

ACTIVITY IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA 1960-1965

(PLATES 13-18)

IN 1960 the last comprehensive report on the excavations conducted by the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora appeared in this journal.¹ Since that time the staff has concentrated on the study and publication of the results of almost a quarter century of digging.² These studies have necessitated a certain

¹ *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 327-368.

² Begun in 1931, field work continued in regular annual campaigns through 1940. After World War II excavation was resumed in 1946 and has been continued subsequently each summer excepting in 1962.

The regular staff of the Agora Excavations is now reduced to skeleton proportions. Professor Eugene Vanderpool as Deputy Field Director has devoted to the Agora as much time as remained to him after discharging his teaching duties. Mr. John Travlos, Architect of the School's Excavations, has retained general responsibility for architectural studies and the planning for the extension of the excavations. Miss Alison Frantz, after serving for a quarter of a century as Staff Photographer, asked to be relieved so that she might devote more of her time to the study of the Byzantine and later monuments of the Agora. Her place as photographer has been filled since 1964 by Mr. James Heyle who has served the School both in the Agora and at Corinth and who produced the photographs used in this report. Miss Virginia Grace continues to use the Agora as the base of operations for her wide-ranging researches on amphorae, making occasional excursions to Alexandria, Delos and other places to study or to arrange their holdings. She retains her two Greek assistants: Mr. Andreas Demoulini and Mrs. Maria Petropoulakou. Mrs. A. Demoulini, as Secretary, retains charge of the excavation records and cheerfully assists both resident and distant scholars who wish to avail themselves of Agora material.

In the summer of 1964 the architect Mr. Thomas Czarnowski worked with Professor Walter Graham in making drawings for his study of private houses. In the summer of 1965, Mr. Joseph Shaw collaborated with Professor Graham in the same capacity. Mr. William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. worked with the undersigned in the study of the Middle Stoa in the spring of 1965 and prepared an extensive set of drawings. To the same study Mr. Piet de Jong contributed a water color of the terracotta sima from the building. Mr. Argyris Petronotis, a volunteer architect, in the summer of 1964 prepared a set of drawings to illustrate the architectural members of the Temple of Demeter from Thorikos which have been recovered from the Late Roman Fortification. On a visit to Greece in the summer of 1965 Mr. Weeks Gardner Smith of Murray Hill, N. J. very obligingly made several water colors of mosaic floors, one of which is reproduced in Pl. 18, b. Of the many persons who have given much appreciated voluntary assistance of recent years in the Records Room particular mention must be made of Mrs. Mary Nicholas.

Many of the scholars who are preparing volumes for the Agora series of publications have spent longer or shorter periods in the Stoa of Attalos, usually in the summer months.

Grateful acknowledgment is due to those who have contributed money for various aspects of the current activity. Donations from Mr. Peter E. Demarest have made possible the extensive work carried out in 1964 and 1965 in the South Square. The exploration on the north slope of the Areopagus was financed by Miss Alice Tully. Grants from the American Philosophical Society have paid for the drawing needed in the study of the private houses, while grants from the Bollingen and Old Dominion Foundations have been used to further the publication program in various ways,

