

# ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1959

(PLATES 73-80)

IN its program of exploration in the Athenian Agora the American School of Classical Studies devoted its principal effort in 1959 toward regularizing the eastern side of the excavated area.<sup>1</sup> When property was being acquired for excavation in the 1930's the disposition of the ancient monuments was still for the most part obscure. On the completion of the major excavation it became apparent that some additional property would have to be acquired along the east side in order to permit the more complete clearance of the monuments and to facilitate maintenance. To this end six additional lots with as many 19th century houses were expropriated in the name of the Greek state: one behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, one at the extreme southeast corner of the Agora and four on the north slope of the Acropolis. Demo-

<sup>1</sup> The resident staff comprised Eugene Vanderpool (Deputy Field Director), M. Alison Frantz, Virginia R. Grace, Mary Zelia Philippides, Maria Savvatianou, Lucy Talcott, Dorothy B. Thompson and John Travlos, together with the undersigned as Field Director. Eva Brann, Evelyn B. Harrison, Mabel Lang, Evelyn L. Smithson and Brian Sparkes spent shorter periods in Athens in pursuit of their studies of various groups of Agora material. Poly Pamel has continued in charge of the records.

The excavation at the southeast corner of the Agora was supervised by Dorothy B. Thompson, that in the Eleusinion by Eugene Vanderpool; the account of the results in those areas is based largely on their field notes. The undersigned was responsible for the clearance behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos and for the investigations in South Stoa II.

The photographs for this article are by Alison Frantz. Most of the drawings are the work of John Travlos. Figure 1, however, is by Martin R. Jones; Figures 2 and 3 by Katrina Konsta, a student of architecture in the Polytechnion of Athens to whom we are much indebted for this and other voluntary assistance in the summer of 1959. The water color of the Ionic capital in Plate 77, c is by Piet de Jong.

The present report deals with little but the field work of the past year; the majority of the staff, however, have been occupied with studies which will speak for themselves as they appear in the form of articles in *Hesperia*, as monographs in the *Athenian Agora* series or as booklets in the series of Agora picture books. The sculpture found in 1959 is dealt with in a separate article (below, pp. 369-392) by Evelyn B. Harrison.

With the curtailment of field work the technical staff was reduced at the end of the season. Among those employees of many years' standing with whom we have been compelled to part company are Miss Aziza Kokoni, George Zoumanides, Andreas Dimoulinis and Yanni Bakirzis. The skill and devotion of these persons have contributed greatly to the smooth and pleasant functioning of the organization and so to the efficient scholarly activity of both the regular members of the staff and of visiting scholars. Maria Savvatianou, after ten years of service as assistant to and collaborator with Virginia Grace in the study of ancient wine jars, now joins the staff of the National Museum in Athens. Our best wishes go with all these old friends in their new careers.

*Hesperia*, XXIX, 4

lition having been effected by contract, the excavation of the areas was carried out in the months of February through August, 1959. Conservation and planting followed (Pl. 73, a).

Although the immediate objective was utilitarian, the scientific results of the season's field work were also gratifying. The clearance behind the north end of the Stoa of Attalos clarified the history of an important entry to the Agora. The removal of a salient at the southeast corner of the Agora exposed the best preserved section of the Panathenaic Way and brought to light two new buildings: a temple of the early Roman period which, pending its more secure identification, has been designated the Southeast Temple, and a large public building which must likewise remain for the present under a provisional designation: the Southeast Building. The season's work in this area also permitted the completion of the clearance of a building which had previously been exposed in part and identified as the Mint (*Argyrokopeion*). On the north slope of the Acropolis the principal objective was the further clearance of the Eleusinion, the Sanctuary of Demeter in the City. Although the eastern end of the sanctuary still eludes us, the limits of the temenos to the west, north and south were clarified, the remains of a propylon, a colonnade and various monuments were exposed within the sanctuary, and useful new evidence was secured for dating the temple.

Within the Agora proper some supplementary excavation was carried out in the lesser, southern square which had long been designated as the Commercial Agora and in the Hellenistic colonnade which bordered the south side of that square; the results of this work necessitate the re-consideration of several major problems of Agora topography.

The program of conservation and landscaping was continued, and some additional work was done on the installation of the Agora museum in the Stoa of Attalos.

### THE PANATHENAIC WAY (FIG. 1; PL. 73, b)

The work of the past season brought to light a 50-meter stretch of massive stone paving which marked the Panathenaic Way at its exit from the southeast corner of the Agora. This section of the road was delimited to north and south by two cross streets, the one entering the Agora at the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos, the other bordering the south side of the Agora. The paving proper was 7 to 8 meters in width, but a gravelled verge on either side brought the total width of the thoroughfare up to about 10 meters. The surface water that flowed down the road from the south was conducted into a large rectangular catch basin at the west side of the paving and thence into the main drainage system of the Agora.

The paving consisted of a single layer of re-used architectural blocks of poros, 0.30 to 0.45 m. in thickness, fitted together with some care and in an irregular alter-

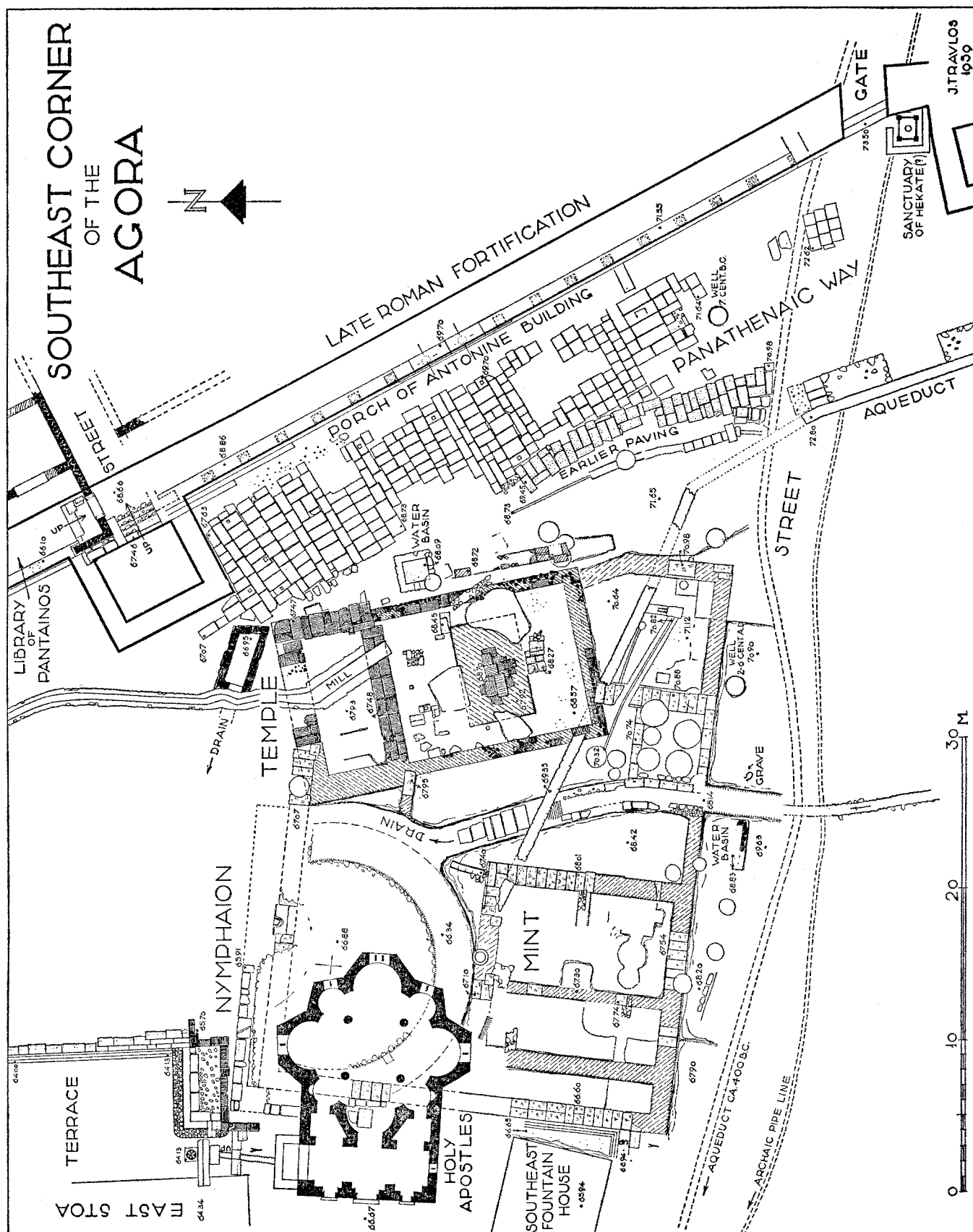


FIG. 1. Southeast Corner of the Agora.

nation of headers and stretchers (Pl. 74, a). In the surface of the blocks are a number of sinkings *ca.* 0.15 m. square and *ca.* 0.10 m. deep; similar holes occur also in the stretch adjoining the Eleusinion (Fig. 3). The sinkings would seem to fall into an irregular line along either side of the roadway with holes at intervals of 4 to 5 meters from one another, the two lines being *ca.* 5½ meters apart. This was conceivably provision for a system of light posts supporting ropes for the control of spectators on such special occasions as the Panathenaic procession.

The surface of the paving is scarified by many wheel ruts as much as a foot (0.30 m.) in depth; pairs of ruts, when recognizable as such, are *ca.* 1.50 m. apart. The ruts indicate that most of the wheeled traffic coming from the north was diverted to east or west on the important cross road that skirted the south side of the Agora; above this point the ruts are few and shallow.

The paving is much disturbed along the east side of the Southeast Temple. There can be little doubt, however, that the paving is later than the temple and that it was laid with some attention to that building. This is particularly clear from the line of a shallow trench which was cut in the surface of the paving to carry the water around the northeast corner of the temple; the corner of the temple foundation was itself rounded off to the same end. On the east side of the thoroughfare an irregular strip of gravel, 1.50 to 2.00 m. wide, exists between the paving and the front of the Southeast Building. This would seem to imply that the paving is the earlier; otherwise the paving would presumably have been fitted to the building.

To either side of the main paving are traces of earlier and less systematic measures to improve the road surface. Opposite the southeast corner of the Southeast Temple is a long narrow strip of paving made up of large poros blocks (stippled in the plan Fig. 1). Its surface is about a foot lower than that of the main paving, from which it differs also both in alignment and in gradient. The purpose of this strip was apparently to close a small gully.

On the east side of the roadway, opposite the tongue-shaped paving, is another, but less regular stretch of early paving made up of old architectural blocks of various material, shape and size bedded in gravel. Noteworthy among this re-used material is a series of three large cornice blocks of Pentelic marble (Fig. 2).<sup>2</sup> In each case there remains only the corona, which had been laboriously detached by means of a chiselled trench from the back part of the block; the back part, being more regular in shape, was presumably re-used elsewhere. The guttae on the soffit of the mutule have been completely worn away by traffic. One detached gutta from an architrave probably from the same building was found near by. With a mutule 0.7415 m. wide and a via of 0.165 m., the cornice blocks indicate an interaxial spacing of 3.626 m.

<sup>2</sup> These blocks are not shown on the plan, Fig. 1; their position is just south of the title PORCH OF ANTONINE BUILDING.

for the building, which must therefore have been very close in scale to the central element of the Propylaia where the "normal" spacing is 3.628 m. Since the blocks are also comparable with the corresponding members of the Propylaia in profile and in quality of workmanship, they provide evidence of a large, splendid and hitherto unattested building of the Periclean age. A mason's mark,  $\Lambda\Xi$ , roughly cut in one end of one of the blocks, must derive from some earlier re-use since masons' marks

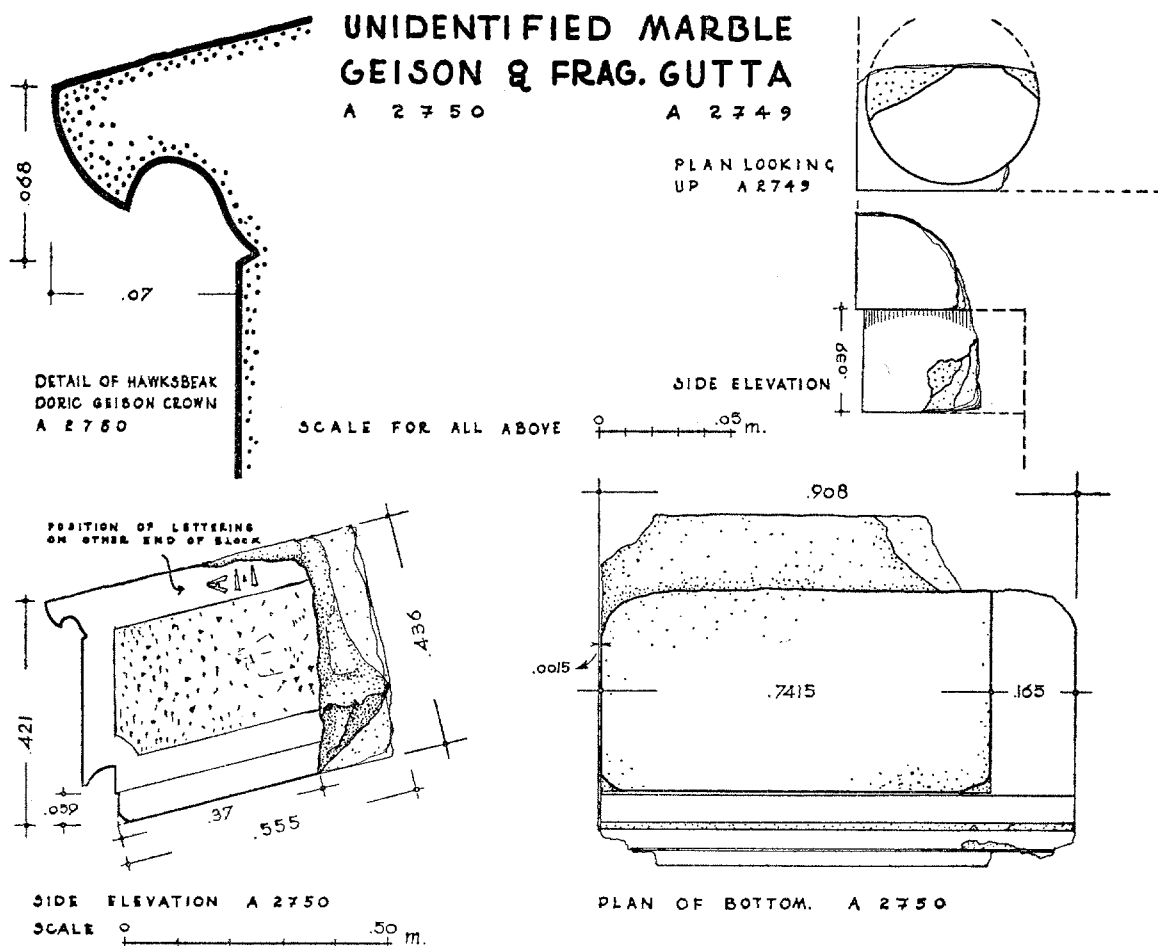


FIG. 2. Doric Cornice (Geison) and Gutta re-used in Paving of Panathenaic Way (A 2750, 2749).

were not needed by the road builders, and the letter forms are too late for the time of the original construction. No building of scale and period appropriate to these cornice blocks is known in the area of the Agora.

In the course of the road farther to the north, i. e. in front of the Library of Pantainos, are a few scattered paving blocks probably also earlier in date than the main paving; they were apparently set down in pits or soft spots in the gravel packing of the road.

