Mr. G. Roger Edwards has worked steadily throughout the year on his study of the Hellenistic pottery from the Agora. After establishing the line of development in the first century B. C., at present a blind spot, Mr. Edwards plans to present a synoptic view of the great mass of material by categories as a final publication in this department.

Miss Virginia R. Grace, a fellow of the School in the spring of 1949, spent much of her time at the Agora throughout the calendar year 1949, bringing up to date the sorting and reading of stamped amphora handles in the Agora collections. Miss Grace, with her trained Greek assistants, has also worked systematically through the collection in the National Museum in Athens which, although largely undocumented, provides a great body of comparative material. Between Agora and National Museum Miss Grace reports that in the course of the year she has sorted some 20,000 handles and read and tabulated some 6,000.

The Agora has profited greatly from the services of Fulbright fellows. Of the group of senior research fellows appointed for the academic year 1948-49, six (the Misses Lucy Talcott, Margaret Crosby, Marian Welker, and Messrs. Eugene Vanderpool, Rodney S. Young, G. Roger Edwards) elected to devote the year to various aspects of work in the Agora, while Mr. John Travlos received a grant-in-aid to enable him to visit other archaeological sites in Greece for purposes of comparative study. For the year 1949-50 five of these senior appointments were renewed for the continuation

of studies in the Agora: (the Misses Talcott, Crosby, Welker, and Messrs. Vanderpool, Edwards) while Miss Grace, appointed for the first time for 1949-50, included the further study of the Agora material within the scope of her all-embracing pursuit of the stamped wine jar. Of the pre-doctoral fellows appointed for the year 1949-50, Miss Evelyn Harrison has undertaken the study of the portrait sculpture in the Agora collection and Mrs. Evelyn Smithson is engaged on the study of a series of groups of Protogeometric pottery which promises to make much firmer our notions of the development of the style.

Such appointments as these would appear to satisfy the ideals underlying the Fulbright program inasmuch as they provide able students with new and interesting material as a basis for research which may be carried on under the auspices of an established American institution but in circumstances ideally suited to enable the student to come to know the Greek people of many classes by actually working with them.

We have again to acknowledge valuable assistance from many volunteers. Mr. Gorham P. Stevens is not only ever willing to give us the benefit of his long and wide experience, but he has also undertaken to work out a number of our architectural problems, his papers on which will continue to appear in *Hesperia* from time to time. Until her departure from Athens with her husband in mid January of 1949, Mrs. Clayton Whipple continued to spend many hours each week over her drawing board in the Excavation House; her initials on the drawings now appearing in articles in *Hesperia* will testify to the variety and the volume of her contributions. For many months Mr. Evan Jenkins assisted with the mechanics of excavation procedure both indoors and outside. Among the Greek students of Classics from the University of Athens who have gained practical experience while assisting with the work of conservation and recording, particular mention may be made this season of Miss Maria Komi.

Talent and willing effort would avail little in this enterprise were money not available to pay the Greek workmen and technicians and to keep the Excavation House running. In these years when the American dollar goes less far in Greece than ever before in the School's history we are particularly indebted to those friends whose financial contributions have made possible the continuance of the work. Among such benefactors this season have been Miss Margaret Crosby, Mr. John Crosby, Mrs. Lyndon M. King, Miss Lucy Talcott, and Mr. Rodney S. Young.

We record with regret the departure this year of two staff members of long standing: Miss Margaret Thompson and Mr. Rodney S. Young. The years 1937 to 1940 Miss Thompson, working in close collaboration with Mrs. T. L. Shear, devoted to the cleaning, classification and study of the Agora coins. During the War she rendered distinguished service in the Greek War Relief Association. On returning to the School in 1947, her first assignment was the editing of the documentary film,

Triumph over Time. In the course of 1948-49 she completed the cleaning and classification of the Agora coins and thereafter accepted an appointment with the American Numismatic Society. A series of substantial articles in *Hesperia* attest the quality of Miss Thompson's scholarship and sharpen our regret that means were not available to enable her to assist to the end with the publication of this important department of the results of the excavation.

Mr. Rodney S. Young's appointment as an Agora Fellow ran from 1934 to 1940 and from 1946 to 1949; the gap was filled by wartime service in Greece, Washington and the Near East and by a term with *U.N.R.R.A.*, Greece. Although in all his years of excavating he never worked actually *in* the Agora, having supervised the exploration of the slopes of Kolonos Agoraios, the Hill of the Nymphs, and the Areopagus, he brought to light a tremendous amount of evidence for the study of the private and industrial life that impinged so closely on the public square and of the burial habits of the Athenians. Much of this material will be presented in a report now ready for the press. His own special studies have dealt chiefly with the eighth and seventh centuries B. C. and they have done much to make intelligible this prologue to Athenian art and way of life in the classical period. The best wishes of his colleagues go with him to his new appointment in the University of Pennsylvania and the University Museum and also in his endeavor to track out some of the sources of eastern influence on early Greece in his incipient excavations at Gordion.

THE STOA OF ATTALOS

The decision having been taken to start rebuilding the Stoa of Attalos to house the Agora Museum, operations were begun on April 4, 1949, and were continued, with some interruptions, throughout the calendar year.¹ The practical advantages and the archaeological interest of the project are self-evident. Another aspect of the matter is the fact that the great building rising again in the middle of Athens will undoubtedly attract the attention of visitors to the city. As the source of a potential increment to the touristic resources of Greece the project has been included in the program initiated by the Economic Cooperation Administration for the rehabilitation of museums and archaeological sites in Greece and hence is receiving some financial support in its initial phases under the Marshall Plan. Inasmuch as the program is administered by the Greek Government, the American School of Classical Studies has agreed to carry out the work for the Greek Ministry of Education and in doing so enjoys the invaluable benefit of the skill and long experience of Professor A. Orlandos, head both of the Archaeological Service and of the Department of Restorations. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the School's Excavations and an old pupil of Professor Orlandos,

¹ Cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 226-229; *Archaeology*, II, 1949, pp. 124 ff.

has been designated as supervising architect. The field work is directed by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool on whose preliminary reports I have drawn freely in the following account.

The first task in connection with the project was to clear the area of the building of the many hundreds of loose lying ancient blocks, some from the Stoa itself, others brought to the spot by the builders of the "Valerian Wall" in the third century after Christ and left near by when that wall was largely dismantled by the Greek Archaeological Society in their excavations of last century (Pl. 98a). The last remnant of this fortification within the area of the Stoa has now been removed, viz., the lowest courses of a rectangular tower at the middle of the building and scattered blocks from the bottom of the curtain wall throughout the length of the Stoa (Pl. 99a).

From this material much supplementary evidence has been gathered for establishing the original scheme of the building. It is now clear, for instance, that the series of Pergamene capitals previously assigned to an inner colonnade on the ground floor must derive rather from a corresponding colonnade on the upper floor, making way on the ground floor for orthodox Ionic capitals of which fragments survive. A series of Ionic frieze blocks is now available to replace the triglyph and metope frieze restored by Richard Bohn in the upper exterior order.

Additional evidence for the restoration of the Stoa has been gathered by John Travlos from two early drawings, one made by Edward Dodwell early in the nineteenth century (Pl. 99b),² the other, in the Gennadeion Library, a water-color by an unknown artist to be dated apparently about 1785. Both drawings show the north end of the building in a much more complete state than the present. They establish two points of great importance, first that the end of the Stoa was finished with a gable and secondly that the gable end was broken near the middle by an opening enframed with pilasters, presumably for the lighting of the stair well.

The rectangular foundation that juts forward from the front of the terrace of the Stoa near its mid point and that was previously restored as a stairway leading from the square up to the terrace (Pl. 98a, right centre), is now seen, on being cleared, to be much too massive and too broad for this purpose; it is to be regarded rather as the underpinning for the pedestal of a bronze quadriga, most of the Hymettian marble blocks for which had been reused in the near by tower of the "Valerian Wall," among them several from the topmost course with holes in their tops for securing the horses' feet. An inscription carved on the blocks of the pedestal records a dedication to the Emperor Tiberius. Inasmuch, however, as the foundation is certainly contemporary with the Stoa and the scheme of the pedestal is very similar to that of the "Monument of Agrippa" in front of the Propylaia, we may hypothecate that the monument origin-

² *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopian, or, Pelasgic Remains in Greece and Italy*, London, 1834, pl. 71.

ally honored the Pergamene dynasty and was subsequently converted to the glory of the emperor, a history paralleled by that of the "Monument of Agrippa."³

The quadriga was only one of a whole series of monuments that employed the terrace wall of the Stoa as a background, particularly toward the north where the falling terrain called for a greater height of wall. Most of these monuments are now represented only by the lowest foundations of their pedestals, but one of those from the extreme north end of the series has fared better. The pedestal in this case consisted of an unfluted column of Hymettian marble, four drums of which were found by the excavators in 1936 lying as they had fallen in the late third century after Christ (Pl. 100 a and c). Since both the upper and the lower half-rounds are preserved and since the intermediate joints bear mason's marks (alpha, beta, gamma, starting from the top), the four drums clearly comprise the whole shaft; they indicate a total height of 7.19 m., a lower diameter of *ca.* 0.88 m. and upper diameter of *ca.* 0.75 m. We may assume that the column, like those above the Theatre of Dionysos, was crowned by a Corinthian capital, but, whereas the columns by the theatre supported tripods, ours presumably carried a statue. On the lowest drum is inscribed the dedication by the people in honor of Quintus Lutatius, son of Quintus (?).⁴ The man honored is perhaps to be identified with the well-known Quintus Lutatius Catulus, son of Quintus, who was a supporter of Sulla and is conjectured to have accompanied Sulla to Greece.⁵ Consul in 78 B. C. and one of the judges at the trial of Verres in 70 B. C., he died in 61 B. C. The lettering, with its modest apices and semicursive curves, is readily paralleled in the second quarter of the first century B. C.