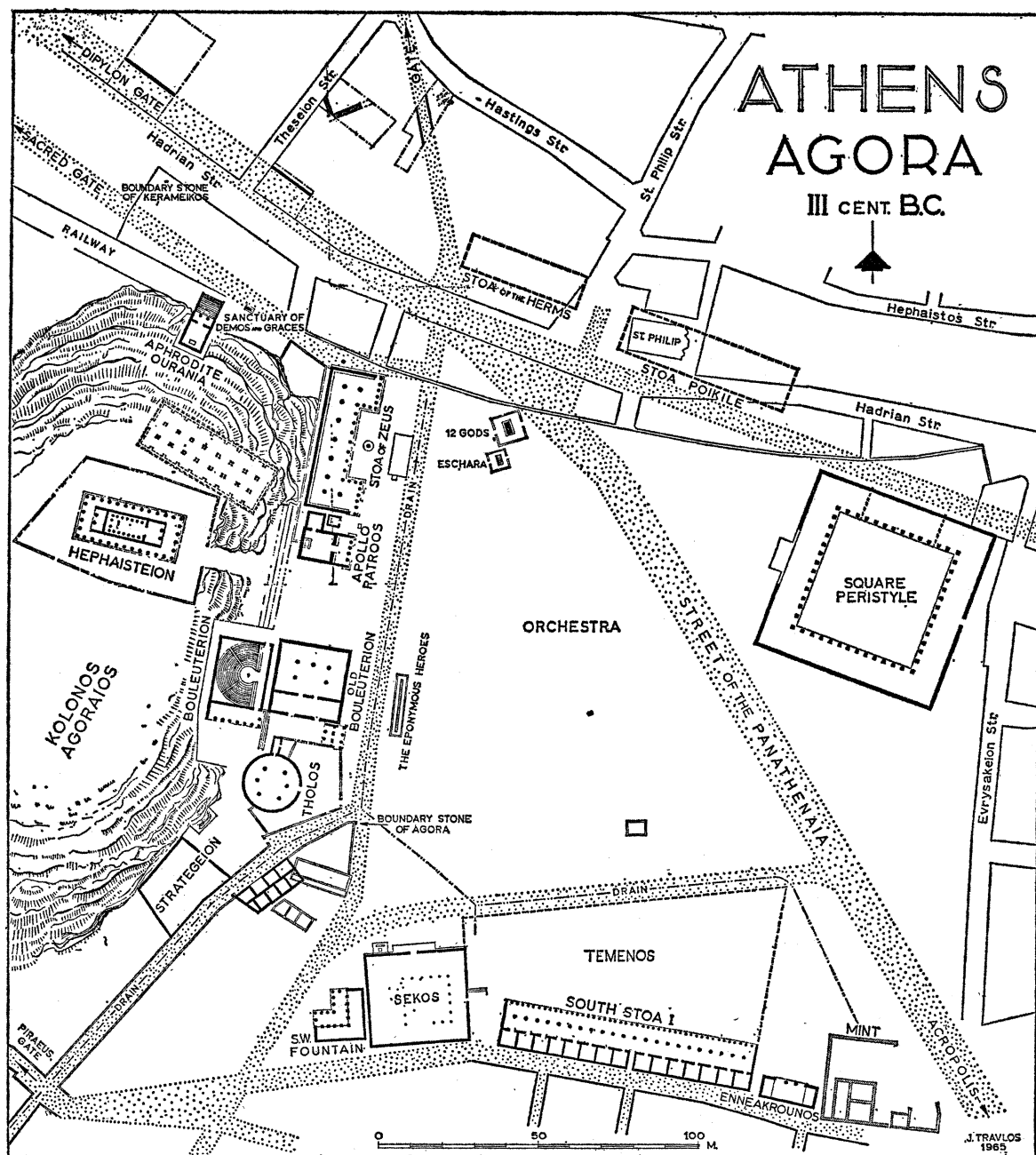


FIG. 1. Restored Plan of the Agora, 3rd Century before Christ.
(By John Travlos)