Since the blocks of the principal paving were laid for the most part on dressed bedrock, little evidence is available for dating. Pottery gathered from several significant places would point, however, to a date within the first half of the 2nd century after Christ. This is about a century later than the date indicated for the paving higher up on the road where it borders the Eleusinion (cf. p. 336); but it is understandable that the various sections of the road may have received attention at different times. One might conjecture that the paving was done in preparation for special celebrations of the Panathenaia such as that for which Herodes Atticus was responsible, probably in A.D. 142/3, when the procession was extraordinarily splendid.<sup>3</sup>

The less regular earlier paving appears to date from the 1st century after Christ. Not all of it need be of one and the same time; but the truncated marble cornice blocks along the east edge were probably put in place early in the century. At certain points, where early deposits of road gravel had survived, the stratified sequence goes back at least into the 5th century B.C. At a point beneath the east edge of the Panathenaic Way a few meters to the north of the great poros aqueduct there came to light the remains of a small potter's establishment which had been abandoned and covered over in the second half of the 7th century B.C. Its demolition was conceivably necessitated by some change in the line of the road which was undoubtedly subject to slight alterations until it came to be bordered by substantial buildings. A few meters higher up a well of the late Geometric period was discovered beneath the paving of the road.

Beneath the east edge of the Panathenaic Way, at and to the north of its intersection with the street bordering the south side of the Agora, the excavations brought to light a number of rectangular pits of various sizes roughly aligned with the Way. The little pottery recovered from the pits indicates that they were in use in the 4th century B.C. They presumably served the same purpose as more numerous cuttings of similar shape and date that had been found earlier to the east of the Panathenaic Way and opposite the Stoa of Attalos. In both cases it is tempting to believe that the cuttings were for wooden posts to support bleachers (*ikria*) for spectators at the festival. Such temporary arrangements were presumably rendered unnecessary by the construction of the Panathenaic Stadium begun by Lykourgos ca. 330 B.C.

At a point just outside the southeast corner of the Agora the Panathenaic Way was crossed by the important and early east to west thoroughfare that skirted the south side of the Agora. In earlier seasons the course of this road had been well established to the west of the Panathenaic Way; <sup>4</sup> in 1959 its course was explored a distance of ca. 25 meters to the east of the Way. The stratification of the road metal indicates that in this stretch the road was already a much used thoroughfare as early at least as the 6th century B.C., and that it continued in use into the late 6th century

<sup>3</sup> P. Graindor, *Hérodé Atticus et sa Famille*, Cairo, 1930, pp. 65 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 47-49.

after Christ. After the Dark Ages, beginning in the 10th century, its course was overlaid by a series of private houses which in turn gave way in late Byzantine times to the Church of Christ. The width of the ancient street varied from four to six meters; its surface was gravelled, not paved.

In the southeast angle of the junction between the east to west road and the Panathenaic Way a small enclosure had been examined in 1958 (Figs. 1, 3).<sup>5</sup> The remains comprise a bedding block with a circular socket for the support of a central element, as also the foundations of a fence and of a stone wall by which in turn the central element had been enclosed. Two of the fence posts came to light in 1959; they are of marble with sockets in the sides for wooden rails and with indications of a marble crowning member. We must therefore restore a fence of much the same type as that around the Eponymous Heroes.<sup>6</sup> The establishment has been tentatively identified as a sanctuary of Hekate, appropriately situated at an important crossroads, the guarding of which would have come within the province of the goddess.

With the additional clearing of 1959 it becomes apparent that the little sanctuary must postdate the construction of the Southeast Building in the middle of the 2nd century after Christ, since one of the posts that supported its enclosing fence was set down into the top of the foundation for the (unfinished) south pier of a gateway to the south of that building. One of the fence posts was found in a hollow of the Panathenaic Way in a context of the 3rd century after Christ. At that time the fence would seem to have become inadequate to protect the sanctuary against the rising ground level; it was therefore pulled down and replaced by a wall. This presumably occurred before the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. The establishment was respected by those who erected the Late Roman Fortification Wall in the latter part of the 3rd century, but it was finally abandoned at some time in the 4th century.

In the southwest angle of the junction between the Panathenaic Way and the east to west street bordering the south side of the Agora there have survived some tenuous remains of houses and shops that were in continuous use from the 4th century B.C. until the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. That some at least of these buildings were occupied by sculptors is proven by the presence in their clay floors of shallow depressions full of sludge from the polishing of marble. Similar evidence had long ago attested the activity of sculptors in a suite of rooms in the Library of Pantainos.<sup>7</sup> These shops will have been the source of the unfinished marble sculptures so many of which have been recovered from the adjacent stretch of the Late Roman Fortification.

<sup>5</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 95 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 137-139.

<sup>7</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 394-398; XVIII, 1949, p. 269.

## THE ELEUSINION

The excavations of 1938 to the east of the Panathenaic Way and well up on the north slope of the Acropolis had brought to light the remains of a small temple of the late archaic period together with the western part of its peribolos. A number of inscriptions recording dedications to Demeter and Kore were found in the area, as also several deposits of kernoi, the characteristic vessels used in the cult of the goddesses. This evidence at once suggested an identification with the Eleusinion, i. e. the city sanctuary of the Eleusinian goddesses. The situation also corresponded in a satisfactory way with the indications in the principal literary references to that sanctuary.<sup>8</sup>

The additional exploration carried out in 1959 has exposed more of the sanctuary, though its eastern part is still overlaid by modern houses (Fig. 3). The plan of both temple and peribolos is now clearer; so too is their history. The discovery of additional inscribed dedications to the goddesses and of kernoi has now put the identification of the sanctuary beyond all reasonable doubt. Pausanias, in his brief reference to the sanctuary (I, 14, 1-4), mentions two temples, one of Demeter and Kore, the other of Triptolemos. As yet only a single temple-like building has appeared, but this, in view of its dominant location within the sanctuary, may be recognized as the major temple, viz. that of the goddesses. The temple of Triptolemos presumably stood in the still unexcavated eastern part of the sanctuary.

The temple stood in the northwest angle of the sanctuary on a spur of the hillside, and its situation was given still greater prominence by the massive terracing of the site toward the north. On the west the sanctuary bordered the Panathenaic Way. The angular space between the sanctuary and the important east to west road to the north would seem to have been occupied during the Greek period by a small open-air sanctuary now attested by one round and two rectangular bases in its eastern part. In the early Roman period the front part of this space was overlaid by a 4-roomed structure, perhaps a shop building, that faced on the Panathenaic Way. On the south, at least from the 1st century after Christ, the sanctuary was skirted by another east to west street. Since Philostratos in his account of the course of the Panathenaic Ship observes that the vessel rounded the Eleusinion, we may hypothesize a road also around its east end.<sup>9</sup>

Parts of the original enclosure wall remain on the west, south and north sides (in black on the plan, Fig. 3). The exact line is as yet somewhat uncertain at the northwest angle, as also in the southward return to the east of the temple. The wall was well built of Acropolis limestone with polygonal jointing and with a thickness of

<sup>8</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 207-212; IX, 1940, p. 268; XVIII, 1949, pp. 134 f. For the literary and epigraphic testimonia cf. R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, pp. 74-85, nos. 191-228.

<sup>9</sup> *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 7.



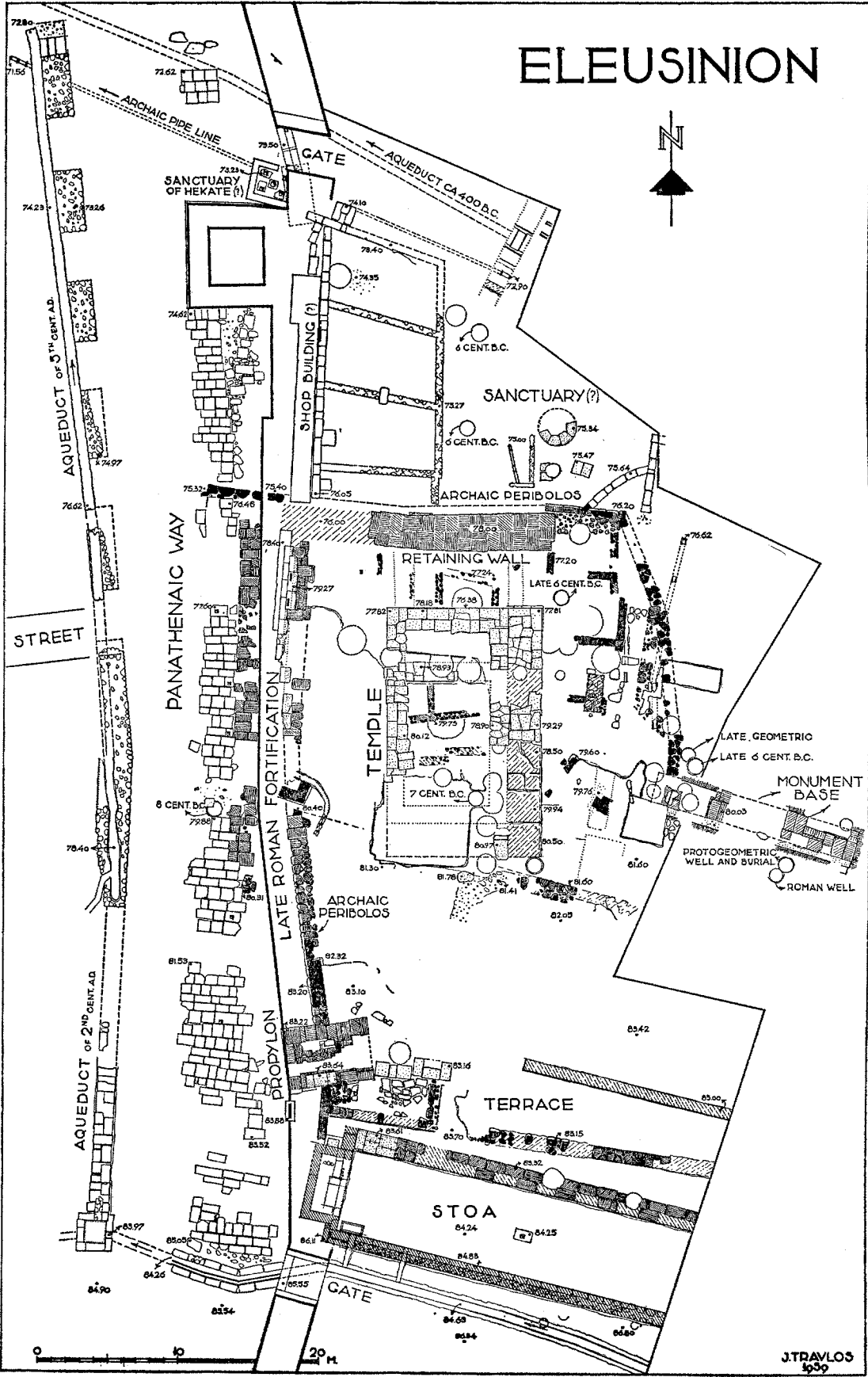


FIG. 3. Eleusinion.

ca. 0.90 m. (3 feet) where free-standing. There is an indication of an entrance through the south wall near its west end (to the left of the word TERRACE on the plan, Fig. 3).

At a later period, probably within the 4th century B.C., the terrace around the northwest corner of the temple was reinforced by great masses of masonry built of re-used poros blocks. Steps set against the outer face of the western wall toward its north end now provided seats or standing room for those watching the Panathenaic Procession. To the same period (4th century B.C.) may also be assigned a small and simple propylon set in the west wall near the southwest corner of the sanctuary. It measured overall 4.10 x 5.90 m. and apparently consisted of two side walls forming a little vestibule both inside and outside the door; there were no columns.<sup>10</sup>

The Stoa along the south side of the sanctuary represents an extension made in the early Roman period. The colonnade proper lay entirely outside the original limits of the sanctuary, the south wall of which was demolished to permit the levelling of a terrace in front of the Stoa. The width of the building proper, from the face of its back wall to the face of its bottom step, was 7.40 m. and the column spacing was 3.00 m. A length of 25.40 m. has been exposed, but the foundations continue eastward beyond the limits of the excavation. An alcove at the west end appears to be a slightly later addition. No elements from the superstructure of the Stoa have yet been recognized. The building technique (dry-stone masonry in the foundations for the colonnade, limited use of mortar in the back wall, dovetailed wooden clamps) points to a date in the 1st century after Christ. It is significant that the lowest layers of road gravel to accumulate in the east to west street that was laid out to the south of the Stoa presumably soon after its construction are also of that period, while the ceramic evidence for the laying of the massive paving of the Panathenaic Way in the stretch adjacent to the sanctuary implies a date in the second quarter of the 1st century after Christ. These various operations may therefore have been carried out at about one and the same time.

Of the temple proper there remains much of the foundations for the east, west and north sides, a single block in the line of the south side (Pl. 74, b). In plan the building was a long rectangle with its major axis north and south; at foundation level it measured 11.00 x 17.70 m. An interior cross wall divided a large southern room from a narrow north room which may have served as an adyton. During construction a change of plan had occurred whereby the width was increased from an original 8.60 m. by the addition of a massive supplementary foundation 2.40 m. wide along the east side. There is nothing to indicate the use of columns anywhere in the building.<sup>11</sup> Nor is

<sup>10</sup> These alterations in the sanctuary are perhaps recorded in *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 1672 of 329/8 B.C. which mentions, *inter alia*, the piling of earth and the making of an entrance porch in the Eleusinion. Cf. *Athenian Agora*, III, no. 215.

<sup>11</sup> The restored plans shown in J. Travlos, *Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1960, p. 67,

there any sure indication of an entrance; it may have been in either the south or the east side, more probably in the east.

The material of the temple foundations is hard limestone, gray or cream-colored in the earlier parts, reddish brown in the eastern addition. The coursing is regular, and the vertical joints are strictly vertical, but the horizontal jointing tends to the polygonal. Around the north end of the building, where the ground level was low when construction started, the outer face of the foundation is neatly stippled even though it was eventually to be buried deep below the finished grade. No clamps or dowels are in evidence in the surviving parts. The workmanship throughout is of a high order.

The most telling evidence for the date of the temple is provided by the pottery from the layers of filling that were built up around the north end of the building as the foundations rose. This material runs down into the opening years of the 5th century B.C. No significant difference is apparent between the pottery associated with the earlier construction and with the later; fragments of the same vase occurred, in fact, in both contexts. It is clear, therefore, that the change of plan does not signify any great lapse of time; the difference in stone between the two parts may well have occurred in one quarry.

The ceramic evidence from the construction filling of the temple is reinforced by that from the earlier buildings on the site, now represented by tenuous remains of light stone walls. The pottery from the floors of these buildings, as also from an associated well near the northeast corner of the temple, runs down to the end of the 6th century. The purely domestic character of this pottery indicates that the earlier structures were houses.

Pending the more thorough study of the evidence, the date of the temple may be put tentatively in the neighborhood of 490 B.C., with the possibility of a slightly later but scarcely an earlier date. Such a date accords satisfactorily with the conclusion arrived at by Miss Jeffery regarding the regulations for sacrifices at the Eleusinion. These rules were inscribed, *boustrophedon*, on two marble blocks, most of the fragments of which were found in or near the Sanctuary between the years 1936 and 1939.<sup>12</sup> The epigraphic evidence indicates a date between 510 and 480 B.C. for the inscriptions; the presumption is that the regulations were posted in this monumental form at the time of the construction of the temple or soon thereafter.

After an intensive study of the sacral inscriptions Miss Jeffery was inclined to believe that the blocks on which they were engraved had formed parts of one, or, more likely, of two altars.<sup>13</sup> A foundation suitable in size, shape and location for an altar

fig. 33, B must be modified in the light of the recent exploration. On the other hand, the plan of the Athenian building as restored on the basis of the new evidence is strikingly similar to the plan of the "Solonian" Telesterion at Eleusis as restored by J. Travlos, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1950-1951, pp. 3, 13.

<sup>12</sup> L. H. Jeffery, "The Boustrophedon Sacral Inscriptions from the Agora," *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 86-111.

<sup>13</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 90 f.

has come to light to the east of the temple at an interval of *ca.* 3 meters. It measures 1.10 x 2.70 m. The material of its underpinning is reddish brown limestone identical with that used in the later part of the temple foundations and probably to be recognized as surplus or discarded blocks from the main construction.

