

THE EXCAVATION OF THE ATHENIAN AGORA

TWELFTH SEASON: 1947

(PLATES 37-69)

THE TWELFTH season of excavation conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora, the second campaign since World War II, extended from March 10 to November 1, 1947, with a recess between August 25 and September 15. In point of time this was the longest campaign yet devoted to the site and also one of the most fruitful. The objectives were twofold: to complete the exploration of areas that had already been opened up before the War and to prepare a site for the permanent Agora Museum.

The School is under obligation to the Greek Government for its recognition of the special position of the Agora Excavations and its authorization of work on a considerable scale at a time when the depletion of staff and of financial resources for its own archaeological service has made administration difficult. We would express our special appreciation to Professor A. D. Keramopoulos, Director of the Archaeological Section in the Ministry of Education, to Mr. John Meliades, late Ephor, and to Mr. John Threpsiades, late Acting Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis.

Most of the veteran staff of pre-war days were on hand for this campaign and they were assisted by some newcomers. Areas of excavation were supervised by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Mr. Rodney Young, Miss Margaret Crosby, and by Mr. Roger Edwards, a fellow of the School spending his first year in Greece. Miss Lucy Talcott returned to resume responsibility for the records, for the museum, and for the running of the excavation house. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the American School, gave his full time to the Agora Excavations through most of the season. Our photographic needs were once more generously met by Miss Alison Frantz in the little free time left to her by her duties as Cultural Attaché to the United States Embassy. Miss Margaret Thomson, a member of the staff of the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, was enabled through the kindness of the Museum to spend three months in the Agora, engaged partly in secretarial work, partly in supervising excavation. Mr. G. A. Stamires, a graduate of the University of Athens and a member of the staff of the Greek Archaeological Service, was a part-time member of the Agora staff, concerning himself with epigraphy, especially with those minor but intriguing branches that comprise graffiti, dipinti, and defixiones.¹

¹ I wish to record my appreciation of the loyal coöperation of the staff under the trying conditions of post-war Greece and my particular indebtedness to Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, who has assumed charge of the Agora during my absences in America.

THE AMERICAN EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA THIRTY-FIFTH REPORT

Hesperia, XVII, 3

Once more the Agora acknowledges its indebtedness to Mr. Sophokles Lekkas, Chief Foreman, for his faithful and energetic services, and likewise to the experienced group of sub-foremen and technical assistants, on whose efficient work so much of the success of the enterprise depends. Some eighty workmen were employed in the clearing of the Museum site, some twenty in completing areas of excavation, the total number never exceeding one hundred.

The officers of the School, Professor Gorham Phillips Stevens and Professor Oscar Broneer as Acting Directors, Mr. A. Kyriakides as Administrator, and Mr. E. Athanassiades as Book-keeper, by their ready help and counsel have continued to make the direction of the undertaking not merely possible but pleasant despite all the difficulties of the present time.

It is a pleasure also to record the visit in mid-summer of Professor Louis E. Lord, chairman of the Managing Committee of the School, and to acknowledge the lively personal interest which he took both in the present progress and the future of the Agora Excavations.

The results of the season's work were varied. In the field of topography (Pl. 37) the plan of the southwest corner of the market square was clarified, the west end of the Middle Stoa was cleared, and a complex of civic offices was brought to light. In the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, the "Museum Site," were exposed the foundations of a large peribolos of the fifth century B.C. that must have served some public purpose. In the same general area appeared the remains of many houses and workshops of both the Greek and Roman periods, so that the excavation of this section has provided an instructive glimpse into the private life that impinged so closely on the public square. Two more chamber tombs of the Mycenaean period were found on the north slope of the Areopagus close alongside the two discovered in 1939. The high quality of their furnishings increases the probability that this cemetery served the royal family that lived on the Acropolis in the fourteenth century B.C. Another chamber tomb of the same period, its offerings intact, came to light at the foot of the Hill of the Nymphs. Several later graves, including a particularly rich burial of the early Geometric Period, were found on the slopes of the Areopagus.

Among the categories of the season's finds sculpture was outstanding. The late archaic period, the second half of the fifth century, and the Roman period are represented each by several outstanding pieces. The yield of pottery was, as usual, enormous. In addition to the compact groups from the graves, several particularly good lots were recovered from wells and cisterns, notably a group of the mid-sixth century and one of the third to second centuries B.C. Important additions were made to the collection of marble inscriptions and the number of ostraka was virtually doubled, the total standing at 1,089 by the end of the season. Many terracotta figurines, especially of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, were found and, still more interesting, many

moulds for the making of figurines. The collections of coins, of weights and measures, of lamps and of various other small finds were augmented, the new material in many cases making the old more intelligible, and the statistics more reliable.

In the account of the season's work that follows I have drawn freely on the written summaries prepared at the end of the season by those in charge of areas of excavation and I have profited also by discussion with my colleagues on most of the problems raised by the new finds.

THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE MARKET SQUARE (Fig. 1)

The work of clearing the west end of the Middle Stoa, which had been resumed in the season of 1946, was continued in 1947 under the direction of Mr. Eugene Vanderpool assisted for a time by Miss Margaret Thomson.² Although the exploration has not yet been carried below the level of the Roman period the results are already of considerable interest.

The actual west end of the Stoa has been exposed throughout its length and proves to be better preserved than most other parts of the building, thanks to the protection of the late road which ran over its ruins (Pl. 38, 1). The massive core of the foundations consisting of coarse conglomerate was here faced with hard gray poros carefully jointed and dressed. The euthynteria, the orthostates (0.96 m. high) and the string course above the orthostates are still in place near the southwest corner of the building. The road drainage of Roman times was carried in a large terracotta channel laid close in at the foot of this wall. The terrace wall to the north of the Stoa has also been cleared to its west end and proves to consist of a facing of well-dressed poros supported by a backing of miscellaneous blocks.

In the destruction debris above the ruinous foundations of the Stoa were found many fragments from the superstructure of the building, all of poros and many with their original color: scraps of Doric columns and capitals, architrave, triglyph frieze and cornice. From here, too, come fragments of a terracotta sima with plastic rinceaux, highly realistic lion-head spouts and palmette antefixes, clearly belonging to the Middle Stoa (Pl. 38, 2).

The plan of the small building to the north of the terrace has now been completely exposed (Pl. 38, 3). Although the building has not yet been studied in detail, it is now seen to consist of three principal rooms set side by side against the face of the terrace wall and so graduated in size as to cause the least possible interference to traffic through the southwest exit from the Agora. Only the eastern room had a porch, facing north; the middle room had a simple doorway in its north wall; the western room seems to have been accessible only through the middle room. In the angle

² Section ①.

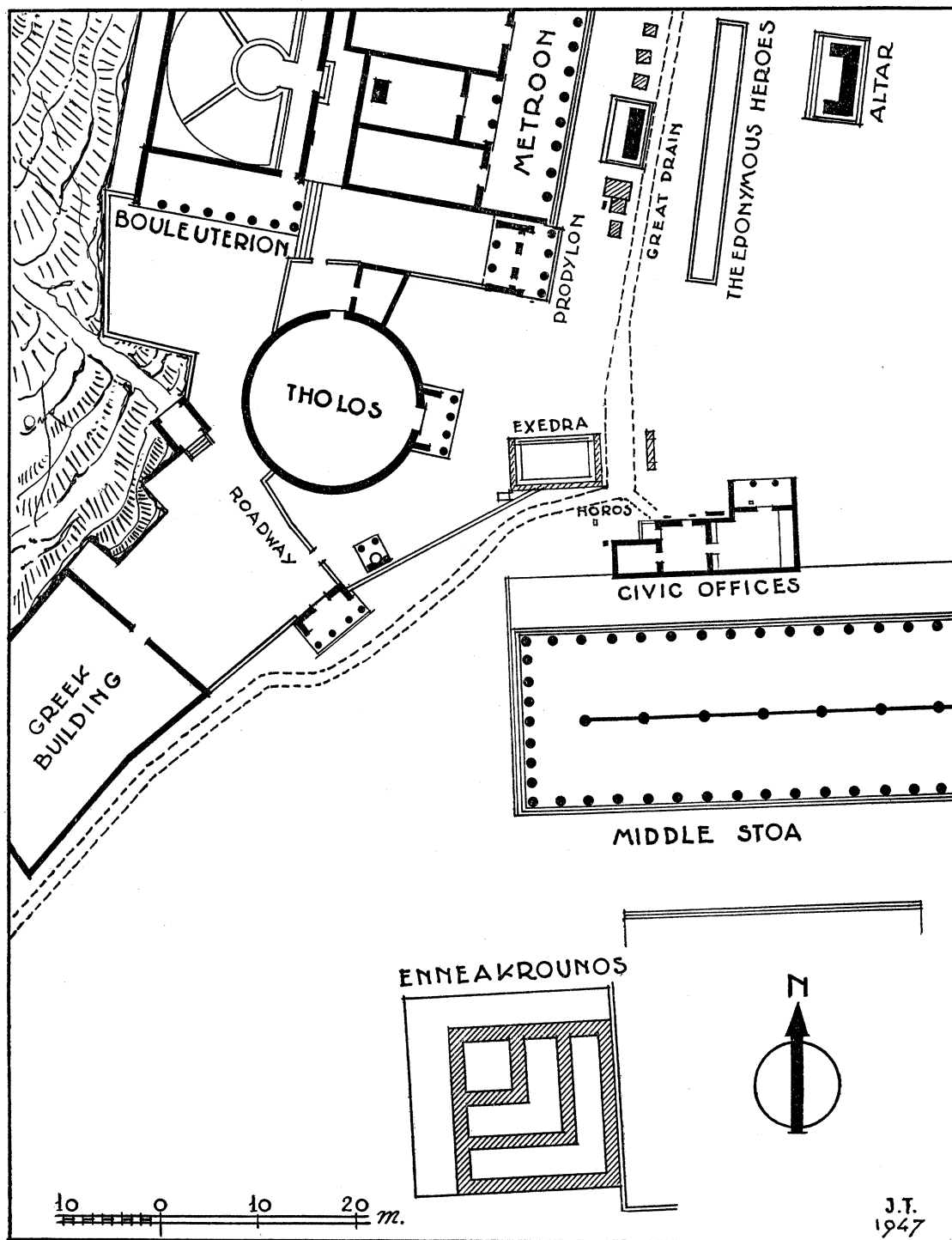


Fig. 1. The Southwest Corner of the Agora

between the western and the middle room a tiny chamber was built in later times, and a doorway was cut through its eastern wall to give access to the middle room. A terracotta drain leading from this small closet toward the Great Drain suggests that the addition was a wash-room.

Little of the furnishings of this small building remained. At the foot of both the east and west walls of the east room are traces of benches built of rough masonry and plastered, conceivably for the reception of wooden cabinets, cases or the like; these were later additions. Undoubtedly late, too, was the placing of the large pyramidal marble support for a bronze tripod that was found in 1933, standing in the middle of the east room.³ A little wall plaster still in place at the northwest corner of the middle room is white spattered with black and lined off with broad red bands. Several stele beddings were found in place,—one north of the east room, two north of the middle room and one at the northwest corner of the west room. In this last bedding the stump of the marble stele still remains,—perhaps a herm or boundary stone marking the limit of the Agora like the archaic marker immediately to the northwest which was already buried before the erection of the small building.⁴ In the angle between the east and middle rooms stood the marble tile standards of which mention was made in the report for the season 1946.⁵

The proximity of the building to the Tholos and the Metroön, and the presence in front of it of the tile standards and the stelai, suggest, as pointed out in the previous report, a public character for the building; it has therefore been labelled on the plan, "Civic Offices."

Little evidence has yet been gathered for the date of construction of the building. Its foundations consist in large part of re-used material including several fragmentary inscriptions of Hellenistic date. Such material may well have become available because of damage sustained in the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. A date soon after that event would not run counter to any other evidence now at hand, and it is indeed conceivable that the construction of this building was necessitated by the temporary loss of the Tholos in consequence of damage inflicted in 86 B.C.⁶ That the building was destroyed in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 is put beyond question by a great mass of broken pottery and other rubbish of that period found overlying its floors.

Neither the Civic Offices nor the west end of the Middle Stoa was rebuilt after the sack of A.D. 267. Rapidly overlaid by silt and by dumped rubbish, this area was eventually included in the enclosure of the vast gymnasium complex that was set down in the middle of the Agora area in the fourth and fifth centuries.

A foretaste of what awaits us to the south was given by the discovery in a disturbed context near the southwest corner of the Middle Stoa of a fragment from the

³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 387.

⁴ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 205; Supplement IV, p. 107.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 200.

⁶ *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, pp. 135 f.

front parapet of a water basin, made from hard gray poros and deeply worn by water jars. This must come from the early Fountain House that lies immediately to the south.

THE NORTH SLOPE OF THE AREOPAGUS

The systematic clearance of a large area on the north central slope of the Areopagus was completed in the spring of 1947 under the direction of Eugene Vanderpool.⁷ Although practically no ancient accumulation remained in this area and the bedrock

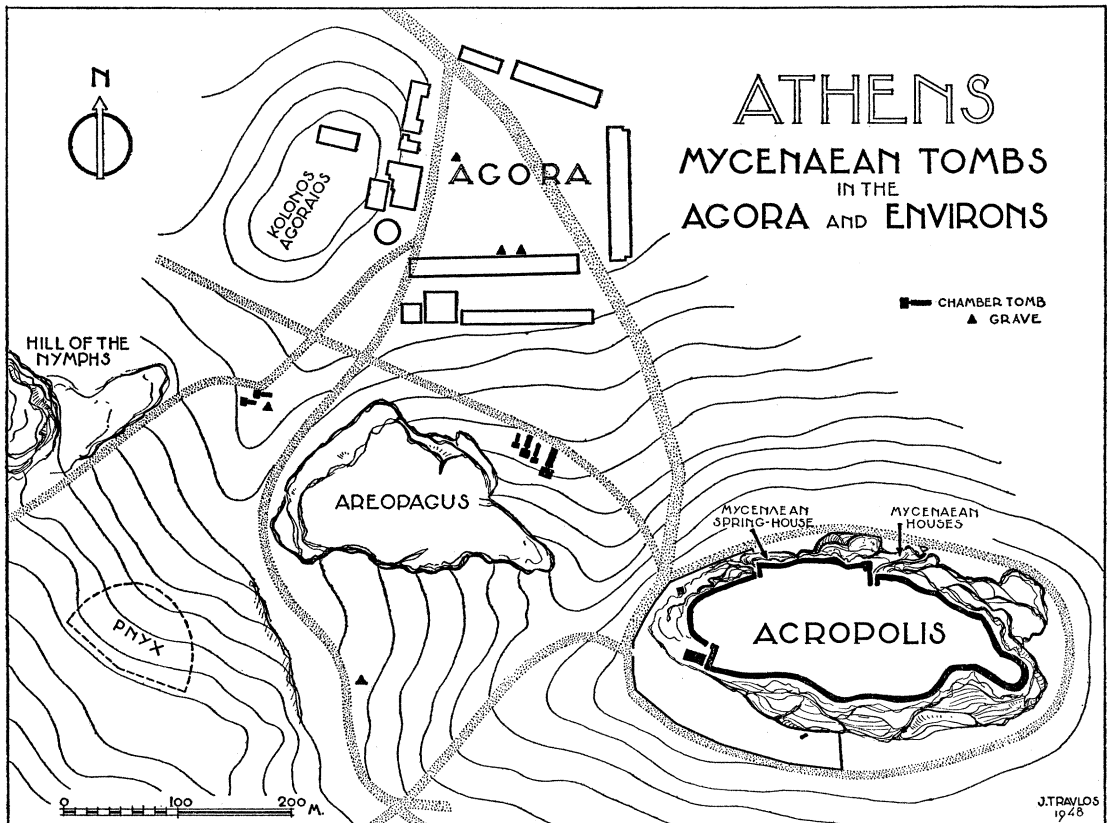


Fig. 2. Mycenaean Burials in the Agora and Environs

itself had been deeply disturbed by modern construction, the exploration yielded a rich documentation for an amazingly long sweep of history, extending from the Bronze Age to late antiquity.

In the first place, the careful scraping of bedrock brought to light the westward continuation of the Mycenaean cemetery first discovered in 1939.⁸ In each season two chamber tombs were found, one large and one small, the four tombs lying in an irregular line some 32 metres long following the contours of the hill (Fig. 2). The

⁷ Sections AP, ΔΔ and X.

⁸ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 274-291.

area was recommended for the making of chamber tombs by the steepness of its slope, by the soft nature of the rock and by its proximity to the Acropolis where, presumably, the occupants of the tombs had had their earthly abode.

The larger and better-preserved of the two tombs of 1947 is strikingly similar in its general scheme to the larger tomb of 1939 (Fig. 3). A roughly rectangular chamber hewn entirely from the rock with maximum dimensions of 4.65×2.85 m. was approached by a dromos 2.00 m. wide and now preserved to a length of 3.80 m. The dromos contracted to a doorway 0.88 m. wide which was found closed with a wall of rough stone bedded in clay. The floor of the dromos sloped downward toward the tomb chamber and the walls both of dromos and of doorway exhibit an appreciable inward inclination. The walls of chamber and of dromos are preserved to a maximum height of *ca.* 1.60 m.

The general view from the north will afford some idea of the much-tortured state of the area (Pl. 39, 1). The basement of a modern house had been set deep into the chamber; a modern cesspool reached down to within a foot of the tomb floor; a large drain of the Roman period cut diagonally through the chamber and a branch of a Hellenistic cistern had intruded on the northeast corner of the tomb. Yet the burials and their furnishings were found intact on the floor of the chamber, sealed under by the fallen rock of the ceiling which had apparently collapsed in antiquity.

The tomb had admitted three bodies (Fig. 3). The few remaining bones of the earliest burial (A) were found in a heap near the west wall of the tomb. Around them lay three much-broken vases which may be regarded as the original offerings: a three-handled amphora, a ewer, and a small jar (Pl. 39, 2, *d-f*). Three more vases (two kylikes and a bowl) were found in a compact group near the heap of bones; these have the appearance of a supplementary offering made by the family on the occasion of one of the later burials (Pl. 39, 2, *j-l*).

The second and third burials (B and C) were represented each by an orderly skeleton stretched at full length on its back with hands folded across the abdomen. Burial C is clearly marked as that of a prince by the character of its furnishings; the lighter bones of Burial B appear to be of a woman. The fact that both these skeletons were found in perfect order with their offerings undisturbed suggests simultaneous burial, or else the lapse of a very short period between burials.

Clearly attributable to Burial B are the vases that lay near its head: four kylikes and three bowls (Pl. 39, 2, *g-i, m-p*). The large amphora and "pilgrim flask" found near the middle of the floor and the small bowl from the west side of the entrance presumably reached the tomb on the occasion of one or other of the later burials (Pl. 39, 2, *a-c*).

The most costly offerings are those of Burial C: one long and one short sword, a cleaver, and a bowl, all of bronze, which had been placed on a table at the side of

the body (Pl. 39, 3, Fig. 4). The table itself is attested by the stain of decayed wood and by the blue pigment with which it had been painted. The larger sword is a splendid rapier, 0.74 m. long, of the horned type, its hilt plates, presumably of wood, secured

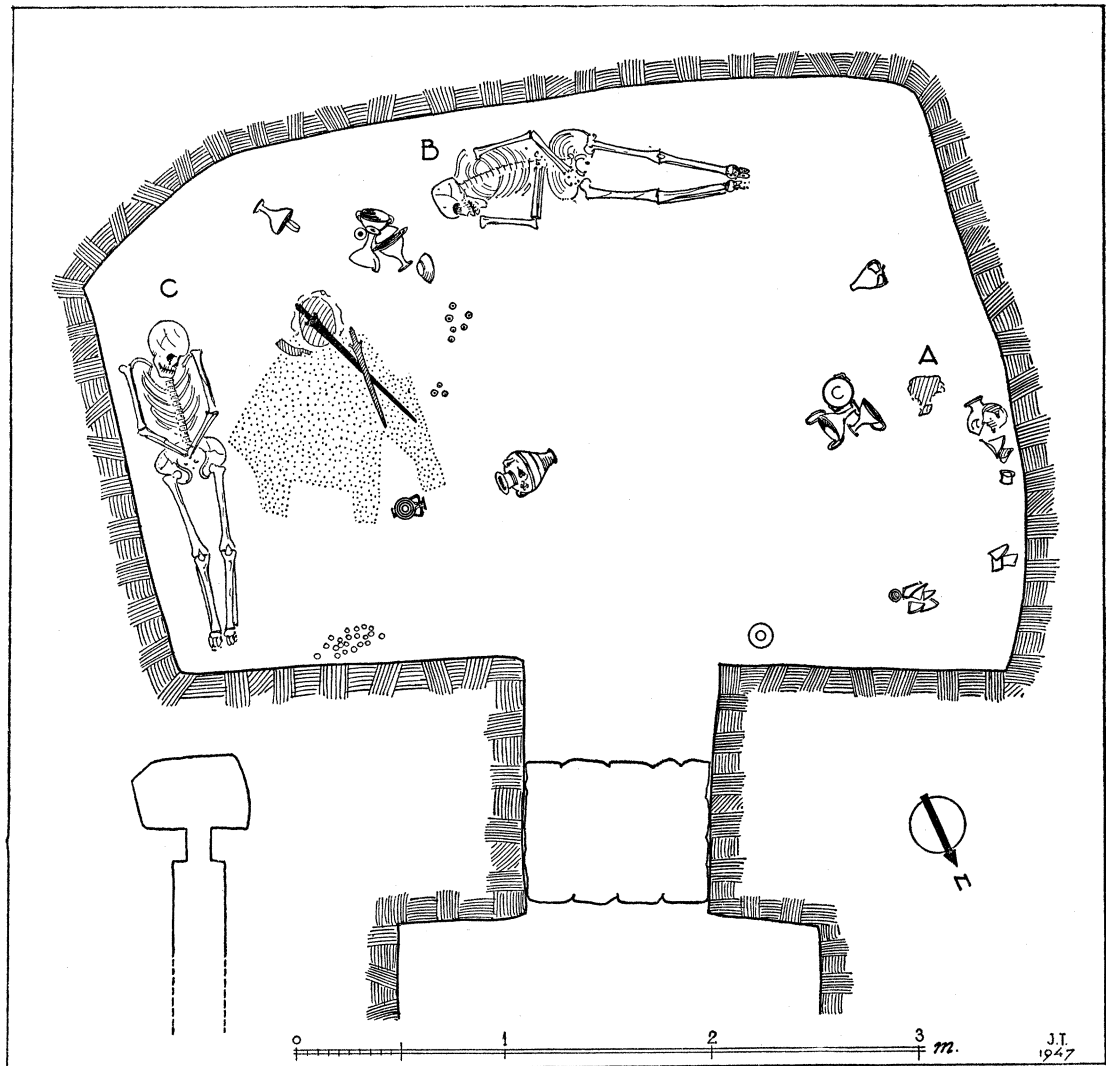


Fig. 3. Plan of Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on North Slope of Areopagus

by means of rivets with prominent heads overlaid with sheet gold. A hollow hoop of thin gold, *ca.* 0.02 m. in diameter, found beside the sword probably adorned its hilt (Pl. 40, 1).⁹ The tang of the shorter sword is largely corroded away; this weapon,

⁹ This type of sword is well represented in the chamber tombs of Mycenae and of the Argive Heraeum and in the Zafer Papoura cemetery at Knossos. A particularly close parallel is that from Tomb XXXVII at the Argive Heraeum, dating from early in the Third Late Helladic period. Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, pp. 127 f., 329 f.; II, fig. 298, 301. It is worth noting that the two long swords found at the Argive Heraeum were each accompanied, like ours, by a dagger,—apparently the normal equipment.

however, would seem to have been closely similar to its companion piece and may be restored with a length of *ca.* 0.50 m. The "cleaver" is of heavy bronze, tanged for a handle that was, no doubt, of wood.¹⁰ The bronze bowl was found crumpled and heavily oxidized; its profile, however, could be recovered with fair assurance and it seems certainly to have had only one handle.

Near the middle of the floor, and probably to be related to Burial B, lay nine conical pierced buttons of dark steatite (Pl. 40, 1). Thirty-eight rosettes of thin gold were recovered from the tomb, and of these thirty-two lay in a compact group at the

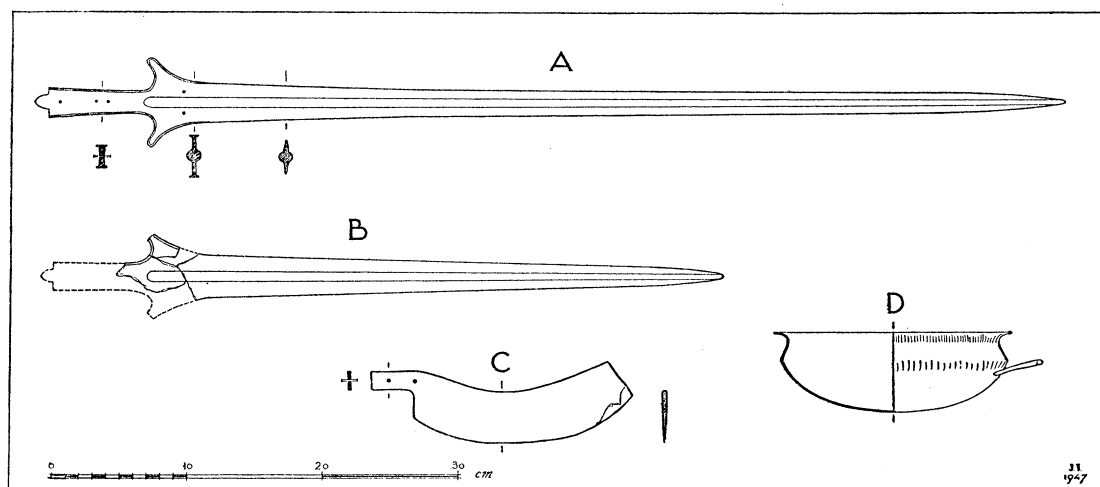


Fig. 4. Bronzes from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on Areopagus
(A = B 778; B = B 781; C = B 780; D = B 782)

base of the wall near the feet of Burial C, as though they had served as ornaments on a garment, now utterly vanished, hung on a peg in the wall (Fig. 3, Pl. 40, 1).

The date of our tomb is clearly indicated by the vases. In the first place it should be observed that there can be little difference in date between the three much broken vases to be associated with the earliest burial (A) and those placed on the occasions of the later interments. The vases from this tomb, moreover, are closely contemporary with those from the larger tomb found in 1939 and illustrated in *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, figs. 17-25. Although the finds of 1947 are on the whole less fine in quality and less pretentious than those of 1939, the shapes of amphora and of ewer are exceedingly close. The vases of the tomb found in 1939 have been referred to the earlier part of the Third Late Helladic period, and a similar classification may be accepted for the new group. A welcome clue to the absolute dating is given by the close correspondence between the "pilgrim flask" found in the Agora tomb (Pl. 40, 2) and one found by

¹⁰ Examples of this implement, sometimes, though not very plausibly, identified as razors, have been found elsewhere in contexts of the Third Late Helladic period. See Blegen, *Prosymna*, I, p. 347.

Petrie at El Amarna.¹¹ The two pieces are identical both in shape and in the distinctive decoration combining concentric circles on the broad faces with running spirals on the narrow. The El Amarna flask may be assumed to have reached Egypt in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and such a dating for the Agora tombs would appear to be consonant with the evidence, admittedly slight, to be derived from comparison with other material found in Greece.