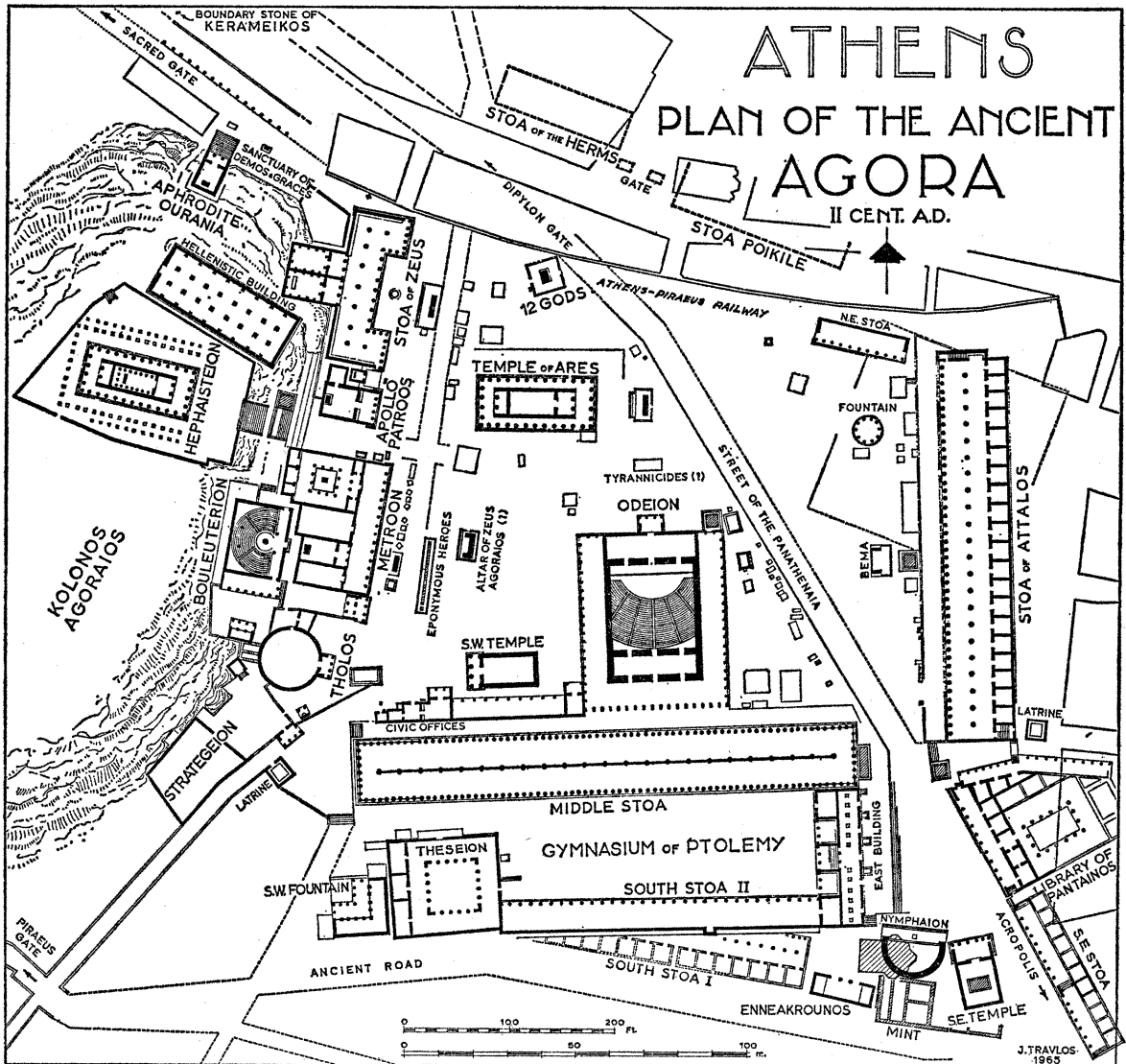


FIG. 2. Restored Plan of the Agora. 2nd Century after Christ.
(By John Travlos)

amount of supplementary excavation within the Agora, and in several cases they have led to extensions beyond the limits of the Agora proper. The results of these various investigations, all of modest scale, will be summarized in the following report.

THE SOUTH SQUARE

THESEION-PTOLEMAION COMPLEX

Over the past five years a good deal of effort has been expended in an attempt to recover the architectural scheme and the history of the extensive complex of buildings that closed the south side of the Agora proper. The main group, comprising five buildings and occupying an area of almost 10,000 square meters, has proven to be interesting in many respects. Since the results of the investigation will be presented shortly in a volume of the Agora monograph series, only a very brief summary will be given here.³ The basic conclusions both architectural and topographical may be read from the new plans by John Travlos (Figs. 1, 2) and from the models made under his direction (Pl. 14).

Various proposals had previously been considered for the identification of the complex, but all such have proven on closer examination to be unacceptable. It had once been thought, for instance, that the South Square might have been a commercial agora, an interpretation that is virtually ruled out by the absence of closed shops.⁴ More recently it was conjectured that the complex was intended primarily for the use of the lawcourts;⁵ but this is made altogether unlikely by the failure to find within the area any of the characteristic furnishings of lawcourts such as bronze ballots, kleroteria and klepsydrai. Either of these hypotheses, moreover, would have excluded reference to the complex in Pausanias' text, and this would have been a startling omission.⁶

notably in the architectural studies of the South Square. The study of amphorae has been furthered by a grant from the Clark Foundation. The excavation conducted in the spring of 1965 in the Southeast Stoa was financed entirely by Brown University chiefly through a generous donation from Mrs. Gertrude M. du Pont.

³ A paper on the subject read before the annual meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America on December 29, 1964 at Seattle is summarized in *A.J.A.*, LXIX, 1965, p. 177. I have profited greatly in the study of the problem through discussion with Eugene Vanderpool, John Travlos and R. E. Wycherley although I would not hold any of these colleagues responsible for my conclusions.

⁴ *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 35-38.

⁵ *The Athenian Agora, a Guide*,² 1962, pp. 206-208.

⁶ For the history of the problem reference may be made to the identifications proposed by Dr. W. Dörpfeld in 1937, long before the area had been fully excavated: *Alt-Athen und seine Agora*, 1. Heft, Berlin, 1937, pp. 69-76. Dörpfeld identified the Middle Stoa with the Stoa Poikile, the Odeion of Agrippa with the Theseion and the area between the Middle Stoa and South Stoa II as the Gymnasium of Ptolemy; he regarded the late Roman Gymnasium as a reconstruction of the Gymnasium of Ptolemy carried out before the visit of Pausanias. Professor Charles Picard

Now that the area of the South Square has been more completely excavated, the design and the history of the individual buildings more exactly established and the environs fully explored to north, south, east and west, one may come back to the old problem of identification with more confidence. A re-appraisal based on the more ample evidence has led to the conclusion that the complex of buildings is none other than the Gymnasium of Ptolemy noted by Pausanias as he left the Agora on his way toward the Acropolis (I, 17, 2). Pausanias described the Gymnasium as "not far from the Agora." Elsewhere the same author uses the expression "not far from" as the equivalent of "close to." That the South Square did in fact lie immediately outside the formal limits of the Agora is clear from the presence of the familiar horos near the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa. Close to the Gymnasium, continued Pausanias, was the sanctuary of Theseus in which the bones of the hero were deposited when brought back from Skyros by Kimon in 475 B.C. On the walls of the *sekos* or enclosure Pausanias saw paintings by Polygnotos commemorating episodes in the life of Theseus: the centauremachy, the amazonomachy and the recovery of the gold ring from the bottom of the sea. Plutarch in his life of Theseus (XXXVI, 2) confirms the propinquity of Gymnasium and Theseion. The only suitable candidate for the *sekos* is the larger of the two rectangular structures near the southwest corner of the complex. This building was erected in the first half of the 5th century B.C.; in the 2nd century B.C. it was incorporated in the complex, but in the time of Pausanias and of Plutarch it must have seemed somewhat detached by reason of the destruction of South Stoa II at the hands of the Romans in 86 B.C.