Although the existing temple cannot, as we have seen, antedate the 5th century B.C., and although no trace of an earlier temple has been recognized in the part of the sanctuary thus far exposed, the possibility of an earlier open-air sanctuary must be admitted. Perhaps relevant in this connection is a massive retaining wall that was disturbed by the south end of the temple, as also a concentration of primitive figurines and small bowls, perhaps votive in character, that occurred in pre-temple levels to the east of the temple.

The number of inscribed bases found in the area shows that the sanctuary was once richly adorned with monuments. Few of their foundations, however, have survived the disintegration of the terraces around the northern part of the temple and the disturbances caused by post-classical house builders in the southern part of the sanctuary. Only one such foundation need be mentioned in this report. It is a long narrow rectangle in plan, measuring *ca.* 2 x 15 m., lying to the east of the temple with an orientation closer to that of the pre-temple retaining wall than to the temple itself. Only the subterranean parts remain, massive construction of soft, cream-colored poros. The ceramic evidence points to a date in the second half of the 5th century B.C. We have as yet no clue to what stood here, though the dimensions and position imply something of major importance.

Among the inscriptions found in 1959 in the area of the sanctuary ten have special relevance to the Eleusinion. Among them are five more fragments of the "Attic Stelai" on which was recorded the sale of the confiscated property of Alkibiades and the others accused of mutilating the herms and parodying the mysteries of Demeter; one of the new fragments bears the name of Alkibiades himself and lists, *inter alia*, a number of his slaves (Pl. 80, b).<sup>14</sup> The Attic stelai are known to have stood in the Eleusinion. Mention may also be made of another fragment of a large opisthographic stele of the 4th century B.C. of which the first piece had been found in 1957; the text has to do with the Overseers of the Mysteries of Demeter and Persephone.<sup>15</sup> One of the new inscriptions (I 6909) occurs on a small altar, another (I 6896) on a statue base. The remaining two (I 6915, I 6921) are parts of documents concerned with the administration of the sanctuary.

<sup>14</sup> W. K. Pritchett, *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 225-299; XXV, 1956, pp. 178-328; D. A. Amyx, XXVII, 1958, pp. 163-310.

<sup>15</sup> I 6794. Cf. *Athenian Agora*, III, p. 225; *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 157.

## SOUTHEAST TEMPLE

The temple was set down in the northeast corner of the large area previously occupied by the Mint (Figs. 1, 4; Pl. 75, a). It faced slightly west of north, and, since the ground slopes gently down toward the northwest, the building must have dominated the vista as one approached on the Panathenaic Way. This was especially true in the early years of its existence; later the temple was forced to share this advantageous site with the Nymphaeum which was thrust in, with very little room to spare, between the temple and the thoroughfare that led up to the south from the terrace of the East Stoa.

Although the area of the temple had been greatly disturbed in late Roman, Byzantine and Turkish times, enough of the foundation survives to give the plan: a broad cella with a large statue base near its middle and a porch facing north (Pl. 75, a). The overall length of the building was 20.60 m.; its width across the pronaos 12.20 m., across the cella 11.20 m. The cella measured inside *ca.* 12.50 x 9.56 m. No trace of an altar has been observed.

The walls of the cella were three feet (*ca.* 0.90 m.) thick. They rested on shallow irregular beddings without special foundations. The surviving lower parts of the walls consist of miscellaneous re-used blocks of poros set in gray lime mortar of poor quality. A little wall stucco survives on the inside of the southwest corner of the cella; it was painted dark blue with a spattering of bright red dots, but this original plaster had been overlaid at some later date with a second coat of inferior quality, white in color.

In the rear corners of the cella there remain small patches of an original floor of clay. In the front part of the cella are a number of miscellaneous bedding blocks which undoubtedly supported a marble floor in this part of the building; the cuttings in the tops of the bedding blocks indicate the use of large rectangular slabs, fragments of which may be recognized among the material recovered from the near-by tower of the Late Roman Fortification. A similar marble floor may be hypothesized for the pronaos, although deep disturbances in this part of the building have obliterated all trace of the flooring.

Much of the cella was occupied by the large pedestal that stood on axis somewhat back of the middle (Fig. 1; Pl. 75, a, A). The dressed bedding for the pedestal measures 4.40 x 6.70 m. In this bedding still stands a remnant of the core of rough masonry built up of re-used blocks of poros and conglomerate. Nothing remains of the facing. Behind and adjacent to this foundation, and likewise on the axis of the cella, is a smaller rectangular foundation of uncertain purpose, measuring 1.15 x 1.50 m.

Two fragments of a colossal statue of Pentelic marble were found at the level of the late Roman period, one just to the north and one just to the west of the main



pedestal. They are undoubtedly parts of a cult statue, a peplos-clad standing female figure somewhat over twice life size. The left foot of the figure had been found at the same level just to the west of the temple in an earlier season. Those who stripped the temple of its building blocks had presumably been baffled by the sheer bulk and unwieldy shape of the huge torso; later vandals knocked off protruding parts until little was left but shapeless chunks. For a more detailed discussion of the statue see below, pp. 371-373.

The porch of the temple, though undoubtedly contemporary with the cella, is strikingly different in the nature of its foundations. These were made throughout of re-used conglomerate blocks laid in a trench cut deep down into bedrock. Across the front the foundation is 1.70 m. thick, on back and sides 1.50 m. The greater solidity of these foundations suggests that the walls of the porch were constructed of squared blocks.

Nothing of the porch remains in place above the level of the lowest foundations. One would expect, however, to find some of its material in the near-by Late Roman Fortification, the builders of which were in the habit of incorporating the blocks of ancient buildings into their new construction with a minimum of transportation. Among the many diverse re-used blocks that were incorporated in the tower some ten feet to the northeast of the temple are a number of Doric members that may well derive from the temple. All of them had already been used at least twice before their incorporation in the fortifications.

The most characteristic part of this group of re-used material is a series of Doric columns of which eighteen drums and two capitals are still extant (Pl. 75, b, B).<sup>16</sup> A difference of *ca.* 0.02 m. in the lower diameters indicates that the group comprised both normal and corner columns, the normal measuring 0.983 m. and the corner 1.004 m., i. e. just a little smaller than the corresponding members in the Temple of Hephaistos (1.018 and 1.036 m.). The workmanship is of late Periclean quality, save in the fluting which had been only begun at top and bottom by the original builders and completed in an inferior style by the re-users. The material is a bluish white marble of fine crystal and a laminated structure that has resulted in several of the drums breaking transversely. Associated with the columns by identity of material and workmanship is a series of wall blocks.

One of the two surviving column capitals from this series was found, not in the Late Roman Fortification, but imbedded in the gravelly packing of the Panathenaic Way at a point about six meters north of the temple. Since the top of the capital had been heavily worn by traffic in this position before the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, we must suppose that the 5th century Doric members had been employed in their inter-

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 331, fig. 18 for a restored drawing of one of these columns. Four of the column drums appear in the Late Roman Fortification in fig. 17 on p. 330.

mediate period somewhere in this vicinity; apparently the builders of this intermediate period were able to draw on a larger stock of old material than they needed and so were able to dispense with the one capital. The only building in the vicinity suitable for the columns in their intermediate use is the temple; the employment of a set of fine ancient columns and wall blocks in the front of that building would in fact account very satisfactorily for the striking disparity between the foundations of porch and cella.

An anta capital (A 2989) was found in the same tower of the Late Roman Fortification. Its design shows that it derives from a prostyle façade. The capital is congruent in scale with the Doric columns, and its hawksbeak moulding has a 5th century profile; but the material is Pentelic, different from the marble of the columns and wall blocks, and the workmanship is patently of the Roman period. This will have been a supplement added by the temple builders.

In addition to the closely related members described above, the tower of the Late Roman Fortification yielded a miscellany of other Doric members: architraves and architrave backers, triglyphs, metopes, cornice and sima blocks, and a marble tympanum block. Though made originally for several ancient buildings, some of these members were in all probability re-used in the temple.

It may never be possible to unravel the whole of this tangled skein of architectural history, but the origin of at least the set of four Doric columns and related wall blocks can be established. The very characteristic marble of these members is that of the Laurion region in southeastern Attica, familiar from the ancient buildings of Sounion and of Thorikos. The source can be fixed more precisely as a sanctuary of Demeter in the plain below the theater at Thorikos. Partially uncovered and examined in 1754, 1812 and 1893, the building is again buried, but its condition and its architectural details are recorded in *The Unedited Antiquities of Attica*, published by the Society of Dilettanti, London, 1817, Ch. IX, pp. 57-59, Pls. 1-3. The building was peripteral with 7 x 14 columns, of which the entire row across the short northeast end was found missing by the early explorers. Missing too were the walls of the cella. Steps and columns had been left unfinished, the fluting merely started at top and bottom; the building program here, as at Rhamnous, had presumably been interrupted by the Peloponnesian War. The correspondence between the re-used members in the Late Roman Fortification in the Agora and the temple at Thorikos is so close in respect of material, dimensions and conditions as to leave no doubt of their relationship.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> I am deeply indebted to Professor W. B. Dinsmoor for making detailed measurements of the columns from the Late Roman Fortification and comparing them with the columns of the temple in Thorikos as known from the publications. Professor Eugene Vanderpool has drawn my attention to a photograph in the files of the German Archaeological Institute in Athens showing the building as it was after the partial excavation conducted by Stais in 1893 (Πρακτικά, 1893, pp. 16 f.). On Thorikos see further J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, II, p. 410, V, pp. 525 f.; W. Wrede, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.*, s.v. Thorikos (1937).



Thorikos was described as desolate by Pomponios Mela writing in the 1st century after Christ (II, 46), nor was it even mentioned by Pausanias in the following century. It is not surprising, therefore, that when some urgent need for a new temple arose in Athens the material for its façade should have been salvaged from Thorikos and conveyed, no doubt by water, to Athens. Nor would it be strange if one or more of the original cult statues should have been brought along with the architectural members to be set up again in the new temple, conceivably in the company of some newly deified member of the imperial family.

As to the date of the temple in the Agora the evidence is very slender, consisting as it does of little beyond a few handfuls of pottery gathered from significant places around the foundations. Such as it is, and on the basis of a preliminary study, this evidence indicates a date in the 1st century after Christ. It is to be hoped that further study will lead to greater precision.

### MINT (ARGYROKOPÉION)

As observed above, the Southeast Temple was set down in part of the area once occupied by the building tentatively identified as the Mint (Argyrokopeion; Fig. 1; Pl. 75, a, B).<sup>18</sup> The whole area of the earlier building has now been cleared, but not enough study has yet been devoted to its tenuous remains to justify more than the most tentative conclusions.

The overall dimensions of the building are its most certain feature: 27.30 m. north to south and 37.80 m. east to west. The northeast corner would appear to have been bevelled from the beginning to conform with the line of the Panathenaic Way. The enclosed area was divided between roofed rooms and unroofed courtyard. The east branch of the Great Drain of the Agora passed from south to north beneath the building, in much of its course apparently under a courtyard.

Having surrendered the northeast part of its area to the temple in the 1st century after Christ, the old establishment was still further truncated by the insertion of the Nymphaeum (Pl. 75, a, C) in its northwestern quarter, probably in the Antonine period.

The little evidence produced by the recent excavations tends to confirm for the original building a date toward the end of the 5th century B.C.

The identification of the building as the Mint was originally suggested by the discovery of a number of blanks for the making of bronze coins. The excavation of 1959 yielded eight more such blanks, all imbedded in the ancient floor in one of the rooms of the southwest block. It may also be of some significance in this connection that even after the construction of the Southeast Temple in the 1st century after Christ

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 45-48.

metal working in the area is attested by the remains of several small furnaces in the extreme southeast corner of the early building. This activity continued, or was resumed, even after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, but there is nothing to show whether the activity was of a public or private nature.

### SOUTHEAST BUILDING

This large building bordered the east side of the Panathenaic Way opposite the Southeast Temple (Figs. 1, 4). Only its porch lies within the present limits of the excavation. This porch, of the Ionic order, filled the interval of 49.50 m. between the narrow street that bordered the Library of Pantainos on the south and the east to west road that skirted the south side of the Agora. A monumental archway would seem to have been planned for the southern road; this is implied by the fact that the foundations of the colonnade were carried some 10.90 m. south beyond the southwest corner of the porch, thus crossing the road. But the construction of the arch or gateway appears not to have been carried above ground level, for the wheel ruts in the line of the road have cut deep into the top of the foundations. The width of the porch, *ca.* 5.80 m., is given by a remnant of its back wall at the extreme north end. There were 14 columns set 2.76 m. center to center with a short length of wall near the middle of the building where the level of the stylobate steps up abruptly from north to south.

The porch of the newly found building was continuous with that of the Library of Pantainos, the two of them providing a long stretch of covered sidewalk. Since the terrain slopes up at a gradient of *ca.* 1:10 from north to south, transverse steps were necessary at the north and south ends of the porch of the library, at both ends and at the middle of the porch of the newly found building.

An entrance led from the Panathenaic Way through the porch at a point where the level of the road coincided with the level of the floor of the porch; this point fell a little to the north of center. The entrance, three bays wide, was not marked by any projection in the line of the front, for that would have interfered with traffic on the busy thoroughfare; it was distinguished rather by the use of a marble stylobate instead of the normal poros, and by the omission of square pedestals beneath its columns.

The steps and foundations of the porch are preserved throughout their length beneath the outer face of the Late Roman Fortification. The three poros steps, 0.28 m. high, rest on a foundation of re-used poros blocks which in turn is supported by a concrete footing made with crumbly mortar, yellowish in color. The stylobate in the width of the entrance is of Hymettian marble; only the places for the columns were carefully dressed, the intervening spaces being left quite rough. A stairway of Hymettian marble led up from the Panathenaic Way to the narrow street between the Southeast Building and the Library (Pl. 75, b, A).

Most of the façade of the porch was incorporated in the Late Roman Fortification (Pl. 76, a). The stylobate was cleared to receive the outer face of the fortification wall simply by tipping backwards the square pedestals that had carried the columns; eight of these pedestals were found at the proper intervals in the core of the wall. The architrave-frieze and wall blocks were incorporated in the faces of the fortification wall; the column shafts, round bases and capitals, as also the cornice blocks, were thrown into the core.

The pedestals for the columns are of Hymettian marble, 0.80 m. high, 0.70 m. to the side on top, 0.72 m. at the bottom, with simple mouldings top and bottom. They are finished at the most only on three sides, the backs being quite rough. Traces on the sides of the pedestals of the northern section show that steps rose between them. On top of the square piers rested circular bases of Attic type and of Pentelic marble. These in turn carried the monolithic, unfluted shafts of Hymettian marble with a lower diameter of 0.53 m., an upper of 0.47 m., and an average height of 3.82 m. The Ionic capitals, of which two were found, were roughly carved of Pentelic marble.

Architrave and frieze were cut from Pentelic marble in one piece with a height of 0.52 m., length of 2.76 m. The architrave has three fasciae; the frieze is marked by an S profile. On several blocks the mouldings on one side, presumably the inner, were only roughly cut. The cornice blocks, of Pentelic marble and 1.70 m. long, were also roughly finished, some of the lions' heads being left in the boss. A number of fragmentary terracotta antefixes bearing simple palmette designs were found along with the marbles of the porch; they presumably derive from the building.

Numerous "doodles" had been scratched in the shafts of the columns while they were still standing (Fig. 5). The most frequent motif is a simple radiate sundial; but there are also sketches of human faces, a lion hunt and a bull fight. Only a single personal name has been observed, Agathopous, in striking contrast to the prominence of names among the well known scribbles on the walls of ancient gymnasia. It is doubtful whether in this case the graffiti have any special relevance to the building; they are presumably the work of casual idlers who also left their mark on the marble work of the Library of Pantainos.

The stylobate of the entrance way was higher by the height of the square pedestals, i. e. 0.80 m., than the stylobate in the north part of the porch. To the south of the entrance the level was stepped up a further 1.85 m. How this difference in level was treated in the entablature is not yet clear. The uniformity in lower diameter between the columns of the entrance way and those of the rest of the porch makes it unlikely that a pediment was used in the line of the colonnade above the entrance, nor have any elements of such a pediment been found.