The vases from these tombs on the Areopagus, on the other hand, are appreciably earlier than those associated with the abandonment of the Mycenaean well-house and postern gate on the north slope of the Acropolis.¹² Those events have been dated by Broneer on the evidence of the pottery to the end of the thirteenth century and have been regarded as precautionary measures against the threat of invasion. Our comparatively rich burials, made in tombs of which the preparation required a considerable expenditure of time and energy, clearly belong to the more tranquil and perhaps more prosperous period that preceded the storm.

The smaller of the two chamber tombs cleared in this area in 1947 lay to the west of the larger at an interval of two metres. Of the second tomb enough remains to show that the chamber was rectangular, measuring *ca.* 1.60 × 2.80 m., and that it was approached through a dromos; but much of the front part of the chamber and practically all the dromos had made way for modern house basements.

The upper part of the skeleton of an adolescent lay on the floor of the chamber, head to the south, its lower part cut away by late disturbance. At both the east and the west ends of the chamber bones lay heaped on the floor, and bones filled a shallow pit in the southwest corner. Four skulls in addition to that of the skeleton were counted in this tomb, and others may have been destroyed by late disturbance.

The surviving pottery from the small tomb comprised only a few fragments of plain bowls and kylikes like those from the large tomb.

The clearing of bedrock brought to light a grave of the Geometric Period on the lower slopes of the Areopagus near the middle of its north side (Section AP). Although disturbed by the intrusion of a late wall, the grave yielded no less than eighteen vases comprising thirteen flat and one pointed pyxis, one medium-sized and one miniature oinochoe, and two hand-made, unglazed aryballoi (Pl. 41, 1). With the vases were two iron pins very much corroded and a small rectangular plaque of limestone, pierced for suspension. The style of the pottery indicates an early date within the Geometric Period. Pointed pyxides are known only from a limited number of early grave groups; the well-rounded profile of the flat pyxides is symptomatic of an early date, and so also are the shapes of the two oinochoai. Early likewise is the

¹¹ Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, pl. XXIX, 80; Forsdyke, *Catalogue of Vases in the British Museum*, II, A 998, p. 187, fig. 268. For the decoration on the edge of the flask see also *loc. cit.*, fig. 267.

¹² Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 365 ff.; VIII, 1939, pp. 346 ff.

repertory of decorative motives limited as it is to the maeander, zigzag, tooth pattern, and row of dots. A date in the ninth or early eighth century is implied.

The newly found grave lay so close to two other graves of the same period found in 1932 as to suggest a family burial plot. Within a few paces of this spot the excavation of 1932 brought to light several other burials of the early Geometric and Proto-geometric periods, all these burials forming part of the scattered cemetery that has now been traced along the whole length of the north slope of the Areopagus.¹³ Habitation in the area within the general period covered by the burials is indicated by wells of the Protogeometric period and by an oval house of the developed Geometric period.¹⁴

The exploration of this apparently barren hillside has also afforded us a rarely personal glimpse into the household economy of an Athenian citizen, a contemporary of Peisistratos, one Thamneus by name. Of his house there remains but a corner of the courtyard bordered by walls of rubble stonework and paved with rough cobblestones. In the middle of the courtyard opened the mouth of a deep pit, flask-shaped, with a depth of 3.80 m. and a lower diameter of 3.50 m. It is possible that the pit was intended as a cistern, but as such it was never completed: rough masses of living rock were left on the floor, nor were the walls ever plastered. We may assume that having proceeded thus far Thamneus became alarmed by the soft nature of the rock and abandoned the project.¹⁵ The pit was then used as a dumping place for a great quantity of household refuse. The bulk of this material dates from the middle of the sixth century; a certain amount of pottery of the early fifth century found at the top suggests either that the pit was re-opened and used again as a dump or that it was disturbed at the later date. The vases from the pit will eventually be published as a group; the following note will merely indicate their range.

Taken together the material gives a good indication of both the variety and the quality of the everyday pottery used in an Athenian household of the time. It contains several pieces of Attic black figure, including a small kotyle signed by Hermogenes and two cups likewise signed but with the names of the artists broken away. A proportion of the decorated vases are Corinthian, including a lebes and three skyphoi with animal friezes. The great majority of the vases, however, are Attic black glaze: cups, coasters, little pitchers, oil flasks, bowls, etc. From the kitchen come several large plain hydriae, a large unglazed amphora, a couple of cooking pots, and a fragmentary brazier.

Two of the vases from the pit, a black-glazed olpe and a plain oinochoe, are

¹³ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 468 ff., 552 ff., 561; IX, 1940, pp. 270 ff.; XVI, 1947, p. 196.

¹⁴ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542 ff.

¹⁵ The flask-shaped cistern is thoroughly familiar in Athens in the Hellenistic period, but is almost unknown in Athens earlier. There is reason to believe, however, that Thamneus had foreign connections which might have prompted the idea of digging a cistern, in itself a very unusual proceeding in Athens of the sixth century.

inscribed in bold characters, *Θαμνέος εἰμί*: "I belong to Thamneus" (Pl. 41, 3, *b*). The pit yielded another written document of interest, the base of a skyphos on the under side of which is incised an enigmatic order addressed to someone whose name is broken away: [— —]: *κάθες: ὑπὸ τοῦ ἡοδῶι: τὰς θύρας τὸ κάπο πρίον(α)*: "[.] put a saw under the threshold of the garden gate" (Pl. 41, 2). The Megarian writing suggests outside connections which might also help to explain the rather high proportion of Corinthian vases among Thamneus' table ware.¹⁶

At two points on the slope there have survived slight remains of construction which from their substantial scale and fine workmanship would seem to belong to public buildings or sanctuaries rather than to private houses; both date from the fourth or third century B.C. In both cases the surviving part consists of a retaining wall along the south or up-hill side of the establishment. Carefully jointed orthostates rest on a euthynteria, all cut from soft poros. In neither case does enough remain to permit the recovery of the plan or to suggest an identification.

For habitation in the later Greek period evidence is provided by a number of household cisterns, one of which, in the middle of the north slope of the Areopagus, yielded an exceptionally large and varied group of material. The cistern itself was of the normal flask shape, cut down into the soft bedrock and plastered. Already in antiquity the walls of the chamber had collapsed and the cavern which resulted was used as a dumping place by the neighbours. The material recovered from this dump belongs to a comparatively limited period in the late third and early second centuries before Christ. A few representative pieces are illustrated in Plates 42 and 43.

The great bulk of the rubbish consisted of broken pottery, both glazed and unglazed. Several moulds for the making of Megarian bowls and a number of crumpled pieces of pottery, probably wasters from a kiln, indicate that some of the material is waste from a potter's shop. That coroplasts also worked in the area is attested by the presence of a number of moulds for the making of terracotta figurines as well as a few broken figurines.

Particularly interesting among the pottery are the Megarian bowls. Some thirty tolerably complete specimens were recovered, together with fragments of many other bowls and five moulds for the making of bowls. One of the bowls clearly derives from one of the moulds (Pl. 42, 1). Most of the bowls are decorated with the characteristic figured medley: *erotes*, masks, goats, birds, etc.; some have purely floral designs; none has the long-rayed scheme characteristic of the later bowls made in Athens. A figured piece rather more ambitious than the average is shown in Fig. 5. The principal motif, twice repeated, is an abbreviated version of Odysseus' ship in which appear the helmsman and the hero himself bound to the mast while mermaids, hippo-

¹⁶ The inscription was first read and interpreted by Mr. G. A. Stamires; the Megarian letter forms were recognized by Miss Lillian H. Jeffery.

camps, fishes, and birds provide the setting, the whole being apparently a fantastic contamination of the story of Scylla and Charybdis with that of the Sirens.

The principal types of lamps from the cistern are illustrated by the three specimens shown in Pl. 43, 1, one of which bears the name of Komos in the genitive, perhaps the name of a near-by resident since it appears in the abbreviated form *Kω* on another fragment (P 18756).

Among the scores of plain vases and jars are a pair of lagynoi, SS 10,259; SS 10,260. Made of slightly micaceous buff clay, they bear the stamp *ΜΟΣΧΙΩΝΟΣ*

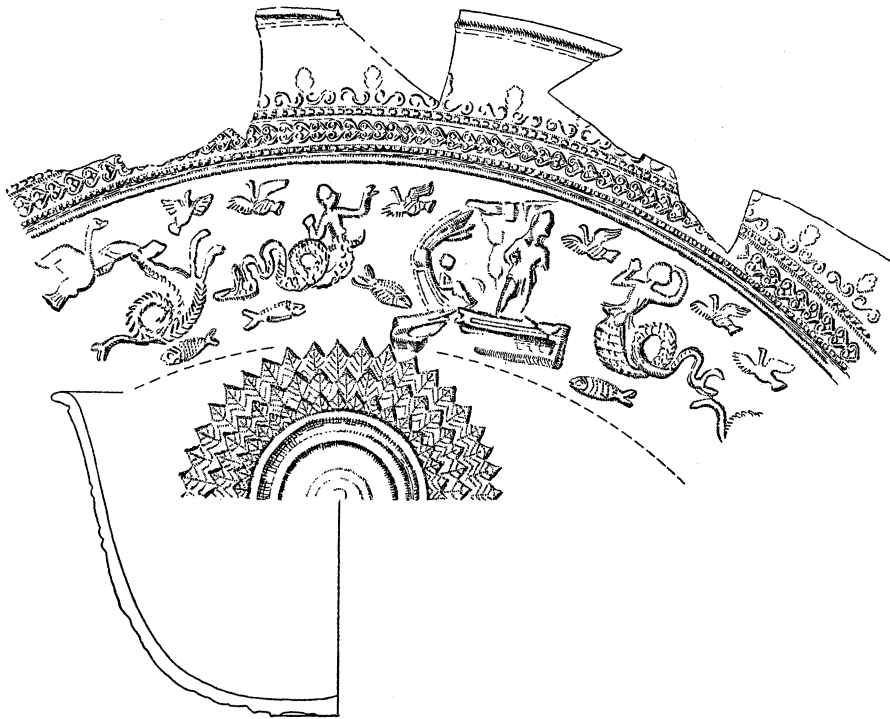


Fig. 5. Megarian Bowl from Cistern on Areopagus (P 18,640) Scale 1:2
(Drawing by Marian Welker)

on the handle. The capacity of the better-preserved jar, measured to a marked line just below the lip, is 4.08 litres. In addition to these "fractional" wine containers, the cistern yielded three stamped Thasian handles, two Parian and twenty-four Rhodian, all from wine amphorae of standard size.

Characteristic of the terracottas from the cistern are the two pieces shown in Pl. 42, 2, an actor and a draped female figure.

A welcome piece of evidence for the dating of this cistern group is given by eight silver coins of Histiaea of the period *ca.* 197-146 B.C. (below, p. 192).

For habitation on the north slopes of the Areopagus in the Roman period the

most ample evidence comes from wells of which two were cleared in 1947. One of these had been used in the third century, abandoned at the time of the Herulian sack in A.D. 267, but re-opened and used again in the Byzantine period. Among the many objects from its earlier filling are a terracotta statuette of a standing youth (below, p. 185) and a jug inscribed *ξέστης δίκαιος* (below, p. 191). The other well was dug in the second or perhaps early third century A.D. through the floor of a Hellenistic cistern, the chamber of which was largely packed with wine amphorae by the well diggers. The well was abandoned on the occasion of the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and used as a dumping place for objects damaged at that time, among them a gilded marble head of a goddess (p. 177, Pl. 53), a marble statuette of the Herakles Farnese type (p. 180, Pl. 59, 2), a small bearded head of a divinity, a head of a youthful goddess (p. 180, Pl. 59, 1), a massive marble mortar, and a marble pedestal.

One of the latest, and most agreeable, evidences of ancient habitation on the north slope of the Areopagus consists of a garden court set in a terrace cut from the hillside about half way up the slope (Pl. 43, 2). The house to which the garden belonged would appear to have lain chiefly beyond the limits of the present excavation.

The garden court formed the central feature of a walled area that may be restored as a square approximately 13 metres to the side. In the middle of this area is a rectangle, *ca.* 3.20 × 3.90 m., paved originally with slabs of white and blue marble. A garden bed 0.50 m. wide enclosed the floor on all four sides, save only for a narrow entrance in the north wall. This bed in turn was bordered by a narrow water basin, floored with marble and walled with a low curb on either side. Water was supplied through a fountain that may be restored on a large marble slab set in the east side of the basin: from the basin the water passed into the flower bed through lead pipes set one in the middle of each side, while drainage was provided by a terracotta channel leading out from the northwest corner. A substantial block at each of the outer corners may be supposed to have carried a post for the support of a trellis. The north side, except for the doorway, was closed by a parapet, while a niche with a bench occupied the northwest corner just inside the entrance way.

Most of the stone and marble used in the construction was second-hand material, and, since the little pottery found in association runs down into the third or even the fourth century after Christ, the garden court must date from the general reconstruction of the Agora region after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. The pottery found in the ruins of the garden indicates that it was abandoned within the late Roman period.

Among the re-used material in the east wall of the enclosure around the garden court were three large blocks of coarse-grained brown granite that seem certainly to be of Egyptian origin, perhaps Syenite from Assuan. Each block has one face picked to a fairly smooth plane surface; the edges are treated with a rough anathyrosis which suggests that the blocks were intended originally for a heavy retaining wall. The use of Egyptian stone, imported at vast trouble and expense, can best be explained on the

supposition that the blocks derive from one or other of the monuments with Egyptian associations known to have existed in or near the Agora: the Sanctuary of Sarapis, the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, the statues of the Egyptian kings in front of the Odeion.

The north slope of the Areopagus was served by a road that ran from east to west and followed approximately the contours of the hill. Although most of the road-bed has been cut away by late building activities, its course may be plotted from the disposition of ancient foundations, wells, and cisterns. Coming from the direction of the Peiraeus Gate it took one eastward to the Panathenaic Way at a point opposite the Eleusinion, while a branch swept around the northeast shoulder of the Areopagus to pass through the saddle between Areopagus and Acropolis.

THE AREA TO THE WEST OF THE AREOPAGUS (Pl. 44, Fig. 6)

The major effort of the season was devoted to the area west of the Areopagus, i. e., the valley between the Areopagus on the one side, the Hill of the Nymphs and Kolonos Agoraios on the other. Already in the seasons of 1939, 1940, and 1946 a great deal of earth had been removed but much still remained, for the area is large (*ca.* 9600 square metres, i. e., *ca.* 2 $\frac{1}{3}$ acres) and, on account of the hollow between the hills, it had become filled with vast masses of silt, the accumulation between bedrock and the modern surface attaining a maximum depth of over 11 metres. In view of the proposal to place the permanent Agora museum in this region it was desirable to complete the archaeological exploration. By the end of the season this exploration, although far advanced, was by no means completed. The character of the ancient remains exposed thus far, however, will necessitate a reconsideration of the advisability of erecting the Museum within the area.

The southern part of the area (Section NN) was supervised by Mr. Rodney Young, the northeastern part (Section OO) by Miss Margaret Crosby relieved by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool in the latter part of the season, and the northwestern part (Section III) by Mr. Roger Edwards.

A scattered series of burials, extending in date from the Bronze Age into the Hellenistic period, came to light. At the northeastern foot of the Hill of the Nymphs, in a region much disturbed by the laying of drains and of house foundations, a Mycenaean chamber tomb was found, its burials miraculously intact (Pl. 45). The small rectangular chamber, 1.80 \times 2.30 m. in plan, was entered from the east through a dromos 1.10 m. wide contracting to 0.92 m. at the doorway. In its lower part (0.50 m. at the most) the chamber had been cut from the soft bedrock; above this level it was scooped from the brown, very compact gravelly earth that overlies bedrock in this region. The ceiling of the chamber had already collapsed by the sixth century before Christ if not earlier. Much of the rough stone wall by which the doorway was closed

after the last interment was found by the excavator who could also distinguish the firm red earth with which the dromos had been packed by the ancient undertaker.

Two skeletons were found lying in order on the floor of the tomb, their heads to the east, their legs doubled under the thighs. The scattered bones of at least one and possibly two earlier burials were found, some in the corners of the chamber, others in a floor cist near the southeast corner.

The burial offerings as found comprised six vases complete or nearly so and fragments of two others (Pl. 45, 2). All are of familiar Late Helladic III shapes: an askos, a one-handled cup on a high base, a stirrup vase, its shoulder decorated with groups of diminishing chevrons, a three-handled jar with groups of vertical strokes on its shoulder, and two plain amphorae. The fragments (not illustrated) come from cups or goblets with everted rim, one with a vertical handle.

Only one of the vases can be attributed with assurance to a particular burial, viz., the plain amphora of Pl. 45, 2, *f* which was found standing upright at the feet of the northern skeleton, its top stopped with a stone. The other plain amphora, the three-handled jar and the cup all lay tumbled in the northwest corner of the room; this circumstance, combined with the fact that one handle is missing from both the amphora and the jar, suggests that these vases were swept aside from an earlier interment. The stirrup vase lay on the middle of the floor, and it too lacks a handle and the tip of its spout. The askos, though complete, was found in the extreme northeast corner, remote from the skeletons. The two fragmentary goblets are obviously relics of an earlier burial.

The modest scale and quality of these vases accord well with the small dimensions of the tomb itself, which clearly belonged to a humbler family than the great chamber tombs on the Areopagus. The chronological difference, however, is slight, for these vases, like those from the upper cemetery, are to be dated fairly early, though perhaps not quite so early, in the third Late Helladic period.

Some dozen metres to the southwest of the chamber tomb just described has appeared a cutting in the hillside that can best be interpreted as an unfinished chamber tomb of the Mycenaean period (Fig. 6). A "dromos" 0.80 m. wide and with a preserved length of 2.00 m. slopes down into a roughly circular chamber 1.20 m. in diameter, from the side of which opens a "side chamber" measuring *ca.* 1.20 × 0.85 m. in plan. If the circular chamber be regarded as working space and the "side chamber" as a beginning of the excavation for the chamber proper, it will be seen that the design envisaged a tomb of precisely the same scheme and dimensions as the neighboring tomb which was completed. The ceilings of the "dromos" and of the "side chamber" have survived intact; that of the circular chamber had collapsed in antiquity and the filling yielded only a few late Roman sherds.

An isolated chamber tomb would be unusual and further exploration in this area may bring to light other tombs which would form a group comparable with that on

the north slope of the Areopagus, reminiscent also of the grouping of tombs of the same period at such sites as Mycenae and the Argive Heraeum.

The Geometric Period is represented by a single burial laid in the very bottom of the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs: a child's pot burial contained in a large banded amphora of the late 8th century B.C. Probably of the 7th century is a pot burial of a child made in a large coarse pithos which was set down in the rock of the western slope of the Areopagus.

In 1939-40 a family burial plot of the archaic period had been cleared on the lower west slope of the Areopagus, just below the early road that swung around the shoulder of the hill.¹⁷ In 1947, some 15 metres to the northwest of the enclosure around that cemetery, appeared a cist grave furnished with the small black-figured lekythos of Pl. 46, 1. On the wall of the vase are three runners, on the shoulder a cock between lotus buds; the date will be the third quarter of the 6th century.¹⁸ Although the area had been much disturbed in the Hellenistic period, traces were noted of two or possibly three other cuttings similar to that of the cist grave and around them were found fragments of black-figured lekythoi most likely deriving from disturbed burials. These indications suggest a second small family burial plot on the slope of the Areopagus. Directly across the valley, on the slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, there came to light remains of a cremation of the sixth century: a pit much reddened by fire, splinters of calcined bones, and three black-figured lekythoi, burned and broken but complete.

A fragmentary marble roof-tile inscribed with the name of Agonippos and found lying loose on bedrock on the lower slope of the Areopagus has every appearance of being a simple grave marker of about the middle of the fifth century; no certain trace of a grave, however, appeared in the neighborhood (Pl. 46, 2).

From the anthropological point of view the most interesting burials found in this area are those of the fourth and third centuries B.C.; four were cleared in 1947 among the foundations of the Hellenistic houses. All were cremation burials, the fires having been kindled either on the level ground or in a shallow pit. Among the ash and charcoal were found bits of calcined bone and the funeral offerings which are both numerous and distinctive. One typical grave group is shown in Pl. 46, 3. The furnishings normally comprise several ordinary black-glazed drinking cups and bowls together with a lamp of regular type. More characteristic are the numbers of small lidded casseroles, flat two-handled saucers with banded decoration, miniature open bowls and small pyxides. Two of the burials of 1947 contained each an alabastron of poros. Several of the types of vases found in these interments were obviously made for funerary use and were undoubtedly employed in the service at the pyre. The

¹⁷ *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 302; X, 1941, p. 1.

¹⁸ P 18,006. Height, 0.13 m. Cf. Haspels, *Attic Black-Figured Lekythoi*, pls. 11-13: "The Shoulder-Lekythos of ca. 540-530."

miniature scale of many of the offerings and the thinness of the bones suggest that the dead were children. Such burials are attested for a limited period within the fourth and third centuries. A few other examples are known from elsewhere in the Agora and from other parts of Athens. The whole series deserves a special study.

The work of the past season has considerably clarified the road system and the drainage of this part of the city (Fig. 6). As observed in the report for last season,¹⁹ the very bottom of the valley was avoided by the roads of classical times in favor of the adjacent hillsides where they were less subject to disturbance from freshets. It was already clear that the principal road leading out of the southwest corner of the Agora proper swept around the west shoulder of the Areopagus. The excavations of 1947 brought to light a long stretch of a second road running roughly parallel to the first on the opposite side of the valley, i. e., on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs. Both these north-to-south thoroughfares were intersected by the westward continuation of the road that has been traced above along the north slope of the Areopagus (p. 163).

The newly found street is characteristic of the thoroughfares in this part of the city. Its width is normally three to four metres, enough, that is, to permit the passing of two loaded donkeys. The road metal consists of layer after layer of firm packed gravel. Beneath the middle of the street runs a large drain fed by many lateral tributaries in the shape of lesser channels which took the sewage from the individual houses flanking the street. The large drain consists of two U-shaped sections combined so as to form a channel oval in section with an inside height of *ca.* 0.84 m. and width of *ca.* 0.40 m.; this was just large enough to allow a workman to crawl through to clean out the drain or to make repairs. In many places the trench above the drain channel was filled with large wine jars to reduce the weight on the tiles.

The drains echo the history of the area. They show traces of repeated repairs and alterations down to the mid third century A.D., but all were allowed to silt up in the period of desolation that followed on the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and only certain limited stretches of them were cleared out to be used again for a brief period in the fifth and sixth centuries. Thereafter they were abandoned.

The earliest, and probably the most important structure of a public nature in this region consists of a trapezoidal enclosure measuring *ca.* 16.50 × 38 m. set in at the westernmost foot of the Areopagus (Fig. 6). To receive the southeast corner of the enclosure the soft bedrock was cut down to a depth of some three metres. The bounding wall has now been traced from its few surviving blocks and from the bedding where no blocks remain throughout its south and west sides; the north end, the northeast corner and most of the east side have yet to be explored. A little remains of a cross wall some 12 metres from the south end. The foundations of both the outer wall

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 205.

and the cross wall consist simply of a single row of large poros blocks set on edge; of the upper wall nothing survives. Traces of lighter interior walls indicate the existence of small rooms, perhaps two series of five each separated by a corridor, in the northern part. The earth floor of the large south room slopes gently up from west to east, suggesting an auditorium. Toward the southwest angle of the southern room appeared a corner of rubble stone masonry covered on its outer face with red stucco of good quality; the associated floor level indicates that this may be part of the original construction. It would seem to be a remnant of a pedestal or bench.

A date in the second half of the fifth century is given by the pottery from beneath the floor level of the enclosure, by the material and by the workmanship of its foundations. From the plan (Fig. 6) it is clear that the enclosure was already in existence when the Great Drain was built in the early fourth century; the drain closely parallels the west side of the enclosure throughout its length but bends immediately on passing its northwest corner.

Conclusive evidence for the identification of the enclosure is still wanting. From its position, its size, and obviously public character, however, one might hazard the guess that it accommodated one or other of the law-courts that are known to have stood near the Agora. Some slight confirmation may be derived from the discovery of five of the characteristic wheel-shaped dikasts' ballots in this general area (Pl. 46, 4). It may be observed too that the newly found enclosure has much in common with the so-called "Greek Building" to the southwest of the Tholos; a number of dikasts' ballots have also been found in the immediate vicinity of that structure, not to mention the clepsydra or water clock of the type used in law courts which was recovered from a well of the late fifth century B.C. immediately to the east.²⁰ It must be emphasized, however, that both these identifications are still very tentative and that certainty can be hoped for only through the complete exploration and study of the areas in question.²¹

Whatever the original function of the enclosure, it would seem to have shared the devastation that all this district suffered from Sulla's soldiery in 86 B.C. The area was subsequently overlaid by one or more complexes of small rooms set about court-

²⁰ *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 274 ff.

²¹ The site of the newly found enclosure would correspond to the lower of the two referred to in Bekker, *Anecd. gr.*, I, 253: 'Ἐπάνω δικαστήριον καὶ ὑποκάτω· ἐπάνω μὲν δικαστήριον τὸ ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ· ἔστι γὰρ ἐν ὑψηλῷ λόφῳ· κάτω δὲ τὸ ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ τόπῳ. It is reminiscent also of the entertaining incident that befell Sokrates' disciples as recorded in Plutarch, *de Genio Socratis*, X (580 E-F): πορευομένοις δ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τῶν ἐρμολύφων παρὰ τὰ δικαστήρια, σῦες ἀπαντῶσιν ἀθρόαι βορβόρον περίπλεαι, καὶ κατ' ἀλλήλων ὠθοῦνται διὰ πλῆθος· ἐκτροπῆς δὲ μὴ παρούσης, τοὺς μὲν ἀνέτρεψαν ἐμβαλοῦσαι, τοὺς δ' ἀνεμόλυνον. As we shall see below (p. 172) there is good evidence for the activity of marble workers immediately to the south of the enclosure in the time of Sokrates. On the law-courts see Hommel, "Heliaia," *Philologus*, Supplementband XIX, Heft II, 1927; Dow, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, L, 1939, pp. 18 ff.

yards, the involved history of which in the early and later Roman periods has still to be unravelled; they have much more the character of private houses.

In the central part of the area stood two small baths of the Roman period, one overlying the Great Drain, the other set in the angle of the road on the slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs (Fig. 6). The western bath comprised one sizable room heated by a hypocaust and two smaller rooms to the north. In the eastern bath a large apsidal room was flanked by a chamber with hypocaust to the north and by lesser rooms to south and west. Both buildings had massive concrete foundations and underpinning for the floors; in the eastern establishment the central room was floored with marble slabs. The eastern bath may be dated as early as the second century A.D.; both were in use into the late Roman period. On the analogy of the Stabian Baths and the Baths near the Forum in Pompeii, it is tempting to see in the smaller and simpler building a bath for women and in the other a bath for men.

Although habitation in this region from the Protogeometric period onward is attested by the wells, the earliest recognizable houses date from the fifth century, and the remains of the houses of this and the following century are very tenuous. Rather better preserved (to employ a common paradox) are those dwellings that were destroyed in the Sullan sack of 86 B.C. and that lay deeply buried beneath their own debris during the subsequent period of comparative desolation. By careful study it will be possible to recover the ground plans of several of these houses with their paved courts, wells, cisterns, and modest living rooms.