The clearing of the Stoa has led to the resurrection of an inscribed marble statue base long known only through the published text (*I.G.*, II², 3781): "Karneades of Azenia, a dedication by Attalos and Ariarathes of Sypalettos." The inscription occurs on the front of a plinth of Hymettian marble, in the top of which are dowel holes for securing a seated bronze statue. The subject, Karneades, is familiar as the founder and head of the New Academy and as the leading philosopher of Athens through much of the second century B. C. Attalos and Ariarathes had sat at his feet as young men. Later, and in all likelihood after the completion of the Stoa, which would also mean after they had mounted the thrones of Pergamon (159 B. C.) and of Cappadocia (162 B. C.) respectively, the princes dedicated the statue, modestly inscribing themselves

³ Part of the inscription appears in the Corpus as *I. G.*, II², 4209, based on readings by Fauvel and others of his time. The block seen by Fauvel, but not subsequently known to the editors of the Corpus, has come to light again, and a second block preserving the ends of several of the lines has also come out of the great heap of tumbled marbles. A study of the monument is being prepared by Eugene Vanderpool and John Travlos.

⁴ Ὁ δῆμος | Κοῖνρον Αὐράτιον | Κοῖντ (*vacat*). Inventory no. I 3948. Height of letters, 0.032 m. It is curious that the inscription should have been left incomplete. Was it perhaps inscribed in full on the pedestal of the monument?

⁵ Münzer in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *R. E.*, XIII, 2, cols. 2082 ff.

as (adopted) citizens of Athens. The two men were related to one another through Queen Stratonike who was sister to Ariarathes and wife first to Eumenes the brother of Attalos and then to Attalos himself. The queen has been tentatively recognized in a great marble statue found in the "Valerian Wall" to the south of the Stoa in 1933.⁶ A statue of Karneades, perhaps this one, was well-known in antiquity and is referred to by Cicero in his *de Finibus*, v. 2.⁷

Many of the marbles deriving from the Stoa and subsequently reused in the "Valerian Wall" were found in a very fresh condition, especially those in the foundations of the wall that have lain underground since the third century after Christ. A number of these marbles show unmistakable traces of burning which must, of course, have occurred before the blocks were set in the "Valerian Wall" and which may, therefore, be associated with the Herulian sack of A. D. 267. This is the first positive indication that the Stoa shared the fate of the other buildings of the Agora on that occasion. We may suppose that the great building lay in a semi-ruinous state for a few years between A.D. 267 and the time of building of the "Valerian Wall." To this interval may be ascribed the rude outline of a man's head scratched on the inner face of an orthostate in the south end of the building at a point where it must soon thereafter have been covered by the "Valerian Wall" (Pl. 100b).

Apart from the Stoa of Attalos itself, several other buildings of the Agora have profited from the careful sorting of the great mass of blocks in the area. Many fragmentary marbles from the Odeion have come to light, and at least two wall blocks from the Temple of Ares, one of them furnishing the valuable evidence that this temple, like the sister Temple of Hephaistos, had the vertical joints of its walls leaded through narrow channels cut in the anathyrosis. The greatest gain, however, has accrued to the Middle Stoa. In view of the proximity of the two buildings it was natural that much material from the Middle Stoa should have been used in that section of the "Valerian Wall" built over the ruins of the Stoa of Attalos. Prominent among the newly recovered members are several dozen drums from unfluted poros columns identical with those of the Middle Stoa that remain *in situ* at the east end of the building, a number of architrave and frieze blocks, and fragments from the crowning member of the screen wall that joined the interior columns of the Middle Stoa.

In order to check the condition of the ancient foundations before rebuilding began and also to learn as much as possible about the pre-Stoa history of the area, it was decided to remove much of the ancient earth filling from within the limits of the building (Pls. 98b, 101). This exploration has now been completed in the terrace

⁶ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 385 ff.

⁷ The dowel holes show that the statue was certainly of bronze and that the left foot was slightly advanced. Hence there can be no direct connection between this base and the marble statue in the Metropolitan Museum signed by Zeuxis and tentatively identified as of Karneades. Cf. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel, 1943, p. 146.

throughout its whole length and in the colonnade over the section that lay in front of the originally planned 18 shops. In a pre-War season the tenth shop from the south had been excavated to permit the examination of pre-Stoa foundations and for the same reason the third shop from the north had been opened up and left exposed by the Greek Archaeological Service. It seems not worthwhile to remove the deep earth filling from within the narrow confines of the remaining shops nor from the area of the colonnade in front of the three northernmost shops that were added to the original plan during construction.

Instead of refilling the vast cavity now opened up beneath the level of the Stoa floor and within the terrace it is proposed to cover these areas with a concrete slab and thus secure spacious basement storerooms at comparatively little cost. The levels should permit of this over approximately one-third of the length of the colonnade and over a slightly larger proportion of the terrace.

From an archaeological point of view the exploration beneath the Stoa has been highly rewarding. The excavation revealed that many of the blocks now missing from the foundations beneath the front steps and the interior columns had been removed in the 10th or 11th century. The resulting holes were refilled with earth on top of which, near the middle of the colonnade, was built a house of which some ruins survived. In the 13th or 14th century a large section of the "Valerian Wall" tumbled westward in the north part of the Stoa and the house was abandoned. Through a close study of the pottery and coins it may be possible to relate these events with some known episode in the stormy history of mediaeval Athens.

The vast mass of earth filling brought in by the Stoa builders has yielded a goodly quantity of pottery and terracotta figurines and, since the lower limit of Attalos' reign (159-138 B. C.) may be taken as a *terminus ante quem* for their deposition, they provide valuable evidence for the chronology of the minor arts in the Hellenistic period.

Beneath the colonnade of the Stoa in front of the eighth and ninth shops from the south lie the ruins of an earlier building that was demolished to make way for the Stoa (Fig. 1). As yet only a suite of two rooms has been exposed, but the north and south foundations continue both eastward and westward into unexplored areas. The foundations of the building and a wall socle $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet high are of rubble stone work, the upper walls of sun-dried brick. Although no direct evidence is yet available for its identification, the comparatively substantial construction indicates that it was public rather than private and the fact that it was superseded by the Stoa of Attalos would suggest some commercial function. Since pottery from beneath the floor of the building fixes the date of its construction within the first half of the second century, the building had had but a short life when it was demolished by the builders of the Stoa *ca.* 150 B. C.

The construction of the building just described presupposes the previous dismantling of a still earlier structure the empty foundation trenches of which were over-

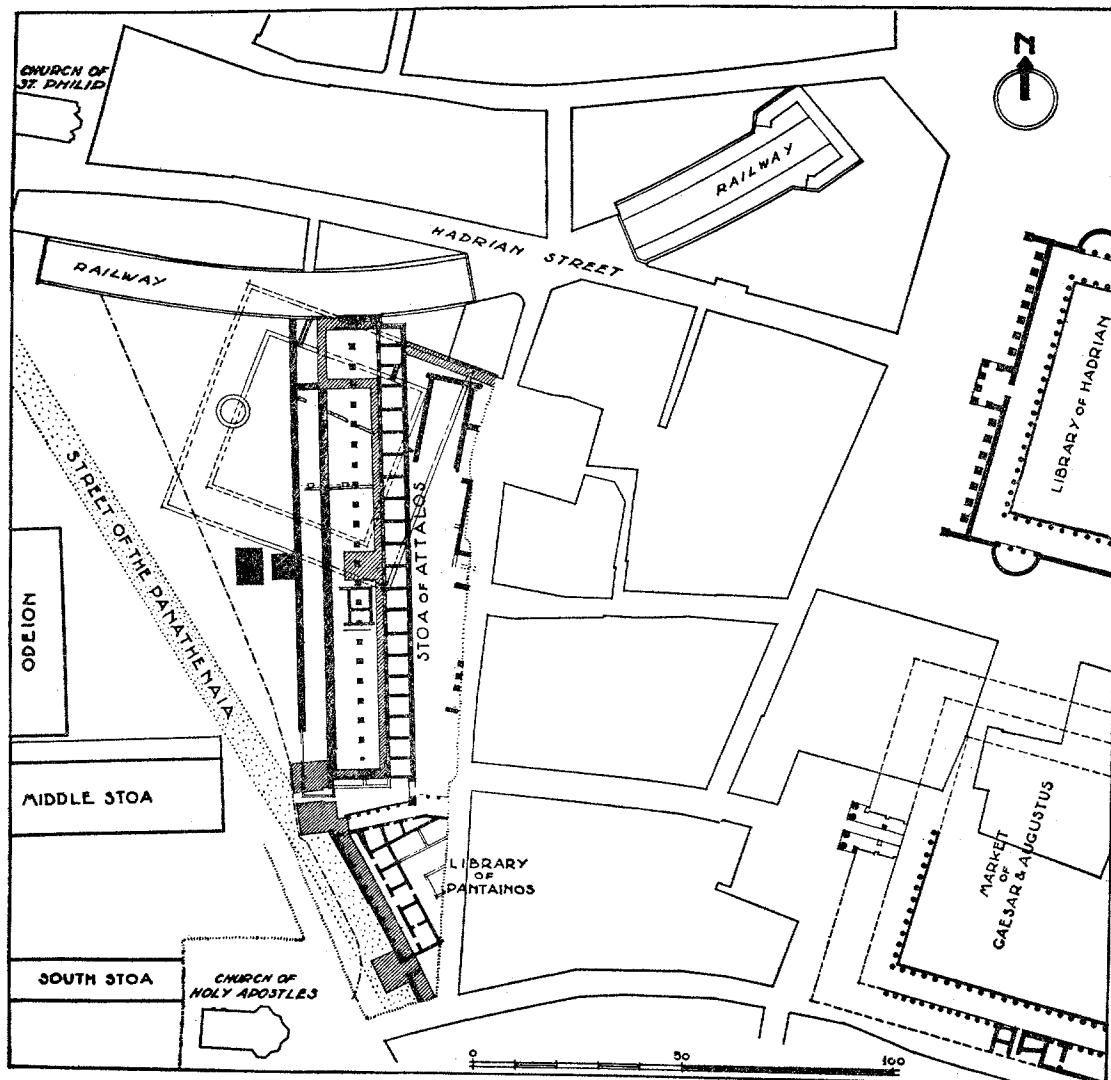


Fig. 1. East Side of the Athenian Agora

laid by the north foundation of the immediate predecessor of the Stoa of Attalos (Fig. 1). This earlier structure had already been partially exposed in pre-War seasons of excavation.⁸ Its foundations lie for the most part beneath the north half of the Stoa of Attalos, its floor level *ca.* 3.40 m. below that of the colonnade of the Stoa. The building consists essentially of a great square courtyard, *ca.* 39 metres to the side, surrounded on all four sides by a colonnade *ca.* 9.50 metres wide. No trace has yet appeared of closed rooms back of the colonnade. The floor of the court was carefully prepared of brown clay and was given a gentle pitch toward the north

⁸ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 354; VIII, 1939, p. 213.

so that the drainage from it might be carried beneath the north colonnade by means of two tunnels walled, roofed, and floored with heavy poros blocks.⁹ The lower foundations of the building are of conglomerate, its euthynteria of hard gray poros. The materials and workmanship of the building, as also the pottery found beneath its floor, indicate a date in the late fourth or early third century B. C.