The foundations for the stairway in the east to west road between the Southeast Building and the Library of Pantainos abut against, and so must be later than, the

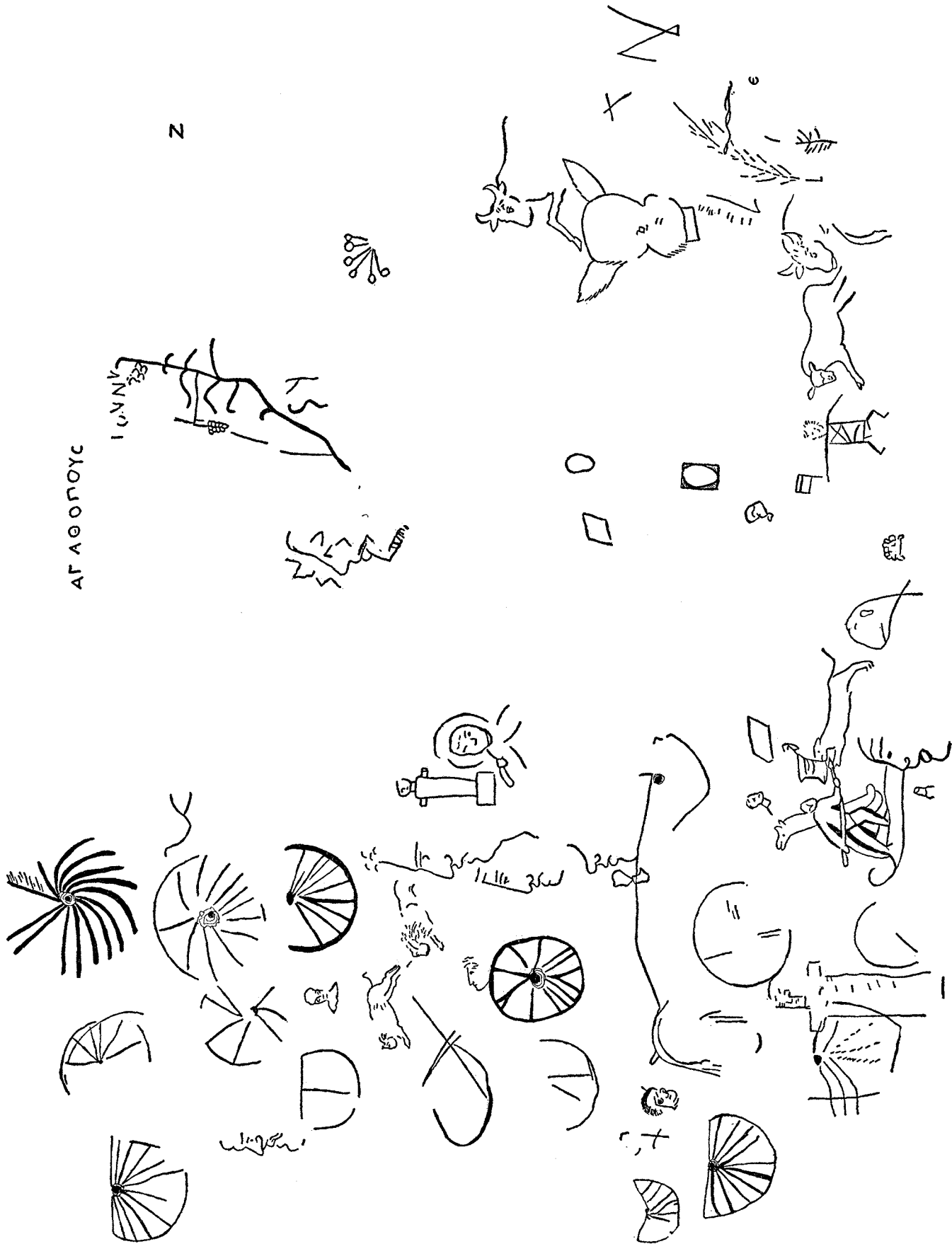


FIG. 5. Doodles on a Column of the Southeast Building.

foundations of the Library. Since the foundations for the stairway are an integral part of the structure of the porch of the Southeast Building, it follows that the Southeast Building is also later than the Library which is dated by its dedicatory inscription in or very close to the year A.D. 100.<sup>19</sup> Since the main paving of the Panathenaic Way seems not to have been laid with respect to the Southeast Building, the building may be regarded as later than the paving, and the paving, as we have seen above, was put down at some time in the first half of the 2nd century after Christ. The similarity between the antefixes from the Southeast Building and those from the Odeion in its second period would argue for approximate contemporaneity; the tiles of the Odeion are dated by their stamps to a time close around A.D. 150.<sup>20</sup> The little pottery to be associated with the foundation of the porch is close to that of Robinson's Group H of the mid 2nd century.<sup>21</sup> A date near the middle of the century would thus seem appropriate for the Southeast Building.

Until such time as the excavation is continued farther to the east, we can scarcely hope to know more about the plan or purpose of the Southeast Building. The existence of a well defined entrance near the middle of the porch would seem to imply, however, that there was some important element behind the porch. We may suppose that the design of the building resembled in a general way that of the Library of Pantainos which comprised a series of rooms around a central court. Whatever the primary purpose of the building may have been, its architect was clearly concerned also with the relation between this building and the Panathenaic Way. The long porch, continuous with that of the neighboring building to the north, is a modest but interesting Athenian example of the colonnading of streets which was so popular in the 2nd century, especially in the eastern provinces. And the generous provision of steps along the front of the colonnade was no doubt intended for the convenience of spectators at such pageants as the Panathenaic procession.<sup>22</sup>

## HYDRAULIC INSTALLATIONS

The exploration of the road that skirted the south side of the Agora exposed at two more points the round terracotta water pipe of the late archaic period that had

<sup>19</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 331; Suppl. VIII, p. 269.

<sup>20</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 126.

<sup>21</sup> H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, *Pottery of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1959, pp. 46-49.

<sup>22</sup> As to the identification of the building, it would be well to bear in mind that an arcuated lintel with an inscription (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3391) recording the dedication of the Agoranomion by the Council of Five Hundred to the Emperor Antoninus Pius in the period A.D. 140-145 was found near the Gateway of Athena along with two other inscriptions regarding the Agoranomoi (*I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3238, 3602). *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 3391 is commonly referred to a building south of the Tower of the Winds, but that structure already has an appropriate inscription (Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, p. 374; *Athenian Agora*, III, p. 190).

already been identified as the feed pipe of the Southeast Fountain House (Fig. 1).<sup>23</sup> The newly examined section runs almost due east and west beneath the south side of the ancient street. Its course has been followed to a distance of 25 meters to the east of the Panathenaic Way, but no further evidence has been secured for its date, nor for its ultimate source.

After about a century of use the terracotta pipeline was replaced by an underground stone aqueduct that ran roughly parallel to its predecessor, a little farther to the north but still beneath the ancient east to west road.<sup>24</sup> The course of this conduit also was pursued a little farther to the east in 1959, again to a point about 25 m. beyond the Panathenaic Way. No less than three branch lines consisting of small terracotta channels have been found issuing from the north side of the aqueduct, one at the west and one at the east side of the Panathenaic Way and one still farther to the east. A limited amount of pottery recovered from significant points along the main aqueduct points to a date in the very late 5th century or the beginning of the 4th, a trifle later perhaps than the date previously proposed.

For the later history of the stone aqueduct it may be noted that its channel was blocked by the foundations of the Southeast Building which were laid down about the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. By this time the function of the old classical aqueduct would appear to have been taken over by another aqueduct that entered the area at a higher level and descended along the west side of the Panathenaic Way to supply the newly built Nymphaeum as well as the Southeast and Southwest Fountain Houses.<sup>25</sup>

The excavations of 1959 failed to reveal the northward continuation of this later aqueduct. Its line of concrete piers, which presumably carried arches, breaks off abruptly at the south side of the east to west road. No trace of the aqueduct has been observed between this point and the Nymphaeum. The explanation may be that in this stretch the water channel was carried on piers and arches built of cut-stone masonry, the blocks of which could well have been entirely removed by the builders of the Late Roman Fortification and other late structures in the area.

More rewarding was the exploration of the upper course of the aqueduct. Coming from the southeast beneath the road that flanked the south side of the Eleusinion, the channel passed under the paving of the Panathenaic Way to reach a settling basin from which one stream continued in a westward direction, the other in a northern (Fig. 3). To the south of the Eleusinion the channel was set deep down in the rock; its walls were lined and its top was vaulted with brick. The clear width inside was 0.60 m., height 1.20 m. No evidence for the dating of this aqueduct was secured in 1959, but the close correspondence in size and construction between the channel to

<sup>23</sup> *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 29-35; XXV, 1956, pp. 49-52; XXVIII, 1959, p. 96.

<sup>24</sup> *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 52-54; XXV, 1956, pp. 52 f.; XXVIII, 1959, p. 96.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 97 f.

the south of the Eleusinion and parts of the Hadrianic water system previously observed elsewhere in Athens encourages the belief that we have to do with a part of that system.<sup>26</sup>

The part of the aqueduct that bordered the Panathenaic Way was dismantled after the Herulian sack of A. D. 267 but was rebuilt in a less substantial form in the 4th or 5th century. Its line can now be traced above the southwest corner of the already ruinous Southeast Temple to a point at the south side of the Nymphaeum (Fig. 1). By this time the Nymphaeum must have been as ruinous as the Southeast Temple; we may suppose that the water channel continued in a northwesterly direction to supply the needs of the Gymnasium that occupied the mid part of the ancient Agora in the 5th and 6th centuries.

To the east of the Southeast Temple, between the temple and the pavement of the Panathenaic Way, is a settling basin measuring internally 1.45 x 1.60 m. (Fig. 1). Only the lowest part of the basin remains. It was perhaps fed by a channel carried on the rubble foundation that approaches the basin from the south on a line parallel to the wall of the temple. The scale of the settling basin implies an installation of some consequence, but neither the source nor the destination of the water is as yet certain. Similarity in construction and dimensions between this settling basin and the one belonging to the 2nd century system opposite the Eleusinion (above, p. 348) may be taken to indicate some connection.

In the 5th and 6th centuries a water mill was established in the area of the pronaos of the Southeast Temple which was then long since forgotten (Fig. 1). The pit for the mill wheel measured internally 0.80 m. x 6.40 m. Some slight vestiges of the mill room were observed to the west of the pit. The water was brought from the southeast in an aqueduct of which a small remnant survived above the east foundation of the Southeast Temple. The source of the water seems not to have been the late version of the aqueduct that bordered the Panathenaic Way but rather another aqueduct that came from the east, crossing the Late Roman Fortification at a point to the east of the south end of the Southeast Temple; a short length of the underpinning for this aqueduct is shown on Figure 1 a little to the south of the end of the inscription PORCH OF ANTONINE BUILDING. Having turned the wheel in the ruins of the temple the water was carried northward to drive another mill that came to light in 1930 some 50 meters farther north.<sup>27</sup> Beyond this point the precious water was carried once more northward in an arched aqueduct that implies the existence of a third mill beyond the present limits of the excavation.

<sup>26</sup> Judeich, *Topographie*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 203 f. The water system begun by Hadrian was completed under his successor in A.D. 140.

<sup>27</sup> A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90.

## LATE ROMAN FORTIFICATION AND RE-USED ARCHITECTURAL MEMBERS

The fortification wall of the late 3rd century, the so-called "Valerian Wall," was explored thoroughly for a distance of some 65 m. over the full width of the Southeast Building and the streets that bordered it to the north and south.

Here, as elsewhere, the wall consisted of inner and outer faces carefully constructed of re-used architectural members. The space between was filled with a tumbled mass of ancient column drums, broken blocks, sculpture and other material that did not lend itself readily to incorporation in a close-jointed wall; the interstices were normally filled with earth, occasionally with a crumbly lime mortar (Pl. 76, a). At irregular intervals headers were allowed to project from the faces of the wall into the core to hold the mass together. The outer face of the wall was here planted firmly on the front foundations of the Southeast Building from which the superstructure had been stripped; the inner face was carried down to bedrock. Particular care was taken in the choice of material and in the construction of the outer or field face of the wall; long series of blocks drawn from the same courses of earlier buildings permitted tight jointing and a more monumental appearance (Pl. 75, a, E). The total thickness of the wall in this stretch was *ca.* 3.40 m.

The gap between the Library of Pantainos and the Southeast Building was covered by the builders of the Late Roman Fortification with a rectangular tower measuring 7.20 x 8.80 m. (Fig. 1; Pl. 75, b). With a view to the more thorough examination of the earlier buildings much of this tower was demolished in the summer of 1959, only enough being left to enable the visitor to grasp the outline of the tower. The rich variety of architectural members and of sculpture that had been incorporated in the tower and in the immediately adjacent curtain wall was observed already in the original excavation of 1933.<sup>28</sup> At that time a large female statue was extracted from the outer wall of the tower,<sup>29</sup> a series of Doric columns was noted,<sup>30</sup> and an inscribed Ionic architrave block was exposed.<sup>31</sup> A pair of marble ceiling beams, with inter-beam blocks and many fragments of the coffered marble slabs from the same ceiling, were found in 1933 and 1939; they have since been attributed to the Temple of Ares.<sup>32</sup>

The material recovered from the tower in 1959 was equally varied and valuable. Reference has already been made above to the set of Doric columns and other Doric members which would seem to have been re-used in the Southeast Temple (Pl. 75,

<sup>28</sup> *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 329-334, figs. 16-21.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 384-387, figs. 11-14.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 329 f., fig. 18.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 58-60, nos. 21 f.

<sup>32</sup> L. T. Shoe, *Profiles of Greek Mouldings*, Cambridge, Mass., 1936, p. 45, XXI, 28, 29; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 39-42; M. H. McAllister, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 38-43.



b, B). Another large statue of a female figure came out this season, S 1882, for which see below, pp. 373-376; the statue had been deliberately broken into many pieces which were used for chinking the interstices between the blocks in the south and the west walls of the tower. Among numerous other sculptures, for the most part very fragmentary, may be noted a piece from the forepart of a large human foot; this fragment joins with a set of toes (S 1220) found in 1946 among the ruins of the Odeion of Agrippa and attributed tentatively to a statue of Dionysos seen by Pausanias in that building.<sup>33</sup> From the tower comes also an unfinished and fragmentary replica of the Apollo Lykeios similar in type to the statuette in Dresden (S 2127).

Another link with the Temple of Ares was provided this season through the discovery in the tower of a small fragment from a marble wall block bearing a mason's mark of the sort so characteristic of that building (A 2894).<sup>34</sup>

Late archaic architecture is well represented among the finds from the tower. Two tympanum blocks of granular brown sandstone stuccoed on the outer face come from opposite ends of a small building (A 3012). Numerous fragments were found of sima blocks of island marble, a horizontal series with straight profile (A 2992) and a raking series with a shallow cavetto profile (A 2993). Since both are of the same material and workmanship and have exactly the same height, they may well come from the same building. The horizontal member, 0.573 m. in width, has a slender tubular water spout. The interest attaching to this discovery is heightened by the fact that fragments of identical water spouts were found long ago beneath the floor of the Annex erected in the early Roman period behind the Stoa of Zeus, while units of both the raking and horizontal simas were incorporated in the walls of a drain that served the Odeion of Agrippa;<sup>35</sup> other fragments have been picked up in disturbed contexts at other widely separated points in the excavations. The late fortification wall yielded also a series of Doric cornice blocks of island marble crowned with a hawksbeak which, being comparable with the simas both in workmanship and dimensions, may well derive from the same building (A 2990, 2991). The identification of the once splendid building represented by these marbles still remains a tantalizing mystery.