Still better preserved and more comprehensible are the large houses that covered most of this area in the Roman period. After the sack of 86 B.C. there seems to have been little building until the turn of the era and most of the houses will probably prove to date not earlier than the second century. All suffered in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267; some were then abandoned, others were repaired and continued in use into the fifth century.

Among the houses of the Roman period attention may be drawn to a pair that lay below the road along the west slope of the Areopagus (Fig. 6). These share a party wall and each comprises a series of rooms set around a court; the southern court was served by a well. In view of the abrupt rise in level toward the east, it may be assumed that the houses had upper storeys opening directly on the street. Another large house in the bottom of the valley at the southwest corner of the area is remarkable for a suite of three rooms floored with mosaic in simple geometric patterns.

Most pretentious of all are the houses that rose on the east slope of the Hill of the Nymphs and of Kolonos farther to the north; from their terraces they commanded splendid views of the Agora, the Areopagus, and the Acropolis; the size of the houses and the quality of their furnishings suggest that they were the homes of substantial citizens of the Imperial period. The layout of the houses is involved and in no case

has an entire unit yet been cleared so that a discussion of the plans must be deferred to a subsequent report.

It may be noted, however, that the walls of these houses still stand in many places to shoulder height (Pl. 47, 1). They are normally plastered and treated in a simple scheme: a dado lined off and painted in imitation of mottled marble; the upper wall divided into broad, vertical panels separated by simple floral motifs and bordered by broad and narrow bands.

The floors of the houses of the Roman period were variously treated. In most of the rooms the flooring was of firm packed clay, in others of terracotta tiles; the courts were paved with marble. One of the largest rooms (*ca.* 8.00 × 8.80 m.) was floored with mosaic (Pl. 47, 2). The principal feature in the design, a large square panel, was thrust toward the northwest corner of the room; this panel was probably filled with some figured scene, now completely obliterated by late intrusions. The square panel was framed by two ornamental bands, a six-strand guilloche and a maeander, while the broad spaces to east and south were occupied by an interlocking design of eight-pointed stars and squares filled with a variety of geometric motifs. The mosaic consists of tesserae, 0.01-0.015 m. square, cut from white marble, black and red limestone and glass paste of various colors. Among the debris overlying the mosaic were fragments of an elaborately profiled plaster cornice and of a stuccoed ceiling with round and lozenge-shaped panels in high relief. The pottery from above the floor is of the fifth century A.D., proving that the mosaic continued in use that late, but no evidence is yet available from the excavation for the date of its laying. The house was undoubtedly damaged in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 but may well have been repaired.

One of the most interesting results of the excavation of the area has been the discovery of evidence for artistic activity in clay, marble and bronze, and also for various small-scale industrial enterprises.

In 1939 and again in 1946 a certain amount of waste from coroplasts' workshops had been found at the west foot of the Areopagus. The season of 1947 brought to light the northward continuation of this deposit; in the northern area the material had been used in filling behind retaining walls and house foundations in the post-Sullan reconstruction. In addition to many fragmentary figurines of the familiar Hellenistic types were found not a few moulds for the making of figurines; a typical example is shown in Pl. 61, 3 together with a modern impression. In the same context appeared small bowls and saucers containing pigments (red, blue, and violet), presumably such as were used in painting the figurines. From here too came a mould for the making of Megarian bowls, possibly another product of the same shop. Perhaps from a neighboring shop derive a number of fragments from small marble statuettes, some of them unfinished.

On a natural bench low down on the west slope of the Areopagus came to light

a pit cut down in the soft bedrock, piriform in plan, 3.78 m. long, 1.70 m. wide and 1.20 m. deep (Pl. 48, 1; Fig. 7). Convenient access to its bottom was provided by a stairway neatly hewn from the rock at the narrow end of the pit. On the middle of the floor at the broad end rests a mass of coarse terracotta built up on a core of broken tile. This is undoubtedly the base of a mould for the casting of some large object in bronze. Numerous but much-broken pieces of the mould found in the filling of the pit and in its environs show that the object was a statue.

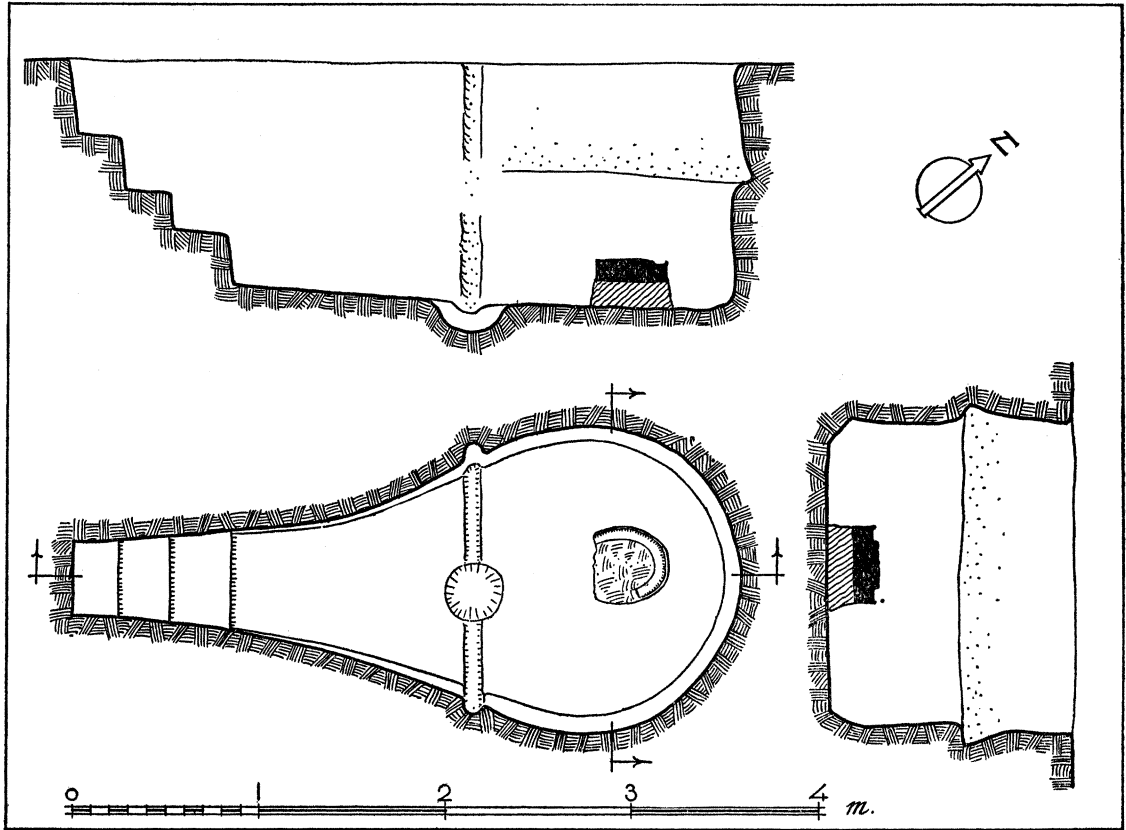


Fig. 7. Casting Pit on West Slope of Areopagus

We may suppose that the mould for the statue was erected on the base. Traces of burning on the floor of the chamber suggest that a fire was kindled around the mould, presumably to melt out the wax between core and outer envelope and also to heat the mould in order to insure a better cast. We may assume that in preparation for pouring the space between the mould and the walls of the pit was packed with fine earth; the shallow transverse trench in the floor of the pit and the corresponding grooves in the walls may have been intended to secure a rough partition to reduce the amount of packing required.

A date in the second century before Christ is indicated by the pottery found in the filling of the pit. Similar establishments of earlier date have been discovered in previous seasons: one of the mid-sixth century to the south of the Temple of Apollo Patroös,²² one of the late fifth century within the peribolos of the Hephaisteion,²³ and one of the fourth century to the southwest of the Hephaisteion.²⁴ The study of this material should shed much light on the technique of ancient bronze working.

Evidence for the manufacture of marble basins in this area was noted in the report for the season of 1946.²⁵ In 1947 additional evidence was found for marble working at the very foot of the Areopagus. In a small building of the fifth century B.C. set in a cutting in the slope of the hill appeared a great mass of chips of Pentelic marble. This would seem to have been a gradual accumulation, heaped up first in one corner of the room and supported by a succession of loosely built retaining walls which kept the chips from flooding the whole room. Since there appears to have been no building of the period in the immediate vicinity in which marble was used architecturally, these chips probably derive from the shop of a sculptor working in marble. The broken pottery found among the marble chips is of the late fifth century B.C.

Above the layer of marble chips which eventually filled the room to a depth of 0.50 m. was installed an elaborate system of shallow drains and basins (Fig. 6, Pl. 48, 2). The room itself measures internally *ca.* 8.60 × 3.00 m., its long axis lying east and west. Across the west end was set a shallow basin roughly lined and floored with tiles; the east end was filled by a basin of similar construction and dimensions and by a much smaller basin toward the south. Between the basins lies the network of drains in the shape of a letter H with a very long horizontal bar which runs from east to west and lies closer to the north than to the south side of the room. Into the channels that formed the H flowed short tributaries, four into each of the vertical *hastae* so to speak and six or possibly seven into the horizontal bar. The combined yield of the whole system was led out through the northwest corner of the room into the Great Drain. All the channels were very roughly put together of concave cover tiles laid upside down. The main arteries of the system were found covered with broken roof tiles and scraps of basins both of marble and of pottery; the short tributaries were found open, at least toward their outer ends. No distinctive sediment was found either in basins or drains, nor has any other clue to the identification been produced by the excavation. In this region of shops it may be assumed, however, that the establishment served some industrial purpose. It was in use for a short period within the fourth and third centuries B.C.²⁶

²² *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 82 f., 343.

²³ *Hesperia*, Supplement V, p. 109.

²⁴ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 342 f.

²⁵ *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 206.

²⁶ The identification as a latrine has been proposed. Apart from various technical difficulties,

Evidence for the working of clay in this area came to light in two small buildings of the late fifth and fourth centuries B.C. set on the lower west slope of the Areopagus. In the dirt floor of one of these buildings was a pit containing pure clay, while a coarse pot full of clay was found in a well that opened in the same room. One room of the adjoining building had its floor surfaced with hydraulic cement; in the floor of a neighboring room was set a terracotta basin and a shallow cement-lined pit suitable for the working of clay in such small quantities as might be used by a coroplast. In a house of the Hellenistic period on the east slope of the Hill of the Nymphs is another large shallow basin and nearby is a well that was filled in large part with clay similar to the "red clay of Chalandri" regularly used by the Attic potters of today.

The ceramic tradition persisted in this area even into the Dark Ages. To a time between the sixth and the eighth centuries may be attributed an establishment with three kilns set down among the ruins of older buildings on the northwest shoulder of the Areopagus (Fig. 6). The best preserved of the kilns measured about 2.75×5.50 m. in plan. A fire chamber 0.80 m. wide ran the full length of the kiln, communicating with the stacking chamber above by means of lateral flues, a half dozen on either side. Of the upper chamber nothing remains. In the ashes at the bottom of the flues were found more than fifty small leaf-shaped kiln supports similar to those used in modern village potteries for separating roof tiles from one another in the kiln. It is probable that this old establishment also produced roof tiles. The clay for the purpose may have been dug nearby, and this, indeed, would account for the vast, amorphous pits that were detected in the course of the excavation in the valley to the west of the Areopagus. These pits had been carried down into the masses of clay left by the disintegration of the walls of ancient buildings and the cavities had then been back-filled with small stones, broken roof tiles, and such other material as would have been discarded by the mediaeval tile makers.

An establishment of Hellenistic date that may have served an industrial purpose lay to the west of the trapezoidal enclosure, between the Great Drain and the street on the slope of the Hill of the Nymphs (Fig. 6). Its overall dimensions are *ca.* 6×9 m. At the foot of the wall on the south, east and west sides is a channel *ca.* 0.25 m. wide and 0.40 m. deep, its sides and floor carefully plastered with hydraulic cement. In addition to the long channels, there are traces of one large and one small basin with plastered interior at the north end of the room and of one small basin at the south end. The floor in the middle of the room was surfaced with mortar studded with pebbles. The layout of the room has something in common with latrines of a familiar ancient type well represented by a specimen to the east of the Market of Caesar and Augustus.²⁷

however, this hypothesis would presuppose an inordinate expenditure of effort for the very simple object envisaged.

²⁷ Orlandos, *Πρακτικὰ τῆς Ἀκαδημίας Ἀθηνῶν*, 15, 1940, pp. 251 ff. For latrines of the Greek period see also Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, p. 294; Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera*, III, pp. 157 ff.; Chamonard, *Délos*, VIII, pp. 181 ff.

Its identification as a latrine, however, is made dubious by the absence of any certain connection between the plastered channels and either the Great Drain to the east or the road drain to the west.

As was to be expected in a district of houses and shops, many ancient wells were encountered in this area. Some thirty were cleared, including one of the Protogeometric period, three of the Geometric, four of the sixth century, five of the fifth, three of the fourth, six of the Hellenistic period, and eight of the Roman. The clearing of several other wells was given up because of the collapse of their walls, cut as they were through a very treacherous rock formation, or on account of gas. The earlier wells were uncurbed, save for one of the sixth century which was walled with small stones; those of the Hellenistic and Roman periods exhibited the normal curbing of terracotta tiles. In the Hellenistic age the wells were supplemented by cisterns which provided soft water for household purposes; two such cisterns were cleared. The combined evidence to be gotten from the well and cistern deposits will be invaluable for the study of the history of habitation in this region, particularly for the pre-classical periods that have left so little in the shape of structural remains.

SCULPTURE

The season of 1947 was exceptionally fruitful in sculpture, and the yield was not only numerous but varied in period and theme. The following notes will cover a selection of the more important pieces.²⁸

The late archaic period is well represented by a marble head of Herakles from a late Roman context on the east slope of Kolonos (Pls. 49 and 50).²⁹ Its monumental quality belies its small size, which is little over half life. The inclination of the neck indicates that the hero was in action and he may be thought of as swinging his club with such vigor that it touched the left side of his head where it was held in place by two metal pins of which the drilled holes remain. The attitude is familiar from the representations of Herakles on the early red-figured vases and from the archaic poros pediment of Herakles and the Hydra on the Acropolis. These comparisons also indicate that Herakles' opponent is to be restored to the right. Such a disposition of the club, while it left the head admirably exposed in a painting or relief, would be hard to justify in a free-standing figure. We infer, therefore, that our head, though itself worked in the round, comes from a relief, and for this conclusion confirmation is found in the difficulty experienced by the sculptor in finishing the back parts of the head.

A little of Herakles' opponent is probably to be recognized in a crested, wattled, beaked head that was found within a few metres of the Herakles head (Pl. 50, 2-3).³⁰

²⁸ A fragment of an archaic marble grave stele of the man-and-dog type (S 1276) will be published in the Shear Memorial Supplement of *Hesperia*.

²⁹ S 1295. Height, 0.147 m. Pentelic marble.

³⁰ S 1260. Height, 0.093 m.

In material, workmanship, and weathering the two heads are identical. The neck of the monstrous head is bevelled in such a way as to show that it had been attached to a background so as to project at an angle of about 45° ; for the metal pin that held it in place a hole was drilled in the neck with the same diameter as those in the Herakles head. The bevel indicates that the head was set with its right side toward the wall and that it faced left, opposing the hero. The head defies classification in any of the normal zoological genera, but it may perhaps be recognized as of a Stympalian bird.³¹

A date toward the close of the sixth century is indicated by the close similarity between the new Herakles head and the heads of the same hero on the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi. Beyond this we can scarcely at present go with any assurance. The group would appear to derive from the decoration of a building, but whether from the pediment of a small structure or from the metope of a large would be difficult to decide; in any case no suitable building of any size has yet appeared within the area in which the marbles were found.

The Athena torso of Pl. 51 comes likewise from a late Roman context at the west foot of the Areopagus.³² The scale is slightly more than one-half life; the figure is carefully finished on all sides. Head and forearms were cut from separate pieces and attached; the snake heads of aegis and of girdle were doubtless of bronze and inset. A large round shield carried in the left hand would have concealed the ugly inventory letters, the deltas, on left shoulder and breast.³³ The right forearm may be thought of as thrust forward, holding in the hand some small attribute like a patera which would have left exposed for full enjoyment the rich drapery of the right side.

In stance, proportions, and scheme of drapery our small torso shows the influence of the great Pheidian creations, the Parthenos and the Lemnia. In these respects, however, it is less developed than works of the last quarter of the century such as the figures on the east frieze of the Temple of Nike Apteros, the treasure-record relief of 410/09 in the Louvre,³⁴ the female figure in Eleusis.³⁵ The drapery was presumably carved by someone who had worked or was working on the Parthenon frieze, who delighted in a rich voluminous effect with well-rounded ridges rather than in the sharper folds and the transparency that were already coming into evidence in the

³¹ On the vase paintings Herakles is represented attacking the birds sometimes with bow and sometimes with club. On the coins of Stympalus himself he uses the club. The coins of Stympalus, moreover, give us the most circumstantial picture of the creatures' heads. Cf. Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 99, pl. T, X-XII; Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds*, s. v. *Στυμφαλίδες*.

³² S 1232. Height, 0.66 m. Pentelic marble.

³³ On the inventory marks on temple treasures see *Athenian Studies presented to W. S. Ferguson*, p. 205.

³⁴ *Ath. Mitt.*, 35, 1910, pl. 4, 2; Diepolder, *Attische Grabreliefs*, p. 22, fig. 4.

³⁵ Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, fig. 325; Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, pl. IV, 5.

pediments of the Parthenon and were well nigh irresistible to the next generation. The drapery on the back of our torso in its stiffness and the formality of its design is actually reminiscent of the Olympia pediments and the Mourning Athena of the Acropolis.

These arguments would suggest for the style of our figure a date early in the 30's of the fifth century; the exquisitely fresh quality of the modelling and of the surface finish are also worthy of that period.

As for the destination of the newly found Athena, we may conjecture that she, like several others of similar scale in the Acropolis Museum, was intended as a votive offering in some sanctuary; in which remains to be seen.³⁶

A slighter but none the less delightful echo of the Parthenon style is afforded by the small marble plaque of Pl. 54, 1.³⁷ A solitary horseman, cloak on shoulder, sits his horse with all the easy nonchalance of the knights on the Parthenon frieze.

The kerchief-bound head of Pl. 52, slightly over half life size, brings us still closer to a monument of the Acropolis.³⁸ The marble was found at the west foot of the Areopagus in a late Roman context with Byzantine intrusions. Clear traces of heavy drillwork on the back of head and neck show that these parts were cut clear of a background on which the body was presumably carved in relief. The top of the head over the back two-thirds of its area is fresh and was obviously protected; the front third is heavily weathered. Despite the sadly battered state of the marble one can detect a masterly hand in the modelling and a very delicate surface finish. This combination of circumstances points inevitably to the parapet of the Nike Temple and, although no direct join has been established, the attribution would appear to be certain. Carpenter, writing on the parapet in 1929, knew one head still attached to its body, one head loose in the Acropolis Museum, and a plaster cast of a now missing head.³⁹ The Greek Archaeological Service, excavating in 1931 in the Market of Caesar and Augustus, came on another head which seems certainly to derive from the same source and which has suffered much as ours did in its long roll down the slope.⁴⁰ The head from the Agora, better preserved than any of the others, brings out the piquancy which the parapet gained from the contrast between the warm, vibrant bodies of the Victories and the chill, passive beauty of their faces.

³⁶ For the Acropolis Athenas cf. Casson-Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, pp. 238 ff., nos. 1336, 1337. Similar in style and close in date is the Athena in Venice (Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 105, fig. 323).

³⁷ S 1289. Height, 0.16 m. Pentelic marble. The right edge only is original. Traces of a working boss on the back of the plaque may be presumed to give the mid point; they suggest an original width of ca. 0.27 m. The piece was probably intended as a votive offering.

³⁸ S 1246. Height, 0.152 m. Pentelic marble.

³⁹ Carpenter, *The Sculpture of the Nike Temple Parapet*, p. 29.

⁴⁰ Stavropoulos, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον, Παράρτημα*, 1930-31, p. 7 and illustration on p. 9, fig. 8 (wrongly titled).

In a well at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (p. 162 above), in association with a number of marbles and other objects discarded at the time of the Herulian sack (A.D. 267), was found the life-sized head of a female figure, presumably a goddess (Pl. 53).⁴¹ The root of the neck is worked for insertion in a draped torso. The back of the head was cut from a separate piece of marble and was secured by means of an iron pin one end of which appeared in the top of the head. Scraps of gold leaf adhere to face and hair, enough to indicate that the whole head was once gilded. The fact that the gold would effectually have concealed the head of the pin, as also the joint between front and back parts, suggests that the piece was intended to be gilded from the beginning. The impressionistic rendering of the hair, the small features, the prettiness indicate a date in the late fourth or early third century B.C., while the exceedingly soft surface, the very thin lower eyelid and the concave eyeball associate it more specifically with the head from Chios now in Boston and with several related works.

The small marble votive plaque of Pl. 54, 2 was found at the west foot of the Areopagus in the filling behind a retaining wall that is to be connected with the rebuilding of that area after the Sullan sack of 86 B.C.⁴² The plaque is quite complete even to the tenon intended for insertion in a base and to traces of color: red on the hair, blue on the background. Comparison with the slabs from the Mantinea Base and with the Attic grave stelai would indicate a date in the latter part of the fourth century. The modelling is sketchy, to be sure, and no doubt depended in large part on the color, but the figures are well conceived and the composition is effective.

The theme is evidently Eleusinian. Demeter, seated with sceptre in left hand and patera in right, accompanied by her torch-bearing daughter receives a family group of worshippers who approach from the right. Between the goddess and the mortals stands a male figure marked by his scale as divine. On his left arm he carries a child, in his left hand a cornucopia and high in his right hand an obscure object: a drinking horn or short torch (?). Since the composition of this central group was probably inspired by the Eirene and Ploutos of Kephisodotos, one may conjecture some similarity in theme. The child, accompanied here as in the great group by the horn of plenty, may safely be identified as the infant Ploutos. Among the youthful male divinities who moved in Eleusinian circles in the fourth century the most likely candidate for identification with the standing figure is perhaps Iakchos who was addressed as Ploutodotes, Giver of Wealth.⁴³ Whatever the identification of the

⁴¹ S 1242. Height, 0.235 m. Pentelic marble.

⁴² S 1251. Width, 0.314 m. Pentelic marble.

⁴³ Scholiast, Aristoph., *Ranae*, 479:

ἐν τοῖς Ληναϊκοῖς ἀγῶσι τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δαδούχος κατέχων λαμπάδα λέγει· καλεῖτε θεόν· καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσι· ‘Σμελῆϊ Ἰακχε Πλουτοδότα.’

standing figure, our plaque is of considerable interest inasmuch as the association of Ploutos with Eleusis has hitherto been only slightly documented, viz., by several vase paintings of the Kertch period.⁴⁴

Two other marble votive plaques were found in the area west of the Areopagus. One of them (S 1285), found in a late Hellenistic level in the Great Drain, is a small rectangular plaque with tenon, decorated with a coiled snake; it is uninscribed but very similar to the dedications from the sanctuary of Zeus Meilichios now in Berlin.⁴⁵ The other piece (I 5968, *supra*, p. 39), from a late and disturbed context, shows a human eye and bears the inscription, in letters of the third or second century B.C., "To the Hero Physician," obviously a thank offering for eyes healed.⁴⁶

A number of notable additions were made this season to the series of portraits of the Roman period. A miniature but striking study of the Princeps Augustus is noted below (p. 181). A much-broken marble portrait head of the Julio-Claudian period (not illustrated) has the tremendous breadth of cranium and the prominent bony structure of the face characteristic of the ruling family; it may represent one or other of the youthful princes.⁴⁷

The small marble head, about one-third life, shown in Pl. 55, though also sadly battered, reveals a masterly hand that has treated a foreign type with both skill and sympathy. The broad nose, thick lips and prominent cheek bones mark the woman as of negro origin. The bonnet-like coiffure is a modest civilian version of the style worn by the court ladies of the Trajanic period.⁴⁸

Equally striking, though in quite a different way, is the life-sized marble bust of a man shown in Pl. 56.⁴⁹ This piece was found lying face down beneath the charred beams and broken roof tiles of one of the large houses of the Roman period on the east slope of Kolonos, one of those that were destroyed in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and never rebuilt. The highly polished flesh parts are set off effectively against the rasped surface of tunic and cloak; the eyebrows and the hair have been rendered by very light strokes of a single point; the eyeballs are smooth. The bust form would suggest a date in the late Flavian or early Trajanic period. In its masterly technique and dry realism this bust may be regarded as a somewhat earlier and more studied work of the school that produced the herm of Moiragenes, found a hundred metres to the north in 1935.⁵⁰

⁴⁴ Nilsson, *Greek Popular Religion*, p. 62; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, pp. 146 ff.

⁴⁵ *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, nos. 722, 723.

⁴⁶ Cf. *I.G.*, II², 839: a decree of 221/0 B.C. in which provision is made for melting down silver offerings in the sanctuary of the Hero Physician; eyes occur three times.

⁴⁷ S 1287. Height, 0.20 m. Pentelic marble.

⁴⁸ S 1268. Height, 0.115 m. Parian marble. For the coiffure compare the portraits of Marciana (d. A.D. 113) and of Matidia (d. A.D. 119) in *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 276 ff.

⁴⁹ S 1299. Height, 0.475 m. Coarse grained, Parian (?) marble.

⁵⁰ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 17.

Our next piece (Pl. 57) is of considerable interest not only stylistically but also technically since it was left in an unfinished state and in various stages of completion from bottom to top.⁵¹ The head was intended, of course, for insertion in a draped torso. Eyes and eyebrows are rendered plastically; the hair is done in a tight marcel around the front, in a melon frisure at the back, ending in a small bun. This coiffure, which is exactly paralleled on certain issues of the coins representing Faustina the Younger, indicates a date in the middle of the second century.⁵²

One of the latest portraits of the season is a marble head of life size found at the west foot of the Areopagus in a context of the third century probably to be associated with the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 (Pl. 58).⁵³ The rendering of hair and eyes would suggest a date in the second quarter of the third century. The plump, soft face is obviously that of a child. The head is bound by a wreath of tight packed leaves of schematic shape. Most distinctive is the coiffure. The stippling normal in this period suggests that most of the hair was short; but from the crown of the head hangs a single long lock.

This curious hairdress undoubtedly illustrates the ancient practice of growing a special lock for dedication to some river or divinity as described by Pollux (B. 30): *Ἐπρεφον δέ τινες ἐκ πλαγίου κόμην ἢ κατόπιν ἢ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτωπον ποταμοῖς ἢ θεοῖς, καὶ ὠνομάζετο πλοχμὸς ἢ σκόλλυς ἢ σειρὰ τριχῶν*. Our head wears the lock behind; two heads of the same period found at Eleusis illustrate one the frontal and the other the lateral position.⁵⁴ That the custom of dedicating a lock was widespread is sufficiently indicated by the literary and epigraphic sources; the most common occasion was probably on attaining manhood, i.e., on becoming an ephebe.⁵⁵ The subject of our study, however, is clearly of more tender years. His extreme youth and the distinctive wreath would appear to put him in the same category as the two boys at Eleusis. The Eleusinians have been identified by Kourouniotes as boys initiated from childhood into the Mysteries: *παῖδες ἀφ' ἐστίας μνηθέντες*.⁵⁶ Whether the newly found head derives from the Athenian Eleusinion, which appears to lie to the southeast of the Agora, or from some closer sanctuary is a question that had best be left open until the area at the northwest foot of the Areopagus has been more completely explored.