It will be observed on the plan (Fig. 1) that the square building differs radically in orientation from the Stoa of Attalos. The line of the north side of the earlier building was undoubtedly given by the street that came in from the Dipylon and bordered the north side of the square. The importance and the persistence of this line is further illustrated by the fact that it also fixed the northern limit of the Stoa of Attalos and even in the late third century after Christ the "Valerian Wall" was laid down on the foundation of the north wall of the square building to the east of the Stoa. That same ancient road must have led eastward to the Library of Hadrian and may be supposed to underlie the modern Hadrian Street, one of the principal thoroughfares in this part of modern Athens.

We have as yet no certain clue to the identification of the square building. The two most likely possibilities are a gymnasium or a market building. In favor of the former is the approximation of the building in the size of its courtyard to such gymnasia as those of Olympia, Epidauros, and Priene. The carefully prepared floor of our building would also be appropriate to a gymnasium, for detailed instructions regarding the maintenance of the floors in the gymnasia of Delphi and Delos are preserved in the inscriptions.¹⁰

It might be argued, moreover, that the square building of the fourth century B. C. was replaced after the erection of the Stoa of Attalos by the Gymnasium of Ptolemy which was referred to by Pausanias (I, 17, 2) on leaving the Agora (presumably through its east side) as "not far distant from the Agora." There is no direct evidence as to which of the Ptolemies gave his name to this gymnasium, but the collation of a number of indications would point to Ptolemy Philometor (181-145 B. C.). The first certain mention of the gymnasium occurs in an inscription of 122/1 B. C.¹¹ and it is mentioned again in two other inscriptions of the next century.¹² A mutilated passage in Apollodoros probably mentions the Ptolemaion and, with reference to the years just after the middle of the second century B. C., seems to speak of the opening of schools there for athletes.¹³ About the middle of the second century B. C. Athens conferred signal honors on one of the Ptolemies, probably Philometor; a bronze statue of him was to be set up on the Acropolis so that the honors paid him might be evident

⁹ The eastern of these two drains is the "fountain beneath the Stoa of Attalos" of W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, pp. 201, 355.

¹⁰ E. Norman Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930, pp. 75, 77.

¹¹ *I.G.*, II², 1006, l. 19.

¹² *I.G.*, II², 1029, l. 25, and 1043, l. 50.

¹³ Jacoby, *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, II B, p. 1036, no. 59 and commentary II D, p. 743.

to all and so that the Athenians might not seem to lack appreciation.¹⁴ The Ptolemaic games, moreover, were apparently celebrated with exceptional pomp in the archonship of Lysiades (148/7 B. C.).¹⁵

Even if it were established, however, that a gymnasium was built in Athens by a Ptolemy around the middle of the second century B. C. it would seem questionable, in view of the known relations between the Ptolemies and the Attalids, whether the one dynasty would have replaced a building razed by the other.

Another objection to the identification of the square building as a gymnasium is its apparent lack of closed rooms around the courtyard. Although it cannot be said with certainty that there were no such rooms until the areas to the east and west of the Stoa have been more thoroughly explored, the possibility is very remote of there having been adequate accommodation for dressing, washing, teaching, etc., all of which were essential to a gymnasium.

On the whole it would seem preferable to regard the square structure as a market building, an early example of a type that was previously known at Miletos as early as the latter part of the fourth century B. C. and that became increasingly popular in Hellenistic and Roman times.¹⁶ We should thus have to do with a succession of buildings of similar function on the same site, an exceedingly common phenomenon in Athens. One might infer that the lack of closed rooms around the peristyle of the earlier structure (a defect almost as serious in a market building as in a gymnasium) was made good by the inclusion of 42 shops in its ultimate successor, the Stoa. The new building, furthermore, provided in its two floors a length of colonnade fully equal to that of the earlier and in the form of porches of more generous width and of more agreeable outlook.

If the square building be identified as a market place we may assume that it was replaced ultimately not by the Stoa of Attalos alone but also by the closely contemporary group of Middle and South Stoa and the long narrow area bounded by them. In neither the Middle nor the South Stoa is there any trace of closed rooms; these colonnades were presumably intended primarily for practical market purposes, the noise and bustle and smells of which would have been cut off by the screen wall on the mid line of the Middle Stoa from the old square to the north. After the passage of another century even these spacious facilities proved inadequate; they were then supplemented by the Market of Caesar and Augustus which, like the square building beneath the Stoa of Attalos, consisted essentially of a rectangular peristyle set to the east of the Agora.

¹⁴ *I.G.*, II², 983.

¹⁵ *I.G.*, II², 1938. The present argument is not affected by the probability that these games ceased to be celebrated soon thereafter, to be revived again in 103 B. C. Cf. W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London, 1911, pp. 369, 435.

¹⁶ A. von Gerkan, *Milet*, I, vi, pp. 88 ff., pl. XXIII; R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks Built Cities*, London, 1949, pp. 70, 82 f.

Again on the assumption that the square building was intended for market purposes, it might be regarded as a great step forward in its own day: a means of concentrating and segregating those utilitarian aspects of a market place, the booths and stalls, the fruit, vegetables, fish, flesh, and fowl that consorted ill with the meetings of political bodies, the discussions of the philosophers, the religious ceremonies, and the works of art that were becoming increasingly prominent in the main square.

It was no doubt a feeling for the need of such a division that inspired Aristotle's prescription in the *Politics* (VII, 12, 3-7): "Near this spot should be established an agora such as that which the Thessalians call the 'freemen's agora'; from this all trade should be excluded, and no mechanic, husbandman or any such person be allowed to enter, unless he be summoned by the magistrates. . . . There should also be a traders' agora, distinct and apart from the other, in a situation which is convenient for the reception of goods both by sea and land . . . the upper agora we devote to the life of leisure, the other is intended for the necessities of trade."¹⁷

That some improvement in practical market facilities was regarded as desirable about the middle of the fourth century is evident from the suggestion of ps. Xenophon (*de Vectigalibus*, III, 13): "If, moreover, dwellings and sales places were to be built for the market people, both in the Peiraeus and in the city, they would at one and the same time provide both an ornament to the city and considerable revenues."

At a depth of *ca.* 0.75 m. below the courtyard floor of the great square building appeared the floor of a still earlier establishment (Fig. 1, Pl. 101b). This lower floor is gravelly, much trodden but less regular than that above. It is bounded to north and south by rough stone walls both of which served in their lower parts as terrace walls to take up the change in ground level which here falls rather rapidly from south to north. The southern of the two walls runs east to west but the other has a northwest to southeast orientation almost identical with that of the great square building and obviously dictated, as in the case of the square building, by the ancient thoroughfare across the north side of the Agora. The walls have been explored thus far only within the area of the colonnade of the Stoa of Attalos and of its terrace; they apparently once continued further in both directions. The maximum dimensions of the area now exposed between the walls is 21 m. from north to south, 19 m. from east to west. An interior wall of later date runs roughly north to south starting from the northern of the two walls noted above and extending about halfway across the intervening area. An entrance led through the northern wall immediately to the east of its junction with this interior wall.

The gravelled area with which we are dealing has the appearance of a much used enclosure open to the sky; there is no trace of roofing. The most striking feature of the establishment is a water line that ran along the south edge of the area at the foot of its southern wall. The water was conducted in a stone trough of which there

¹⁷ Trans. B. Jowett. The *Politics* were put together probably in the 30's of the fourth century.

remains only the imprint in the earth. This channel was interrupted at intervals by stone basins one of which survives intact while its neighbour to the west is attested only by an imprint; these two basins lay *ca.* 8.50 m. apart, centre to centre. The surviving basin is carefully hewn from a large block of gray poros and was set with its lip at ground level, its bottom well below the level of the bottom of the channel.

The date of this earlier establishment is shown by the pottery associated with its foundations to be of the late fifth or early fourth century. Again we must regret the lack as yet of any direct evidence for its identification. Following the same line of argument once more, however, we may conjecture that this structure was a modest predecessor of the great square building and consequently served market purposes. In such a place, of course, running water with convenient dip basins would have been very welcome. Two similar systems with stone channels punctuated at intervals by stone basins are known elsewhere in the Agora, one bordering the west side of the Panathenaic Way, the other running from south to north along the west side of the main square.

Since the south end of the Stoa of Attalos over the length of its first five shops was set down into the rising ground, the Stoa builders planed down the earlier levels and thus caused an unfortunate lacuna in the history of the east side of the Agora.

In the earth filling of the Stoa, beneath the northern part of the colonnade, were found several fragmentary Mycenaean (LH III) vases together with a few scraps of bone: enough to suggest that the Stoa builders in digging their foundation trenches had disturbed a Mycenaean grave similar to several that have come to light in the course of the excavations beneath the main square of the Agora.