The underpinning for the south wall of the tower comprised the elements of a series of Ionic columns (Figs. 6, 7; Pls. 75, b, C, 76, b, 77). There remain twelve drums constituting three complete shafts, one base, and two capitals. The drums and capitals had suffered only minor chipping, but the base, like the large statue mentioned above, had been deliberately reduced to small fragments to be used in chinking the interstices among the drums. The relationship among the members can be recovered with certainty from a set of mason's marks carefully engraved in inconspicuous places (Fig. 6). The joints were lettered continuously through the

<sup>33</sup> Pausanias I, 14, 1; *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 79 f.

<sup>34</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 47-54.

<sup>35</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 97 f., fig. 2.

series of columns, starting at the top of one, running to its base and resuming at the top of the next. The joint between the capital and the top of the shaft in the first column was designated **A**, and an **A** was incised on both the member above and that



FIG. 6. Mason's Marks on Ionic Columns.

below the joint; the next joint was marked **B** and so on. The choice of this system of lettering suggests that the number of columns was limited; a fourth could have been included without straining the alphabet, but not a fifth. The number four is suggested also by the fact that two of the columns are uniform in height with one another but

0.80 m. shorter than the third; it is likely, though not of course certain, that there were two short and two tall columns in the original set. The columns throughout are carved from Pentelic marble of choice quality.

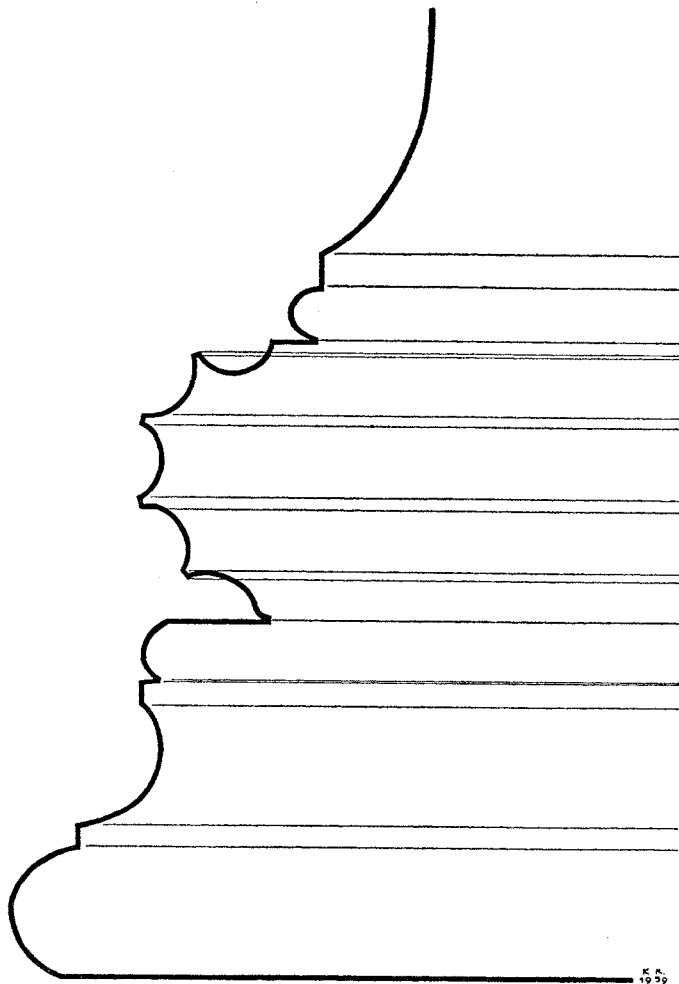


FIG. 7. Base Profile of Ionic Column (A 2891, 2892). Scale 1:4.

All parts of the Ionic columns are fresh and show little trace of weathering. This fact, combined with the free use of painted rather than carved ornament on the capitals, implies an interior use. The difference in height among the columns was presumably intended to take up a difference in floor level within the building. It is to be noted that all three shafts are uniform in upper diameter.

The one preserved base, which belongs to one of the shorter columns, measures 0.34 m. in height, the shorter shafts 5.18 m., the taller shaft 5.98 m., the capitals 0.35 m. The total height of the shorter columns was thus 5.87 m., of the taller 6.67 m.

The lower diameter of the shorter column is 0.824 m., of the taller 0.854 m.; the upper diameter is uniformly 0.68 m. Both sets of columns have stocky proportions, the height of the shorter pair being 7.12 lower diameters, of the taller 7.81. The proportions of the taller were thus almost identical with those of Athena Nike (7.82 l.d.), the stoutest hitherto known of Attic Ionic columns from buildings of the 5th century.

In the one column that has been re-assembled (Pl. 77, a) it has been possible to measure the entasis. The outward curvature from the straight line in the side of the shaft reaches a maximum of 0.003 m. at a height of 1.55 m. This results in a curve more delicate even than those in the north porch of the Erechtheion and in the Ionic columns of the Propylaia which are credited with the slightest entasis among columns hitherto known.<sup>86</sup>

The base is cut from two pieces of marble (Fig. 7). The profile of the lower comprises a scotia between two tori, the upper torus being much smaller than the lower. The upper member is a disk with horizontal fluting. There is no cutting for an empolion in the top of this base, nor in the bottom of the related shaft; the other two shafts, however, one short and one long, have each a cutting in the bottom.

The shafts were built up each of four drums with empolia between (Pls. 76, b, 77, a). The flutes number twenty rather than the normal twenty-four. In one of the columns, that which has been re-erected, deep vertical slots were cut in the bottom of the flutes: two diametrically opposite one another in the second drum from the bottom; two in the third drum also diametrically opposite; four in the top drum set at intervals of 90° from one another. These cuttings resemble those normally employed for the fastening of grilles in the pronaos or opisthodomos of a temple. In the newly found column, however, they could scarcely have served this purpose; apart from the absence of corresponding cuttings in the other columns of the series, the cuttings in the various drums do not align with one another nor with the capital.

The two surviving capitals both come from the shorter columns.<sup>87</sup> On each capital

<sup>86</sup> W. B. Dinsmoor, *The Architecture of Ancient Greece*, London, 1950, pp. 168 f.

<sup>87</sup> The major dimensions of A 2972 are as follows:

Overall length .....	1.240 m.
Overall width .....	0.794 m.
Width between faces of volutes .....	0.714 m.
Overall height .....	0.458 m.
Height of central part .....	0.350 m.
Interval between eyes, center to center.....	0.804 m.
Width of volute .....	0.370 m.
Diameter of resting surface .....	0.680 m.
Abacus: length .....	0.936 m.
width .....	0.764 m.
height .....	0.050 m.

There are some slight and insignificant differences in the dimensions of the two capitals.

above the echinus there is a vertical fascia which is decorated on A 2973 with a normal maeander, on A 2972 with a very unusual design which might be regarded as a hybrid between the maeander and the wave pattern (Pl. 77, b, c). Whereas in A 2972 the abacus has a fascia above the ovolo, A 2973 has the single ovolo profile of "normal" Ionic. Both capitals were left somewhat rough on top. A 2972 has two pry-holes in its top for the setting of the architrave; A 2973 has none.

The ornament of the capitals was partly carved, partly painted. The volutes, including their eyes, the palmettes at the inner angles of the volutes and the three half rounds on the bolster were rendered plastically. But the egg and dart on both echinus and abacus and the maeander pattern above the echinus were painted. Paint was used also to strengthen the outlines of the volutes and palmettes.

The principal colors employed were red and blue. They were combined in slightly different ways on the two capitals. Thus on A 2972 the eggs on the echinus are red against a blue background, on A 2973 the eggs are blue against a background of uncertain color, and whereas on A 2972 the eyes have red centers ringed with blue, on A 2973 the centers are blue ringed with red. The alternate squares in the saltire panels of A 2972 are black and white; but no black could be detected in the corresponding places on A 2973. The eggs on the abacus of both capitals are blue.

The new columns are valuable as illustrations of the Ionic style in Attica just before it attained its canonical form. Thus in the base, although the lower part alone contains the three elements (scotia between two tori) that were shortly to constitute the normal Attic base, the designer could not refrain from superimposing a fluted disk of large scale, an inheritance presumably from Asiatic Ionic. The base resembles that used by Mnesikles in the interior of the Propylaia in having four elements. This resulted in a relatively great height for both bases, but in the relative sizes of the tori the Mnesiklean design is more advanced. The lesser flare of the Propylaia bases may be due to the purely practical necessity for conserving floor space in a building that must at times have been subject to a heavy flow of traffic. In its use of a very small torus in combination with a larger torus the new base finds a parallel in the Nike Temple; but in the Nike Temple this feature was presumably copied more or less directly from the Temple by the Ilissos (anta) which in turn may have been inspired by the Stoa of the Athenians at Delphi.

The newly found capitals also show a number of pre-Mnesiklean features: the employment of three rather than four hoops on the bolster, the simple profile of the ridge outlining the volute, above all the retention of the vertical fascia above the echinus which is such a characteristic feature of a considerable group of Attic capitals that are commonly dated before the middle of the 5th century.<sup>88</sup> In all these respects

<sup>88</sup> A number of Ionic capitals with painted fascia above the echinus have come to light in the course of the Agora excavations, all from unknown buildings; they and the newly found capitals will be the object of a special study.

our capitals would appear to be typologically earlier than those of the Propylaia. Yet they are so close to the capitals of the Temple by the Ilissos, of the Nike Temple and of the Propylaia in general proportions, in the profile of their mouldings and in the treatment of such details as the palmettes that there can be no question of any great difference in actual date. In a field where well dated comparative material is so scanty, and where the predilections of the individual architect might still count for much, it would seem rash to attempt greater precision on the basis of the available evidence. We shall scarcely go wrong, however, in assigning the new columns to the third quarter of the 5th century and to the Periclean school. As to the building for which the columns were designed we have no knowledge save the little that can be derived from the columns themselves.

The later history of the columns is equally tantalizing. As already observed, mason's marks point to an earlier re-use before the final employment in the tower. The only evidence available for dating this first re-use is provided by the letter forms of the mason's marks. The shape of the letters, as also the restrained use of apices, points to the early Roman period; close parallels might be cited from the time of Augustus.<sup>39</sup> We have no clue as to where the building stood in its intermediate period.

Apart from a few inconsiderable fragments of inscriptions, one important document had been incorporated in the tower. It is a list of members from various demes inscribed on the end of a block from a pier-like pedestal of the 4th century B.C. (I 1647). Since our block, though complete, contains neither the beginning nor the end of the inscription, the text had clearly been spread over at least three blocks.

The same tower of the Late Roman Fortification yielded also a number of fragmentary statue bases, two of which are noteworthy. The first (A 3001) was rectangular in plan (Fig. 8). There remain only a few fragments from its crowning member of black Eleusinian limestone. A corner fragment is illustrated. The block, with a total height of 0.167 m., had been set down to about half its depth in a socket

<sup>39</sup> Both the character of the lettering and the care with which the work was done recall the mason's marks on the Temple of Ares, the transplanting of which is dated by a concatenation of circumstances in the Augustan period (*Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 47-54). In the Temple of Ares the letters were engraved in the actual course of demolition; each set of letters was cut in the top surface of the block after the removal of the block above so that on re-assembly the letters were concealed. In the case of our columns, however, the marking was done before demolition began and hence inevitably on visible surfaces; the artisan depended on the small scale of his letters, which are on the average only 0.025 m. high, and on careful placing to keep the marks unobtrusive. The two sets of mason's marks are also different in the actual system of notation. Whereas in our columns a single series of single letters was employed for a whole group of members, in the Temple of Ares each mason's mark was either double or triple, recording two or three of the following elements: the side of the building, the number of the course, the position of the individual block in its course. In view of these differences between the two systems of marking, the two operations would seem to have been carried out under different directions, though they may nevertheless have been contemporary.

in the top of the die of the pedestal. The exposed upper part of its face flared outward in a gentle curve. In the joint surface on either side is a horizontal slot that widens inward and that was intended presumably for fastening the vertical facing of the pedestal. This treatment of the crowning member, which assured adequate thickness for the support of the statue while keeping the profiled face of dark stone to an appropriate height, may be paralleled in the Temple of Hephaistos in Athens (421-415 B.C.),<sup>40</sup> in the Temple of the Athenians on Delos (425-417 B.C.),<sup>41</sup> and in the Tholos at Delphi (late 5th or early 4th century B.C.).<sup>42</sup> The fresh condition of our

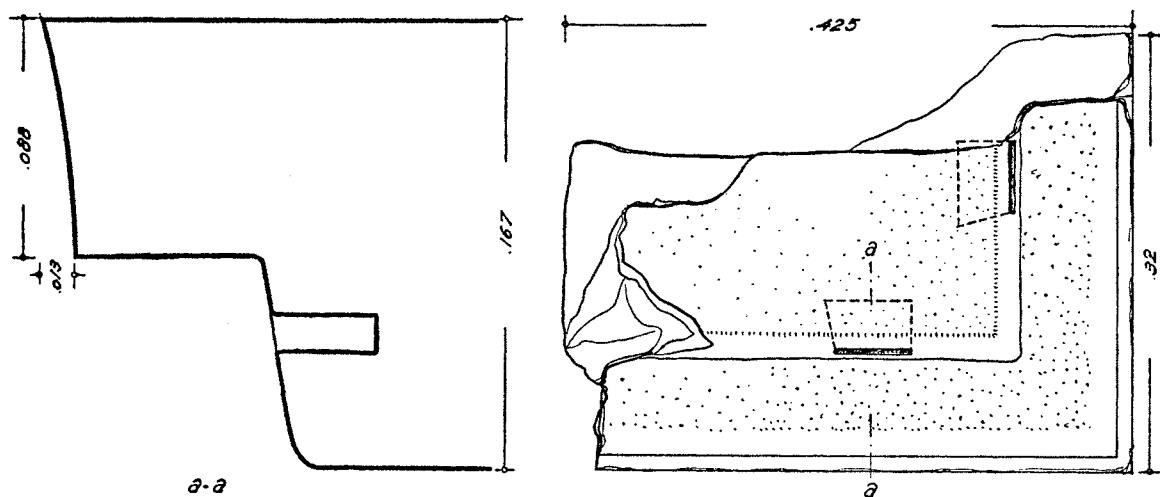


FIG. 8. Crowning Member of Statue Base of Eleusinian Limestone (A 3001).  
Section and Plan of Underside.

fragments indicates that the pedestal stood under shelter. The use of Eleusinian limestone<sup>43</sup> as well as the exquisite quality of the workmanship leave no doubt that the base stood in some building of importance, in all probability a temple.<sup>44</sup>

The second base from the tower (A 2974) was round with a maximum diameter of 1.26 m. and height of 0.56 m. (Fig. 9). It had been reduced to small fragments by the tower builders for use in chinking their foundations. The material is a slightly clouded gray marble, probably Hymettian. The die has a slight upward taper termi-

<sup>40</sup> *Hesperia*, Suppl. V, 1941, pp. 105-110, figs. 38-40.

<sup>41</sup> *Exploration Archéologique de Délos*, XII, *Les Temples d'Apollon*, pp. 189-194, figs. 245-250, pls. XVII, XXIV.

<sup>42</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, II, *Athens Pronaia*, 2, pp. 19 f., pl. XXI, f.

<sup>43</sup> On the use of dark stone cf. L. T. Shoe, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, pp. 340-352.