We may now give a brief description of the complex as it appeared on completion in the latter part of the 2nd century B.C. (Fig. 2). The square was closed on the north side by the Middle Stoa, the earliest and largest unit in the Hellenistic building program. With colonnades on all four sides and a screen wall down its mid line, the stoa faced both north toward the main square of the Agora and south toward the lesser square. That it was designed primarily in relation to the lesser square is indicated by the superior finish of its south flank.

As the construction of the Middle Stoa neared completion, work began on a smaller unit designed to form the east end of the lesser square, the East Building. A passage through its middle provided the main entrance to the square. The East Building was divided into two halves by a wall on its main axis. The eastern half consisted of a single long, narrow chamber in which were twelve square marble bedding blocks arranged in two groups of six each to north and south of the trans-

writing in 1960 (*Rev. Arch.*, 1960, I, pp. 33-75; see the reply by H. A. Thompson, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 1-3) likewise looked upon the Odeion of Agrippa as the hieron of Theseus and accepted the Late Roman Gymnasium as the Ptolemaion. The arguments of both Dörpfeld and Picard are largely invalidated by their almost complete disregard of the evidence for the dating of the various buildings. Both scholars had the great merit, however, of recognizing the necessity of looking for the Sanctuary of Theseus in a prominent position in close relation to the Agora.

verse passage. The bedding blocks presumably supported pieces of furniture, perhaps tables or chests, to hold books and visual aids needed for class recitations.⁷ The western half of the East Building was divided into five chambers. The middle one contained a flight of stairs by which the passageway descended into the square. The southernmost chamber was fitted out as a washroom; the second from the south as an exhedra or classroom. The two northern rooms are too ruinous to permit of certain identification.

South Stoa II, a single colonnade of the Doric order, followed immediately, joining the East Building to the old sekos. The studied relationship among those various buildings both in plan and in levels indicates clearly that they are to be regarded as elements of a well considered program.

The sekos had been in its original form a rectangular enclosure surrounded by a freestanding wall of fine poros masonry with a prominent entrance at the middle of its north side. At some point as yet undetected within this enclosure presumably rested the reliquary with the bones of Theseus, and the famous paintings will have adorned the inner face of the wall.⁸ When the old heroon was incorporated in the Hellenistic complex a peristyle court was inserted in the sekos with a range of rooms opening on its west side, the typical plan of a palaestra. This remodelling need not have disturbed the paintings, at least on three sides of the enclosure, nor need it have eliminated the sanctity of the place.

The Hellenistic program originally comprised only these four elements: Middle Stoa, East Building, South Stoa II and Theseion-Palaestra. As the remodelling of the Theseion proceeded, the decision was taken to include one more old building in the new complex, viz. the Southwest Fountain House dating from the late 5th century B.C. The building ceased to be a fountain house; there are indications that it was converted into a swimming pool. The plan was changed from an L to a rectangle, from the northwest corner of which a wall was carried to the southwest corner of the Middle Stoa closing the west end of the square. A much more modest fountain house was built at the northeast corner of the old one, and to the north of this a wash-room was installed. This is the probable source of a set of three rectangular poros

⁷ Rooms of similar width and with traces of similar square plinths on their axes bordered three sides of the courtyard of the Gymnasium in the Academy of Plato. Cf. Ph. Stavropoulos, *Μεγάλη Ἑλληνικὴ Ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία*, 2nd ed., Athens n.d., pp. 340-344. The rooms were regarded by Stavropoulos as stoas with interior columns of wood. But the foundations on the long sides of the chambers are of the same width on either side and are too narrow to have supported outer columns, while the width of the chambers is too slight (5.40 m.) to have required interior columns. Although the purpose of the arrangement is obscure in both the Academy and the Agora there can be no doubt that the function was the same in both cases. This supports the identification of the Agora complex as a gymnasium.

⁸ The heroon at Trysa in Lycia, the modern Gjölbashi, dating from ca. 400 B.C., doubtless owes both its architectural form and the themes for most of its (sculptured) adornment to the Athenian sanctuary. Cf. O. Benndorf and G. Niemann, *Das Heroon von Gjölbashi-Trysa*, Vienna, 1889-91; Fr. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroons von Gjölbashi-Trysa*, Vienna, 1950.

basins of characteristic Hellenistic design which were re-used in the early Roman period to cover drains to the east of the East Building.⁹

Thus we have the essential elements of a Hellenistic gymnasium: a spacious square bordered by colonnades, buildings suitable for school use, ample accommodation for washing and drinking, probably a swimming pool. The archaeological evidence points to a date early in the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C. for the inception of the building program. The Ptolemy concerned would seem therefore to have been the sixth, Philometor, 181-145 B.C. A new gymnasium was no doubt required at this time here in Athens as in so many other Greek cities to meet an increase in the demand for higher education from a population that was rising in both number and prosperity.¹⁰

As the Middle Stoa neared completion, radically altering the appearance of the south side of the old square, work began on another huge stoa that was to be equally prominent on the east side. It is not surprising that the eastern building was a contribution from Attalos II (159-138 B.C.) of the royal family of Pergamon, rivals of the Ptolemies in many things and not least in their regard for the venerable city of Athens.