A considerable expenditure of effort was required to put in shape the area previously excavated by the Greek Archaeological Society to the east of the Stoa of Attalos (Fig. 1, Pl. 102 a). Throughout the whole length of the Stoa the Society had carried its excavations down to bedrock over an area *ca.* 20 m. wide at the north, *ca.* 10 m. at the south. Toward the east this long narrow strip was bounded by a vertical earth scarp four to eight metres in height along the brow of which ran a modern street. In a half century of exposure the scarp had eroded to the point where it created a great potential hazard to passing traffic; a retaining wall had, therefore, to be built. The construction of this wall had to be adjusted carefully so as to give adequate support to the scarp and yet so as not to discourage utterly the eventual extension of the excavations toward the east. It was decided, therefore, to build a revetment in dry stone masonry chiefly of nondescript ancient blocks. These blocks have been drawn both from the immediate area and from the main Agora square; their removal has disencumbered the excavations and has added greatly to their intelligibility while at the same time the blocks are still accessible and, should the necessity arise, any of them might be extracted for closer examination. Construction was begun at the south end and was approximately half completed within the year.

Before the construction of the retaining wall began, the scarp was cleaned from top to bedrock and the ancient remains which appeared in its face were recorded in a drawn elevation and in a series of photographs (Pl. 102). The most prominent structure here represented is a large building with massive concrete foundations. A north to south length of just over 80 m. is exposed in the excavation cut, and in the narrow strip now accessible appear parts of at least five large compartments. The room at the southwest corner of the building as now known was paved with a marble-slab floor repaired in places with rough mosaic. Parallel to its (now missing) west wall is a series of three Ionic column bases standing on moulded plinths with an interaxial spacing of *ca.* 2.89 m.; on the southernmost base is the shattered stump of a column with a lower diameter of 0.56 m. This may well be part of a peristyle court. Beneath the floor level of the building appears the broken end of a very capacious drain built of rubble stonework with arched top running in an east to west direction.

It will be observed from the plan (Fig. 1) that the building differs markedly in orientation from the Stoa of Attalos so that the line of its west side had to be accommodated to the Stoa by a series of jogs. Its orientation was apparently determined, like that of the square building beneath the Stoa, by the age-old road along the north edge of the square, an orientation that was respected also by the builders of the Library of Hadrian.

The date of the building to the east of the Stoa may be put tentatively in the second century after Christ from the style of the column bases, the nature of the concrete, and the evidence of a little pottery extracted from beneath the marble floor. As to its identification, no direct evidence is yet available. The construction and size of the structure, however, coupled with the presence of the large drain, suggest a thermal establishment and one may speculate as to whether it is not to be associated with the Gymnasium of Hadrian. Pausanias (I, 18, 9), our sole literary authority for that building, unfortunately gives no indication of its position, merely listing it among Hadrian's buildings in Athens; it may, however, be of some significance that in Pausanias' list the Gymnasium follows immediately after the Library, and it will be clear from Fig. 1 that our building, if square in plan, could have been separated from the Library of Hadrian by little more than a roadway.

Apart from the construction of the retaining wall, the area along the east side of the Stoa was thoroughly examined preparatory to its being used as a repository for many thousands of broken marbles that had to be removed from within the limits of the building. Along the east edge of the area, near its middle, in a rough cutting in the bedrock, lay three shattered Mycenaean vases (P 20311-20313; Pl. 100 d); although no skeleton was found, these were undoubtedly the furnishings of another grave like that noted beneath the Stoa. The group comprises a small three-handled jar with a band of hatching on its shoulder, a plain amphora, and a hydria covered all over with thin, dull brown glaze.

THE STOA POIKILE

Of several by-products that resulted from the first season's work on the Stoa of Attalos the most interesting came through the demolition of a late wall to enable motor trucks to approach the Stoa from the northwest. This wall ran contiguous with an aqueduct intended to carry water from the tail-race of a grist mill near the southwest corner of the Stoa of Attalos in a northwesterly direction across the area of the ancient square. Wall and aqueduct are identical in construction and presumably contemporary in date, contemporary also with the mill, which has been dated in the third quarter of the fifth century after Christ.¹⁸ The late wall had been built in large part of re-used material: architectural members of both marble and limestone, sculpture, inscriptions, etc. The material of immediate interest consists of several score fragments of brown Aeginetan poros, all obviously removed from one and the same earlier building.

All but one of the recognizable architectural members represented by the fragments are of the Doric order: a fluted column drum, an anta capital, architrave, triglyphs, horizontal cornice. The solitary Ionic member is a very small scrap of a column base with which is probably to be associated a scrap of unfluted column shaft. There are besides many pieces of wall blocks and several from the crowning course of a wall. Not a few of the fragments retain traces of painted decoration of normal design and distribution. The pigment was applied directly to the surface of the poros without the intervention of stucco. In the case of the Doric column drum, however, the coarse stone was surfaced with a thin coat of fine stucco. The faces of the wall blocks were finished with the toothed chisel which left shallow striations.

The best preserved of all the members is the Doric anta capital illustrated in Pl. 103 a and b. Although the capital has been re-assembled from over thirty fragments, its design and all its significant dimensions can be recovered with assurance. The capital measures 0.405 m. high, 0.79 m. wide on its broad face, 0.465 m. on the narrow; the wall to which it was attached had a thickness of only 0.40 m. The relation between the capital and wall is such as to indicate that the wall returned some distance along the front of the building before making way for a colonnade. The fascia above the hawksbeak is crowned by a small ovolo. Immediately beneath the hawksbeak is a small astragal, an unusual and interesting touch of Ionicism; beneath this is a fascia bounded below by a narrow taenia; the fascia was painted green. The principal fascia of the capital was covered with a double band of lotus and palmette, the hawksbeak with a tongue pattern.

¹⁸ On the mill cf. A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90. Wall and aqueduct are indicated by one heavy black line on the plan of the Agora: *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pl. 1.

The taenia at the top of the architrave is crowned with a hawksbeak, an apparently unique phenomenon which is only approximately paralleled by an ovolo crown in the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora and in the Temple of Amphiaraos at Oropos.¹⁹

The triglyph measures *ca.* 0.48 m. in width, i. e. one fifth greater than the triglyph of the Stoa of Zeus. In its sides are slots for the metopes, of which nothing else has come to light.

The best evidence for the date of the building is provided by the mouldings, especially those of the anta capital. They are appreciably earlier in type than those of the Parthenon; they are close to the mouldings of the Hephaisteion and have some affinity also with those of the Treasury of the Athenians. The painted ornament is not far removed from that of the Hephaisteion. The working of the wall blocks may be closely paralleled in the Athenian Tholos (*ca.* 470 B. C.) and the lifting holes in the tops of some of the members are reminiscent of those in the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina. A date in the neighborhood of 460 B. C. would seem to satisfy these various indications.²⁰

It has not yet been possible to assign these *membra disiecta* to a foundation. The presence in one place of so many fragments from so many different members of the same building would imply, however, that the original building stood close by. The place of finding, as noted above, was to the west of the mid part of the Stoa of Attalos. For a building of the scale indicated by the fragments no position is available to east, west or south. The north remains, and this brings us to the locality to which we had long since assigned the Stoa Poikile on the basis of the literary evidence.²¹ The other evidence that may be adduced from the newly found fragments would also accord with their attribution to this famous building. The use of limestone rather than marble, the combination of the Doric and Ionic orders, the peculiarity of the plan as indicated by the surviving anta capital would all be consonant with the identification of the building as a stoa. The date of the building, the high quality of its workmanship, and its scale are precisely what we should have expected in the Stoa Poikile.

The attribution is greatly strengthened by a peculiar feature of the wall blocks (Pl. 103c). At intervals in the faces of the fragmentary blocks appear many drilled holes, in some of which still remain the rusted stumps of iron pins of the diameter of a lead pencil. It would seem probable that these pins are to be connected with the paintings known to have been executed in this building by Polygnotos, Mikon and Panainos: Theseus and the Amazons, the Capture of Troy, the Battle of Marathon,

¹⁹ L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 170.

²⁰ I am indebted to Miss Lucy T. Shoe for comments on the mouldings. Miss Shoe will prepare a more detailed publication of the building.

²¹ Cf. most recently E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 130, fig. 1, and p. 136.

the Battle of Oinoe. Bishop Synesius, mentioning these paintings in letters written about A. D. 400 (*Epist.* 54 and 136), referred to them as on *sanides*, a word which means wooden tablets. Such tablets could well have been supported on a grid of wooden scantlings secured to the wall by means of iron spikes. The arrangement indicated by the spikes in the newly found blocks may seem flimsy in comparison with the more organic connection of grid and stonework known in the pre-Mnesiclean Propylaia on the Acropolis,²² but it is readily explicable through the known circumstance that in the Stoa by the Agora the paintings were an after-thought, so much so that the building was originally called after its builder the Stoa Peisianax and only later, after the paintings had been added, did it come to be called the Stoa Poikile, the Painted Porch.²³ Lest hopes rise too high it should be recalled that Bishop Synesius reported that the famous paintings had already been carried away by a proconsul at the time of his writing.

If now we imagine this colonnade, of good construction and with its splendid paintings, standing at the north edge of the square, closed against the north wind and open to the south, we can readily appreciate how it came to be the most popular resort around the Agora, giving its name first to a group of poets who spent their time in its shelter and subsequently to the philosophy that was expounded in the fourth century B. C. by another of its habitués, Zenon of Kition.²⁴

It would be exceedingly desirable to fix the foundations of the building. This might be done by making a sounding to the north of the railway. The line of the Stoa Poikile once established would undoubtedly give also the northern limit of the market square.

AREA TO THE WEST OF THE AREOPAGUS

In order to complete his study of the district of private houses and shops to the southwest of the market square proper, Mr. Rodney S. Young carried out a certain amount of supplementary digging in the spring and summer of 1949. Since his report will appear shortly in *Hesperia* it need not be anticipated here.