<sup>44</sup> Two possibilities that come to mind are the Temple of Ares and the Temple of Demeter at Thorikos from which so much other material was taken by the builders of our Southeast Temple. The evidence now available, however, does not permit anything more than mere conjecture.

nating above in a cyma reversa with a base fillet, below in an apophyge which clearly calls for another moulded member below. The top of the base is finished smooth and flat. In the original underside is a rectangular sinking that measures 0.39 x 0.775 m. with a depth of 0.09 to 0.12 m., suitable, that is, to receive the plinth of a

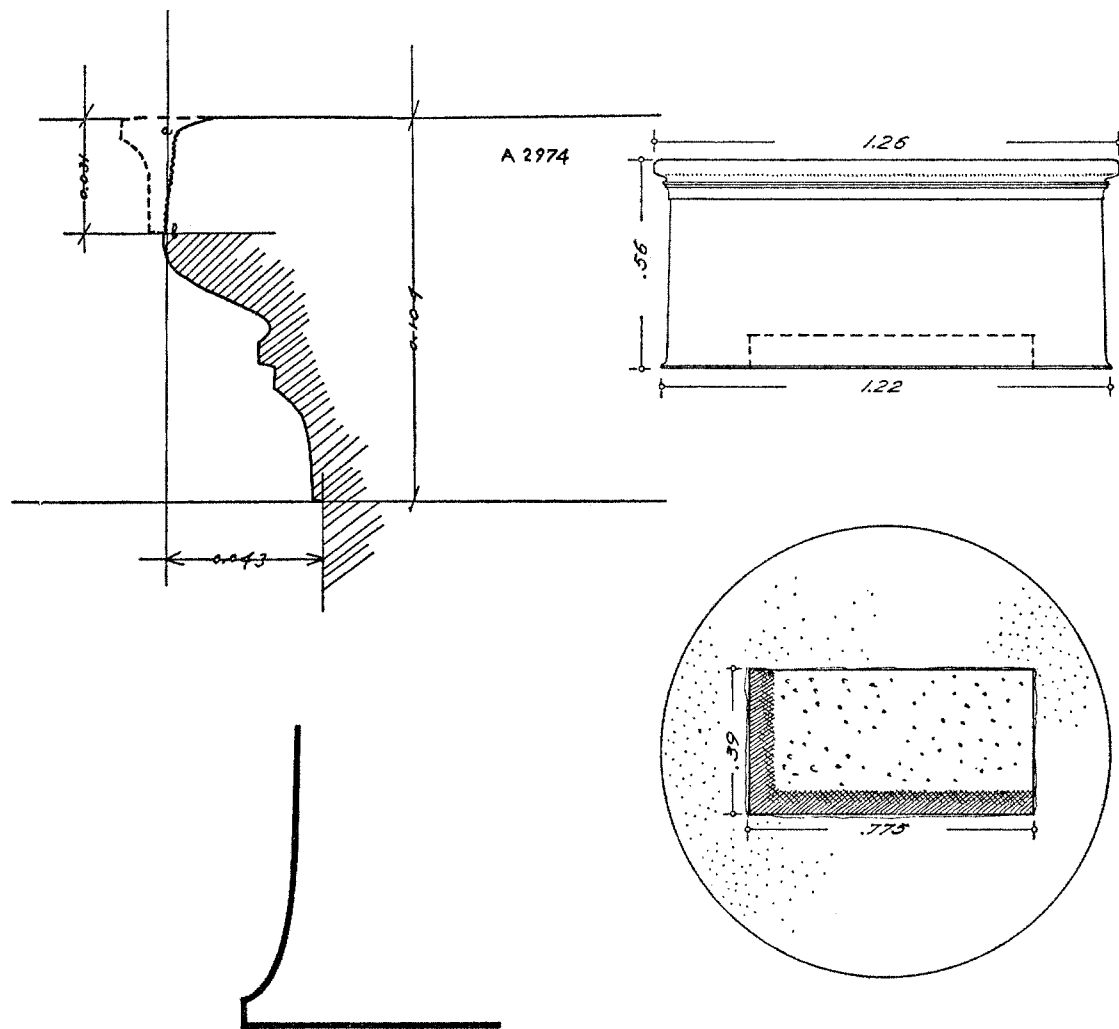


FIG. 9. Round Monument Base (A 2974). Mouldings, Elevation and Plan of Original Underside.

large statue. It would appear, therefore, that the marble had been re-used. Having become separated from the moulded member below it was turned upside down so that the original crowning moulding became a base moulding. The upper part of that crowning moulding, presumably a cavetto above the cyma reversa, was cut away by the re-users, probably because it had been found by them in a damaged condition. We have no clue as to the original use of the pedestal, not even as to whether it was an altar



or a statue base. Its scale, however, and the quality of its workmanship point to a monument of some importance.

## AREA BEHIND THE NORTH END OF THE STOA OF ATTALOS

The removal of a single large house of the late 19th century has greatly improved the view of the north end of the Stoa (Pl. 79, a). The operation has also brought to light an imposing section of the Late Roman Fortification which is now visible to a height of 7.75 m. This fortification, built in the late 3rd century after Christ, rests on top of the foundations for the Square Peristyle of the 4th century B.C. that preceded the Stoa of Attalos on the site. The area to the north of this wall has been left at a level just below the top of the foundations of the 4th century B.C., but exploratory trenches were carried down to bedrock, an additional depth of 4 meters.

It is now clear that the ancient road which issued from the northeast corner of the Agora and skirted the north end of the Stoa continued in use through the Byzantine period. Deep soundings revealed foundations of buildings of the Hellenistic, late Roman and Byzantine periods along the north edge of this road. All were extremely ruinous and would scarcely merit complete excavation in such a confined area.

The results of this limited operation have been valuable in both their positive and negative aspects for a better understanding of a significant point in the topography of the city.

## SOUTH STOA II

This long narrow colonnade, dating from the middle of the 2nd century B.C. and closing the south side of the Agora, had been cleared in the campaigns of 1936, 1952 and 1953.<sup>45</sup> The earlier excavation had stopped, however, at the level of late antiquity. In the summer of 1959 an ancient accumulation as much as 1.00 m. in depth was removed from the square in front of the building and two transverse trenches were opened to test the stratification within the Stoa (Fig. 4; Pl. 78, a).

A closer examination of the surviving parts of the Stoa has shown that the building was constructed of re-used material drawn from the Square Peristyle that had stood at the northeast corner of the Agora until demolished to make way for the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>46</sup> Among the certainly re-used elements are the stylobate and second step, the Doric columns and entablature, the back wall and certain interior foundations. The inter-columniation of the original building (3.006 m.) was retained, as also the width of the colonnade measured from the face of the back wall to the front of the stylobate (8.50 m.). With the help of a number of very small fragments found

<sup>45</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f.; XXII, 1953, pp. 37 f.; XXIII, 1954, pp. 48-50.

<sup>46</sup> *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 101; XXIII, 1954, pp. 60 f.

in front of the building (Pl. 78, b), it has been possible to recognize all the elements of the façade and to assign to it numerous larger pieces of various members that have been found at widely scattered points throughout the excavation and even as far afield as the Market of Caesar and Augustus.<sup>47</sup> The material is distinctive: a hard, travertine-like, gray poros that was used in Athens especially in the 4th century B.C.

These newly recovered architectural members, especially the mouldings of the cornice, will help greatly toward a more precise dating of the Square Peristyle. Their evidence goes far to confirm a date in the time of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.) for the inception of the building program. The pottery and stamped amphora handles found in undisturbed contexts beneath the floor of South Stoa II correspond precisely with similar material from the pillaged foundation trenches of the Square Peristyle beneath the Stoa of Attalos. In both cases the latest amphora handles are of the period 167-146 B.C.<sup>48</sup> It appears therefore that when the Square Peristyle was demolished to make way for the Stoa of Attalos its material was carted southward and incorporated in South Stoa II. It also follows that the Stoa of Attalos and South Stoa II are very closely contemporary, dating from the years around the very middle of the 2nd century B.C. In this connection it is worth recalling that South Stoa II was the third element in the series of colonnades thrown up around the lesser square of the Agora in the course of the 2nd century, the Middle Stoa being the first and the East Stoa the second; the whole program seems to have been completed within about a quarter of a century.

Some startling discoveries were made in the course of the season's work as to the later history of South Stoa II. Throughout the eastern half of the building and over a considerable area in the open square to the north have been observed abundant traces of iron working. The material consists of masses of iron slag together with ash and charcoal. An especially distinctive concentration came to light immediately in front of the building at a distance of about 10 meters from its east end. Here a pit had been dug with some care through the gravelled floor of the square into the soft bedrock. It was rectangular in plan, measuring 2.50 x 4.50 m. with a maximum depth of 0.80 m.; its floor sloped down irregularly from east to west. After use the pit had been filled with lumps of iron slag and a great quantity of ash and charcoal; this material had been supplemented with a miscellaneous assortment of unworked stone and fragmentary ancient marbles, including pieces of two marble benches (A 2910), a fragment of a marble table of offerings with a dedication to Aphrodite (I 6952), and a fragmentary marble cinerary urn. Above this filling the floor of the square had been reconstituted at approximately its original level with a packing of field stones.

<sup>47</sup> To this series belongs a set of Doric frieze blocks undercut at the ends to permit of cantilevered construction; they are now incorporated in a late wall in the Market of Caesar and Augustus; *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, p. 302 (H. S. Robinson), p. 383 (W. B. Dinsmoor).

<sup>48</sup> I am indebted to Miss Virginia Grace for the analysis of the two groups of amphora handles.

The exact purpose of the pit is not clear; the comparative freshness of its walls would seem to preclude its having been used as an actual furnace, yet the presence of so much slag and charcoal indicates that smelting had been carried on in the immediate vicinity.

The pottery and amphora handles found in the pit point to a date in the second half of the 1st century after Christ for the iron working.<sup>49</sup>

The iron workers, having closed down their establishment, were succeeded by marble workers who have left evidence of their activity in the eastern part of South Stoa II, in the East Stoa and throughout the eastern end of the lesser Agora square.

The remains left behind by the marble workers were of two sorts: layers of white marble chips, and laminated deposits of sludge from the sawing and polishing of marble. The marble chips were most abundant in the northern part of the square in front of the Stoa. The greatest concentration of sludge came to light in the southeast corner of the square, but it occurred in lesser quantities also within both South Stoa II and the East Stoa. The layers of chips and sludge interlocked at many points proving that the various operations represented by these materials were going on simultaneously. The sludge was like very fine sand full of glittering crystals; for the most part it was compacted to a rock-like consistency. Its color varied: slate gray, dark and light yellow, occasionally white. This substance had been deposited in layers over considerable areas and to a depth of 0.20, 0.50 or even 0.75 m.; here and there it occurred in round pockets set down in the floor, 0.30 m. or so in diameter, the walls of which had become thickly coated.

These deposits are of the same nature as those to be seen in the numerous marble-working establishments outside modern Athens where the cutting is done with abrasive sand actuated by iron saws; the sludge formed of the finely ground sand and powdered marble is carried off by a constant stream of water to be deposited in layers in the adjacent yard or field. For the identification of the activity that went on in the Agora additional evidence of various sorts was yielded by the excavation. In the tops of three large bedding blocks set down in the mosaic floor of the East Stoa and originally designed to support tables are numerous saw cuts; these must have been made after the removal of the tables when the bedding blocks were found to be a convenient place to set up blocks of marble for sawing. Just to the east of the bedding blocks are two large shallow water basins, one within the east aisle of the East Stoa, one on the terrace in front of the Stoa; rudely constructed with floors of terracotta tile and rubble walls, they most likely belong to the period of the marble workers. Here and there in the sludge lay bits of marble and stone sawn for use as veneer, usually broken edges of slabs fresh from the saw, some of white Pentelic, others of variegated stone (red and yellow). A marble hand (S 3748) and a marble finger (S 3749), also from the sludge, are so fresh that they would seem to have been broken from statues in

<sup>49</sup> Professor H. S. Robinson has kindly examined and given his expert opinion on the relevant pottery.

process of carving. Several unfinished marble basins found in front of the Stoa may also be products of the local industry; a characteristic example (ST 695; diameter 0.40 m.) is illustrated in Plate 78, c.

The date of the marble working is given by the pottery and amphora handles found among the chips and the sludge. This material is appreciably later than that associated with the iron working; it may be assigned to the first half of the 2nd century after Christ.

The extent of the deposits left by the marble workers and the variety of their products would appear to rule out the possibility that the establishment was set up to meet the needs of any specific building project of the time. It would seem rather to have been a regular commercial marble works that functioned in this area for a generation or more, meeting the varied needs of the district in worked marble and stone.

One may well ask about the state of the South Stoa at the time of these industrial activities. It is hard to believe that such things should have gone on within and immediately in front of the old building while it was still intact. The stratification, moreover, shows that in the 2nd century after Christ the level of the area in front of the Stoa was allowed to rise until it reached the top of the stylobate; thereafter the levels within and without the building continued to rise concurrently until the surface was as much as 0.40 m. above the stylobate, a continuous floor sloping down gently toward the north. This phenomenon is most readily intelligible on the assumption that the deposit formed after the removal of the colonnade. Among the many small scraps from the entablature of the Stoa that came to light in front of the building some were found in contexts of the 1st and 2nd centuries after Christ. One small fragment from the cornice of the Stoa is incorporated in the south wall of the Library of Pantainos, a building which dates from about A.D. 100. We must believe, therefore, that the façade of the Stoa had been dismantled before the end of the 1st century after Christ. The steps, however, were left in the front of South Stoa II; the excavation showed that they were removed only in late antiquity. The back wall of the Stoa was in large part demolished but was reconstructed in concrete toward the middle of the 2nd century after Christ to serve as a retaining wall, perhaps also to support the continuation of the Hadrianic aqueduct.<sup>50</sup> There is nothing to show that the façade of the Stoa was ever restored.

The results of the season's work have complicated the question as to the function of South Stoa II and its neighbors, viz. the Middle and the East Stoa, all three of which were clearly erected as parts of a program with the object of creating a closed complex in the south part of the Agora. It had been supposed previously that the lesser square thus constituted was intended primarily as a commercial market place,

<sup>50</sup> *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, p. 97, pl. XVI.

and it has for long been designated as such on the restored plans of the Agora.<sup>51</sup> It must be frankly admitted, however, that the further exploration of the area has given no encouragement to that hypothesis: no closed shops, no trace of counters, booths or stalls, no weights, measures or other paraphernalia appropriate to a market place. The purpose of the complex must accordingly be reconsidered; in the meantime the area has been designated by the non-committal name of the "South Square."<sup>52</sup>

### CONSERVATION, LANDSCAPING, MUSEUM INSTALLATION

Conservation was carried out in the course of the year on a number of monuments in the area. In the temple of Hephaistos an ancient wall block was put back in place above the doorway of the Christian period in the west end wall, and the south side of this doorway was filled out. The peristyle was levelled with a filling of earth and surfaced with crushed stone which makes the building more convenient and safe for the visitor without seriously hindering any scholar who may wish to re-examine the foundations. The remains of the public water clock erected in the 4th century B.C. against the north face of the Heliiaia were protected against erosion by a retaining wall. The large building of the late Roman period to the north of the Temple of Ares was cleaned and its foundations were filled out in such a way as to make the plan intelligible.

On the completion of excavation at the southeast corner of the Agora a new entrance was arranged at this point to facilitate communication between the Agora and the Acropolis. A small parking lot was established near this entrance, to the south of the church of the Holy Apostles, for the convenience of visitors to the Stoa of Attalos. Retaining walls and fences were erected along the eastern limits of the excavations as defined by the season's digging.

The new retaining walls, fences and parking lot were screened by the planting of shrubs, especially oleander and buckthorn. Planting was also carried out on the lower slopes of the Areopagus where exploration has been completed. The trees used here were pine, cypress and olive, so that this area, lying outside the Agora proper, will become continuous with the existing park on the upper slopes of the Areopagus

<sup>51</sup> *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 35-38; XXIII, 1954, pp. 48-51.