In addition to the portraits, several studies of divinities of the Roman period

⁵¹ S 1237. Height, 0.45 m. Pentelic marble. From a well on the west slope of the Areopagus along with debris from the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.

⁵² *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, IV, pls. 22 and 23. The closest parallels are with Issue III of Faustina, i.e., ca. A.D. 147-150 (Mattingly, *op. cit.*, pp. XLIII f.). Cf. also Lady Evans, *Num. Chron.*, 1906, pp. 37 ff.; M. Wegner, *Arch. Anz.*, 1938, cols. 276 ff., especially col. 281, fig. 2.

⁵³ S 1307. Height, 0.255 m. Pentelic marble.

⁵⁴ Kourouniotes, *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, 8, 1923, pp. 155 ff.

⁵⁵ Athenaeus (XI, 88, p. 494): *οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποκείρειν τὸν σκόλλυν ἔφηβοι*.

⁵⁶ *Ἀρχ. Δελτίον*, 8, 1923, pp. 155 ff.

deserve notice. First a small head, about half life, with short hair drawn together at the crown, its loose ends rising in curls on either side (Pl. 59, 1).⁵⁷ The coiffure and the set of the head suggest Nike in forward movement, and raised wings may have concealed from ordinary view the rough finish of the back and the not entirely flattering profile. The high polish of the flesh parts, the coarse drill work and the vermicular treatment of the hair would place the head in the late Antonine period, toward the end of the second century. It was found along with the gilded marble head described above in the well at the northwest foot of the Areopagus, a context which indicates that it was damaged and discarded at the time of the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.

In the well along with the two heads was found a marble statuette of the Herakles Farnese type (Pl. 59, 2).⁵⁸ Our version varies from the normal in several respects, notably in the excessive scale and prominence given to the club by carrying its butt end down so far, and in the presence of a sword belt. The modelling of torso and head, although much simplified as one would expect in a work of small scale and no pretensions, nevertheless conveys something of the sombre bigness of the fourth century original. A date in the first half of the third century A.D. may be hazarded for the copy.⁵⁹

TERRACOTTAS AND LAMPS

The Agora collection of terracottas was enriched this season by some 200 catalogued specimens ranging in date from the archaic to the late Roman period.

One of the most pleasing of the early pieces is a corner fragment of a plaque pierced for suspension (Pl. 60, 1).⁶⁰ Comparison with two very similar though not identical plaques found on the Acropolis permits the restoration of the new piece as a girl seated on a bench spinning, distaff in left hand, spindle in right, the plaque being intended, presumably, for dedication to Athena Ergane.⁶¹ Both the Acropolis and the Agora examples are of outstanding quality.

Another terracotta plaque with hole for suspension came from a Hellenistic context at the east foot of the Hill of the Nymphs (Pl. 60, 2).⁶² Herakles wreathed urges

⁵⁷ S 1244. Height, 0.16 m. Coarse grained, Parian (?) marble.

⁵⁸ S 1241. Height, 0.37 m. Pentelic marble. Broken at several points but complete. Two miniature copies in bronze have been found elsewhere in the Agora: *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 19; IX, 1940, p. 296.

⁵⁹ The same well yielded also a small bearded marble head of a god in a dry archaistic style (S 1243). Other marbles worthy of mention are two statuettes of *Hermaphroditus sese ostendens*, one of them (S 1235) from a Hellenistic context to the west of the Areopagus, the other (S 1234) from a disturbed context in the same area.

⁶⁰ T 2480. Height, 0.108 m. From a fifth-century context at the west foot of the Areopagus.

⁶¹ Hutton, *J.H.S.*, 17, 1897, pp. 308 ff.; Casson-Brooke, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, pp. 420 ff., nos. 1329-1330. I owe the reference to my wife.

⁶² T 2466. Height, 0.165 m. Traces of white engobe both on figures and background.

on his donkey by applying his enormous club to the little creature's hindquarters; he uses his lion skin as a saddle cloth. The representation of Herakles mounted is rare, but recurs on a small limestone plaque from Rhodes which is inscribed as a dedication to Herakles.⁶³ The motivation of the scene clearly comes from without and it is tempting to suppose that the coroplast has adapted an excerpt from some monumental representation of Hephaistos' return to Olympus. If Hephaistos were substituted for Herakles the scene could be paralleled in several vase paintings of the sixth and fifth centuries which show Hephaistos, deliberately befuddled, being enticed heavenward by Dionysos and his accomplices.⁶⁴

The terracotta bust of Pl. 61, 1 appeared in a late Hellenistic level in the filling of the Great Drain at the west foot of the Areopagus.⁶⁵ The Phrygian cap with its peak and flaps, and the curious sexual duality mark the figure as Attis, a common theme in Hellenistic terracottas.⁶⁶

The further clearing of the west slope of the Areopagus produced in this season as in 1939 and 1946 numerous figurines of the third and second centuries B.C. together with moulds for their manufacture, coming no doubt, as noted above, from coroplasts' workshops within the area. This material will be the subject of a special study, so that for the present occasion samples only are illustrated: in Pl. 61, 2⁶⁷ some representative heads both male and female and in Pl. 61, 3 a characteristic mould, together with a modern impression, of a youthful torso, probably Eros.⁶⁸

In the early Roman period in Athens terracotta figurines did not enjoy the popularity that had been theirs in the Hellenistic period and that they were to recover in the later Roman period. On the other hand the plastic decoration of vases, lamps, etc., sometimes attained a high level; a particularly fine piece is illustrated in Pl. 61, 4. It is a male head wearing a laurel wreath impressed in relief in the medallion on the floor of a small bowl.⁶⁹ The fabric of the bowl and such use of a medallion are characteristic of the Augustan period. The head is obviously a portrait, and comparison with coins leaves little doubt that we have to do with a slightly idealized representation of Augustus himself. In sheer beauty of design and competence of modelling the terracotta medallion invites comparison with some of the finer of the many cameos in which Augustus is represented.⁷⁰

⁶³ *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen zu Berlin*, no. 689.

⁶⁴ Schefold, *Ath. Mitt.*, 59, 1934, pp. 137-146; Talcott, *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 47-49.

⁶⁵ T 2425. Height, 0.11 m. Traces of white engobe.

⁶⁶ For the type cf. Burr, *Terracottas from Myrina*, p. 57.

⁶⁷ T 2455, 2437, 2436, 2339, 2337, 2427.

⁶⁸ T 2454. Height, 0.132 m.

⁶⁹ P 18,314. Diameter of medallion, 0.055 m. Fine buff clay covered with thin glaze which has fired red on the underside, mottled brown and red on top. On the underside is the merest suggestion of a base-ring surrounded by scattered floral ornaments.

⁷⁰ Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III, pp. 314 ff.; Schweizer, *Röm. Mitt.*, 57, 1942, pp. 97-99.

Various Athena types of the fifth century are faithfully reproduced in a number of minor terracotta works of the Roman period in a way paralleled by the representation of famous statues on Athenian coins of Imperial times. The most popular of these revivals is the bust of Athena Promachos, armed with Corinthian helmet, spear and aegis. She appears on a dozen or more lamps of the second and third centuries found in the Agora as well as on other lamps of the same types from the Athenian Kerameikos and from Corinth.⁷¹ One of the finest of these representations occurs on a large lamp of the third century found in the Agora in 1939 (Pl. 62, 3).⁷² Working even in this modest medium and small scale the late craftsman has caught not a little of the beauty of the original.

The Parthenos forms the subject of two closely related pieces which came to light in the seasons of 1939 and 1947. One of these (Pl. 62, 1) preserves the face and the bowl of the helmet,⁷³ the other (Pl. 62, 2) gives us the shoulder and the whole helmet.⁷⁴ The sphinx in the middle and the pegasus on either side of the helmet conform to the normal type; the lesser fauna that sometimes appear above the brow band are here entirely omitted as on the Varvakeion statuette. The most interesting variant occurs in the treatment of the cheek plate, which is decorated with a striding male figure cradling a club in his left arm; both the Aspasios gem and the Koul-Oba medallion which show the cheek piece clearly have a griffin rampant.

Both the Parthenos pieces may be assigned on the basis of context and workmanship to the third century A.D. That which preserves the face may come from an extremely large lamp, more probably from a decorative medallion. The other fragment is part of a mould for the making of a medallion in high relief.⁷⁵ The beginning of an inscription in the bounding zone is tantalizing: Η ΑΘΗΝ[Α Η ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ?]; but we do not know whether the text was continuous or interrupted below as above. Whatever the purpose of these two pieces, they are related to each other in a mechanical way. Both evidently derive from the same original, but the inscribed piece is shown to be the more remote by the greater coarseness of its detail and by its smaller scale (*ca.* 5/6 of the other).

A third Athena type is represented on a sadly broken fragment of a once magnificent lamp, again of the third century (Pl. 62, 4).⁷⁶ The head of the goddess is entirely

Among the coins one of the better parallels is the fine bronze piece illustrated in Rodenwaldt, *Kunst am Augustus*, p. 5, fig. 1.

⁷¹ See the general study by Pick, "Promachos des Pheidias," in *Ath. Mitt.*, 56, 1931, pp. 59-74 and the additional comments by Pfuhl in *Ath. Mitt.*, 57, 1932, pp. 151 ff.

⁷² L 3731. Diameter, 0.092 m. Pale buff clay, unglazed.

⁷³ L 3703. Found in 1939. Maximum dimension, 0.084 m. Dark buff clay, unglazed.

⁷⁴ T 2376. Found in 1947. Estimated diameter, *ca.* 0.24 m.

⁷⁵ That the mould was used for lamp making is ruled out by the absence of any trace of a handle in the normal position above the head. The overall diameter, 0.24 m., is also excessive for a lamp.

⁷⁶ L 4256. Overall diameter of lamp, 0.185 m.; diameter of inner medallion, 0.112 m. Pale buff clay, unglazed.

broken away. That she was helmeted is proven, however, by the tip of a crest in the field. She wears her aegis, not symmetrically like the Promachos and Parthenos, but diagonally in the manner of the Lemnia. She cannot, however, be the Lemnia, for a long ringlet falls over the shoulder whereas the Lemnia's hair is neatly held up by a band. The figure medallion is surrounded by an extraordinarily rich frame made up of imbricate and braided members interrupted by Amazon shields. A design so delicate is likely to have been created for metal and then borrowed by the worker in clay.⁷⁷

From another lamp of the third century comes the delightful scene of Pl. 63, 1.⁷⁸ Leander swims vigorously shoreward, guided by Hero who leans out of a window high in a crenellated tower and holds a lamp outthrust in her right hand. The story is told in much the same terms on the coins of both Sestos and Abydos, the home towns of the lovers, as well as on gems and on terra sigillata.⁷⁹

The activity of coroplasts in the Agora region in late Roman times was already well attested by numerous moulds found in earlier seasons. In the season of 1947 several more moulds came to light in a mass of rubbish that overlay the floors of the Civic Offices and that had evidently been dumped over the terrace of the Middle Stoa soon after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Among these pieces are moulds for hunting scenes and one for a curious assemblage of beasts which became intelligible only through the discovery of a more complete replica mould in the area to the west of the Areopagus (Pl. 63, 2).⁸⁰ The whole scene now appears as a semi-conical composition topped by Orpheus who sits with lyre on knee surrounded by beasts and birds in various stages of enchantment.

From the accumulations that gathered in wells in the third century before the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 come not a few terracotta figurines and plastic vases, of which two representative examples are here illustrated (Pls. 63, 3; 64). The cloaked youth stands near the end of a very long tradition that stretches clear back into the Tanagra period.⁸¹ The gross disparity of the proportions and the dullness of the modelling are in some measure redeemed by the effective, impressionistic treatment of the features.

The plastic pitcher ⁸² was moulded in two pieces. Front and back the cylindrical body is decorated with labors of Herakles: the Stag and the Stymphalian Birds, the two scenes separated by Ionic columns, and, less formally, by a tree on one side and

⁷⁷ Compare the Hellenistic gold Athena medallions of the Benaki and Stathatou Collections. Segall, Museum Benaki, *Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten*, no. 36, pls. 13, 14.

⁷⁸ L 4251. Diameter of inner medallion, 0.06 m.

⁷⁹ The references are conveniently assembled by Chase, *Catalogue of Arretine Pottery in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, no. 93, p. 89.

⁸⁰ T 2507. Height, 0.135 m.

⁸¹ T 2327. Height, 0.215 m. Pale buff clay. Round vent hole between shoulders.

⁸² P 17,877. Height, 0.24 m. Pale pink clay covered with thin dull red glaze, much of which has flaked off.

the hero's equipment hanging from the wall on the other side. The representations remind one of those on the famous silver Herakles cups from the House of Menander at Pompeii,⁸³ and they doubtless owe something to contemporary works in the nobler medium. In this respect our pitcher is to be compared with a large class of relief bowls made in the second and third centuries and well represented in the excavations both of Athens and of Corinth.⁸⁴ The shape of our pitcher, particularly the mouth and the mouldings, are reminiscent also of mould-blown glass of the period. The newly found piece is one of the finest examples of a small series of moulded pitchers that have turned up in widely separated parts of the ancient world.⁸⁵

POTTERY

In addition to the vases from various periods that have already been noticed above in relation to their contexts, a very considerable amount of pottery dating from the Protogeometric period onward was recovered from ancient wells. Only a few outstanding pieces will be illustrated here.

The medium-sized amphora of Pl. 65, 1 comes from a well on the lower slope of the Hill of the Nymphs along with a few other pieces of the second quarter of the sixth century.⁸⁶ The decoration is confined to base rays, a tongue pattern on the shoulder and a chain of lotus buds and flowers on the neck. Though very unassuming, the piece is thoroughly pleasing both in shape and ornament.

In a neighboring well of slightly earlier date was found the curious stand of Pl. 65, 2-3.⁸⁷ It consists of a drum-shaped upper member supported on a flaring base. Between these two members is a diaphragm pierced by a large round hole. The interior of the drum is accessible also through an opening with arched top in its side wall. The base proper is pierced with a much smaller round opening on each of two sides, and it is reinforced at its lower edge by two massive lugs each of which is pierced transversely by two small round holes. The walls are very heavy, having an average thickness of about one centimeter.

The stand is decorated in black-figure in a bold, open style. The side with the window was apparently regarded as the principal front. On this side the round hole

⁸³ Maiuri, *La Casa del Menandro*, pp. 310 ff., pls. XXV-XXX.

⁸⁴ Spitzer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 162-192.

⁸⁵ Robinson, *C. V. A. Robinson Collection*, fasc. III, pl. XXXIX. A specimen in the Robinson Collection at Baltimore is inscribed on the bottom *οἶνοφόρος*. It would seem rash, however, to restrict this very general term to pitchers of this shape, particularly since it is applied also to the drunken old woman with a lagynos on her lap as represented in a Hellenistic terracotta in the National Museum, Athens (*Εφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1891, pp. 143 ff.).

⁸⁶ P 18,348. Height, 0.34 m. Broken but complete save for a fragment from the mouth. Cf. *Archaeology*, I, pp. 13-20.

⁸⁷ P 18,010. Height, 0.343 m. Pale buff clay, the paint fired to light brown.

in the base was flanked by a lion and a siren with a floral ornament below; the "window" in the drum has a siren to one side, its other side being broken away. On the reverse the hole in the base is flanked by a goose on either side while a large floral ornament of palmette and lotus fills the wall of the drum. Around the base of the drum runs a wavy line; around the foot of the base a row of loops at least on the reverse side, the other side being broken away.

The purpose for which the utensil was intended is puzzling and its interpretation is made more difficult by the lack of comparative material. That it was actually used is proven by the much worn state of the rim of the drum and of the front part of its floor, i. e., just within the window. The elaborate design shows that it was not, like so many black-figured stands, intended simply for the support of a round-bottomed lebes or the like. That it served as a brazier is ruled out by the absence of any trace of burning.

Faute de mieux, one might associate the stand with psykters (wine-coolers) of the black-figured type which consist of an amphora with double walls so arranged that the space between the walls could be filled through a spout on the shoulder and drained through a small hole in the bottom. To provide for the drainage it would be necessary to have the bottom of the psykter raised above the floor and it would be desirable also to have the bottom readily accessible for plugging and opening the drain hole. Both these conditions are met by our stand. The round openings in the base were probably to facilitate handling; the lesser holes in the lateral lugs may have been made only to assist the firing of these heavy masses of clay; they show no signs of wear.

The double-walled psykters are few in number and appear to be restricted in date to a short period, roughly the second quarter of the sixth century, to which period we may also assign our stand. The majority of those known, some four, are "Chalcidian"; at least two others, however, are of Attic manufacture and one of the two was painted by Sakonides.⁸⁸ It is perhaps significant that on three out of the four Chalcidian psykters the base rays are omitted as though in anticipation of the lower part of the vase being concealed; otherwise base rays are the rule on Chalcidean amphorai and hydriai.

Among the examples of red-figured vase-painting found in 1947 are two fragments which served as ostraka.⁸⁹ A ballot cast against Kallixenos is inscribed on the interior of a red-figured mug (Pl. 66, 1), attributed by Beazley to the painter of Berlin 2286,⁹⁰ who worked in the late sixth century. The mug was thus made some

⁸⁸ Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, nos. 109-112; *C.V.A. British Mus.*, III, pl. 25 (B 148); Rumpf, *Sakonides*, p. 27, no. 75; Heydemann, *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel*, p. 646, no. 38; Karo, *J.H.S.*, 19, 1899, p. 141.

⁸⁹ The following notes on selected red-figure have been prepared by Peter E. Corbett, currently holder of the Macmillan studentship in the British School at Athens.

⁹⁰ Paralipomena to *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* [*A.R.V.*], p. 115: "add as no. 49 bis." A typescript copy of these *Paralipomena* is deposited in the library of the American School of

twenty years before the fragment was used as a vote against Kallixenos, since the ostrakophoria with which his name is associated is assigned to the late 80's.⁹¹ The scene on the fragment is a komos; the upper part of a youth is preserved, dancing to the right, with his cloak over his left shoulder, his left arm raised, and his right hand on his hip. Behind him is the outline of the back of the head and left arm of a second figure, with the end of a staff held in the latter's left hand—a staff, not a lyre, for the transverse “reserved” line is a scratch. We may compare komasts on two cups by the same hand, one in Amsterdam, one in Florence.⁹² These comparisons suggest that our two figures are moving in opposite directions. Greater unity of composition is attained, however, if we suppose our left-hand komast to have resembled the maenad in the interior of a cup in Philadelphia⁹³ who dances right with her head turned to the left and her left arm raised. For comparison with this ostrakon another fragment by the same painter⁹⁴ is illustrated here (Pl. 66, 2). It is part of a similar mug, a favorite shape with him, and shows a bearded, garlanded man wearing a himation and leaning to the right upon his stick which rests under his armpit.

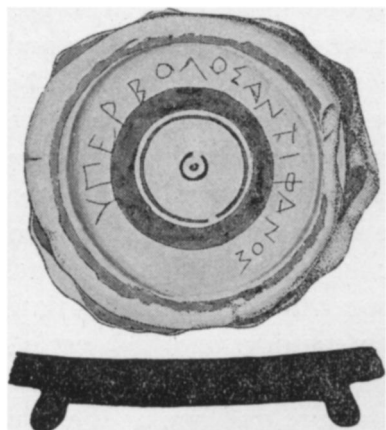


Fig. 8. Base of Bowl used as Ostrakon (P 18,495) Scale 1:2 (Drawing by Hazel S. Whipple)

A vote against Hyperbolos, the last victim of ostracism, banished in 417 B.C., is scratched on the underside of a red-figured bowl or cup (Pl. 66, 3 and Fig. 8).⁹⁵ Within, in a medallion banded by two reserved circles, is a goose. The shape presents a problem. The foot is plain, heavy and spreading; the fabric too thick for a stemless cup. The ringed decoration of the underside and the flatness of the floor are paralleled in a black-glazed one-handler⁹⁶ from a contemporary well-filling. Although red-figured decoration is not customary for one-handlers, it is not unknown,⁹⁷ and this ostrakon may be from a large and heavy example of this shape.

Classical Studies. Inv. P 17,620. Preserved height, 0.05 m.; diameter at rim estimated 0.12 m. Mended from four pieces; no relief contour.

⁹¹ See below, p. 193, where the ostraka found in 1947 are discussed as such.

⁹² *A.R.V.*, p. 113, no. 7: *C.V.A.* Scheurleer, III, Ib, pl. 8, 4; and *A.R.V.*, p. 114, no. 26: *C.V.A.* Florence, III, I, pl. 11, B3.

⁹³ *A.R.V.*, p. 114, no. 22: *A.J.A.*, 38, 1934, pl. 35, A.

⁹⁴ *A.R.V.*, p. 115, no. 50: “unusually careful.” Found in 1932. Inv. P 447. Preserved height, 0.049 m.; width 0.057 m. Dilute glaze for the internal markings, white for the leaves of the garland; the letter kappa in the field neatly incised.

⁹⁵ Inv. P 18,495. Diameter of foot, 0.086 m. A single fragment, broken all around; the edges of the fracture worn smooth. From the filling of a well in the area west of the Areopagus, along with the two oinochoai figured below, Pl. 67.

⁹⁶ Inv. P 19,117; also similar in scale and massive fabric and from like contexts, the one-handlers Inv. P 18,912 and P 18,991.

⁹⁷ Cf. *Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, pl. XLVII, 4 and 5.

The date of the ostracism of Hyperbolos gives us a firm *terminus ante quem* for the painting of the vase. The nature of the picture unfortunately precludes direct comparison with other red-figured pieces which have been dated on stylistic grounds. Similar birds occur on two squat lekythoi, one in Cracow,⁹⁸ the goose close to ours in body and attitude, and one in Würzburg.⁹⁹ There exist other lekythoi,¹⁰⁰ more elaborately decorated, whose similarity in shape suggests an approximate contemporaneity with the Cracow and Würzburg vases, and so with our piece. The ostrakon may thus serve as a check, albeit an indirect one, on the commonly accepted chronology of red-figured vases.

Two oinochoai from the same well-filling as the Hyperbolos ostrakon are illustrated on Pl. 67. The first¹⁰¹ shows a komos: a wreathed, bearded man dressed in a himation walks to the right, his whole pose and every gesture eloquent, and his lips parted in song. Behind him follow two youths, with wreaths and fillets: a lyre player, his himation round his shoulders and his head inclined forward, absorbed in his music; and a nude youth with a torch, an oinochoe, and a hamper on his back. This was the standard equipment for dining out.¹⁰² To judge by the attitude of the leading figure on our vase, this is the return from the party rather than the journey to it. A stamnos in Rome,¹⁰³ by Polygnotos, gives us an earlier version of the scene with its succession of figures—singer, musician and torch-bearer—in poses similar to ours; there the banquet itself is represented on the front of the vase. The style of our picture suggests a date towards the end of the third quarter of the fifth century. For the drapery of our bearded komast we may compare the figure of Erechtheus on a cup by the Codrus painter in Berlin.¹⁰⁴

The second oinochoe¹⁰⁵ figures activities of the palaestra. In the centre stands a male figure, in a decorated himation; his right hand holds a tall staff whose forked top identifies him as the trainer. He looks right to a nude male, who faces him with a pair of javelins in his left hand, and with his right hand raised in gesture to the

⁹⁸ *C.V.A.* Cracow, Musée Czartoryski, pl. 13, no. 5.

⁹⁹ Langlotz, *Griechische Vasen in Würzburg*, pl. 209, no. 588.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. *C.V.A.* Vienna, pl. 11, no. 7, less developed in shape and described as third quarter of fifth century; *C.V.A.* Hoppin and Gallatin Collection, Hoppin, pl. 17, no. 2; *C.V.A.* Copenhagen, III I, pl. 167, no. 1.

¹⁰¹ Inv. P 18,799. Height preserved, 0.22 m.; diameter, 0.177 m. Much mended; lip, handle and fragments of foot and body missing. The glaze of the drawing much worn, especially on the leading figure. Partial relief contour on all three figures; white for the fillets and the torch flame.

¹⁰² Compare the two oinochoai, Oxford, *C.V.A.* pl. 43, 4 and Baltimore, Robinson, *C.V.A.* III I, pl. 10.

¹⁰³ *A.R.V.*, p. 678, no. 9.

¹⁰⁴ *A.R.V.*, p. 739, no. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Inv. P 18,800. Preserved height, 0.14 m.; diameter, 0.144 m. The lower part only is preserved, put together from many pieces, the highest point giving the start of the curve of the neck. The glaze is much worn above the foot, which is badly chipped.

trainer. Between them sits a shaggy dog, looking up at the right-hand figure. To the left is another athlete, striding right and raising his lead jumping-weights¹⁰⁶ before him as he prepares to jump.¹⁰⁷ Stylistically our vase should belong to the last decade of the fifth century; the drapery of the central figure on a hydria¹⁰⁸ of the same period bears some resemblance to that of our trainer.

The lekythos on Pl. 67, 3, is assigned by Beazley to the Icarus painter.¹⁰⁹ On it is the figure of a maenad who stands facing right, wearing a full-sleeved, decorated chiton, a himation and a wreath. Her long hair flows down her back; she holds in her left hand a large thyrsus.

A tantalizing fragment of a calyx-krater (Pl. 67, 4), assigned by Beazley to the manner of Polygnotus,¹¹⁰ shows a male figure right, wearing a himation and holding a lyre; in front of him are the hand and arm of one holding a sword. Below the sword is the corner of a chiton, the inner edge of its broad lower hem being marked by two parallel relief lines.¹¹¹ The scene is hard to interpret. The death of Orpheus seems impossible, since the armed figure is turned away from the lyre-player. In view of the stress laid by the tragedians on the fact that Orestes slew Klytemnaistra on Apollo's direct injunction, and in default of other interpretations, one may hazard a tentative suggestion that our piece is from a representation of the murder in which Apollo's share in the responsibility is indicated by his presence as an onlooker.

Plate 68 illustrates six fragments, all but one (no. 3) from the 1947 season. The first (Pl. 68, 1) is a fragment of a kylix¹¹² in the ripe archaic style. From the interior medallion there survives part of the head of a satyr, looking right. His forehead is wrinkled and hide-bound; above his long, sensitive horse's ear a magnificent wreath sits rakishly; in the field above is a kappa, as if for the first letter of *καλός*. Behind him can be seen part of the reserved line which enclosed the scene.

¹⁰⁶ For the difference in shape between these and stone weights, see Caskey and Beazley, *Attic Vase-Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, text to pl. VII.

¹⁰⁷ On the position, see the note on an amphora in the Gallatin collection, *C.V.A.*, pl. 54, no. 1a.

¹⁰⁸ *Monumenti Inediti*, IV, pl. 47.

¹⁰⁹ *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 482: "Add as no. 18 bis." Inv. P 17,601. Preserved height, to top of handle, 0.142 m.; diameter, 0.069 m. Mended from several pieces; the mouth, neck and small fragments from the body missing. On the shoulder, a double row of rays. Partial relief contour. White for the wreath, the sprays from the thyrsus and the wine. From a filling over bedrock, in the area west of the Areopagus.