Miss Margaret Crosby in the spring and again in the autumn of 1949 continued the difficult task of disentangling the remains of the large structure of the fifth century B. C. at the northwest foot of the Areopagus that has been tentatively identified as a lawcourt. It is hoped that this building may be studied and published in conjunction with another of the same type to the south of the Tholos, so that here again there is no need to anticipate.

²² W. B. Dinsmoor, *apud* M. H. Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, New Haven, 1929, p. 424, note 14a; *Studies in the History of Culture*, 1942, pp. 185 ff.

²³ Plutarch, *Kimon*, 4; Diogenes Laertius, VII, 5.

²⁴ Diogenes Laertius, VII, 5.

The definitive exploration of this vast area is thus almost finished. There remains, however, a small area in need of deeper excavation on either side of the Great Drain at the northwest foot of the Areopagus; the present ragged edge of the excavation toward the Theseum Square should also be regularized. The wealth of evidence for the early history of Athens that may be gathered from the thorough exploration of almost every square metre in this region is well illustrated by the following.

Toward the end of the season of 1948 the cremation burial of a woman of the early Geometric period, distinguished by two pairs of terracotta boots, was discovered at the extreme northwest foot of the Areopagus.²⁵ Inasmuch as graves of this period and in this general area have been found more commonly in groups than individually, there was reason to hope that other graves might come to light in the immediate neighborhood. It was decided therefore to clear the adjacent area down to bedrock. The excavation was supervised by Mrs. Evelyn Lord Smithson and was financed by contributions from members of the American Mission to Greece who had attended the course of lectures offered by the School during the preceding winter. Much of what follows is based on Mrs. Smithson's account of the undertaking.

The total area explored was less than 100 square metres, yet it proved to be exceedingly fertile. Among the structural remains are foundations of house walls of the sixth and fifth centuries B. C. with which are associated traces of metal working, in particular fragments of clay moulds for bronze casting, which suggest that we have to do with a northward continuation of the large area of workshops previously explored to the west of the Areopagus.

Beneath the house foundations appeared the mouths of two burial pits of the Geometric period both of which proved to be quite intact. One of the burials was that of a craftsman-warrior. His ashes rested in a large amphora which stood upright in a small pit surrounded by four smaller vases and by a selection of iron tools and weapons. Into the mouth of the pit had been thrown the remnants of the funeral pyre, among them two more fragmentary vases and carbonized remains of figs and grapes. In shape and decoration the vases stand at the point of transition from the Protogeometric to the Geometric style, i. e. *ca.* 900 B. C. In this respect, as also in the number and variety of its furnishings, the burial proves to be one of the most informative of the period thus far found in Athens.²⁶

The second grave of 1949 contained the pithos burial of a child of ten months (Pl. 104c).²⁷ The body had been placed in a large plain jar which rested on its side at the bottom of the pit, its mouth closed with a stone slab (Pl. 104a). Beside the large jar stood a pitcher of coarse plain ware, its walls blackened by fire. Inside the

²⁵ Cf. R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 275 ff.

²⁶ This grave group will be published shortly by Professor Carl W. Blegen.

²⁷ The age was determined by Dr. J. Lawrence Angell on the basis of the stage of development of the skull and bones.

burial urn together with the skeleton rested eight small vases, several of them obviously miniatures in keeping with the tender age of the child, and all of different shape (Pl. 104b). Six of the group are decorated in a developed Geometric style by a very careful hand; two of the little bowls, however, were treated in the crude and sketchy manner characteristic of the "Phaleron Style." A date toward the end of the eighth century is indicated.²⁸

The two graves found in 1949 together with the one of 1948 constitute a compact group (the intervals between the pits being not more than three metres) set in one of the angles formed by two intersecting roads: a logical disposition for a family burial plot. The interval of close on two centuries between the earlier and the later interments was perhaps filled by intermediate burials now represented by empty cuttings in the bedrock and by scattered sherds of large Geometric vases.

SCULPTURE AND METALWORK

A life-sized marble head of a dreamy young man was recovered from the same late wall in the northeast quarter of the Agora square that yielded the fragments of the Painted Stoa (Pl. 105a).²⁹ Beard and moustache are rendered by stippling with a fine point; the hair is treated like a skull cap with an abrupt termination above the brow; the individual locks are worked out by furrowing in a wavy pattern. The soft modelling of the flesh results in a weak and puffy effect.

The head does not yield readily to classification. The handling of the flesh, however, is reminiscent of the portraits of Gordianus II (A. D. 238-244) and the combination of stippled beard with an abrupt angular hair line may likewise be paralleled in the years just before and around the middle of the third century.³⁰ For the rendering of the hair it would be difficult to suggest a precise parallel either in this period or later. A date near the middle of the third century would harmonize with the circumstances of finding. The wall in which it was incorporated is to be dated, as we have

²⁸ This group has much in common with those from the later burials in the cemetery to the south of the Tholos published by R. S. Young in *Hesperia*, Supplement II, 1939, especially burials VII and IX.

²⁹ S 1406. Height including tenon, 0.405 m. Pentelic marble. Split from top to bottom down the proper left side. The head was worked separately for insertion in a draped torso.

³⁰ For the hair line cf. especially portraits of Maximinus Thrax (A. D. 235-238) (A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, New York, 1912, fig. 291a; H. P. L'Orange, *Studien zur Geschichte des spätantiken Porträts*, Oslo, 1933, fig. 4). A close parallel for the stippling of the beard and for the still more distinctive treatment of the eye-brow is available in the bronze statue of Trebonianus Gallus (A. D. 251-253) in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (G. M. A. Richter, *Roman Portraits*, New York, 1948, No. 109). There is obviously some connection between our head and the two heads in the National Museum at Athens illustrated by L'Orange, *op. cit.*, figs. 53-57 and dated by him to the time of the Tetrarchy, ca. A. D. 300 (pp. 27 f.). That the pair of heads is later in date is suggested by the greater prominence of their eyes and thickness of their eyelids and by the coarseness of their features.

seen, in the 5th century after Christ, yet it contained many fragments of other sculpture and of inscriptions that had undoubtedly been damaged in the Herulian sack of A. D. 267. If we suppose that our statue likewise was knocked down in that year we have a ready explanation for its remarkable freshness, extending even to traces of red paint on the lips. A date intermediate between A. D. 267 and the time of construction of the wall is unlikely inasmuch as there is little or no evidence of building of a public nature in the area between A. D. 267 and *ca.* A. D. 400. The date suggested above should be regarded as tentative, however, until such time as the chronology of portrait sculpture in Greece in the late Roman period is put on a firmer basis.

The five bronze statuettes illustrated in Pl. 106a were found in a well connected with a small bathing establishment in the bottom of the valley to the west of the Areopagus, in a context probably to be associated with the Herulian sack of A. D. 267. They are in general remarkably well preserved, three even retaining their ancient bases; wooden bases have been supplied to the other two. All five represent divinities: Aphrodite, Eros, Harpokrates, Telesphoros and Eirene.³¹

The bronzes fall into two groups. The first, comprising Aphrodite and Eros, is distinguished by soft modelling, unpierced eyes and a metal that has lost much of its surface; these two pieces may be as early as the first century after Christ. The remaining three figurines have kept a hard, glossy surface; the pupils of their eyes are pierced and their modelling would suggest a date in the third century.

The Aphrodite is of a familiar type that may be traced back to the second half of the fourth century. The goddess is represented at her toilette, adjusting her hair with the help of a (now missing) mirror held in the right hand. She stands on a circular base which in its proportions and in its mouldings closely resembles a typical well head of the fourth century: ³² perhaps an allusion to the source of the bath water, comparable, that is, with the water jar at the side of the Cnidian Aphrodite.

The Eros may be restored, on the analogy of the well-known Eros in the Metropolitan Museum,³³ with a torch in his outthrust left hand. The long tendril held in the right hand probably once rose above the head to end in a support for a lamp; such tendrils are common in the candelabra of Pompeii.³⁴

Harpokrates, the Helleno-Egyptian godlet, is here represented with cornucopia

³¹ Aphrodite (B 881): height of figure, 0.178 m., with base, 0.221 m.; Eros (B 882): height of figure, 0.116 m.; Harpokrates (B 883): height of figure, 0.096 m.; Telesphoros (B 884): height of figure, 0.067 m., with base, 0.083 m.; Eirene (B 880): height of figure, 0.141 m., with base, 0.189 m.

³² Cf. M. Lang, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 114 ff., pl. 7.

³³ G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes*, New York, 1915, No. 131, pp. 85 ff.; cf. also No. 228, pp. 119 f.

³⁴ F. B. Tarbell, *Catalogue of Bronzes, etc. in Field Museum of Natural History*, Chicago, 1909, Nos. 67-73.

as a genius of fertility. Assimilation to Dionysos is suggested by the fawn's skin worn over the left shoulder.³⁵

The third godlet of the group is appropriately marked by his hooded cloak as Telesphoros, the youthful associate of Asklepios who watched over convalescence; he is occasionally represented in Greek terracottas and lamps as well as bronzes especially from the third century after Christ and later.³⁶ His pedestal has the scheme of an Ionic base.

Perhaps the most interesting of the five bronzes is the second goddess who is complete save for the sceptre that is attested by a scar on the right forearm. The figure stands on an elaborately turned base reminiscent of the bronze fittings of Pompeian furniture.³⁷ In her left hand she supports a cornucopia filled with fruit and crowned by a crescent. She is clad in a voluminous peplos, belted at the waist and with a long overfall; part of the back overfall has been drawn up over the head. On her head is a stephane decorated with rosettes.