<sup>52</sup> Among the possibilities to be taken into account is some connection with the law courts. This is suggested by various considerations: the inclusion in the complex of the structure that has been identified, albeit tentatively, with the Heliiaia (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 33-39); the fact that South Stoa II evidently replaced South Stoa I which has some claim to identification as the Thesmotheteion (*Ibid.*, p. 45, note 14); the use in South Stoa II of material from the Square Peristyle which replaced a group of buildings that were undoubtedly law courts and so was itself in all probability a law court (*Ibid.*, pp. 58-61); the discovery along the north side of the Middle Stoa of several kleroteria or allotment machines of approximately the same date as the Stoa (*Hesperia*, Suppl. I, p. 205, no. V, p. 206, no. VI, p. 207, no. VIII, p. 207, no. IX, p. 209, no. XI).

and Acropolis.<sup>53</sup> Slight adjustments were also made in the light of experience to the paths and planting around the Temple of Hephaistos and the amenities were augmented by the erection of a drinking fountain near the entrance.<sup>54</sup>

With the completion of excavation behind the Stoa of Attalos it became possible to arrange in that area the many hundreds of ancient marbles from the Stoa which could not be incorporated in the reconstruction of the building (Pl. 79, b). The heavier blocks have been laid out by categories on the ground; the more delicate members have been placed on shelving of reinforced concrete set unobtrusively against the face of the high scarp behind the building. The scholarly visitor now has ready access to this great mass of material on which the reconstruction of the Stoa is so largely based.<sup>55</sup>

Within the Stoa of Attalos work continued on the installation of ancient marbles. Practically all the sculpture suitable for public display has now been provided with pedestals,<sup>56</sup> and one of the complete Ionic columns extracted in 1959 from the Late Roman Fortification (above, pp. 351-356) has been erected in the stairwell at the south end of the Stoa in a position where it is sheltered from the elements but at the same time readily accessible to all visitors (Pl. 77, a).

In the course of the year several additions have been made to the model of the Agora, scale 1:200, on display in the balcony of the Stoa of Attalos. The Library of Pantainos, completed in the previous year, has been put in place at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (Pl. 79, c). The Northeast Stoa and the small round building in front of the Stoa of Attalos, now identified as a Fountain House of the Antonine Period, have been modelled and inserted in their places. The model of the Southwest Fountain House has been made but not yet placed. The photograph of the model (Pl. 79, d) will, however, assist in understanding the design of this large and interesting fountain house of the late 5th century B.C. The modelling continues to be done by Chr. Mammelis under the direction of John Travlos.

On the back wall of one of the ancient shops in the Stoa of Attalos at a point opposite the entrance to the building has been erected a series of three bronze plaques

<sup>53</sup> Much of the nursery stock for the new planting was generously contributed by the *Philodasiki Enosis Athenon* through the good offices of the President of the Society, Mrs. K. A. Argyropoulos. Mr. E. Vathis of the Superior School of Agriculture, who has been retained in an advisory capacity, has also been most helpful with counsel regarding both the maintenance and extension of the Agora park.

<sup>54</sup> The fountain is a contribution from Mr. Charles L. Booth, General Manager of the Athens Water Company, whose long-standing interest has meant so much to the development of the Agora park. We are indebted also to the Athens Water Company for technical assistance in the extension of the water system within the Agora necessitated by the new planting.

<sup>55</sup> The construction of the shelving and the arrangement of the marbles were carried out under the immediate supervision of John Travlos.

<sup>56</sup> Evelyn B. Harrison has continued to supervise the installation of sculpture.

commemorating the excavation of the Agora and the reconstruction of the Stoa, and listing the names of those who participated in and contributed to those enterprises.<sup>57</sup> The plaques were unveiled on August 25, 1959, at the close of a ceremony in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the commencement of exploration in the Agora; representatives of the Greek Archaeological Society and of the German Archaeological Institute spoke on this occasion of the part played by those organizations in the earlier phases of the exploration.

### MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

Some 150 inscriptions were found in the course of the season's work, most of them in the area of the Eleusinion. A dozen of the new finds represent additional fragments of documents already known.

Mention has been made above (p. 338) of the ten inscriptions that have special relevance to the Eleusinion. Among the other new stones may be noted another large fragment of a known casualty list from one of the last years of the Peloponnesian War (I 1008, I 6955);<sup>58</sup> a large fragment containing a list of the members of the Council from a stele of which many pieces had previously been found and which has been dated to *ca.* 303/2 B.C. (I 4720),<sup>59</sup> a fragment of an opisthographic stele of Roman times listing Areopagites of the tribe Kekropis (I 6889), and a fragment of an imperial letter from the reign of Commodus (I 6935).

Among a number of interesting though very fragmentary examples of black-figure pottery from the construction filling of the temple in the Eleusinion may be noted an amphora of the mid 6th century (P 26632, 26651). Only small scraps remain of the two panel pictures, but one of these, though enigmatic in theme, is interesting as an early representation of a Doric building (Pl. 80, a). The treatment of the columns and entablature is close to that of the two buildings illustrated on the François Vase, but our draughtsman has shown greater daring than Klitias in his handling of the roof. The individual tiles, both pan and cover, are drawn, and are further differentiated by the alternate use of black and red. As on the "Olive Tree Pediment" the sloping top line presumably implies a hipped roof. In view of the comparative prominence of the architecture over the draped male figure that stands between the columns, the episode would appear to be one in which a building played an important part.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>57</sup> The cost of the plaques was defrayed by Mr. Ward M. Canaday, President of the Board of Trustees of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens.

<sup>58</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, pp. 82-91; XII, 1943, pp. 37-48. The new fragment, which joins the top of old Fragment B, preserves the heading for the tribe Leontis and records the names of two ἀρχοντες τοῦ ναυτικοῦ, of two taxiarchs and of four trierarchs.

<sup>59</sup> *Hesperia*, X, 1941, p. 46.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Bushor's observations on the state of mind of the vase painter when representing archi-

Of several wells that were cleared in the course of the season mention may be made of one which was opened between the Mint and the east to west road that bordered the south side of the Mint. This is one of a number of wells of the Hellenistic and Roman periods which have come to light along both the north and south borders of this busy thoroughfare; they served the houses and small shops that lined the street, the presumption being that the courtyards of those establishments were too small to permit the digging of a well. The well that was cleared this year, like several others of the series, had been in use for a very long time, from the latter part of the 2nd into the 6th century after Christ. The contents were for the most part of a purely domestic character, great quantities of household pottery, scraps of wood, fruit stones, and the bones of animals, especially boar and goat.

Of particular interest among the pottery from the well is the lower part of a large amphora-like vessel (P 26600; Pl. 80, d).<sup>61</sup> That it was no ordinary household container is clear from the fact that a round aperture 0.065 m. in diameter was left in its bottom by the potter. Its unusual character is further confirmed by the representations on its wall. On one side stands a nude male figure, holding some slender object in his left hand. On the opposite side is preserved the lower part of a long-robed figure, presumably female. The figures were separated from one another by two columns, the better preserved of which is decorated with a vague floral design suggesting an acanthus column. A non-joining fragment from high on the wall preserves a band of palmettes. The base is elaborately profiled and further adorned with rows of short oblique bars. Nothing remains of the mouth. The context provided by the well, as also the style of the floral ornament, would point to a date in the early part of the 4th century after Christ.<sup>62</sup> As to the purpose of the vase, one can scarcely avoid association with the Panathenaics; the male figure is clearly an athlete bearing the palm of victory, and the female figure may be a last pitiful representation of Athena. If it is indeed to be thought of as a prize vase, its function, in view of the open bottom, must be considered as purely symbolic. There is reason to believe, however, that the Panathenaic Festival persisted into the 5th century of our era, and prizes presumably continued to be given.<sup>63</sup> Though the incomplete state of the vase

tectural forms; *Ath. Mitt.*, XLVII, 1922, pp. 81-91 (à propos of the "Olive Tree Pediment" on the Acropolis).

<sup>61</sup> Pres. H. 0.34 m. Fine buff clay. The figures are painted in brown on a light ground and the wall below the figured panels is also brown. Interior details on the figures are incised. White paint was used for the floral ornaments, for the dots on the base and for a dotted ground line below the figures.

<sup>62</sup> The floral ornament may be paralleled on household vases of the late 3rd and early 4th centuries; *Athenian Agora*, V, pl. 37.

<sup>63</sup> On Panathenaics in the Hellenistic and Roman periods cf. G. R. Edwards, *Hesperia*, XXVI, 1957, pp. 320-349. On a mosaic of the latter part of the 1st century after Christ in Corinth an athlete bearing a palm branch appears in the company of Eutychia; O. Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, *The South Stoa*, Princeton, 1954, pp. 108 f., pl. 31 and color plate facing p. 108. The possibility cannot



imposes some degree of caution, we may with probability regard the piece as by far the latest known example of a series that had its beginning as early at least as 566 B.C., and one of the latest documents concerning the principal festival of the city of Athens.

Among a number of terracotta figurines from the well may be mentioned one of the 3rd century after Christ (T 3635), an actor clad in a long-sleeved, quilted garment white in color, his face and hand dark red, his hair tawny (Pl. 80, c).<sup>64</sup> The type corresponds to the description of the "leading servant" in Pollux (IV, 149): "The leading servant has a *spira* of yellowish red hair, he raises his eyebrows and frowns; he occupies the same position among the slaves as the leading old man among the free men."

Likewise from the level of the 3rd century in the well came a terracotta medallion with a representation of the triple-bodied Artemis Hekate in high relief (Pl. 80, e).<sup>65</sup> The disk is flat behind but has a moulded border in front and two holes for suspension at the top. Although much of one side is broken away, the figure may be supposed to have been symmetrical with the same three attributes in each triad of hands. The artist no doubt envisaged the figure as completely triple, i. e. with three heads, three bodies and six arms. The dress is a peplos with long overhang and prominent girdle; each head is crowned with a kalathos. The attributes in the hands are torch, whip, bow and arrow. To the left of the goddess stands a stag, to the right a dog. In the field, at the level of the goddess' heads, is a crescent moon.

The syncretism of the two goddesses, Artemis and Hekate, which is attested in Athens already by Aischylos, is here well illustrated by the attributes, the torch, the whip and the dog of Hekate, the bow, the arrow and the stag of Artemis.

Though hastily made from an already worn mould, the medallion must derive ultimately from an impressive work of the late 5th century B.C. In date and figure type it might well be thought to echo a work of Alkamenes who, according to Pausanias (II, 30, 2), was the first to render Hekate in triple form. The name of Alkamenes, however, is generally and perhaps correctly associated with the archaistic rendering which predominates among the innumerable little marble hekateia in the round that have been found especially in Athens.<sup>66</sup>

be ruled out that the female figure on our vase also was some such personification; but in Athens, where the tradition of prize vases of amphora shape bearing the figure of Athena was so old and so consistent, the probabilities are all in favor of Athena.

One of the latest epigraphic documents relating to the Panathenaic Festival is *I.G.*, III<sup>2</sup>, 3818 (*ante med. saec. V post*) in which one Plutarch is honored for three times paying the cost of conveying the sacred ship to the temple of Athena.

<sup>64</sup> H. 0.077 m. Light brown clay. Broken away below the waist. On the type cf. M. Bieber, *History of the Greek and Roman Theatre*, Princeton, 1939, p. 189, figs. 263-269; T. B. L. Webster, "The Masks of Greek Comedy," *Bulletin of the Rylands Library*, XXXII, 1949, p. 9.

<sup>65</sup> T 3637. Diam. 0.18 m. Traces of white paint on the figures.

<sup>66</sup> On this whole subject cf. T. Kraus, *Hekate*, Heidelberg, 1960, Ch. IV. Some of the more characteristic marble hekateia from the Agora are listed by Kraus, *op. cit.*, p. 173, A4-A14.

Since the well from which the medallion was recovered is only a short stone's throw from the crossroads shrine at the intersection of the Panathenaic Way and the east to west street, it is tempting to see some connection. More probably, however, the little *eikon* comes from some neighboring house. From a familiar passage in Aristophanes' *Wasps* (line 804) we know that hekataia were to be seen commonly above the doors of houses in Athens. Just as Hekate Epipyrgidia from her position beside the Temple of Wingless Victory kept watch over the entrance to the Acropolis, and Hekate-Artemis-Kalliste in her sanctuary outside the Dipylon controlled the approach to the city, so these lesser images were placed to protect the entrance to men's homes.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY  
PRINCETON



a. Agora Excavations from Northwest, September 8, 1959. Eleusinion lies behind Church of the Holy Apostles.



b. Panathenaic Way, from North. West Edge of Road marked by Stone Water Channel.



a. Panathenaic Way. Paving at Southeast Corner of Agora, from North.



b. Temple in Eleusinion, from Northeast.

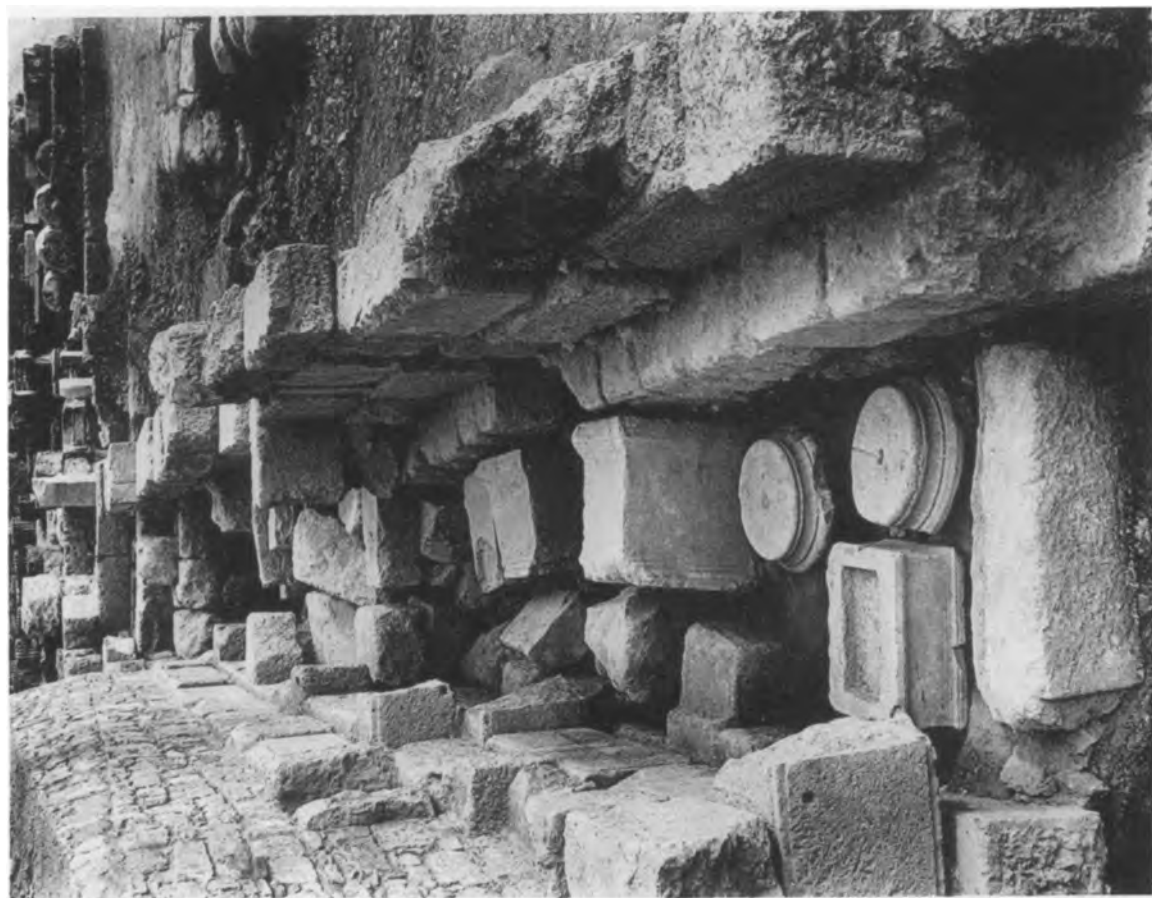


a. Southeast Temple, from West. A. Core of Pedestal for Cult Statues, B. Foundations of Mint, C. Nymphaeum, D. Panathenaic Way, E. Late Roman Fortification.