¹¹⁰ *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 682: "No. 6 bis." Inv. P 18,279. Preserved height, 0.079 m.; preserved width, 0.081 m. Mended from three pieces. Relief contour; dilute glaze for the bridge of the lyre. The glaze fired red and grey in places. From the filling behind the east wall of the Great Drain, in the area west of the Areopagus.

¹¹¹ Compare a vase by Polygnotus, *A.R.V.*, p. 677, no. 1; and one by the Niobid painter, *A.R.V.*, p. 419, no. 15, the left-hand hoplite on B.

¹¹² Inv. P 18,346. Max. dim., 0.044 m. Relief contour. Dilute glaze for the wrinkles on the forehead. Purple for the wreath and for the kappa in the field above. From the area west of the Areopagus; mixed context, fifth to third centuries B.C.

The second piece (Pl. 68, 2) is also from a kylix; ¹¹³ here we have part of the external decoration. The fragment, assigned by Beazley to the Colmar painter, ¹¹⁴ bears the head and shoulders of a youth, muffled in his himation, facing left. Before him hangs a round, three-footed bird cage, of which we have only the lower right corner, with the lower part of the bird.

The next fragment (Pl. 68, 4) is from a deep, plain-rimmed cup, possibly a kantharos. ¹¹⁵ A nude girl stands facing, her head turned to the left, a fillet round her hair. Her right forearm is raised parallel to the ground: she may have been a bather with an alabastron in one hand and a garment, or her boots, in the other. ¹¹⁶ A connection with the late followers of Douris, such as the Euaion painter, has been suggested by Beazley; ¹¹⁷ and for the pose of our figure we may compare a draped woman on a cup in the Cabinet des Médailles ¹¹⁸ by the Euaion painter himself.

The laureate head of Apollo, facing right, shown in Pl. 68, 3, comes from the hand of the Niobid painter in his early period. ¹¹⁹ It is of much the same date as his hydria in Leningrad. ¹²⁰

Possibly by the same hand is the figure of Odysseus (Pl. 68, 5) represented on a fragment of a closed pot, perhaps a pelike. ¹²¹ An inscription,]~~S~~SEY[, near the top of the fragment, identifies the well-groomed, bearded figure. He bends forward to the left, his right arm extended, his left hand holding both the top of a cross-topped stick and the end of a crooked staff which rests on his shoulder. Remains of two transverse lines at the extreme preserved point of the staff may indicate where a bundle was once attached. ¹²²

¹¹³ Inv. P 17,531. Max. dim., 0.051 m. Broken all around. Relief contour. Dilute glaze for the bird. From a mixed filling on the north slope of the Areopagus.

¹¹⁴ *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 228: "Add as 26 bis."

¹¹⁵ Inv. P 18,604. Preserved height, 0.038 m.; estimated diameter at the rim, 0.110 m. Relief contour. Dilute glaze for the line at the base of the neck, and pubes; white for the fillet. From a fifth-century level in the area west of the Areopagus. For the shape compare the kantharos *C.V.A.* Brussels, III Ic, pls. 5, 6.

¹¹⁶ Cf. (a later vase) the central figure on the stamnos in Munich, Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 564; also the girl on a cup in Oxford, *C.V.A.*, pl. 51, 8.

¹¹⁷ *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 536: "Undetermined followers of Douris: add, as no. 28 bis. . . . Recalls the Painter of Louvre CA 1694 and the earlier work of the Euaion Painter."

¹¹⁸ *A.R.V.*, p. 530, no. 75.

¹¹⁹ *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, p. 420: "Add as no. 24 bis: early." Inv. P 16,616. Max. dim., 0.047 m. Fragment from a bell-krater. Partial relief contour. From a filling dug in 1940 on the lowest slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs; context as late as the mid fifth century.

¹²⁰ *A.R.V.*, p. 423, no. 53.

¹²¹ *Paralipomena* to *A.R.V.*, pp. 418 ff.: "It might be a very early work by the Niobid painter." Inv. P 18,538. Preserved height, 0.068 m. A single fragment, broken all around; the fabric rather too thick for an oinochoe. Partial relief contour. Dilute glaze for the hair, beard and eyelashes and for the markings on the left upper arm. The lettering in white, now faded.

¹²² The drapery is puzzling, as are the markings on the left upper arm. The horizontal line above the left elbow suggests the end of a short, close-fitting sleeve. The rest of the body appears

The hair is too tidy to fit any obvious occasion when we might expect to find Odysseus depicted as a wanderer, with his bundle on his back. On his home-coming he was transformed into an aged beggar (*Odyssey*, XIII, 430-435); for his secret entry into Troy he disfigured himself (*Odyssey*, IV, 244-245). Another possibility which has been suggested is his mission to Skyros. This interpretation is particularly tempting since we know that Achilles on Skyros formed the subject of a painting by Polygnotus (Pausanias, I, xxii, 6). Later versions of the episode show the moment of Achilles' self-betrayal, either in reaction to a sudden trumpet-call¹²³ or simply from the natural attraction of weapons for his heroic spirit.¹²⁴ In the Pompeian pictures Odysseus is shown seizing the detected youth or raising his right hand in triumphant recognition. The lack of tension in the pose of our figure and in the extended right arm would scarcely accord with either of these actions. However, on the Chertomlyk bow-case Odysseus leans on his stick, with his right arm raised in a gesture of display. It may be that our vase portrayed an earlier moment in the story, the laying of the trap. Odysseus, disguised as a pedlar, with his bundle still over his shoulder, is attracting the hero's attention with some trinket proffered in his extended right hand, but the women's clothes and ornaments and the guilefully added weapons are not yet laid out.

The last of these fragments (Pl. 68, 6) is from an oinochoe.¹²⁵ On it we see the head of a youth, facing left. Slight traces of drapery over his right shoulder suggest that he had a himation. Behind him hangs a bag, before him a writing tablet with a round-headed stylus stuck through the strings.¹²⁶ The style of the piece places it around the time of the Calliope and Washing-painters, thus about the end of the third quarter of the fifth century.

however to be nude, with such details as the collar-bones visible, and moreover the lines which survive below the hem of the sleeve appear to indicate drapery falling in vertical folds on either side of the arm. It is hard to see how any garment worn beneath the sleeve could give this effect, yet the absence of bunched-up drapery at the elbow, and of any continuation of the folds above the hem seems to exclude the possibility of a chlamys or himation worn as an over-garment.

¹²³ As on the Pompeian wall-paintings: Hermann-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums*, plates 5; 137; p. 189, fig. 55; and the sarcophagus reliefs: Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs*, Bd. II, plates VI to XX.

¹²⁴ As on the Chertomlyk bow-case: Minns, *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 285, fig. 206.

¹²⁵ Inv. P 18,286. Max. dim., 0.062 m. No relief contour. From the filling behind the east wall of the Great Drain, in the area west of the Areopagus.

¹²⁶ Bone and metal styli which have survived are either plain tapering shafts, or square-ended; see Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 335, the examples figured there, and the references cited. Representations in vase-painting do however include the round-headed version: compare Orvieto, *C. V. A.*, Musei Comunali Umbri, III I d, pl. 15, no. 5; Brussels, *C. V. A.*, III I d, pl. 6, no. 1 d; Fogg Museum, *C. V. A.*, III I, pl. 15, no. 1 d; Oxford, *C. V. A.*, pl. 7, no. 2. The care with which the round head is drawn on our vase militates against the view that it is merely a simplification, to save the trouble needed for the drawing of a small rectangle. One might suggest that it is a representation of a type of which no examples have survived, and since the form is better suited to metal than to bone, we may perhaps think of this as a bronze stylus.

Arretine ware, indeed western sigillata of any sort, is rare in Athens by comparison with a western site or with the Roman colony of Corinth. Yet occasional pieces occur in contexts of the Augustan period, and among the examples found in 1947 are fragments of a krater of Dragendorff's Form 11 and of first-rate quality.¹²⁷ The decoration on the wall of the vase was Dionysiac; the bearded Dionysos himself appears with thyrsus in hand while a leafy thyrsus stands in the field (Pl. 69, 1).

The pottery of the later Roman period may be represented by two pieces found at a level of the third century A.D. in a well at the north foot of the Areopagus. One of the pieces is a small globular pitcher, coated in its upper part only with thin brown glaze, a type of vase exceedingly common in the period (Pl. 69, 2).¹²⁸ The particular interest of the present example is the inscription incised on its shoulder: *ξέστης δίκαιος*, i. e., "fair measure." The vessel, filled to the brim, holds *ca.* 890 cubic centimetres, i. e., just short of one quart, U. S. liquid measure. One would gladly take the measure, or the tavern keeper, at his word; if, however, this boast be taken at its face value, we must be sceptical of another measure of approximately the same period which proclaims itself *οινηρὸς* (sc. *ξέστης*) *δίκαιος*, but which holds only 820 cc.¹²⁹

The second piece, from the same well and context as the jug, is a small incense burner (Pl. 69, 3).¹³⁰ When the vessel was heated in mending it gave off the fragrance of incense.

Finally, mention may be made here of three small containers, not of pottery but of lead, found at the west foot of the Areopagus, in a Hellenistic context in the filling of the Great Drain (Pl. 69, 4).¹³¹ About the size of a thimble, they were cast in two-piece moulds. Two of them bear inscriptions cast in relief, one *Ἀρτεμιδώρου λύκιον*, the other *Κλεάν(θου?) λκκιον* (*sic*). On the reverse of the first is a tripod, of the second a palm branch, both emblems of victory. *Lykion* was one of the common drugs of antiquity, a decoction with purgative qualities made from the root of a buckthorn native to Lycia and Cappadocia. The name in the genitive might be taken most naturally as that of the manufacturing druggist; in similar instances, however, it was sometimes that of the prescribing physician, and occasionally such little drug containers bear the official stamp of the state, no doubt as a precaution against the adulteration of drugs that is referred to by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.*, xxvi, 59-61).¹³²

¹²⁷ P 18,243. Diameter of rim, *ca.* 0.19 m.

¹²⁸ P 17,499. Height, 0.145 m.

¹²⁹ P 928. A jug of much the same scheme but more elongated. A third jug of the same type but still more slender (P 10,556) has incised on its neck ΔΙΚΕΟ[.

¹³⁰ P 17,529. Height, 0.09 m. Brownish clay covered with white engobe. Traces of burning in its bottom.

¹³¹ IL 853, 854, 904. Height, 0.026, 0.023, 0.024 m.

¹³² On the drug trade in antiquity see Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, I, p. 241; Wiegand-Schrader, *Priene*, p. 429. For the references I am indebted to Miss Virginia Grace who will deal with the subject in greater detail elsewhere.

COINS

The number of coins found during the season was 3,460, bringing the total for the first twelve seasons to about 94,000. Of the season's finds about one-third came from the gravelly filling of the Great Drain to the west of the Areopagus, a Hellenistic context, about one-third from late Roman levels in the same general area, the rest from various places and contexts. With the exception of an Athenian tetradrachm of the fourth century and eight tetrobols of Histiaea in northern Euboea all this season's coins were of bronze.

Two groups deserve special mention. The eight silver pieces of Histiaea were found together in the cistern on the north slope of the Areopagus mentioned above (p. 161). They had obviously been held at one time in a purse, but how they reached the cistern is not clear, whether they were secreted there deliberately or were thrown in by error along with some of the rubbish. All eight are tetrobols, bearing on the obverse a female head of maenad or nymph, on the reverse the nymph Histiaea seated on the stern of a vessel with a stylis or ship's ornament in her left hand, a type that is assigned to the period *ca.* 197-146 B.C.¹³³ Our coins show the great irregularity in weight, the careless workmanship, and the variety in detail common to this numerous series.¹³⁴ The marked difference in condition suggests a considerable range in date within the general period.

Interesting also as a group are the coins found on the floor of a room in one of the large houses on the lower slopes of the Hill of the Nymphs, the same room in which lay the marble bust noted above (p. 178). Since the coins lay within a small area directly on the floor it may be assumed that they fell from a purse or a money box dropped in the confusion that must have attended the burning of the house. The 55 identifiable pieces have been assigned as follows: Athens, New Style, 1; Athens Imperial, 12; Chios, Imperial, 1; Trajan ? (A.D. 98-117), 1; Hadrian (A.D. 117-138), 2; Sabina, 1; Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138-161), 1; Marcus Aurelius (A.D. 161-180), 1; Faustina the Elder, 3; Faustina the Younger, 1; Lucilla, 1; Commodus (A.D. 177-192), 3; Julia Domna, 1; Julia Maesa, 1; Severus Alexander (A.D. 222-235), 4; Maximinus I (A.D. 235-238), 7; Gordian III (A.D. 238-244), 4; Philip I (A.D. 243-249), 5; Otacila, 2; Trajan Decius (A.D. 249-251), 2; Gallienus (A.D. 253-268), 1.¹³⁵ This sequence, taken in combination with similar series of coins found in other burned buildings of the Agora, notably the Odeion, indicates clearly that the destruction was caused by the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.

¹³³ Head, *Historia Numorum*, ed. 2, p. 364; *B.M.C., Central Greece*, p. lxvi; Grose, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Bequest*, II, p. 342.

¹³⁴ The weights are gr. 1.77, 2.05, 1.60, 1.49, 1.47, 2.05, 1.82, 1.72.

¹³⁵ For the identification we are indebted to Verna Broneer.

OSTRAKA ¹³⁶

A great many ostraka were discovered in 1947, five hundred and twenty-four in all, nearly as many as in all the previous campaigns put together. All were found in the same general area, the deep valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. It will be seen from the table below that most of the new pieces come from a single large group consisting of 491 ostraka, the largest ever discovered, and that the relatively few remaining pieces come from various other scattered deposits. The large group is unfortunately, however, not from a closed contemporary deposit. The ostraka were found in an area about six to eight metres across in either direction. The deposit from which they came was a metre to a metre and a half deep. It divided into three layers, but all three are apparently contemporary, for ostraka with the same name appear in all of them and there are several instances where fragments of the same ostrakon were found in different layers. Moreover, the pottery found with the ostraka in each of the layers contains some pieces, including fragments of red-figure, which must be dated in the second quarter of the fifth century B.C. whereas the known names on the ostraka are all of persons active in the early part of the century. It is apparent, therefore, that the ostraka were not dumped here immediately after the ostrakophoria in which they were cast but were originally dumped elsewhere and only reached the place where we found them a generation or two later. The very fragmentary condition of many of them suggests the same thing. Therefore, while it is probable that all, or at least most of the pieces derive from a single ostrakophoria, the point cannot be pressed, for there was ample time for both earlier and later pieces to have intruded. Attention may be called to the rather striking fact that in this group the ostraka of Kallixenos are almost equal in number to those of Themistokles, whereas the latter usually has a large majority. The almost complete lack of Aristeides ostraka, which usually appear in considerable numbers in ostrakon dumps of this period, is also noteworthy.

Among the new ostraka are three unique and tantalizing pieces that bear names apparently connected with the great Alkmeonid family. On one of them we read *Καλίσιενος Κλεστένος*, i. e., Kallixenos (?), son of Kleisthenes, probably an otherwise unknown son of Kleisthenes the legislator. Another reads *Ἀριστονύμο Καλλισθένης*, probably a brother of Kallixenos, son of Aristonymos whose name appears frequently on ostraka of the late eighties of the fifth century B.C. A third reads *Κλισένης Ἀρισνύ[μο]* and may be interpreted either as Kleisthenes or Kallisthenes, son of Aristonymos.

¹³⁶ An ostrakon of Hyperbolos and one of Kallixenos, interesting chiefly for the red-figured sherds on which they are written, are published above in the section on pottery. The section on ostraka has been written by Eugene Vanderpool who is engaged on the definitive study of this material in collaboration with Mr. A. Raubitschek and Mr. Rodney Young.

Three ostraka of Kimon, son of Miltiades, the first to be found at the Agora, are a welcome addition to the collection. One of them is an especially good specimen, completely preserved, with the name incised in bold letters through the black glaze of a piece of tile (Pl. 69, 5). It is interesting to note that the Agora examples have the Ionic lambda (in the two cases where this letter is preserved) like the piece found in 1937 on the North Slope of the Acropolis.¹³⁷ In the large group of Kimon ostraka found at the Kerameikos¹³⁸ only the Attic *lambda* occurs.

TABLE OF OSTRAKA FOUND AT THE AGORA IN 1947

	Large Group	Elsewhere	Total
Acharnion Xypetaion	1	0	1
Alkibiades Kleiniou Skambonides (the elder)	0	1	1
Aristeides Lysimachou Alopekethen	4	0	4
Athlo-- Pono--	1	0	1
Charias Ph--dou (A)	1	0	1
Eret[rieus ?] (B)	1	0	1
Habron Patrokleous Marathonios	2	0	2
Hippokrates Alkmeonidou Alopekethen	36	6	42
Hippokrates (uncertain)	10	1	11
Hyperbolos Antiphanous (Perithoides)	0	1	1
Kallias Didymiou	0	1	1
Kallisthenes Aristonymou	1	0	1
Kallixenos Aristonymou Xypetaion	144	4	148
Kallixenos (?) Kleisthenous	1	0	1
Kimon Miltiadou (Lakiades)	0	3	3
Kleiboulos Nikodemou (C)	2	0	2
Kleisthenes (?) Aristonymou	1	0	1
Kydokles Timokratous Kriothern	6	1	7
Megakles Hippokratous Alopekethen	2	0	2
Onomastos Konthyleus	1	0	1
Phaiax Erasistratou Acharneus	0	1	1
Themistokles Neokleous Phrearrios	145	13	158
Fragments which admit of identification with two or more names	115	0	115
Fragments of unidentified names	17	1	18
Total	491	33	524

- (A) Letter forms and circumstances of finding suggest that this Charias was active in the early fifth century B.C. He is therefore to be distinguished from Charias Paianieus whose name is found on another ostrakon probably to be dated in the second half of the fifth century. See the article on ostraka by Eugene Vanderpool to appear shortly in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII.
- (B) For the name Eretrieus cf. *I.G.*, I², 950, 14 and *B.C.H.*, 31, 1907, p. 348; Sundwall, *Nachträge*, p. 72.
- (C) For an early fifth-century Kleiboulos, possibly the same as ours, cf. *I.G.*, I², 986. Nikodemos might possibly be identical with the archon of 483/2 B.C. (Aristotle, *Ath. Pol.*, 22, 7).

¹³⁷ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 241-2, fig. 71.

¹³⁸ W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, *Inscripten, Ostraka, Fluchtafel*, pp. 51 ff.

INSCRIPTIONS

The season's work yielded some 120 marble inscriptions, which brought the total of the Agora collection to 6079. The majority of the season's finds came from the area at the west end of the Middle Stoa. One stele was found re-used as a threshold in the Civic Offices, having perhaps been damaged in the Roman sack of 86 B.C. Another large fragment of a stele had been used as a cover slab on the drain that ran past the end of the Stoa. Many pieces of an inscribed base were incorporated in a wall of late Roman date. Still others were found lying at random in the deep and much disturbed accumulation in this area. Most of the large inscribed pieces found in the region were prytany decrees, naturally enough in view of the proximity of the Prytanikon, i.e., the area of the Tholos in which these inscriptions were normally erected. Some, however, came from farther afield, among them a small scrap from the stele recording the sale of Alcibiades' chattels, a stone which is known to have stood in the Eleusinion at the extreme southeast corner of the excavated area.

The more important inscriptions of the Greek period are published above by B. D. Meritt (pp. 1 ff.) and W. S. Ferguson (pp. 112 ff.). Particularly interesting among texts of the Imperial period is a large fragment of a stele of which pieces have been found previously in various sections of the Agora and as far afield as the south slope of the Acropolis (I 5984). The new piece comes from an early Byzantine level to the west of the Areopagus. The whole document comprises a series of official letters addressed to the *Gerousia* of Athens by Marcus Aurelius and Commodus regarding various matters such as the cutting of trees and the setting up of imperial portraits. The newly found fragment proves that there was at least one and possibly two more imperial letters before what had been previously conjectured to be the beginning of the text.¹³⁹

It is a far cry from these imperial rescripts to the private and highly personal documents that came from a level of the third century A.D. in a well at the west foot of the Areopagus. Here were found seventeen thin tablets of lead, some flat and some rolled, all of them inscribed on one face with a sharp point. They are defixiones or curse tablets of a type already well represented in the Agora by specimens from a well, likewise of the third century, near the southwest corner of the market square.¹⁴⁰ The messages are addressed to the divinities of the underworld, usually to Typhon, whose curse is invoked against the enemy of the writer. There is a liberal scattering of magical names and jumbled lines.

Two of the defixiones (IL 948 + 949 and 952) refer to a love affair in which several persons are concerned.¹⁴¹ In the first tablet Leosthenes and Pius are cursed

¹³⁹ Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia*, in *Hesperia*, Supplement VI, pp. 108 ff., No. 24.

¹⁴⁰ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, p. 43; VI, 1937, p. 383.

¹⁴¹ The readings are due to Mr. G. A. Stamires who is preparing a study of the defixiones.

and delivered to mighty Typhon, so that they may not be able to visit, write to, or talk to a certain Juliana, daughter of Marcia. The writer appears to have been in love with Juliana and afraid lest Pius or Leosthenes might win her from him. In the second tablet some other victim of Juliana's charms, perhaps Leosthenes or Pius, curses the fair Juliana herself because she does not requite his love, and curses also her lover Polynicus. Polynicus, therefore, may have been the writer of the first tablet.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

CORRIGENDUM

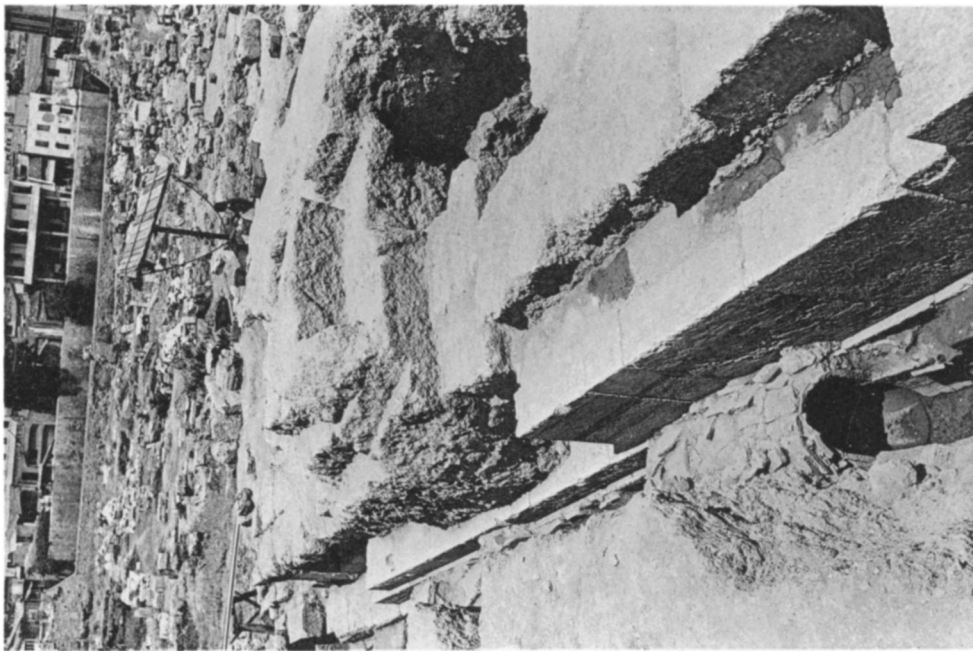
In *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 142, line 1 of no. 3 for ἔθυσαν read ἔθυσεν.



The Agora from the Acropolis, March, 1948.