The statuette is obviously a free adaptation of the Eirene of the group of Eirene and Ploutos made by Kephisodotos for the Athenian Agora.³⁸ The child Ploutos, who originally shared the goddess' left arm with the cornucopia, has been dropped from the composition and the cornucopia has been correspondingly enlarged. The goddess has drawn her garment up over her head and has assumed the stephane. She has, however, retained her massive build, her firm stance and the general scheme of her drapery characterized especially by the heavy folds that cut obliquely across her chest.³⁹

Along with her artistic type and two out of three of her original attributes, the goddess may be presumed to have retained also her original name: Eirene (Peace). This personification is common on the Roman imperial coinage of the second and third centuries, i. e. the period of our figurine. On the coins the goddess retains much the same dignified, heavily draped type and she still carries among her most common attributes the cornucopia and the sceptre.⁴⁰

In previous reports it has been pointed out that many of the buildings of the Greek period in the area to the west of the Areopagus were occupied by artists and

³⁵ For a similar type in terracotta and for the literature cf. D. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina*, 1934, p. 39, No. 18.

³⁶ Cf. R. Egger, "Der hilfreiche Kleine im Kapuzenmantel," *Jahreshefte*, XXXVII, 1948, pp. 90 ff. There is another miniature example in bronze in the Agora collection: B 384, closely similar in type but less well preserved.

³⁷ E. g. Tarbell, *Catalogue of Bronzes in Field Museum*, figs. 19-22; C. Ransom, *Studies in Ancient Furniture*, Chicago, 1905, pls. VIII-X, XVIII; G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture*, Oxford, 1926, figs. 308-311.

³⁸ G. M. A. Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, New Haven, 1930, pp. 255 f., figs. 659-663; G. E. Rizzo, *Prassitele*, Milan-Rome, 1932, pls. I-IX.

³⁹ Both in type and style our figurine has much in common with the Juno of the Staatsmuseum in Vienna (K. A. Neugebauer, *Antike Broncestatuetten*, Berlin, 1921, p. 113, fig. 59).

⁴⁰ Cf. H. Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, London, 1928, p. 165, pl. XLII, 12-14.

artisans, among them metalworkers. Additional evidence of the activity of such metalworkers is forthcoming from the past season in the shape of an ancient clay impression taken from fine metalwork (Pl. 106b). Impressions of this sort, already well represented in the Agora, were principally made, no doubt, to record outstanding pieces of design for subsequent copying and adaptation.⁴¹ Last season's impression was taken from a helmet, apparently of Attic type; it shows one of the lower angles of the helmet including part of the neck guard and the spring of the cap.⁴² The angle was filled by the figure of a helmeted youth with staff or spear in hand reclining against a herm over the base of which he has thrown his cloak. The shaft of the herm presumably formed the vertical edge of this part of the helmet, i. e. the part immediately behind the ear, while the ledge that supports herm and youth constituted the flaring lower part of the neck guard. The lower edge of the guard is strengthened by means of a double moulding and the guard is set off from the convex cap by a step. A design of tendrils and flowers spreads over the cap. The easy and masterly modelling of the figure finds its best parallels on the bronze mirror cases of the middle and later fourth century.⁴³ Although relief decoration of this type is more commonly found on the cheek plates of Attic helmets, a scheme of decoration like that indicated by our piece is well attested on the coins of Thourioi dating from the fifth and fourth centuries.⁴⁴ It may also be matched on the splendid helmets worn by "Alexander" on the great cameos in Vienna and the Hermitage.⁴⁵ Our fragment is a tantalizing echo from one of the most splendid Greek helmets known to us.

A second clay impression may also derive from metal-work but is more likely from terracotta (Pl. 106c).⁴⁶ The surviving piece represents an excerpt from a zone of figures that must once have encircled the wall of a small round vessel with an abrupt shoulder, in all likelihood a squat lekythos of a type popular in Athens in the fourth century.⁴⁷ The wall is bordered above by a band of bucrania and rosettes in alternation. In the field are preserved parts of two figures. The one is marked as a goddess by a sceptre held in the left hand, perhaps also by a stephane; she wears chiton, cloak and necklace and raises her right hand to her shoulder. To the right remain traces of a second standing figure: an elbow and a thigh. The attributes and

⁴¹ Cf. Dorothy Burr Thompson, *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 285-316, "Mater Caelaturae."

⁴² T 2930. Height, 0.099 m.; width, 0.084 m. The impression is complete save for small chips.

⁴³ Cf. W. Züchner, *Griechische Klappspiegel (Jahrbuch, Ergänzungsheft XIV)*, Berlin, 1942, *passim*; for the herm cf. fig. 6 and pl. 13.

⁴⁴ Cf. for example P. Gardner, *The Types of Greek Coins*, Cambridge, 1883, pl. V, 17; C. Seltman, *Greek Coins*, London, 1933, pl. XVIII, 7.

⁴⁵ A. Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, Leipzig and Berlin, 1900, pl. LIII. Cf. also E. Babelon and J. A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des Bronzes Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris, 1895, No. 2023.

⁴⁶ T 2950. Height, 0.082 m. The edge of the impression that has cut through one of the two figures is original; the other edges are broken.

⁴⁷ Cf. F. Courby, *Les Vases Grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, pp. 133 ff., pls. IV and V.

the self-conscious pose of the better preserved figure would be appropriate to Hera in a Judgment of Paris scene, and the five or six figures that commonly constitute the Judgment scene would nicely fill the wall.⁴⁸ Stance, drapery, coiffure and exquisite workmanship would suggest a date near the middle of the fourth century.

An attractive piece of actual metalwork comes from a cistern abandoned in the late Hellenistic period at the western foot of the Areopagus (Pl. 105b). It is a three-nozzled lamp of delicate lines and very competent craftsmanship.⁴⁹ Lamps of much this same type were still in use in the Campanian cities at the time of the eruption in A. D. 79.

VASES

Outstanding among the season's pottery are several red-figured pieces found to the west of the Areopagus. The most complete is an oinochoe from the area above the graves of the geometric period at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (Pl. 107).⁵⁰ On the front of the vase Nike flies down to right. She wears a long foldless chiton with bell sleeves, on her head a stephane; the ends of her hanging hair are gathered in a bag. In her two hands she holds out a sash, in her left she carries also a pitcher and a spray of ivy. The master has been recognized as the Painter of the Yale Lekythos.⁵¹

From approximately the same place as the Nike oinochoe, i. e. the northwest foot of the Areopagus, came two tantalizingly small but characteristic fragments of a red-figured calyx krater by the Kleophrades Painter.⁵² The one scrap preserves the forepart of an old man's head, hair and beard white, mouth open, sceptre (?) in the field. On the other piece remain the right arm and side of a man clad in a chitoniskos and chlamys; the set of the arm suggests that he is about to thrust a weapon.

This season's work in the valley to the west of the Areopagus added several more fragments to a series from another calyx krater by the Kleophrades Painter that has been coming out over the past several seasons, sadly broken and scattered widely in levels of the early fifth century.⁵³ The best preserved figure is Achilles, sitting in

⁴⁸ The suggestion comes from Miss Lucy Talcott. For the Judgment of Paris on a Megarian bowl cf. Courby, *op. cit.*, p. 388, fig. 80.

⁴⁹ B 876. Height, 0.06 m.; diameter of body, 0.075 m.; maximum span, 0.208 m. There is a well defined foot and no trace of attachments for suspension.

⁵⁰ P 20076. Height as restored, 0.215 m.; diameter, 0.18 m. Put together from many fragments; the base is restored. Partial relief contour; glazed inside to the bottom of the lip only.

⁵¹ The attribution is by Beazley and the piece is recorded in *Paralipomena to Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*, p. 446: "add as No. 61 bis."

⁵² P 20244. The attribution, made by Peter Corbett and G. R. Edwards, is confirmed by Beazley: *Paralipomena to A.R.V.*, p. 123: "add as No. 33 bis."

⁵³ P 18278. Beazley, *Paralipomena to A.R.V.*, p. 123: "add as No. 33 ter." This attribution also was suggested by Corbett and Edwards, and additional fragments have been added by B. B. Shefton. It seems possible that the head, *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. 47, 2 (*Paralipomena to A.R.V.*, p. 124: "add as No. 34 bis") may likewise belong.

The Agora collection contains fragments of still another calyx krater and of a psykter by the Kleophrades Painter,⁵⁴ "the greatest pot-painter of the late archaic period." These will be studied as a group and presented in a later number of *Hesperia* with adequate illustrations.

The season's work yielded over one hundred inscriptions on marble, a large proportion of them coming from the demolition of the wall of the late Roman period to the west of the Stoa of Attalos which preserved the fragments of the Stoa Poikile; others were found in the area of the Stoa of Attalos whither most of them had been carried by the builders of the "Valerian Wall".

Among several inscribed marbles found actually incorporated in a tower of the "Valerian Wall" near the middle of the Stoa of Attalos may be mentioned the fragmentary base of a monument erected by Attalos II of Pergamon in honor of one Theophilos, his syntrophos or foster brother, possibly to be identified with another Pergamene of the same name who was already known to have been honored with the proxeny by the Athenian people.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Beazley, *A.R.V.*, p. 124, no. 39 and p. 125, no. 59, respectively.

⁵⁵ The new fragments join others found in the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society in 1860. Inv. No. I 3527 + 3601: Βασι[λεὺς Ἀτταλὸς Βα[σιλέως Ἀττάλου] | καὶ Βασι[λ]ίσ[σ]ης Ἀ[πολλόνιδος] | [Θ]εόφιλον Θε[— — —^{ca. 9} — — —][.²] Ε[—] | [τ]ὸν ἐαυτοῦ σύντροφον ἀρετῇ[ς] ἐνε[κ]εν | [τῇ]ς εἰς ἐαυτὸν καὶ [τ]ὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων. For the proxeny decree cf. *I.G.*, II², 947.

The Agora collection of ostraka was again substantially enlarged, especially through the removal of a little filling that had previously been left in the pit at the northeast foot of the Hill of the Nymphs in which 491 ostraka were found in 1947.⁵⁶ The final clearing brought out 40 more ostraka complete or fragmentary. All bear known names. Among them is a complete specimen with the name of Aristides (written with double sigma!) scratched on the inside of a rim fragment of a black-figured krater. One of the Themistokles ostraka is on a scrap of a red-figured kylix. From the same pit came another fragment of a handle found in 1947 on which the name Kallixenos was not incised but carefully painted in black glaze and fired; though scarcely designed as an ostrakon, the piece would seem to have been used as such.