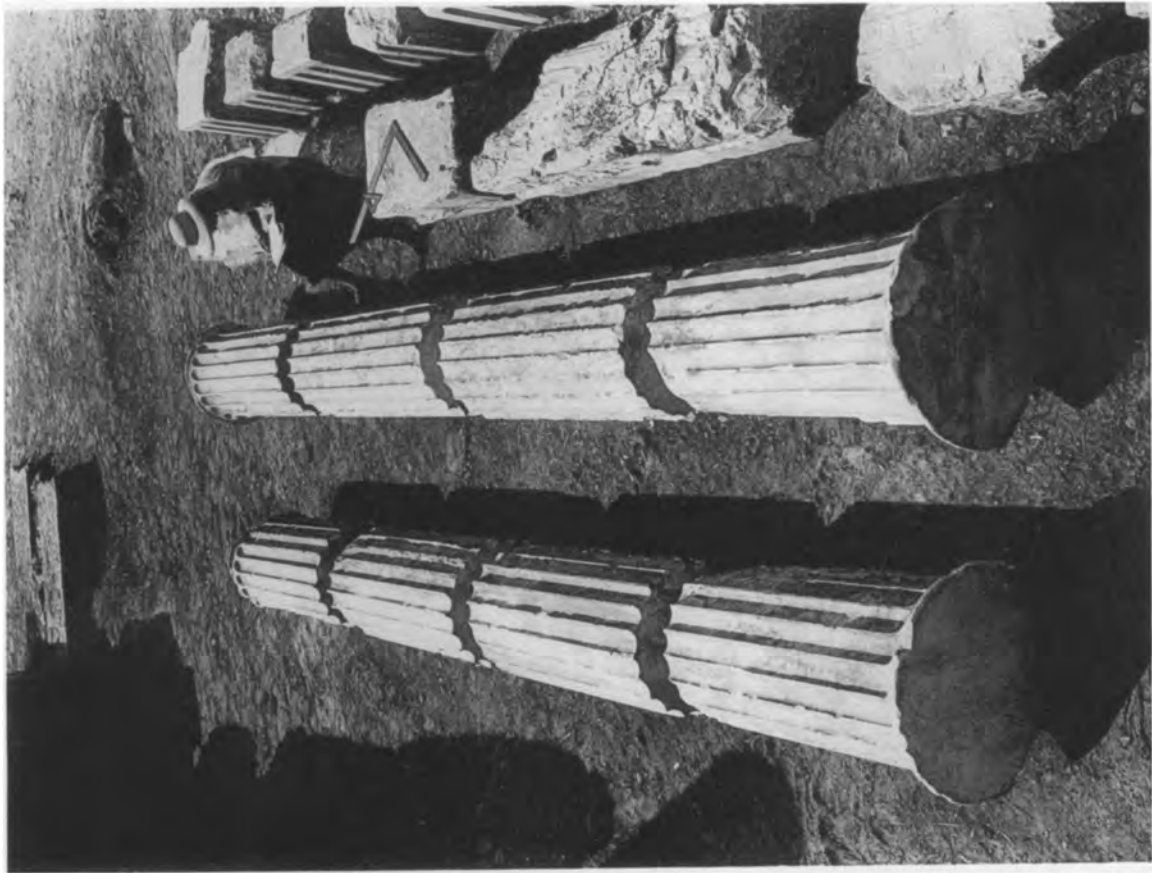


b. Tower in Late Roman Fortification, from West. A. Stairway between Library of Pantainos (left) and Southeast Building (right), B. Doric Column Drums, C. Ionic Column Drums.



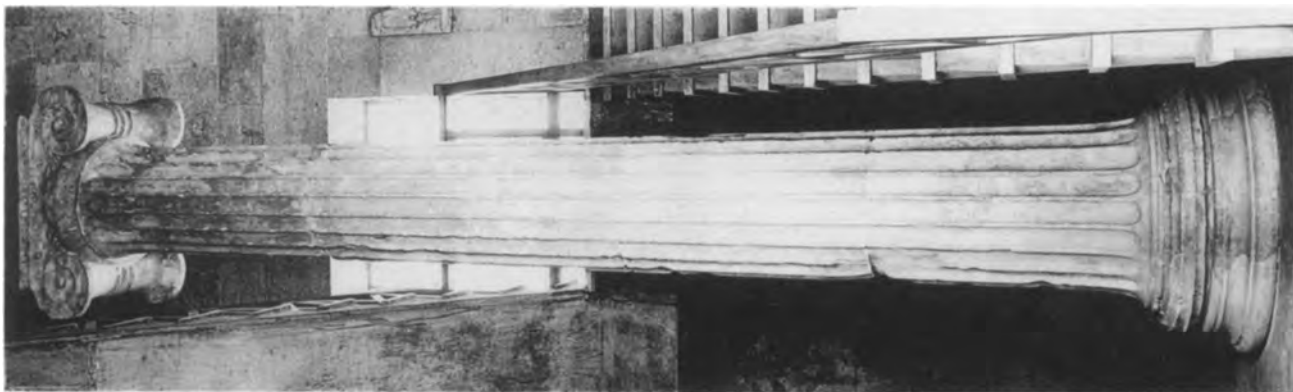


a. Late Roman Fortification containing members of Southeast Building.



b. Ionic Columns from Late Roman Fortification.

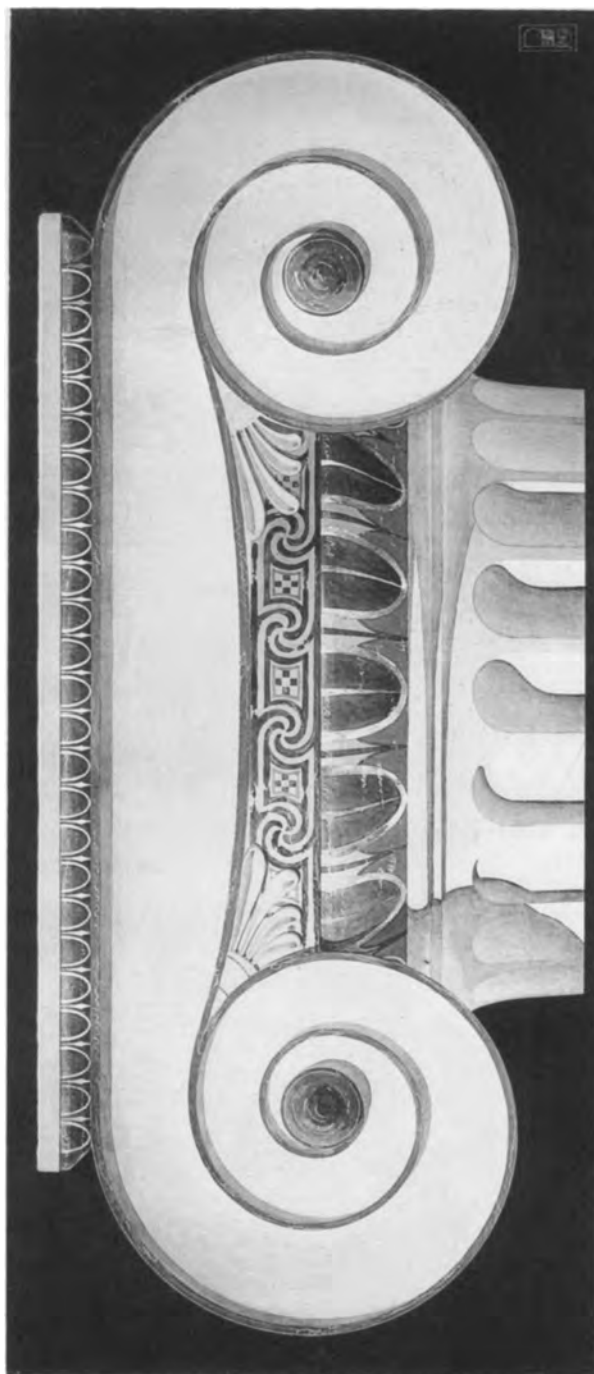
HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959



a. Ionic Column re-erected in Stoa of Attalos.



b. Ionic Capital (A 2972). Actual State.



c. Ionic Capital (A 2972). Water Color by Piet de Jong.

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959



a. South Side of Agora, from Northeast. A. South Stoa I, B. South Stoa II, C. East Stoa, D. Late Roman Gymnasium.



b. Fragments from Facade of South Stoa II found in Front of Stoa. Scale about 1:6.

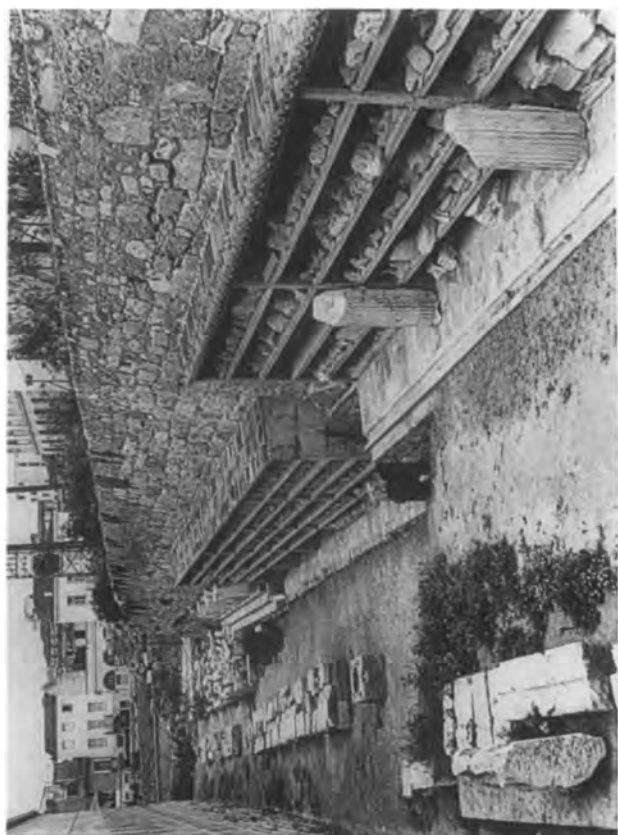


c. Unfinished Marble Basin from South Stoa II (ST 695). Top and Bottom. Scale about 1:3.

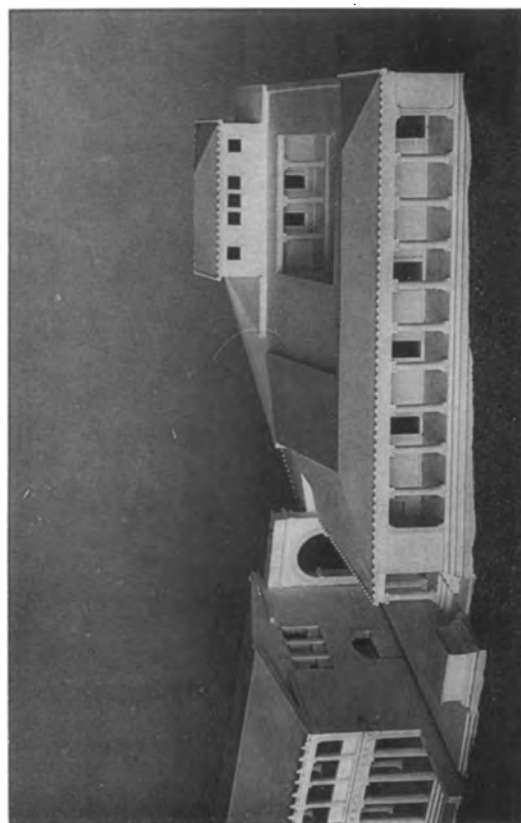




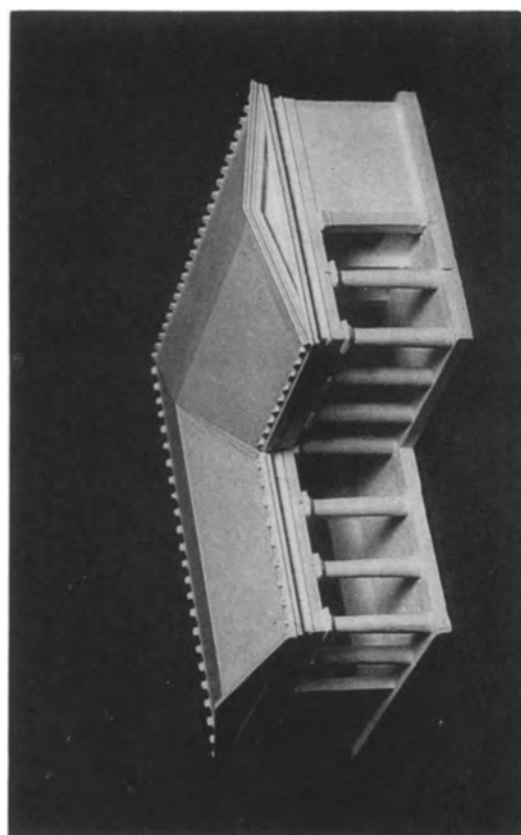
a. Stoa of Attalos, Rear from North. Late Roman Fortification to left.



b. Ancient Marbles from Stoa of Attalos. Stoa to left.

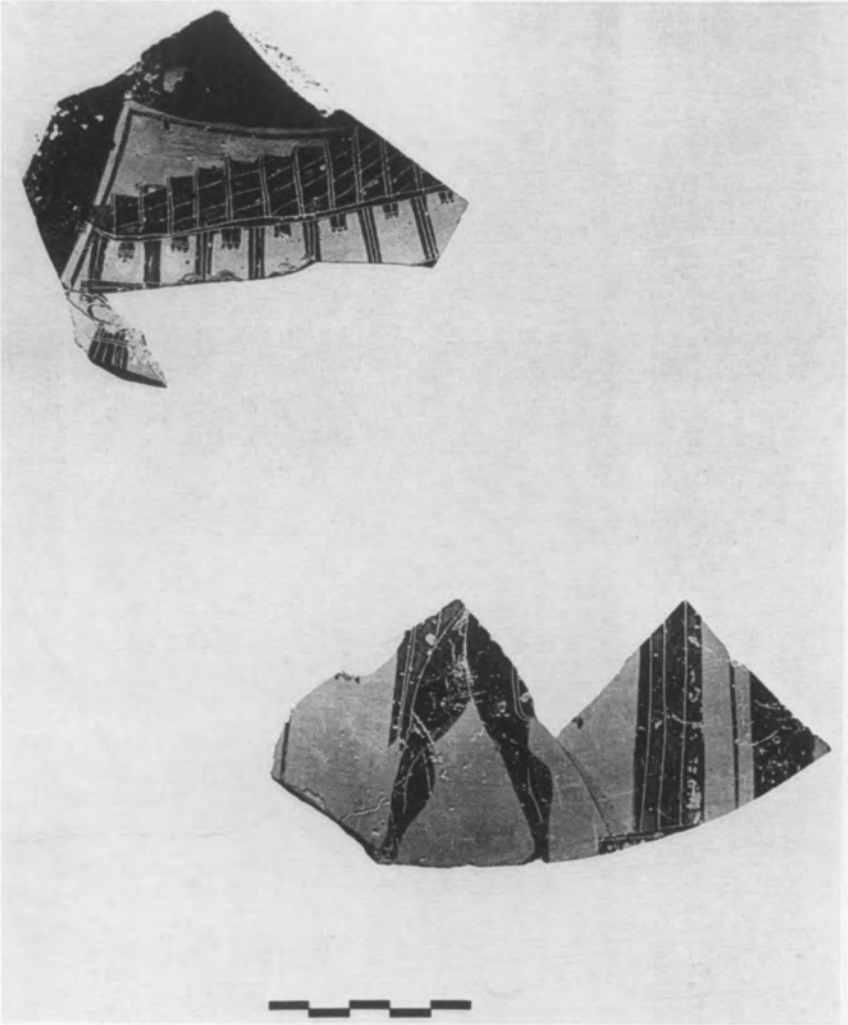


c. Model of the Library of Pantainos, from West.



d. Model of Southwest Fountain House, from Northwest.

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA, 1959



a. Black-Figure Amphora from Eleusinion (P 26651, P 26632 a).



b. Fragment from The Attic Stelai (I 236). Scale 1:5.



c. Terracotta Actor (T 3635). Scale about 1:2.



d. Panathenaic Amphora (P 26600). Scale 1:4.



e. Terracotta Medallion with Hekate (T 3637). Scale about 1:2.