A = West End of Middle Stoa; B = Mycenaean Cemetery on North Slope of Arcopagus; C = Area West of Arcopagus

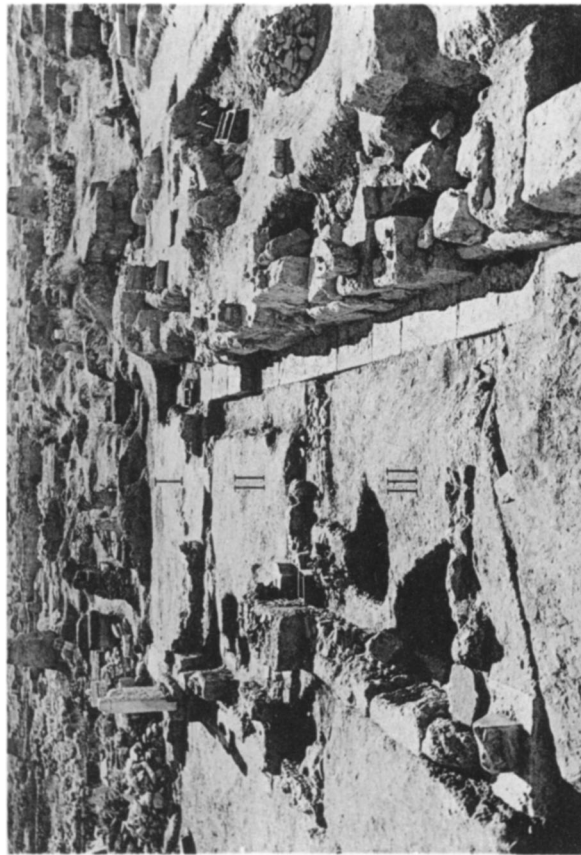
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. West End of Middle Stoa from Southwest



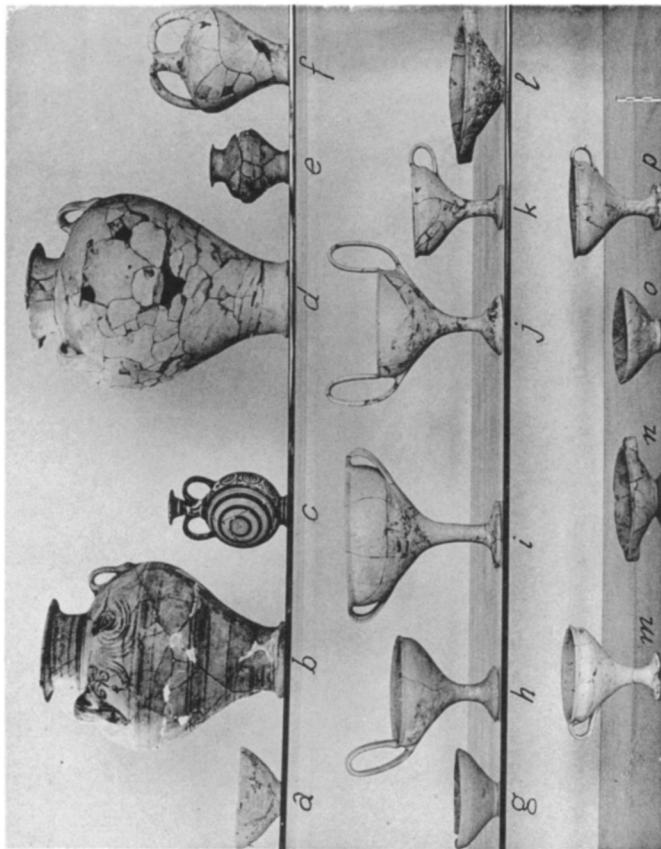
2. Architectural Terracottas from the Middle Stoa
(A 211; A 554; A 825; A 913)



3. Civic Offices at Southwest Corner of
Agora. Terrace of Middle Stoa to Right,
Tile Standard to Left. View from West



1. Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on North Slope of Areopagus.
View from North

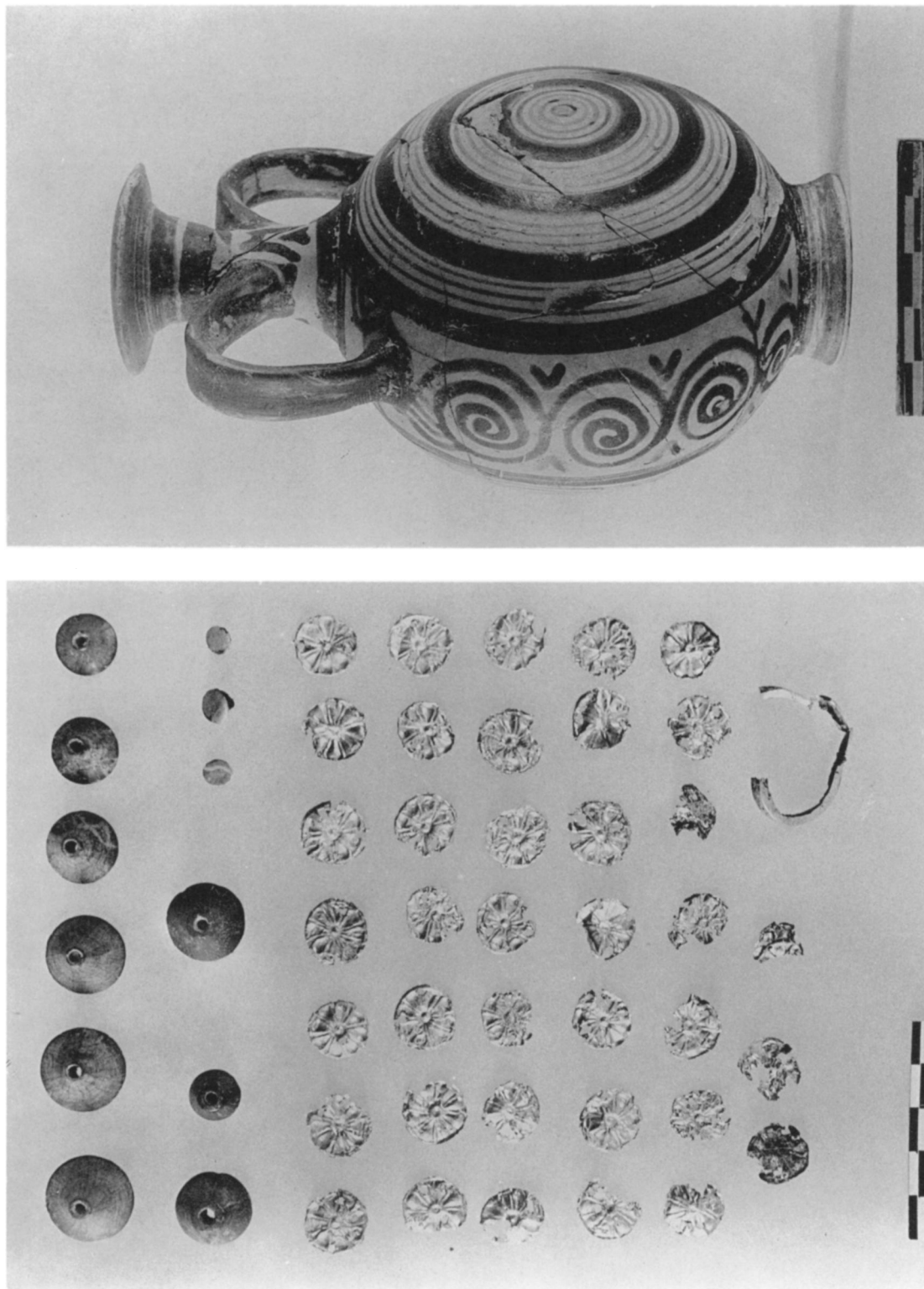


2. Vases from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on Areopagus
(P 17,738; P 17,753-17,767)



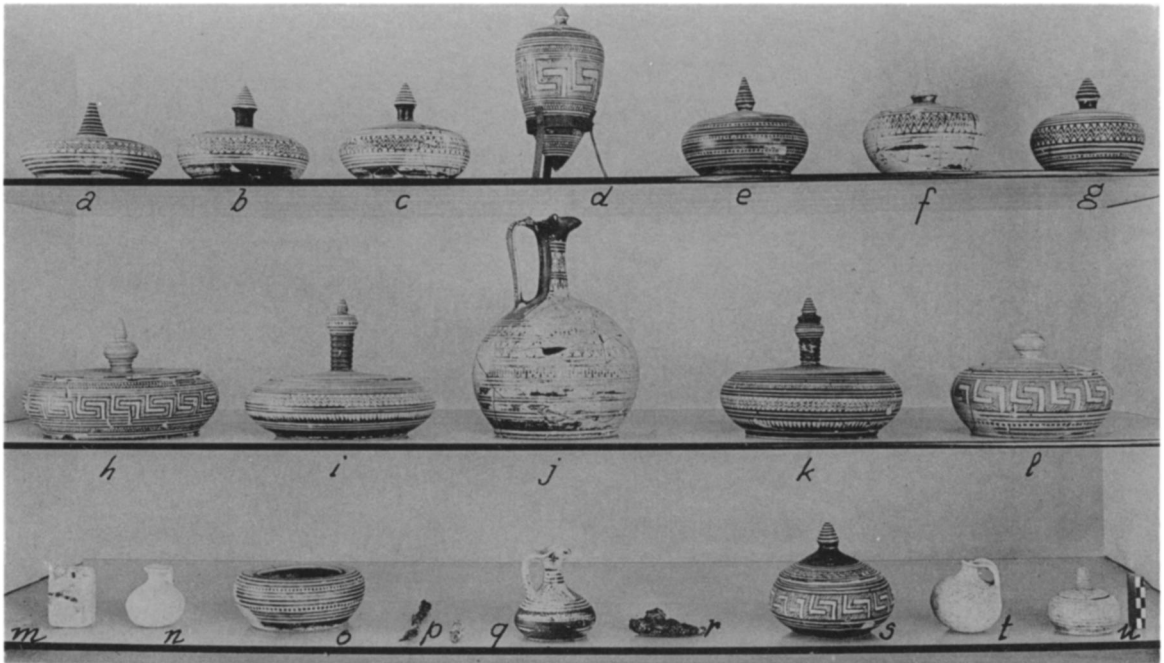
3. Bronze Swords and Cleaver from Chamber Tomb on North Slope of Areopagus
(B 781; B 778; B 780)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947

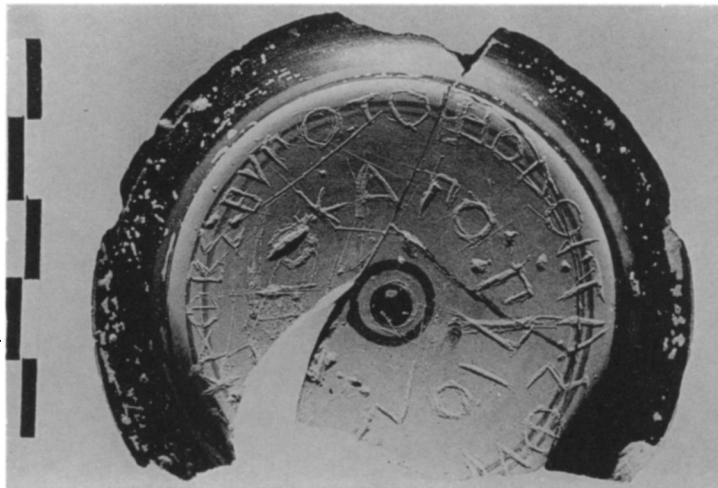


1. Steatite Buttons, Gold Rivet Caps, Rosettes and Hilt Ornament from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on Arcopagus (P 17,753)
2. Pilgrim Flask from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on Arcopagus

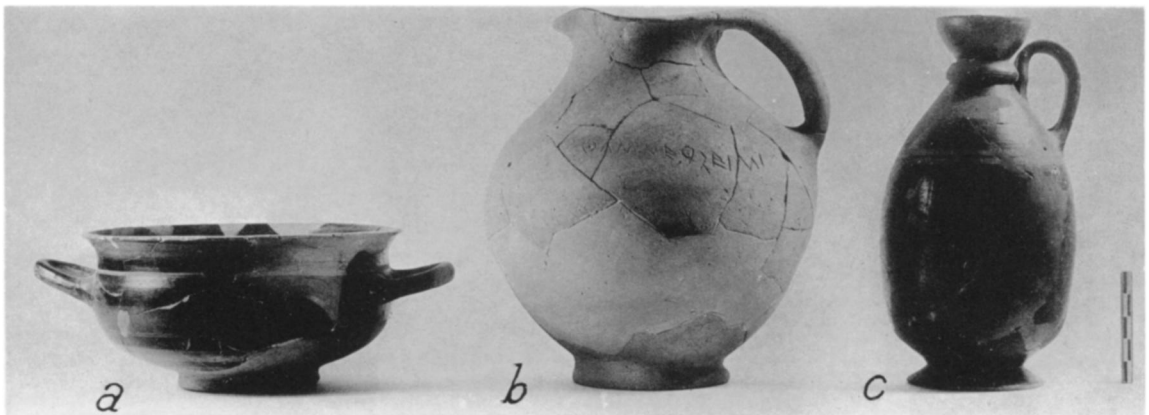
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Geometric Grave Group from North Foot of Areopagus (P 17,468-17,485; IL 849-851; ST 376)



2. Graffito from House of Thamneus (P17,824)



3. Vases from Thamneus' House (P 17,849; P 17,826; P 17,839)

PLATE XLII



1. Megarian Bowl and Mould from Cistern on Areopagus (P 18,683; P 18,688)

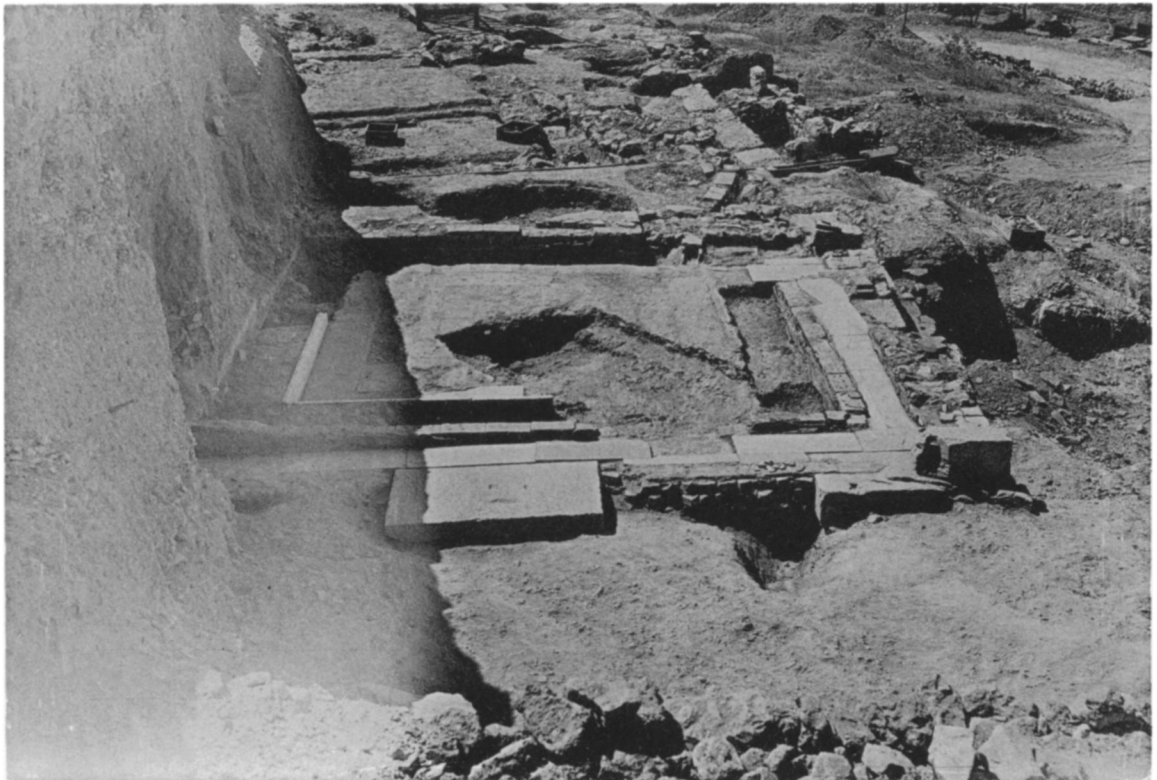


2. Terracottas from Cistern on Areopagus (T 2513; T 2509)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947

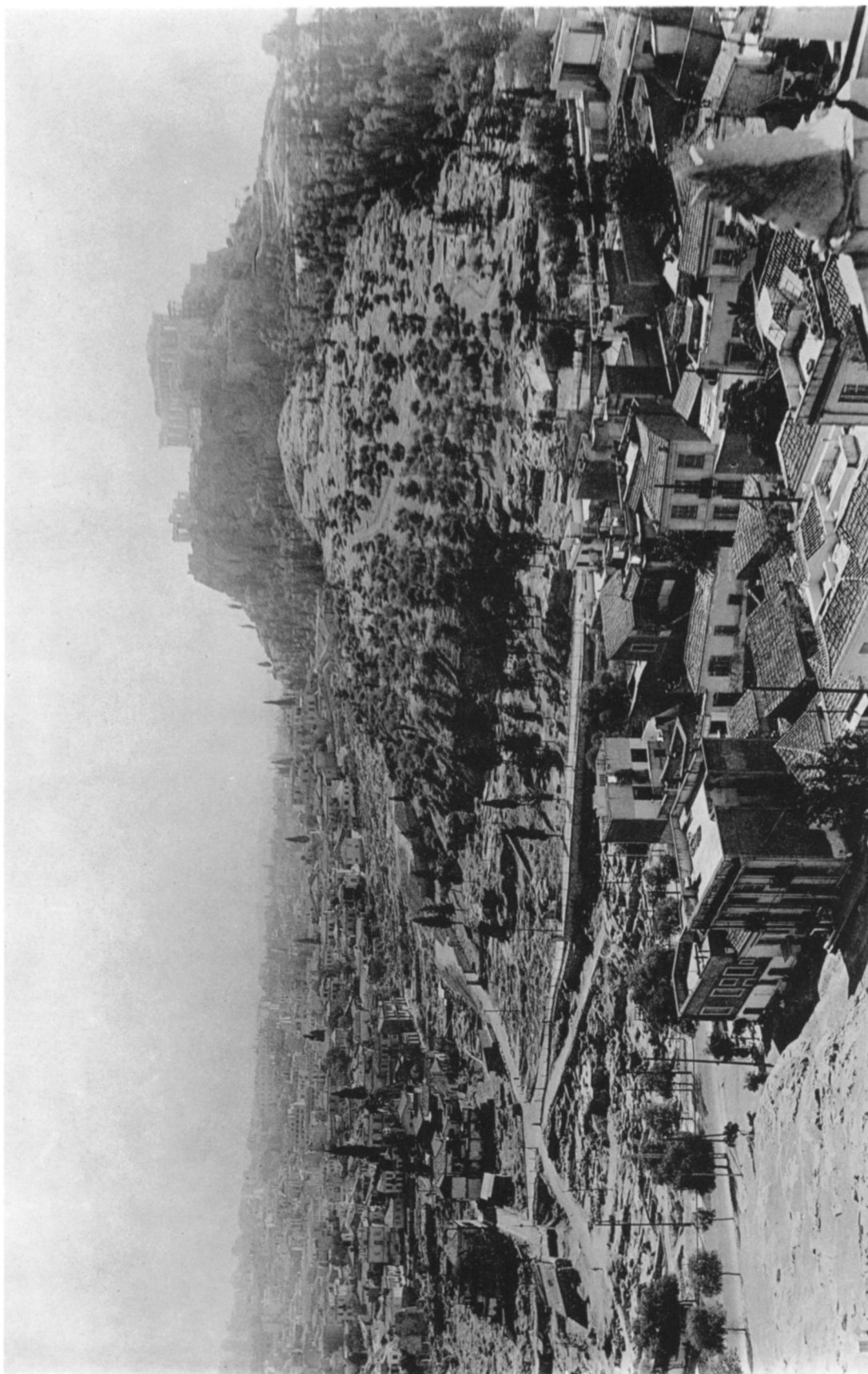


1. Terracotta Lamps from Cistern on Areopagus (L 4370; L 4194; L 4195)



2. Garden Court on North Slope of Areopagus. From East

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947

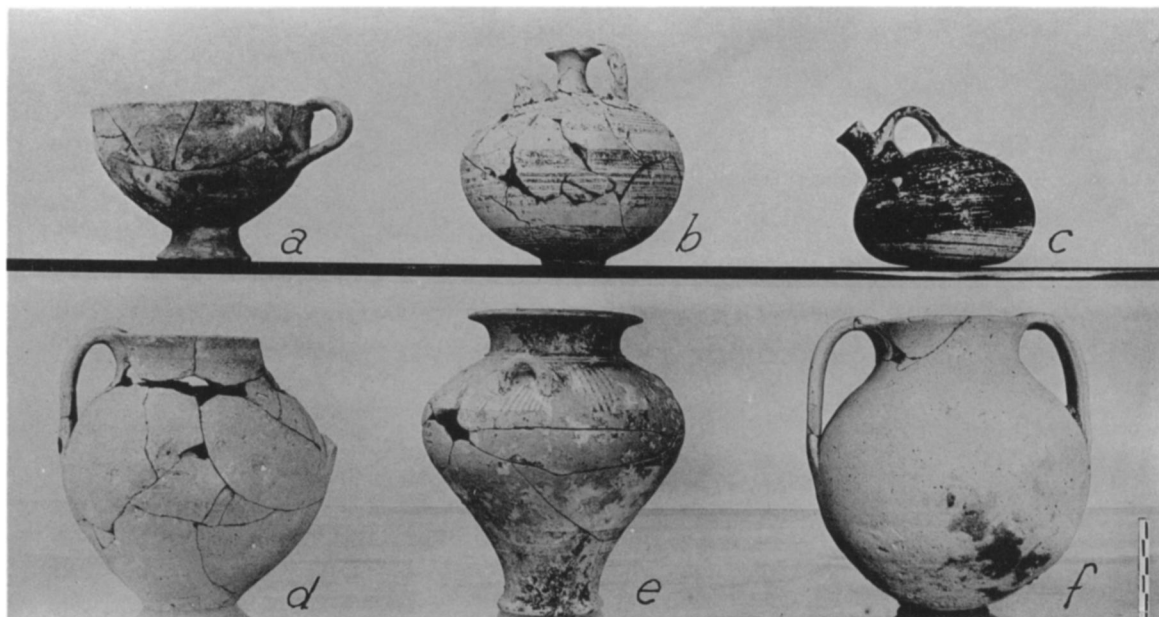


Area to the West of the Areopagus. View from Southwest (The Modern Roads approximately overlie the Ancient)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



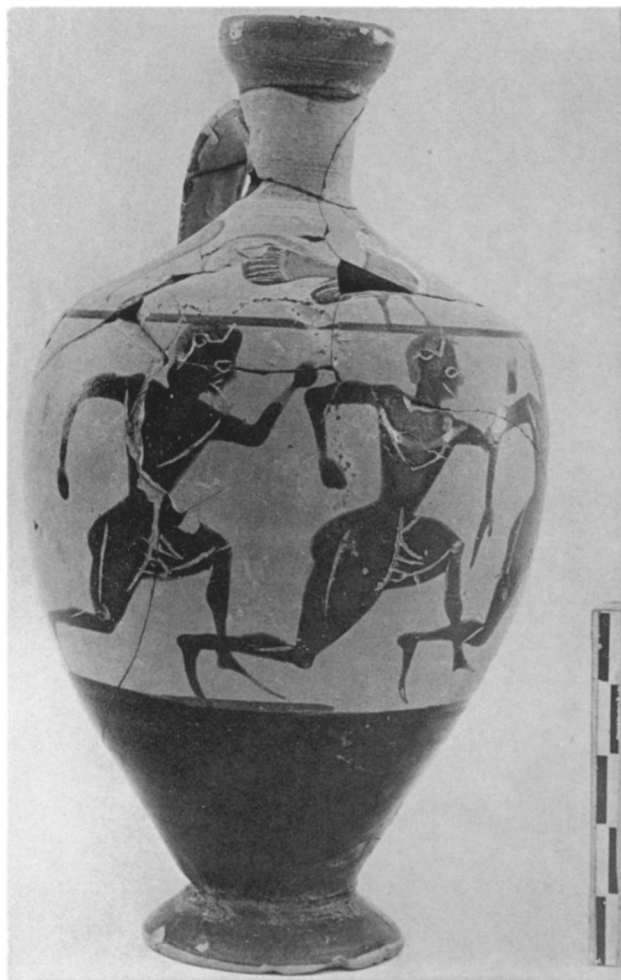
1. Mycenaean Chamber Tomb at East Foot of Hill of Nymphs. View from North



2. Vases from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb at East Foot of Hill of Nymphs (P 17,903-17,908)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947

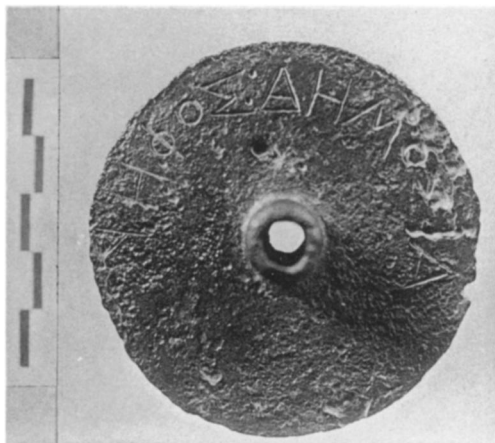
PLATE XLVI



1. Black-Figured Lekythos from Grave on West Slope of Areopagus (P 18,006)



2. Grave Marker of Agonippos (I 6070)



4. Bronze Dikast's Ballot from Area of Poros Peribolos (B 783)



3. Offerings from Cremation Burial to West of Areopagus (P 18,455-18,476; L 4355)

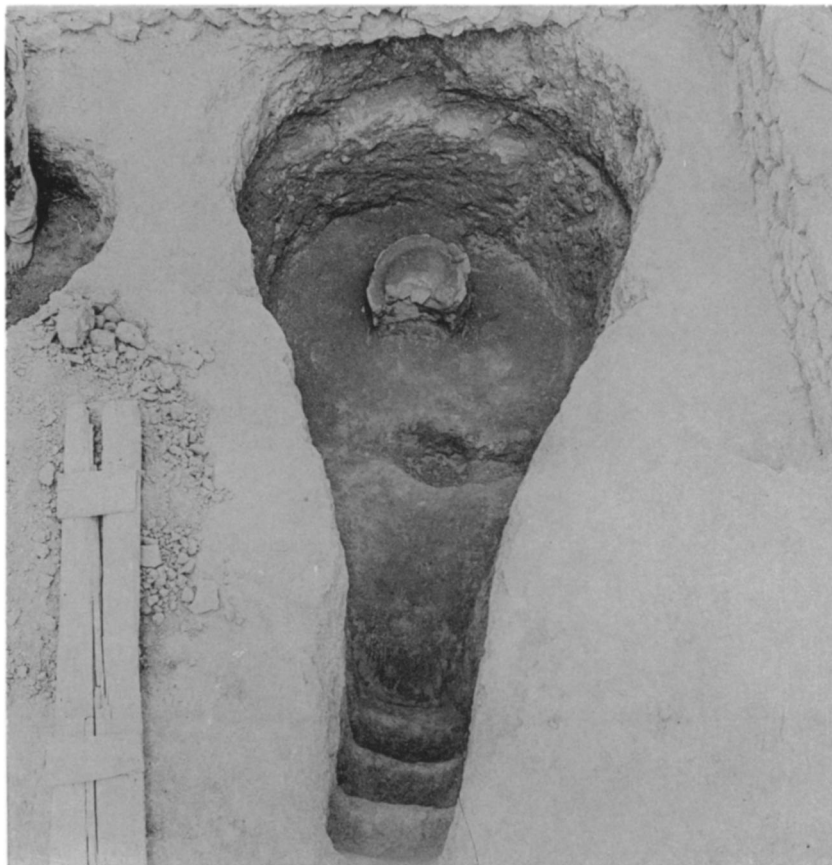
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. House Walls on West Slope of Hill of Nymphs



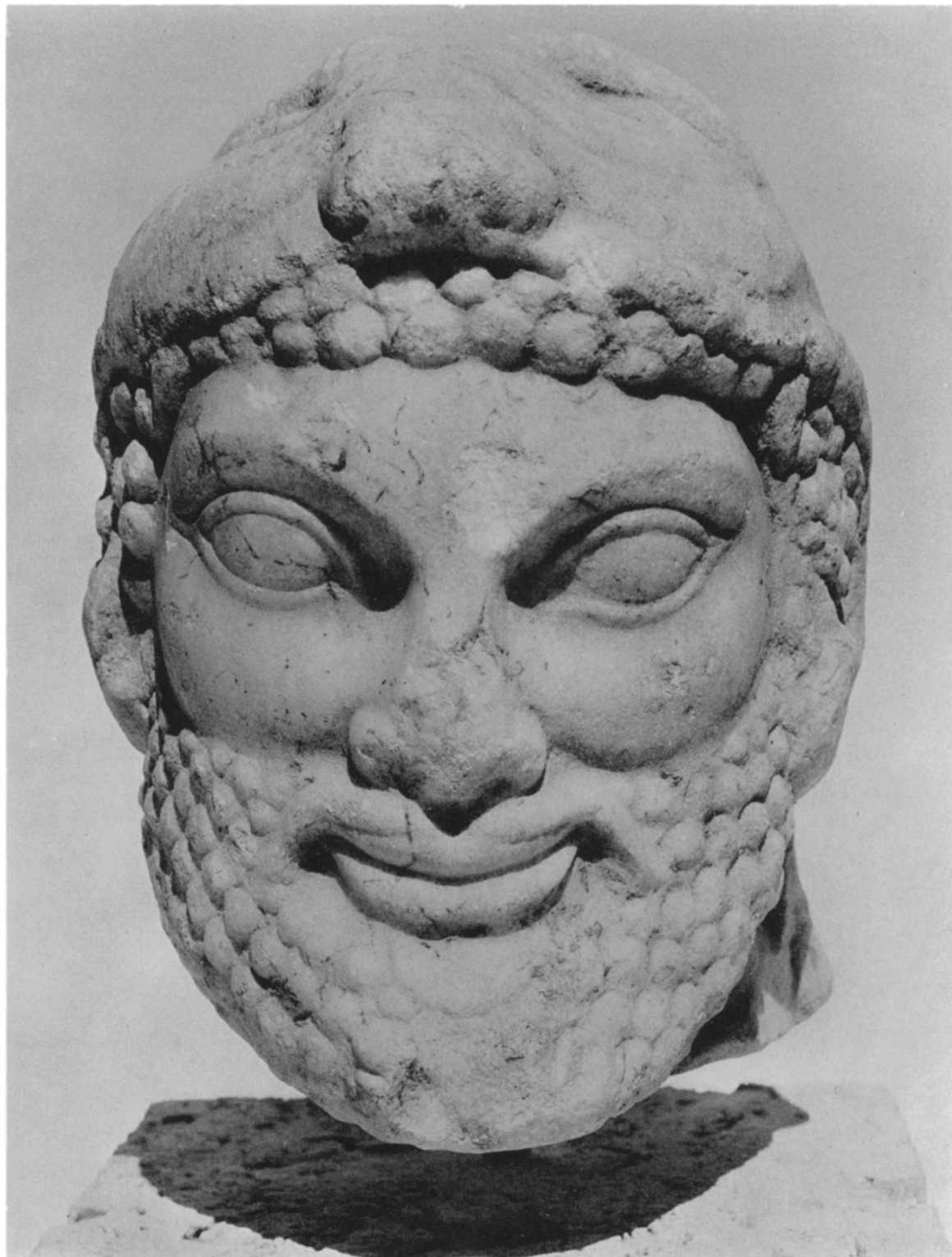
2. Mosaic Floor in House on West Slope of Kolonos