The Ptolemaic foundation took its place among the major gymnasia of Athens, three of which, the Academy, the Lykeion and Kynosarges, were old while two, the Ptolemaion and the Diogeneion, were Hellenistic foundations. The Ptolemaion appears to have been concerned more with intellectual training than with athletics; mention is made repeatedly in the inscriptions of a library to which the graduating class contributed one hundred volumes.

The whole complex suffered in the Roman sack of 86 B.C., the Middle Stoa slightly, the lesser buildings grievously. In the 1st century after Christ much of the area was given over to industrial activity: marble working, iron smelting, pottery making.¹¹ But the Gymnasium as an institution continued to flourish. Cicero, for instance, in 79 B.C. spent a morning here with a few friends listening to a lecture by Antiochos of Askalon, head of the Academy.¹² Gradually the facilities were replaced. Thus about 15 B.C. a roofed auditorium with a capacity of about one thousand was erected against the north flank of the Middle Stoa; the principal entrance to the

⁹ I have enjoyed discussion of the hydraulic installations, as well as other aspects of the Agora complex, with M. René Ginouvès who has dealt with bathing accommodations in the gymnasium in his book *Balaneutikè*, Paris, 1962, pp. 109-150; for the rectangular basins cf. especially pp. 130-133.

¹⁰ On the remarkable efflorescence of gymnasia throughout the Greek world in the 2nd century B.C. cf. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Paris, 1960, pp. 143-201; for the Ptolemaion pp. 146-147. The literary evidence bearing on the Ptolemaion has been conveniently assembled by R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957, pp. 142-144. On the relations between Ptolemy Philometor and Athens cf. M. Thompson, *American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes*, XI, 1964, pp. 119-129.

¹¹ Much evidence for industrial activity was produced by excavations carried out in 1959 and 1960 in South Stoa II, in an open area to the north of the Stoa and in the Theseion (then regarded as the Heliaia); *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 360-362.

¹² *de Finibus*, V, 1.

building led in from the terrace of the Stoa.¹³ The building is variously referred to in the ancient authors as a theater or odeion, and it may indeed have been used for drama and musical performances. But we know of it chiefly through references in Philostratos who describes lectures given there by visiting sophists before audiences consisting largely of students.¹⁴ This circumstance, as also the choice of site for the building, is readily explained on the assumption that it was intended from the beginning as an adjunct to the old gymnasium. The building bore the name of Agrippa. Towering above both the Ptolemaic gymnasium and the Attalid stoa it symbolized the intrusion of a new and aggressive world power in the heart of the ancient city.

About the year A.D. 100 the Athenian Pantainos erected a library on the east side of the Panathenaic Way, to the south of the Stoa of Attalos.¹⁵ Reference to the plan (Fig. 2) will show that the new library was separated from the old gymnasium only by the width of the road; the entrances to the two buildings were directly opposite each other. Many doodles scratched on the columns of the library indicate that it was frequented by youthful readers. The inference is that the Library of Pantainos is an extension or replacement of the library known to have existed in the Gymnasium of Ptolemy.

In the 2nd century after Christ, in the time of Hadrian and the early Antonines, the area to the south of the Middle Stoa was partially rehabilitated. The Theseion/Palaestra, the Fountain House/Swimming Pool and the East Building were reconstructed. The back wall of South Stoa II was rebuilt, but the remnants of its ruinous colonnade were now stripped away and the whole area between the rear wall of South Stoa II and the south side of the Middle Stoa was levelled. It was in this state that the Ptolemaion and Theseion were seen by Plutarch and by Pausanias. Pausanias' reference is somewhat puzzling, and Pausanias himself was probably puzzled by what he saw. Buildings had come and gone; so too had statues. Thus the statues of the Ptolemies, which presumably stood originally in close proximity to their foundation, were seen by Pausanias in front of the Odeion of Agrippa, at that time the most prominent part of the establishment.¹⁶

In the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 all the buildings of our complex were burned. Soon thereafter they were stripped to provide building material for the new system of defenses to the east, the "Late Roman Fortification." After almost a century and a half of desolation the area was re-occupied. Above the ruins of the old buildings a large new complex was erected in such a way that the outer limits of the new and of the old almost exactly coincided.¹⁷ The combination of colonnaded courtyards

¹³ *Agora Guide*², pp. 70-74.

¹⁴ *Lives of the Sophists*, II, 5, 4; II, 8, 3-4.

¹⁵ *Agora Guide*², pp. 85-86.

¹⁶ Pausanias I, 8, 6-9, 3. The group included Soter, Philadelphos, Philometor and his sister Arsinoe, perhaps also his daughter Berenike.

¹⁷ *Agora Guide*², pp. 70-74.

flanked by rooms with a bathing establishment and walled garden areas had long since marked the complex of the 5th century as a gymnasium of typical late antique form. The choice of site is now readily understandable on the assumption that the late complex is a reconstruction of its predecessor on the site.