From deep beneath the Stoa of Attalos comes one of the few ostraka found in the Agora elsewhere than in the western or southwestern parts; it bears the name Sokrates Anagyrasios, a man who is otherwise known to have been a general in the Samian War 441/40 B. C. (Pl. 105c).⁵⁷ This is the first occurrence of his name among the ostraka.

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⁵⁶ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 193 ff.

⁵⁷ P 20325. Androtion *apud* Schol. Aristid. III 485 Dindorf = *Frag. Gr. Hist.*, IV, 645.



a. Stoa of Attalos from the North, Before the Removal of Loose Blocks (1933)

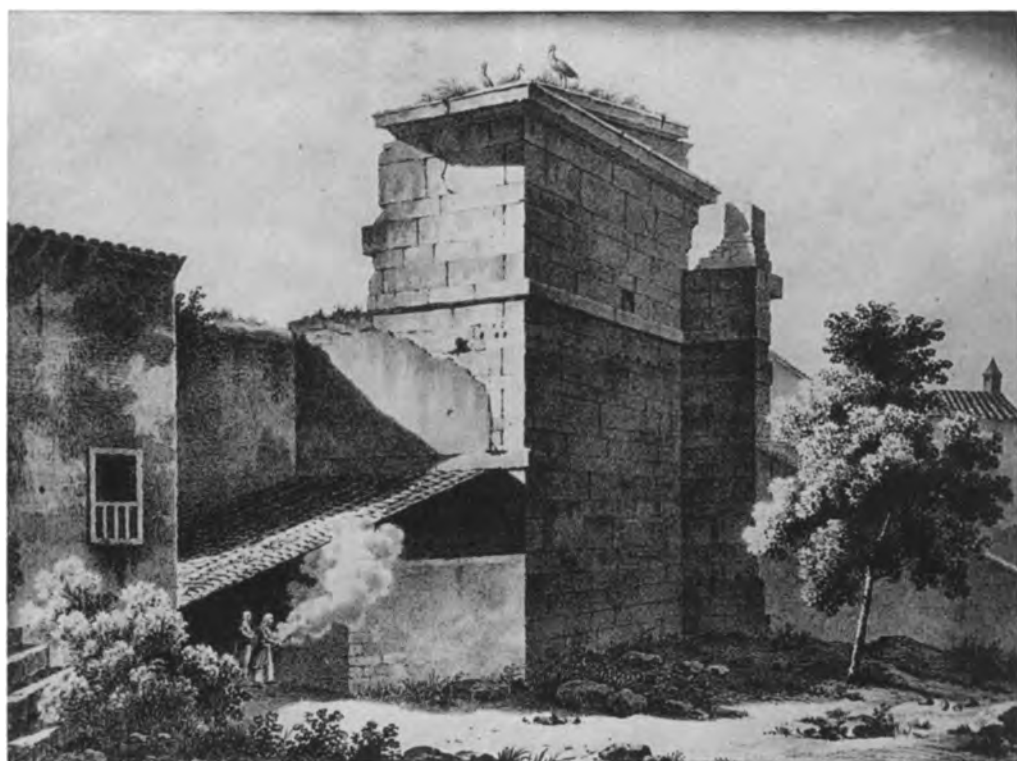


b. Stoa of Attalos from the Southwest, Earth Filling Removed to Floor Level of Pre-Stoa Square Building (July, 1949). Loose lying marbles on right are a remnant of the "Valerian Wall".

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1949



a. Stoa of Attalos, Middle Tower of "Valerian Wall" from the Northwest.
Note piers for interior columns of Stoa



b. Stoa of Attalos, North End, from the Northeast
(Edward Dodwell, *Views and Descriptions*, London, 1834, Plate 71)



a. Column Drums of Quintus Lutatius Monument from the East (1949)



b. Graffito on Orthostate, Stoa of Attalos, South End

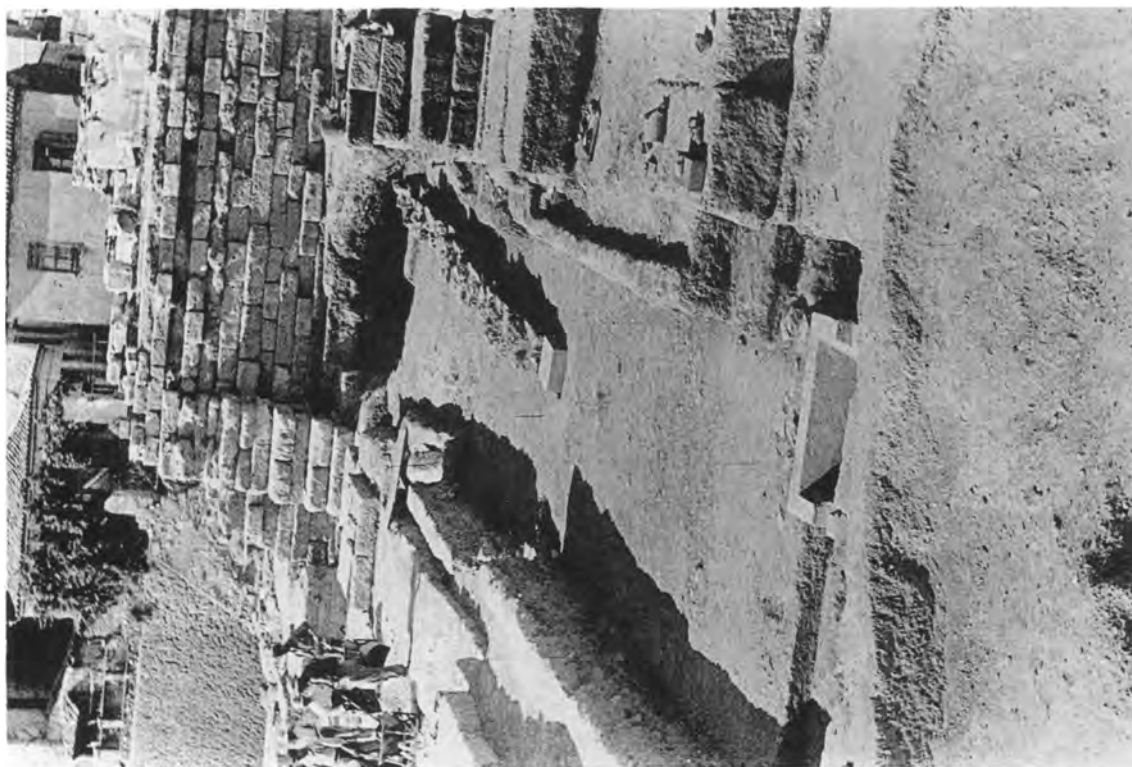


c. Inscription on Quintus Lutatius Monument (I 3948)



d. Late Helladic III Vases Found to East of Stoa of Attalos (P 20313, 20311, 20312)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1949



a. Stoa of Attalos, View from the Southeast; Earth Filling of Stoa and of Pre-Stoa Building Removed (August, 1949)



b. Stoa of Attalos, View from the Northwest. Note water basin set in floor below floor of pre-Stoa square building

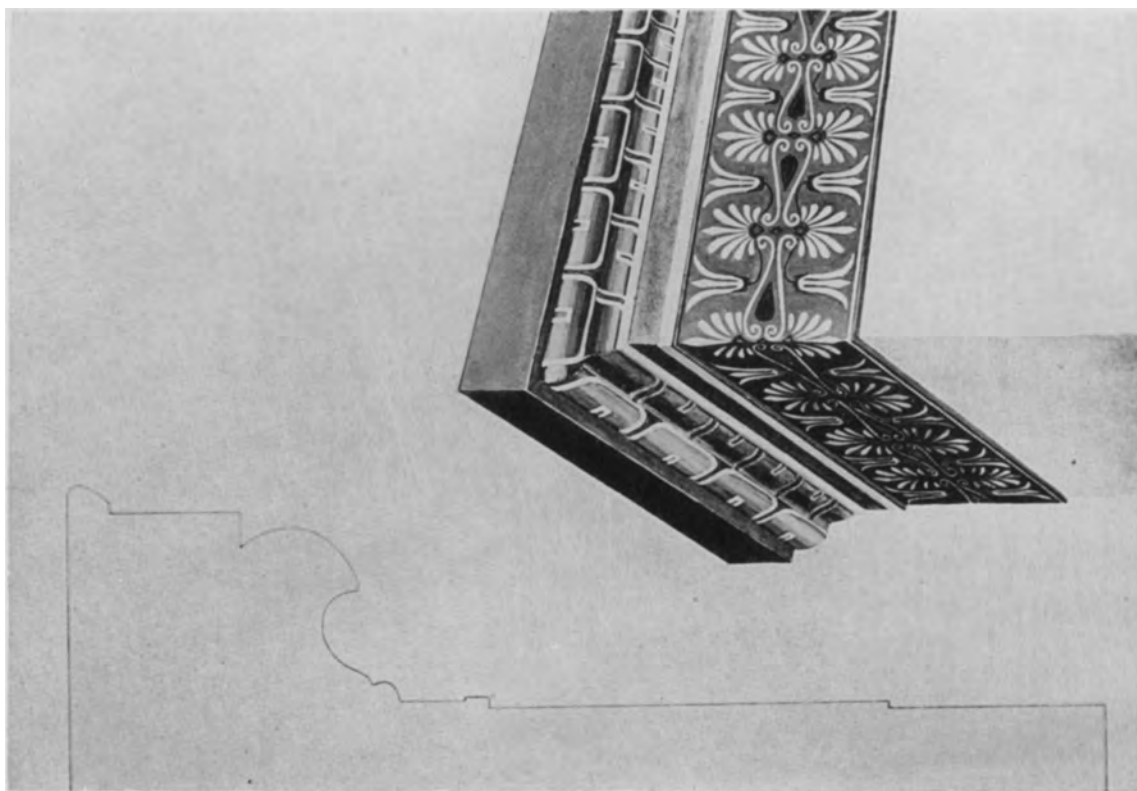
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1949



a. Stoa of Attalos, Area to East, View from the South (July, 1949)
Modern retaining wall at lower right



b. Column Bases in Building to the East of Stoa of Attalos (July, 1949)