1. Casting Pit on West Slope of Areopagus



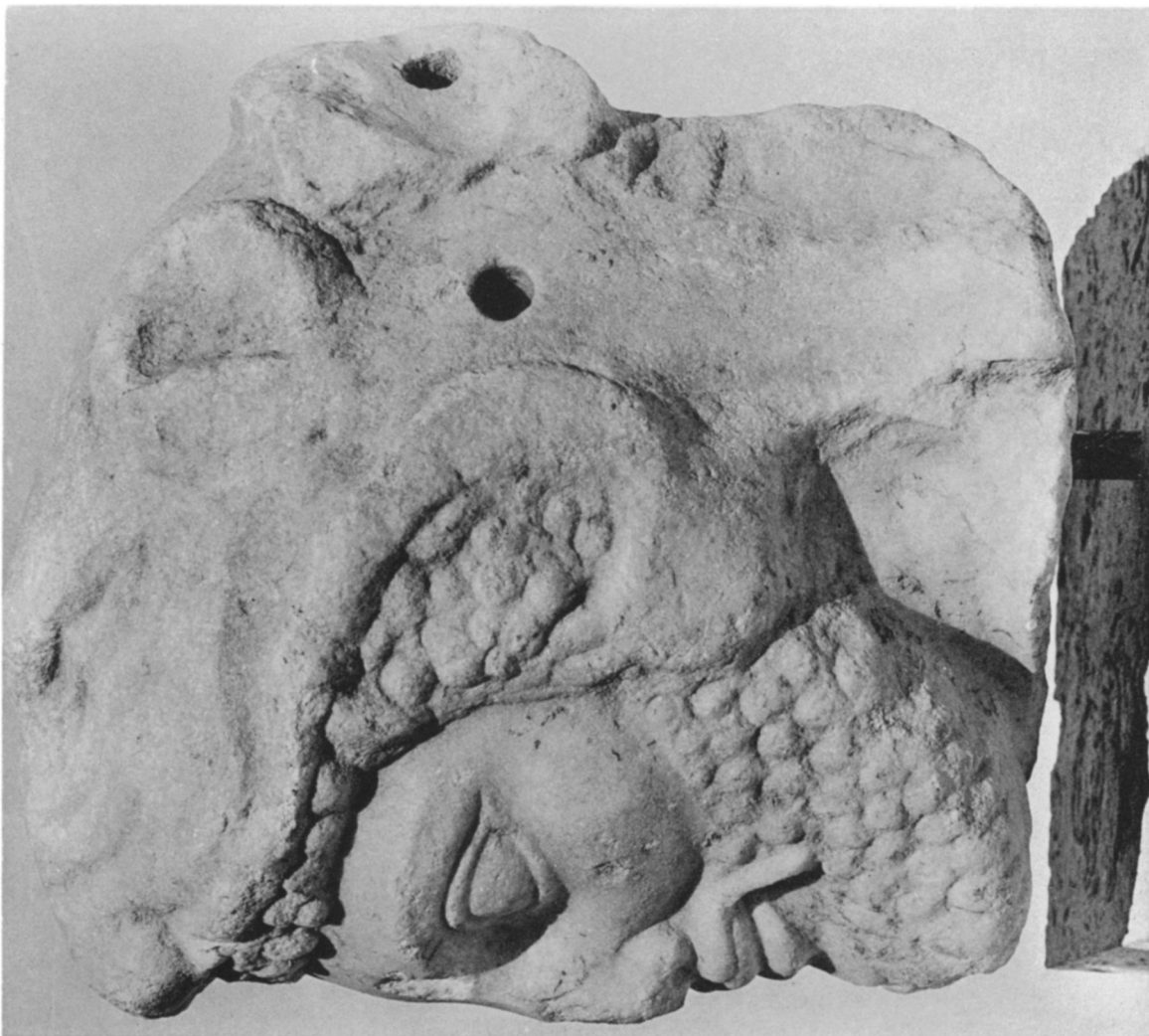
2. Industrial Establishment (?) at West Foot of Areopagus, from the West



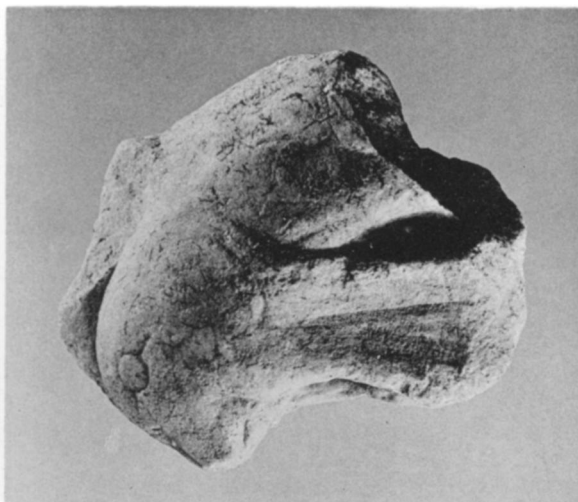
Marble Head of Herakles (S 1295) ($1\frac{1}{6}$ Actual Size)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947

PLATE L

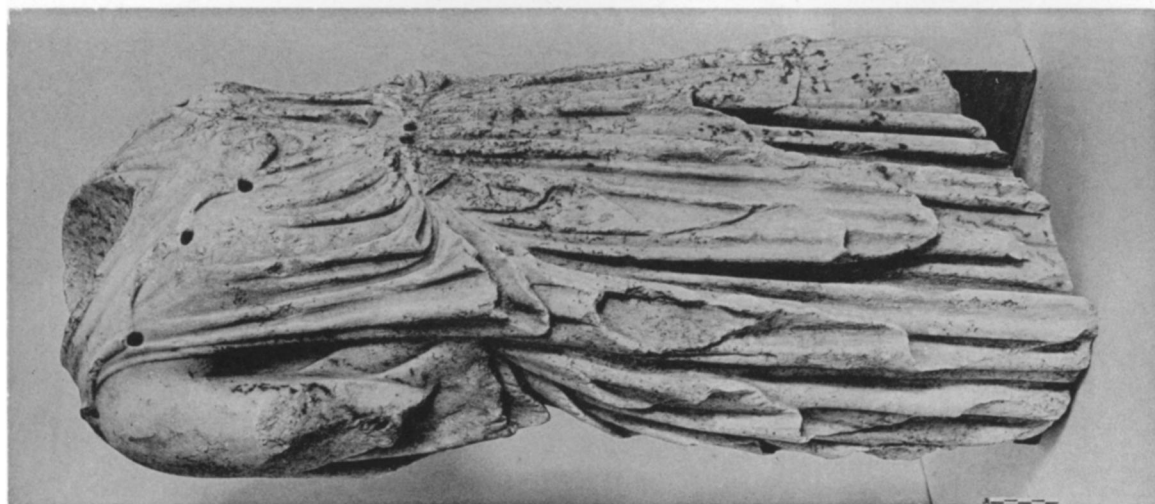
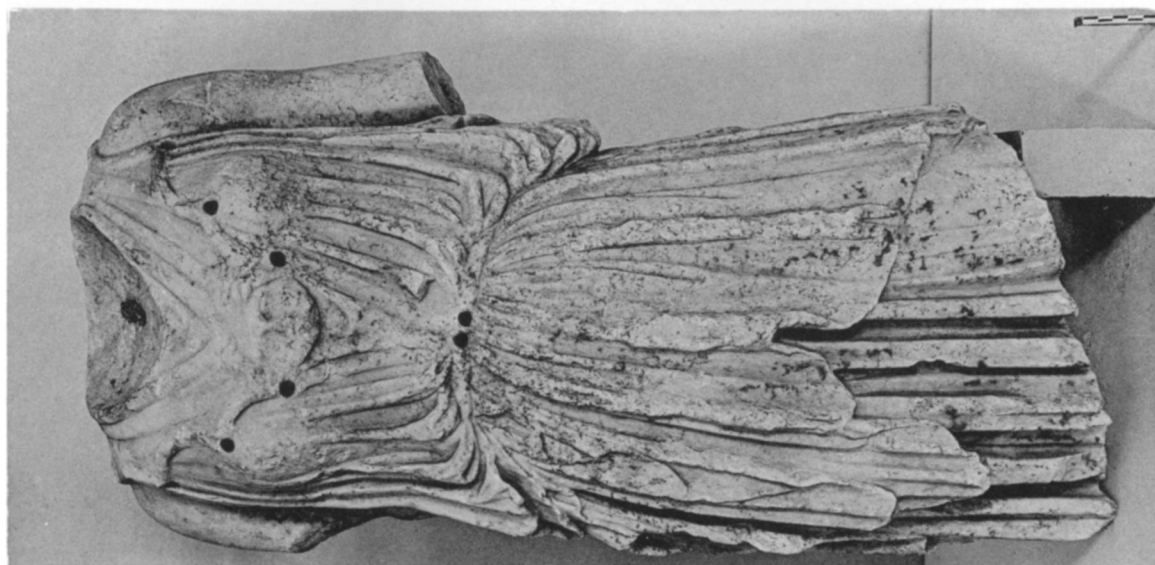
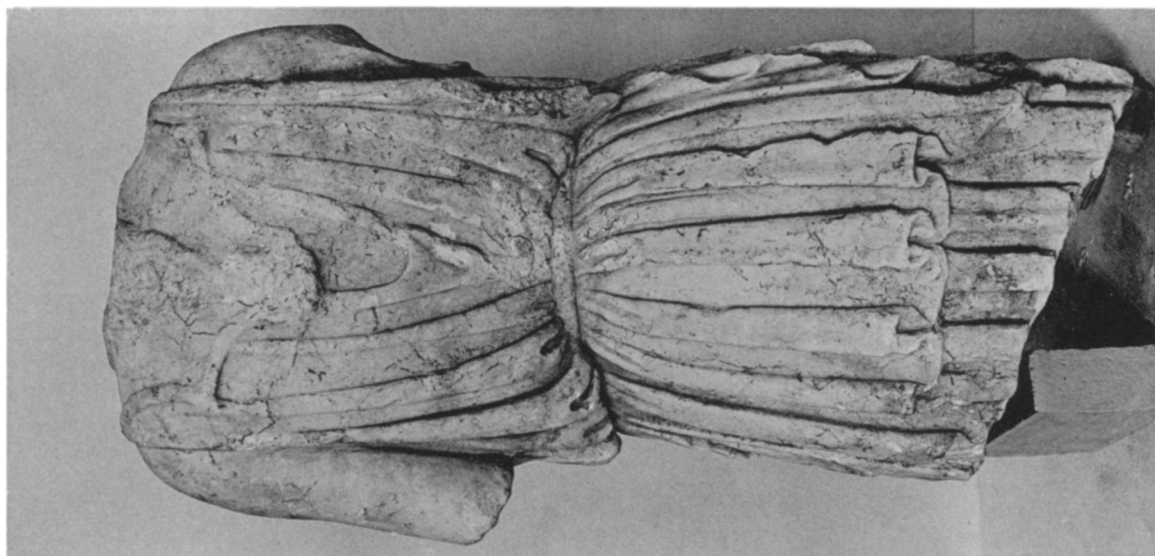


1. Marble Head of Herakles (S 1295) (Actual Size)



2-3. Head of a Symphalian Bird (?) (S 1260)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1-3. Marble Torso of Athena (S 1232)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



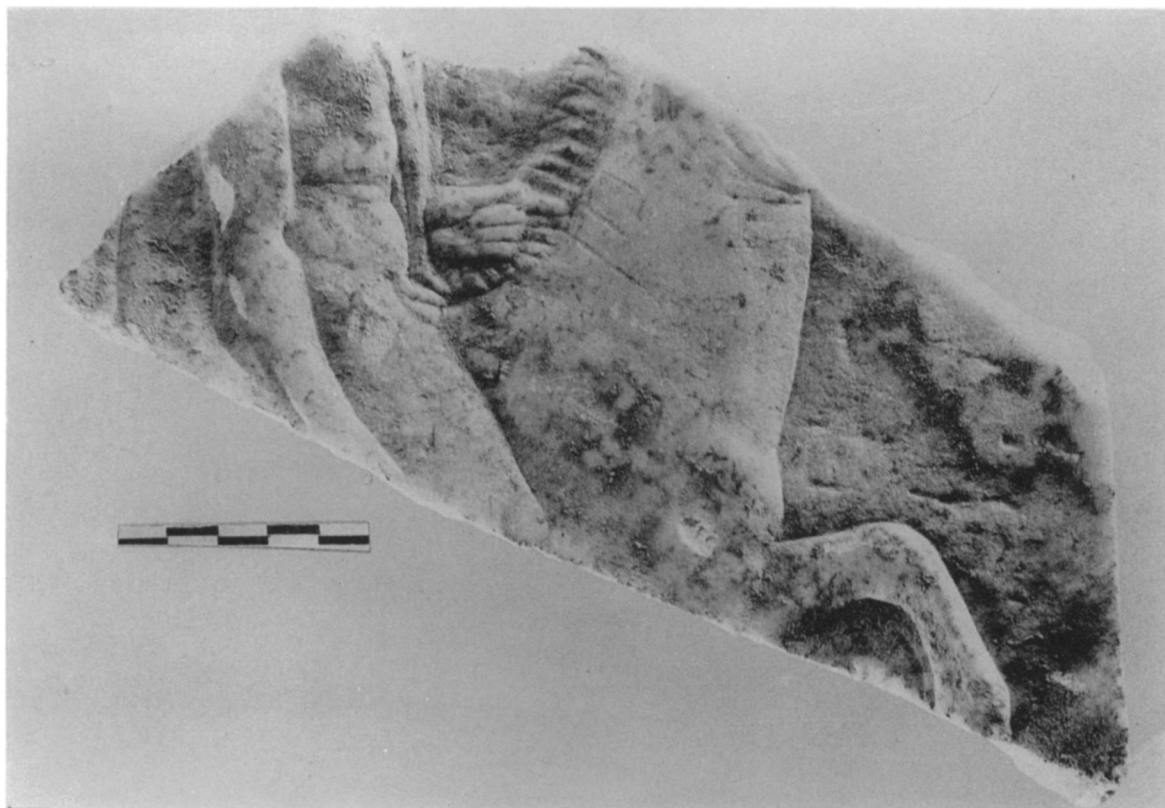
1-2. Marble Head from Nike Temple Parapet (S 1246)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947

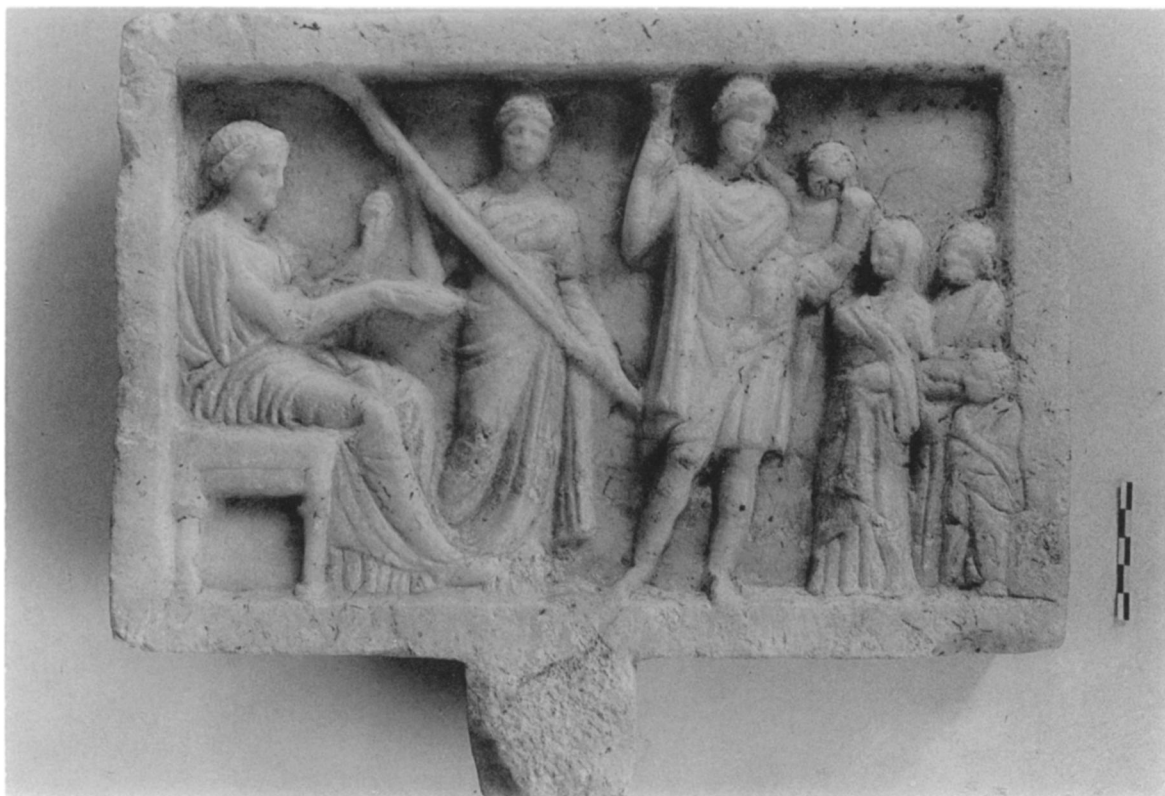


1-2. Gilded Marble Head of a Goddess (S 1242)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Marble Horseman Plaque (S 1289)



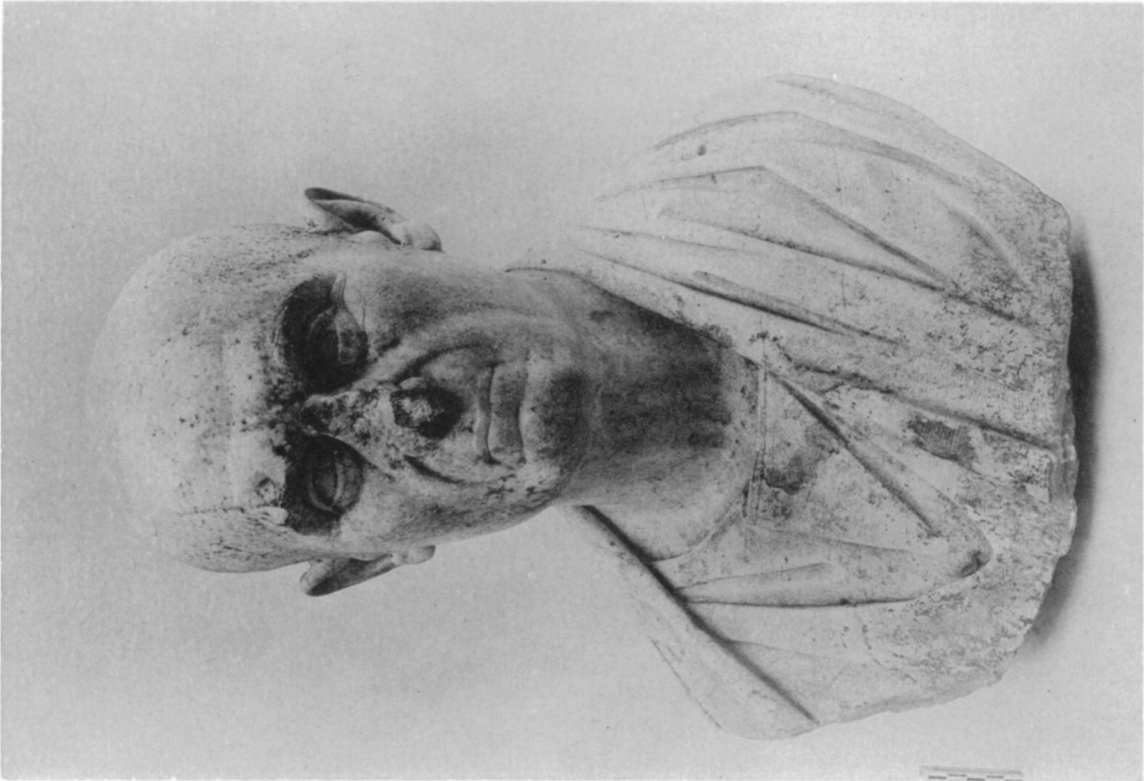
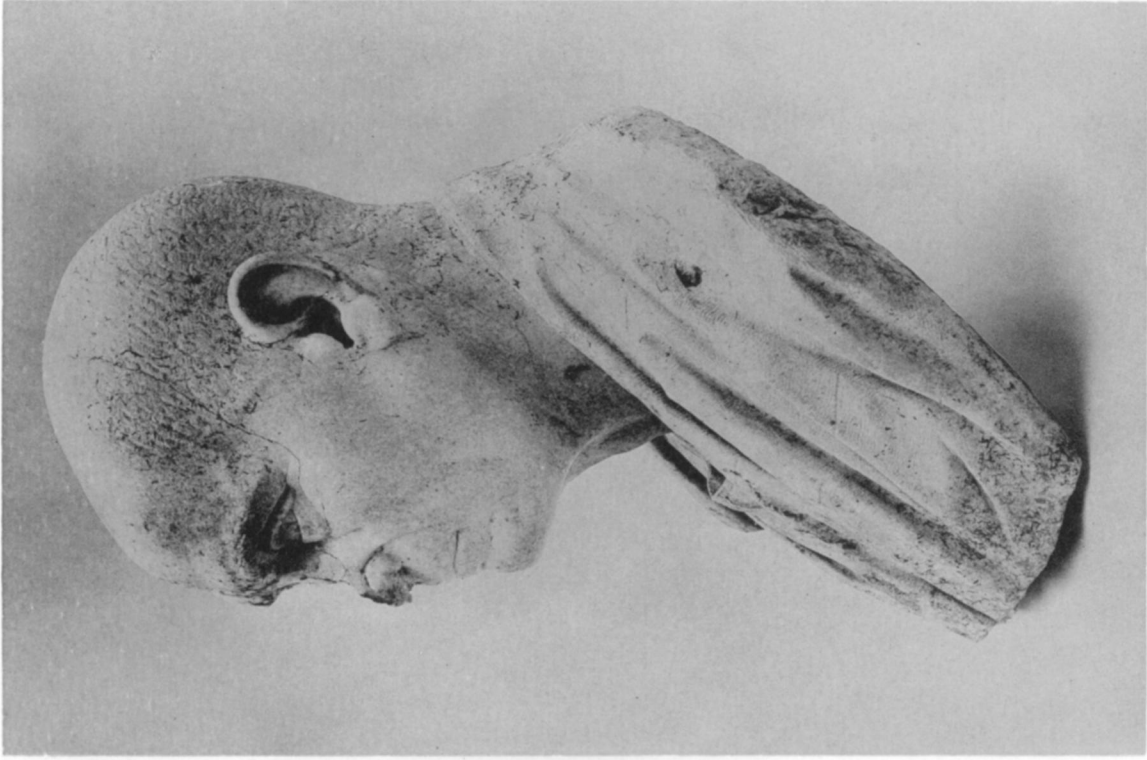
2. Marble Votive Plaque with Eleusinian Theme (S 1251)



1-2. Marble Portrait Head of a Woman (S 1268)

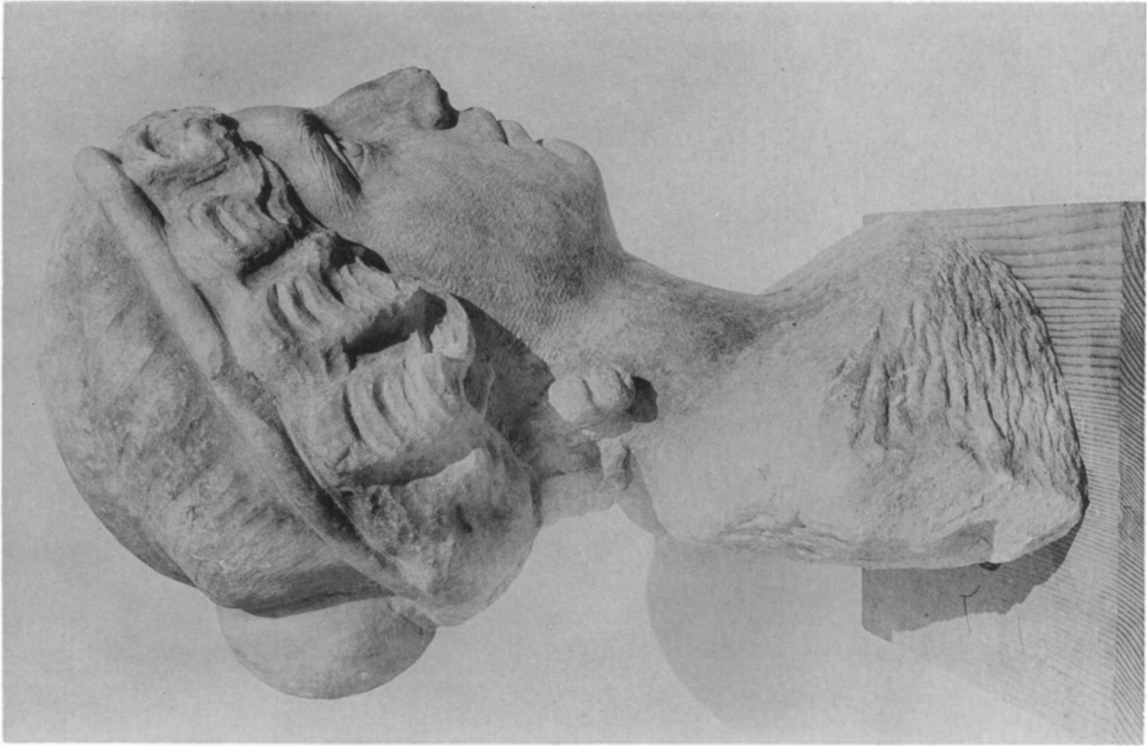
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947