After somewhat more than a century of use the new gymnasium fell on evil days and was abandoned. In the summer of 1965 a suite of basement rooms at the south-east corner of the complex was excavated. The floors were overlaid by debris left behind by the last regular occupants: broken pottery and wine glasses, terracotta lamps, glass candlesticks and many oyster shells. The pottery indicates a date in the neighborhood of A.D. 530. One is inevitably reminded of the fact that the schools of Athens were closed by order of the Emperor Justinian in A.D. 529.

Let us now turn back to consider the earlier history of the area (Fig. 1). In the summer of 1965 three trenches each two meters wide were cut down to bedrock through the north to south width of the area with the purpose of testing the stratification (Pl. 16, a).¹⁸ The earliest evidence of habitation came from a shallow well that yielded a handful of potsherds of Early Helladic type. Near the middle of the South Square was encountered a well worn roadway running from northwest to southeast in the direction of the saddle between the Acropolis and the Areopagus. A foot-thick layer of gravel that had accumulated during the use of the road yielded pottery of the Middle Helladic period which must be the date of this remote ancestor of the familiar Panathenaic Way. The Late Helladic or Mycenaean Period is represented by two burials: one a single interment made in the mouth of a disused well and furnished with a plain kylix, the other a chamber tomb containing four skeletons. The chamber tomb is discussed in a separate article later in this number (pp. 55-78). A well containing a number of typical domestic vases of late Geometric types attested habitation in the 8th century B.C.

Significant for the history of the Agora was the observation that at a certain time bedrock was smoothed over a large area deep beneath the Middle Stoa. The southern limit of the dressing was a line 6 to 8 meters to the south of the Stoa; eastward it stopped *ca.* 20 meters short of the east end of that building; to the west it could be traced to within 25 meters of the west end of the Stoa; northward it continued beneath the terrace of the Stoa and possibly much further though the evidence has been removed by late disturbances. The quarried surface is quite smooth and slopes gently down toward north and west. The first layer of gravelly earth to gather above the dressed rock yielded pottery of the late 7th and early 6th centuries B.C., indicating that the dressing had occurred in the neighborhood of 600 B.C. To this period we must therefore assign some considerable improvement of the Agora or perhaps even the first formal treatment of the area as a public place.

¹⁸ The first of the trenches fell between interior piers 1 and 2 of the Middle Stoa (counted from the west), the second between piers 14 and 15, the third between piers 19 and 20.

The stratigraphic trenches also revealed beneath the Middle Stoa clear traces of an important early thoroughfare running from slightly south of west to slightly north of east. Its course was marked by wheel ruts in the gravelled surface and by the remains of a large stone drain dating from *ca.* 400 B.C., the East Branch of the Great Drain. By this roadway traffic entering the Agora at its southwest corner could have skirted the south side of the square and thence proceeded eastward by an exit more or less on the same line as the later road between the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos. Thus before there were any substantial buildings in the area there existed a well defined "island" of land to the south of the main square of the Agora. This plot was bordered on the north by the thoroughfare just described, on the south by a very old road that eventually fixed the alignment of the Enneakrounos and a whole series of other early buildings, on the west by the road that swung around the west end of the Areopagus to enter the Agora at its southwest corner and on the east by the Panathenaic Way the course of which in earlier times lay a little farther to the west. The limits of this "island" correspond closely with the limits of the South Square and the bordering structures, so closely as to suggest some continuity in function.

It was in the west end of this "island" that the rectangular enclosure identified above as the sekos of Theseus was erected in or soon after the year 475 B.C. The main doorway in the sekos faced north toward the main square of the Agora. But a lesser doorway in its east side gave access to the open space. It is tempting therefore to suppose that the sekos and the adjacent open space had a common proprietor, viz. Theseus, and that the whole area was sacred to the hero. One may suppose that the limits of the open area were formally defined by boundary stones. Such an arrangement, i.e. a walled sekos with an adjacent area or "temenos" delimited by horoi, is to be found also in the Sanctuary of the Tritopatores outside the Dipylon, and there indeed three of the horoi are still in place.¹⁹ Just as the Tritopatreion, the shrine of ancestral spirits, occupied a prominent island site at the junction of roads leading into the city of the dead, so, it now seems, a large island plot of land was set aside for the hero-founder of the city at the entrance to the civic center. For the hero-founder to be worshipped in or on the Agora was in fact a widespread practice among the Greek cities.²⁰

The Theseion conceived in these terms was also admirably situated and amply large to have served the various other uses of which we know from the literary testimonia: for an assembly of the citizens in the time of Peisistratos, as a place of bivouac

¹⁹ On the Tritopatreion cf. W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, pp. 410-411. The most up-to-date plan is to be found in the folder entitled *The Kerameikos Excavations* published recently by the German Archaeological Institute in Athens. I gladly acknowledge some very helpful observations on the sanctuary from Dr. Gottfried Gruben.

²⁰ Cf. R. Martin, *L'Agora Grecque*, Paris, 1951, pp. 197-201 with references to many individual instances.

in the panic after the mutilation of the herms in 415 B.C., for occasional meetings of the Boule and of lawcourts, for election to certain civic offices, and as a place of asylum for runaway slaves and other suppliants.