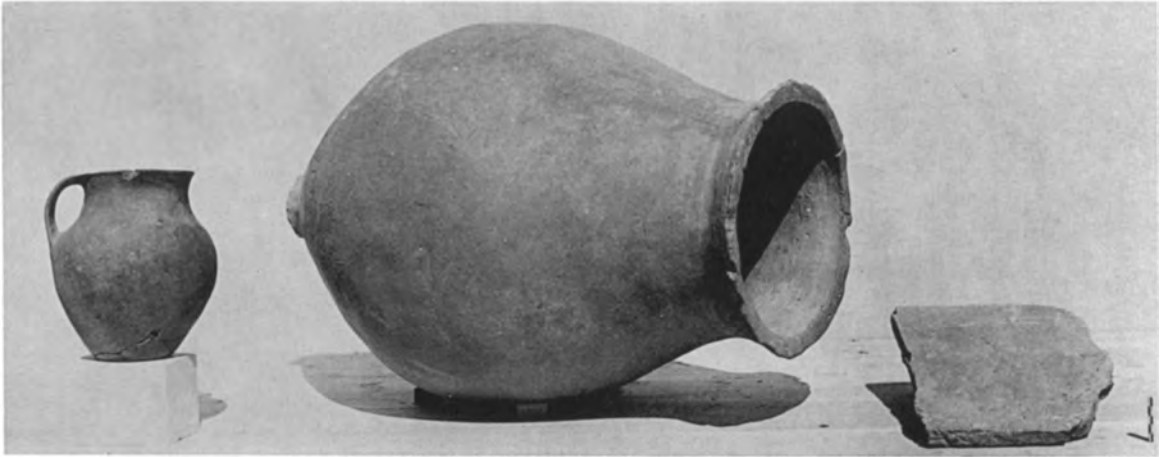
a. Anta Capital from Stoa Poikile, Section and Perspective View



b. Anta Capital from Stoa Poikile
(Topmost moulding left unfinished in plaster)



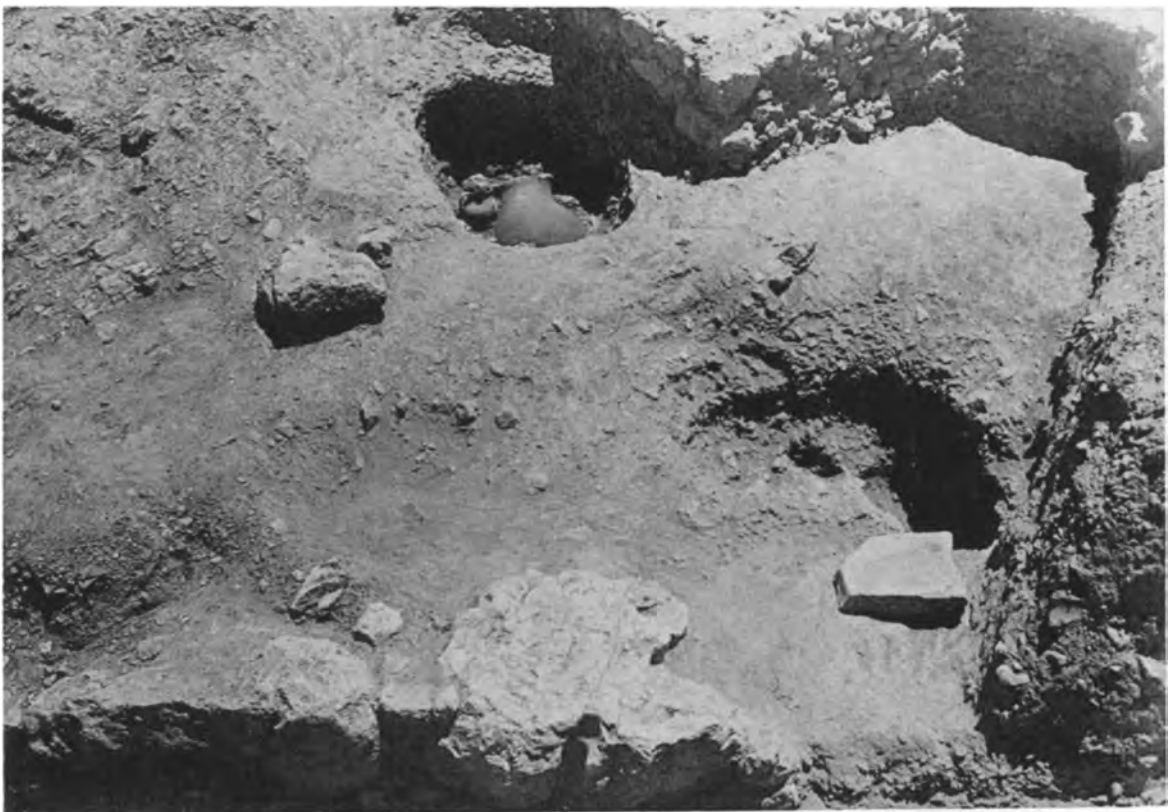
c. Wall Block from Stoa Poikile
(Note spike in lower right corner)



a. Household Pot, Burial Urn and Stone Cover from Child's Burial (P 20087, 20088)



b. Vases from Child's Burial (P 20079-20086)



c. Child's Burial of Late Geometric Period at Northwest Foot of Arcopagus
(The pit in lower right held the "Burial of the Terracotta Boots")



a. Marble Portrait Head (S 1406)



b. Bronze Lamp, Late Hellenistic (B 876)



c. Ostrakon of Sokrates Anagyrasios (P 20325)



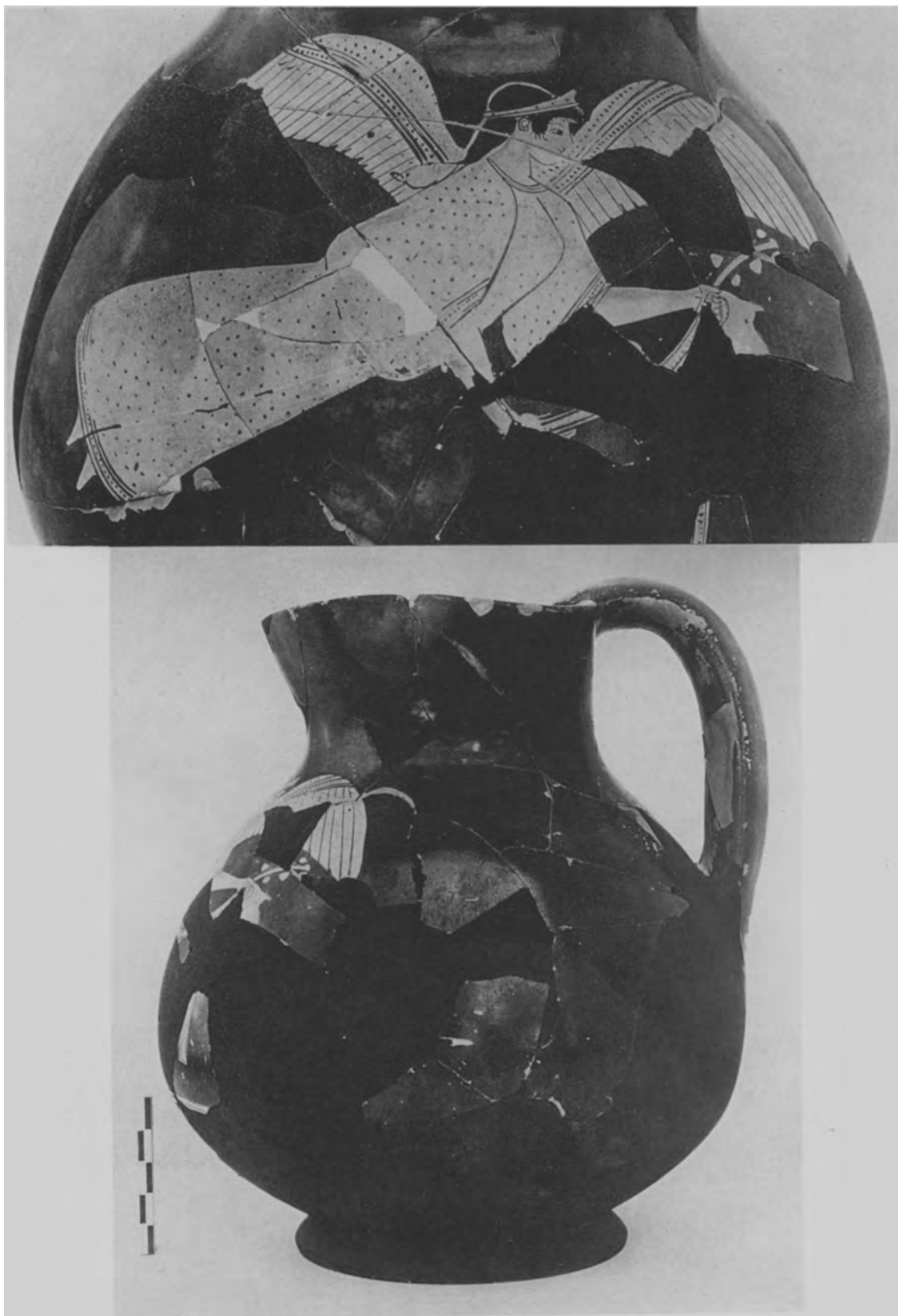
a. Bronze Figurines from a Well at the West Foot of Arcopagus (B 880-884)
(Note modern bases beneath figures second and third from left)



b. Ancient Clay Impression from a Helmet
Relief (T 2930)
(Photograph taken from a modern cast)



c. Ancient Clay Impression from a
Relief Vase (T 2950)
(Photograph taken from a modern cast)



Oinochoe by the Painter of the Yale Lekythos (P 20076)

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