PLATE LVI



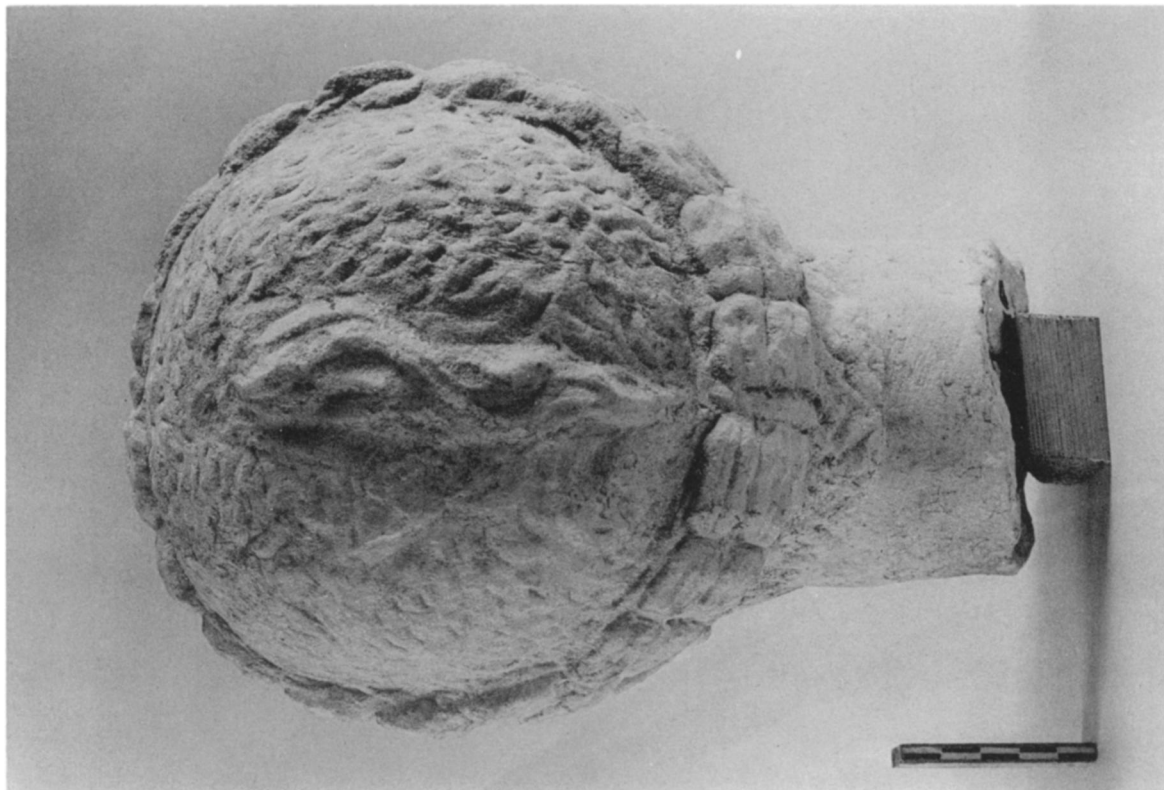
1-2. Marble Portrait Bust of a Man (S 1299)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1-2. Marble Portrait Head of a Woman (unfinished) (S 1237)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1-2. Marble Portrait of a Boy (S 1307)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Marble Head of a Youthful Goddess (S 1244)

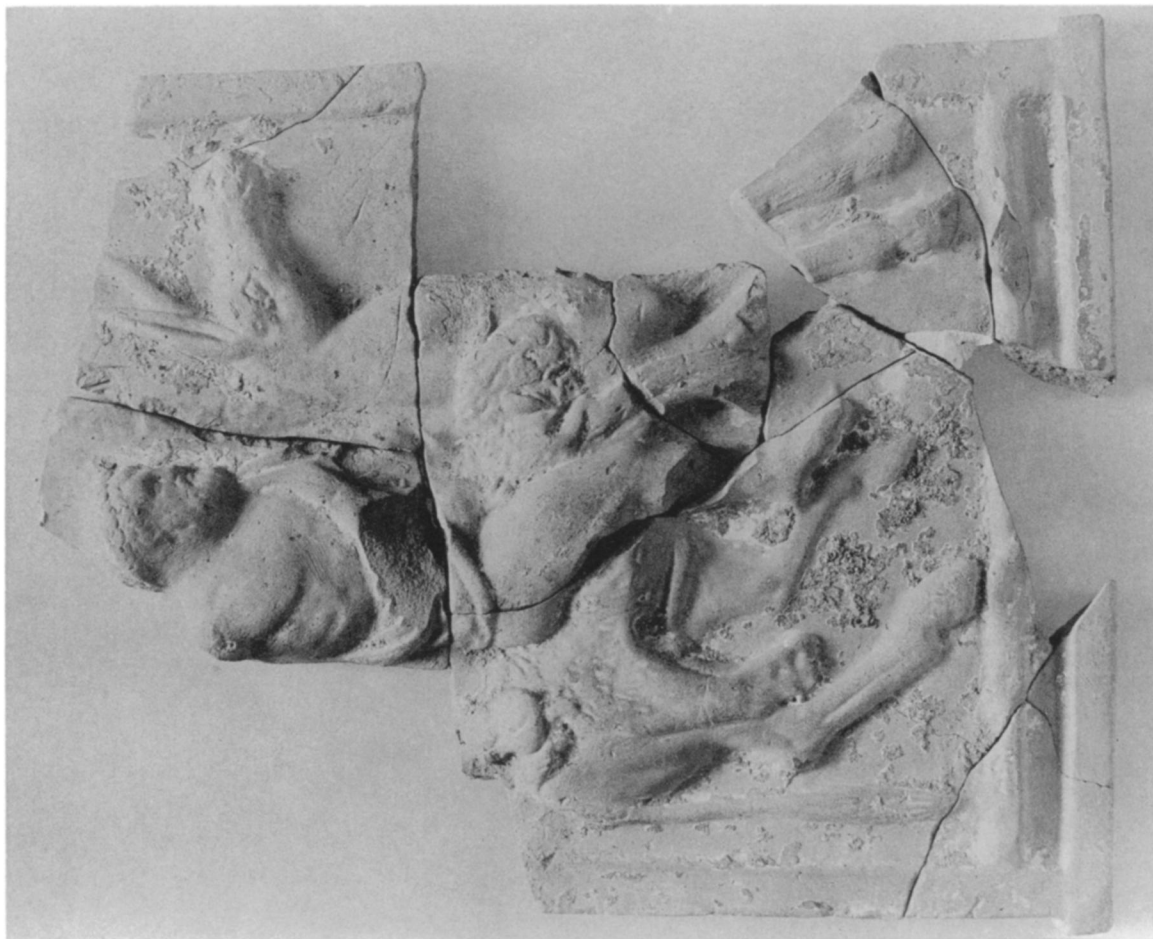
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



2. Marble Statuette of Herakles (S 1241)



1. Terracotta Plaque with Spinning Girl (T 2480)



2. Terracotta Plaque with Mounted Herakles (T 2466)

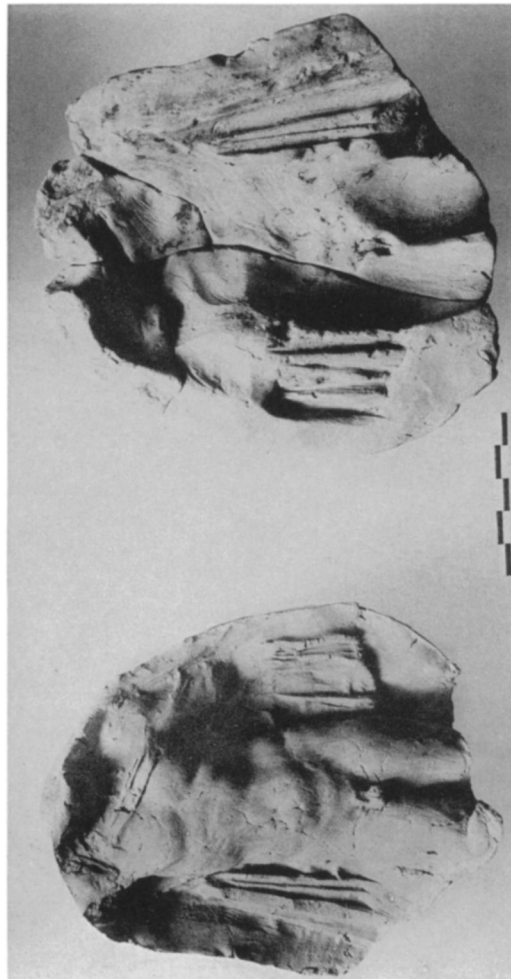
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Terracotta Bust of Artis (T 2425)



2. Terracotta Heads from West Slope of Arcopagus (T 2455; T 2437; T 2436; T 2337; T 2427)



3. Terracotta Mould and Modern Impression (T 2454)



4. Emblema from a Terracotta Bowl (P 18,314)

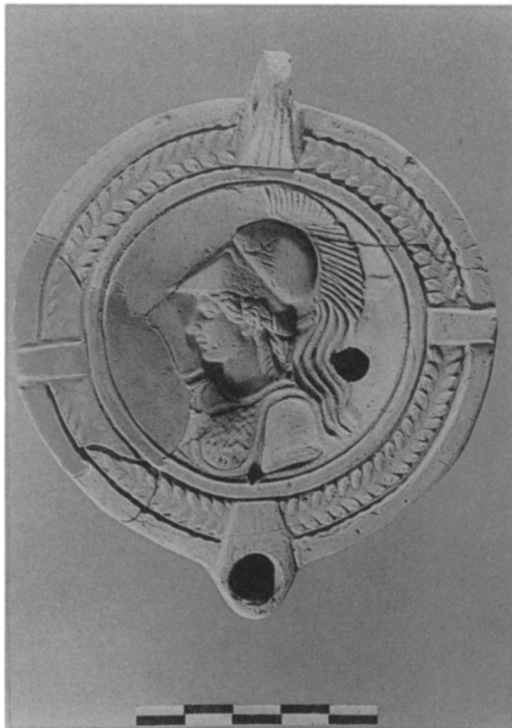
PLATE LXII



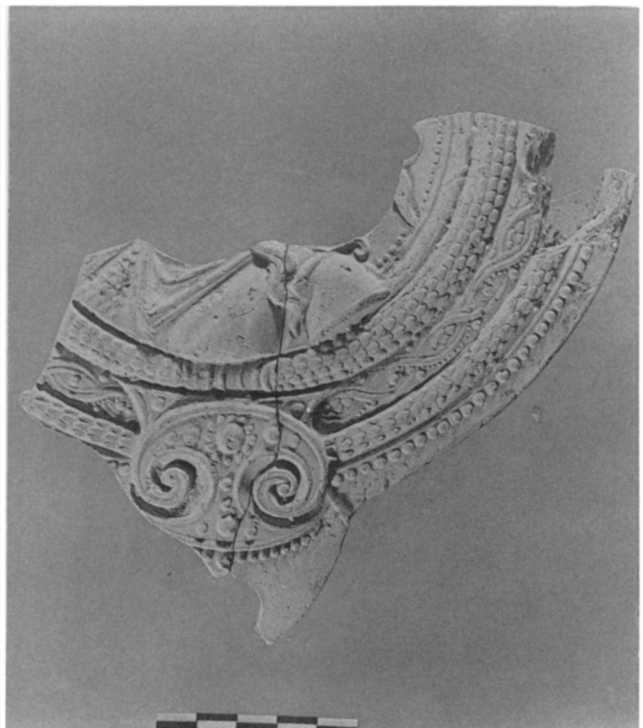
1. Terracotta Plaque with Head of Athena Parthenos (L 3703)



2. Mould for Plaque with Bust of Athena Parthenos (T 2376)
(Printed in Reverse)



3. Lamp with Bust of Athena Promachos
(L 3731)



4. Lamp with Bust of Athena (L 4256)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



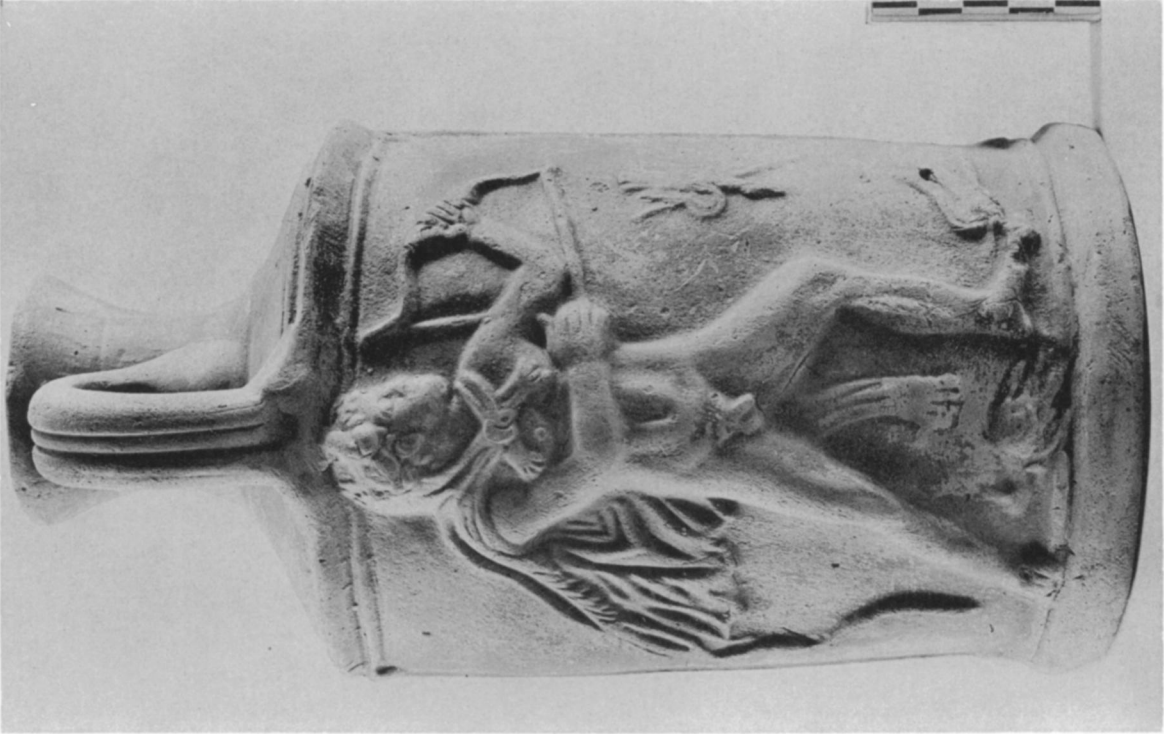
1. Lamp Discus: Hero and Leander (L 4251)



3. Terracotta Figurine of Third Century A. D. (T 2327)

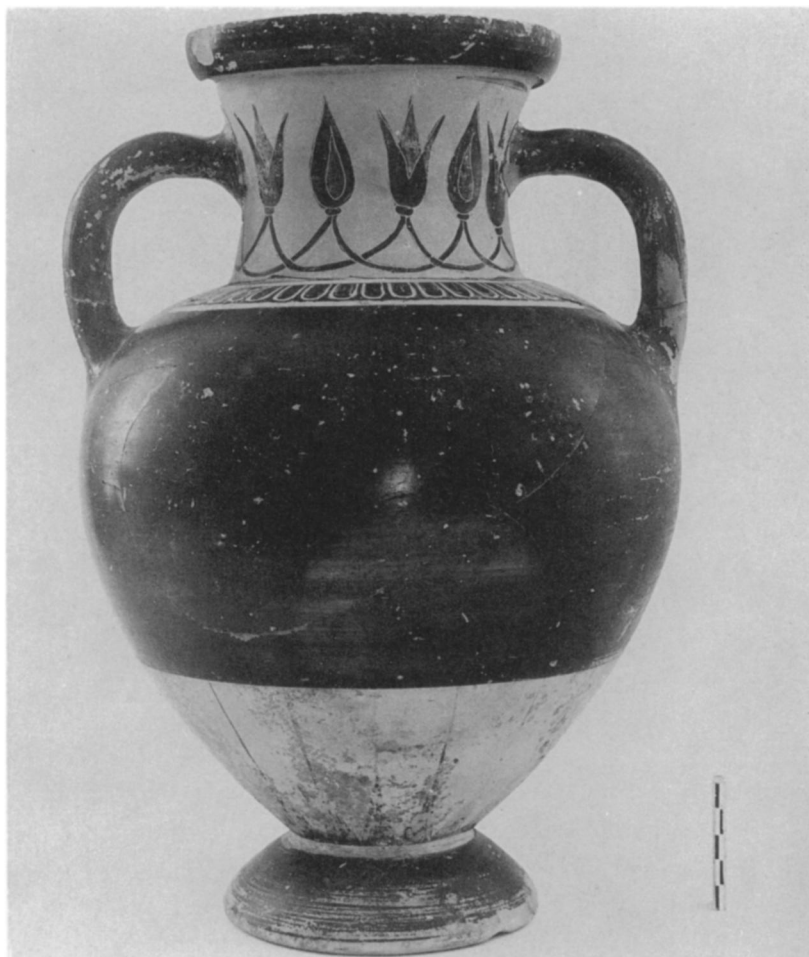


2. Orpheus and the Beasts. Impression from a Terracotta Mould (T 2507)



1-2. Terracotta Jug with Labors of Herakles (P 17,877)

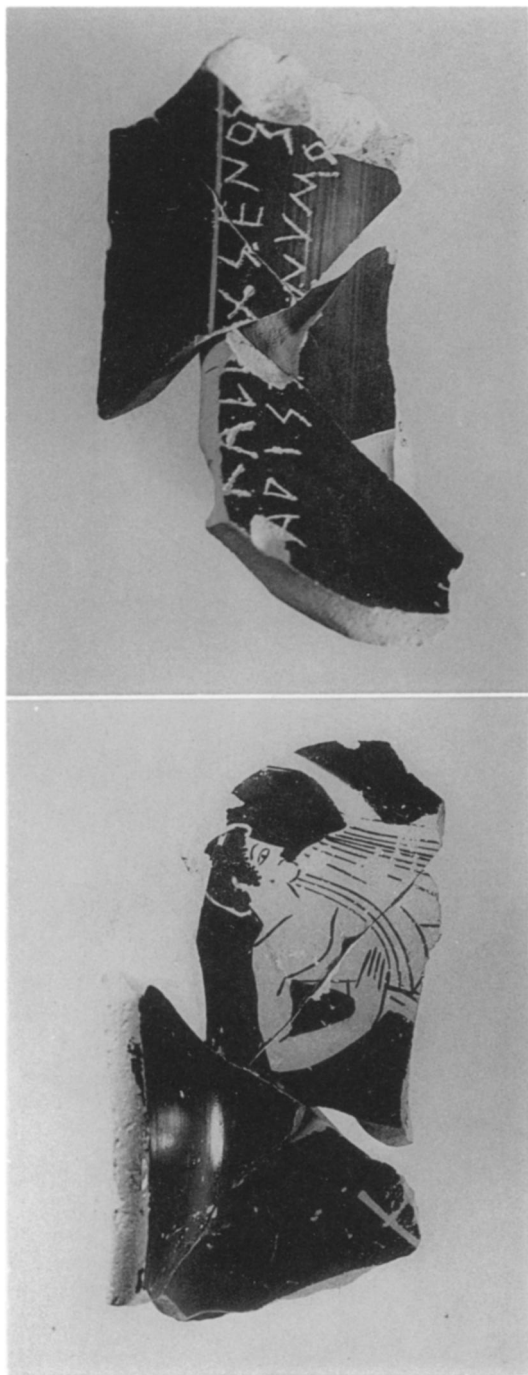
H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Black-Figured Amphora (P 18,348)



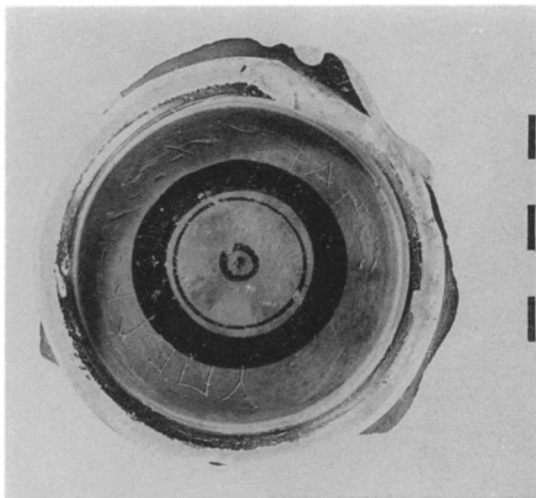
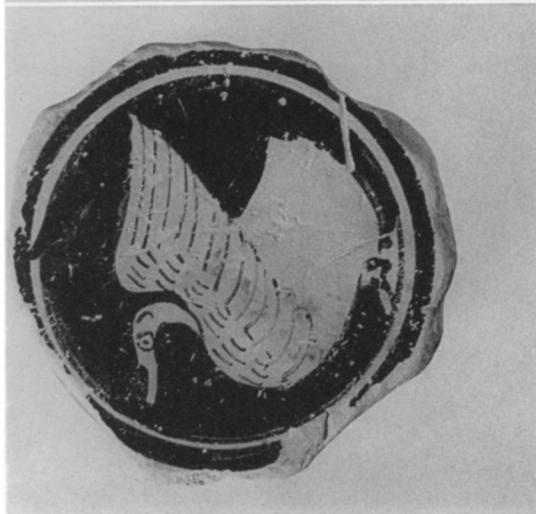
2-3. Black-Figured Stand (P 18,010)



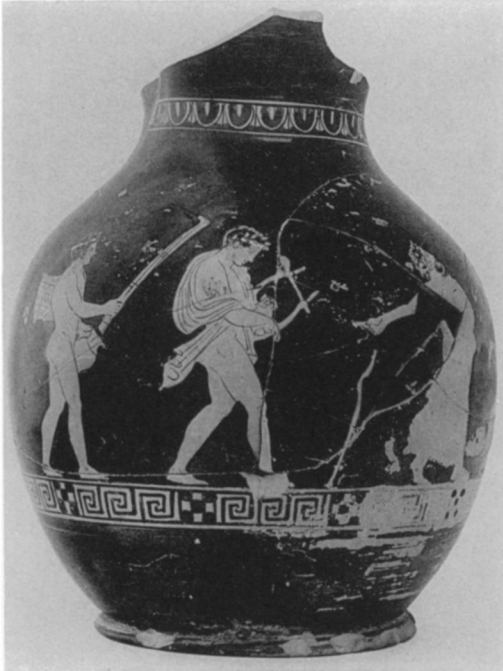
1. Red-Figured Mug: Ostrakon of Kallixenos (P 17,620)
(Exterior and Interior: Actual Size)



2. Red-Figured Mug (P 447)
(Actual Size)



3. Red-Figured Cup: Ostrakon of Hyperbolos (P 18,495)
(Exterior and Interior)



1. Red-Figured Oinochoe: Komos (P 18,799)
(About one-quarter Actual Size)



2. Red-Figured Oinochoe: Palaestra Scene (P 18,800)

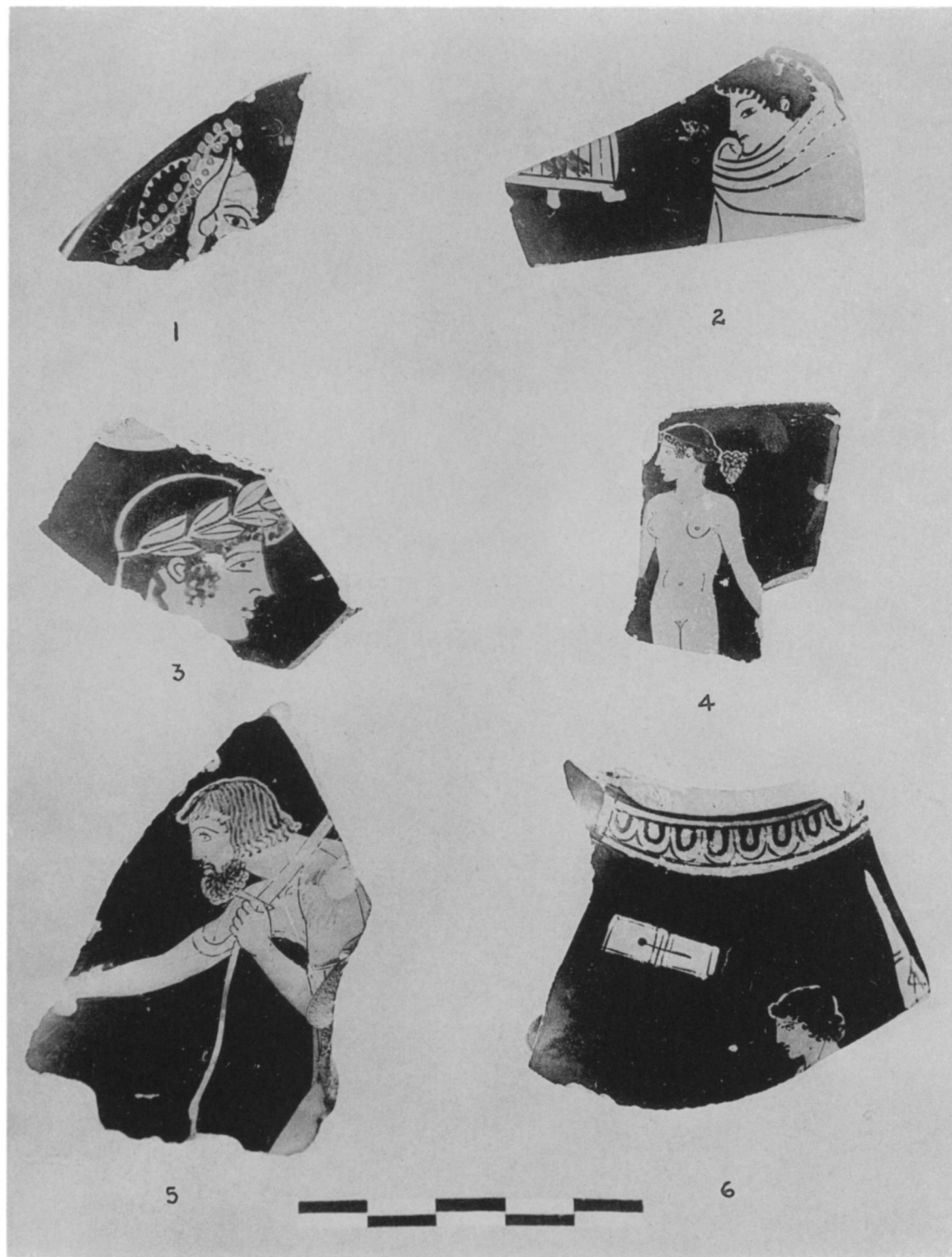


3. Red-Figured Lekythos (P 17,601)



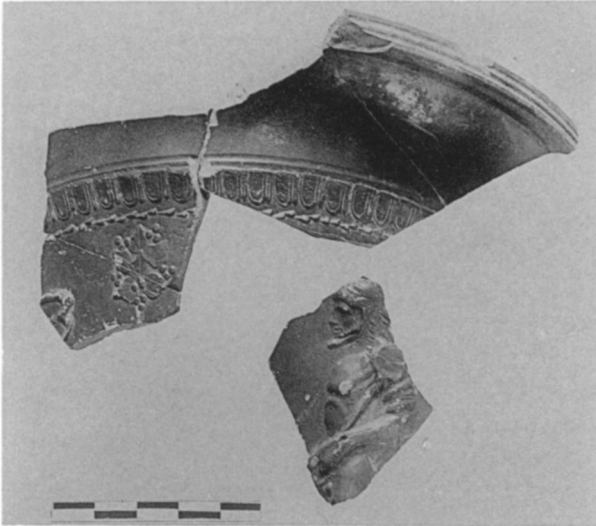
4. Red-Figured Calyx-Krater Fragment
(P 18,279)

PLATE LXVIII



Red-Figured Fragments (P 18,346; P 17,531; P 16,616; P 18,604; P 18,538; P 18,286)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947



1. Fragments of Arretine Krater (P 18,243)



2. Terracotta Measure (P 17,499)



3. Terracotta Incense Burner (P 17,529)



4. Lead Containers of Lykion
(IL 854, IL 853, IL 904)



5. Ostrakon of Kimon (P 18,555)

H. A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATION OF ATHENIAN AGORA, 1947