Aristotle's reference to the Theseion in connection with the disarming of the citizens by Peisistratos pushes the history of the sanctuary well back into the 6th century B.C.²¹ Structures of some sort existed already at that time. But the first substantial building of which we know was the sekos designed to shelter the sacred relics. Toward the end of the 5th century B.C. another large building was erected along the south side of the temenos, the building labelled by the excavators South Stoa I.²² The plan comprises a row of square rooms opening on a two-aisled colonnade that overlooked the temenos and indeed the whole Agora. The dimensions of the rooms, in combination with the eccentric position of the doors, permitted the placing of seven couches of standard size, a clear indication that the chambers were designed with dining in mind. It is tempting to believe that they were in fact used in connection with the public banquet that was a characteristic part of the annual festival of Theseus. One will recall the remains of a dining pavillion and the sculptured representation of a banquet in the Heroon at Trysa in Lycia. We need not suppose, of course, that South Stoa I was reserved exclusively for the needs of the Theseion; the stoa, like the temenos, may have served many civic needs.

The traditional liberality of Theseus in making his facilities available for civic purposes may well have prompted the decision to plant a gymnasium in the sanctuary at a time when a considerable area was needed for this purpose within the city. That a gymnasium should have been established in the sanctuary of a hero is not surprising; the practice was in fact normal throughout the Greek world and is attested for all four of the other gymnasia of Athens.²³

Nor is there any reason to believe that the sanctity of the place was diminished with the founding of the gymnasium. The festival of Theseus was still celebrated with great éclat in the 2nd century B.C. and with an extensive program of athletic and equestrian events especially for boys and young men.²⁴ Costly prizes were awarded. The pedestal for such a prize, a bronze tripod, is probably to be recognized in a marble base found near the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa in 1933.²⁵ The sides of the

²¹ *Ath. Pol.*, 15, 4. Polyainos, I, 21, 2 (= *Agora*, III, p. 63) gives the Anakeion rather than the Theseion as the place of assembly. We are no longer in a position to decide which author is correct, but it is enough for our present purpose to know that Aristotle believed that a sanctuary of Theseus existed in this part of Athens as early as the time of Peisistratos.

²² *Agora Guide*², pp. 100-101.

²³ Cf. J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, pp. 448-450.

equestrian events especially for boys and young men.²⁴ Costly prizes were awarded.

²⁴ The basic evidence is provided by a series of inscriptions ranging in date from 160/59 to ca. 130 B.C.: *I.G.*, II², 956-965 = *Agora*, III, p. 118, no. 360.

²⁵ T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 387-393. For subsequent discussions see G. Becatti, *La Critica d'Arte*, VI, 1941, p. 41; W. Fuchs, *Die Vorbilder der neuattischen Reliefs*, Berlin, 1959, p. 46; C. Mitchell, *H.S.C.P.*, LXI, 1953, pp. 73-84; C. Mitchell Havelock, *A.J.A.*, LXVIII,

triangular pedestal are appropriately sculptured with life-sized figures of Theseus, Aigeus and Medeia.

It may be objected that much of the history of the area as here outlined is hypothetical. This is true. Yet the hypothesis admits a reasonable interpretation of each individual building and of the relationship among the several buildings. It accounts for the placing, otherwise difficult to explain, of three other major structures: the Odeion of Agrippa, the Library of Pantainos and the Gymnasium of the 5th century after Christ. The sequence of buildings donated by the Ptolemies, the Attalids and the Romans corresponds with the known historical background. On this hypothesis, finally, Pausanias is relieved of censure for having failed to mention the most prominent group of buildings in the Agora, among them the earliest of the large structures still standing in the Agora in his day.

TEMENOS BELOW THE TERRACE OF THE MIDDLE STOA

Beneath the terrace of the Middle Stoa opposite interior piers 15 and 16 counted from the west the slight remains of a rectangular enclosure had been detected in 1935. The monument was fully explored in the summer of 1965 (Pl. 15, b).

Only the south side of the enclosure remains with the beginning of a northward return at the east end and with the bedding for a similar return at the west end. The northern part had been demolished by the builders of the Middle Stoa, and the ground level of the older monument was buried slightly more than one meter deep beneath the stoa terrace. The overall length from east to west is 7.09 m., the interior dimension of the enclosure *ca.* 6.15 m. We cannot be sure of the original shape; it was probably square or nearly square.

The bounding wall consisted of orthostates of gray poros secured with lead in a channel in the top of a massive poros sill. This wall now rises to a maximum height of 0.45 m.; in view of the thinness of the orthostates the original height is not likely to have been much greater. The inner faces of orthostates and sill are rather less carefully finished than their outer faces, the reason being that the interior of the enclosure was solidly packed with firm reddish clay that still stood as high as the present tops of the orthostates. The pottery from this original filling indicates a date about the middle of the 3rd century B.C.

In each of the surviving corners of the sill course is a rectangular socket for a marble stele against which the orthostates of the side walls abutted. The stelai were presumably horoi, and they may well have contained the name of the establishment. In their absence there seems little hope of establishing the identification. A possible interpretation is that we have to do with a monumental treatment given in the Hellen-

1964, p. 47 and LXIX, 1965, p. 339; *Agora Guide*², p. 125. The identification of the figures here accepted is due to Evelyn B. Harrison (*Athenian Agora*, XI, pp. 80-81, no. 128); they were regarded earlier as Herakles, Dionysos and a maenad.

istic period to some famous tomb of much earlier date, a phenomenon familiar from Delos. Some color is lent to this suggestion by the number of early tombs of both the Mycenaean and Geometric period found in the immediate vicinity. One simple cist burial of Mycenaean date came to light, in fact, beneath the south side of the enclosure,²⁶ and other tombs may have existed beneath its northern part.

ROAD AND AQUEDUCT TO SOUTH OF SOUTH STOA II

In the summer of 1965 an area of about 5 x 21 meters was excavated to bedrock immediately to the south of South Stoa II at its junction with the sekos of the Theseion. The results were rewarding.

It is now clear, in the first place, that the back wall of South Stoa II, dating from the second half of the 2nd century B.C., simply overlapped the southeast corner of the much older sekos (Fig. 2).

The excavation also demonstrated that the earlier stoa, South Stoa I, had stopped short of the sekos, leaving room for a passage which led down into the temenos of Theseus from the ancient east to west road. A closer study of the plan of South Stoa II revealed, moreover, that the essential correspondence between the rear chambers, the inner and the outer colonnades is satisfied only on the assumption that there were fifteen chambers, seven to the east and eight to the west of a stairway that permitted passage through the building near its middle (Fig. 1).

The ancient roadway that ran behind the sekos and South Stoa I was found to have been disturbed to bedrock in this area in the Byzantine Period. On the other hand the aqueduct that ran beneath the road and carried water to the Southwest Fountain House was comparatively well preserved (Pl. 16, b).²⁷ This was a substantial piece of construction. Floor, side walls and cover were all built of massive slabs of soft, cream-colored poros. The specus measured inside 0.50 x 1.20 m. The water flowed in a trough, semicircular in section, cut in the floor in such a way as to leave a ledge on either side wide enough for the foot of a man who could walk through the aqueduct, stooping somewhat, to inspect, clear or repair. Built *ca.* 400 B.C. this aqueduct continued to function into the Roman period, probably until the completion of the Hadrianic system.

CONSERVATION

As the exploration of the South Square neared completion in the summer of 1965 measures of conservation were taken (Pl. 15, a). In the first place many hundreds of fragmentary marbles both sculptural and architectural that have defied attribution

²⁶ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 21-23. For the Mycenaean tombs on Delos which received attention in the Hellenistic period cf. P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, Paris, 1965, pp. 29 f., 94 (no. 32), 97 (no. 41).

²⁷ For a description of the same road and aqueduct as exposed farther to the east in 1955 see *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, pp. 47-53.

to specific monuments and that have for long obscured the area were now removed from the square and stacked in an open space to the southwest. Here they remain accessible to the scholar but masked by trees and shrubs.

The area of the Middle Stoa was put in shape. Over the western third of its length the Hellenistic construction filling had long ago been removed exposing the gravelled surface of the square as it was in pre-stoa days. In the eastern part, where most of the original filling remains, craters were filled and unobtrusive retaining walls were built to permit the reconstitution of a floor level close to the original. Some 150 column drums of the Middle Stoa which had been re-used in the late 3rd century after Christ in the Late Roman Fortification Wall in the area of the Stoa of Attalos were set up at proper intervals in the lines of both the inner and outer colonnades. The partial removal of a large monument base set against the east end of the Stoa has permitted a much more impressive view of the three-stepped foundations and of the three original column stumps which they support.

Some conservation was carried out also on the East Building, on South Stoa II and on the East Branch of the Great Drain, as also on those parts of the Gymnasium of the 5th century after Christ that lie within the South Square. In all these cases, however, the conservation was restricted to filling out gaps in the foundations and to restoring the ancient fill so as to assure the stability and to improve the intelligibility of the ancient structures.

UNFINISHED BUSINESS

The end of the season prevented the completion of the full program that had been laid out for the South Square. It will be desirable, as soon as conveniently possible, to expose the little that remains of the western half of South Stoa I. A certain amount of grading remains to be done in the line of the ancient road to the south of South Stoa I and the Theseion. The modern path in this area must also be shifted farther south. Beneath the west end of the Middle Stoa where the foundations of a large unfinished monument of the late 5th century B.C. were exposed in the summer of 1965, the lower levels should be more thoroughly investigated. Two small buildings represented by tenuous remains in the open area of the South Square, one of the Hellenistic and one of the early Roman period, require further exploration.

Throughout most of the South Square the lowest strata have been examined only by means of narrow trenches. Bedrock is still covered by ancient accumulation varying in depth from a few centimeters to two meters. There can be no doubt that this earth conceals more burials and domestic deposits that would illuminate the earliest history of the area. But, in keeping with the general practice of the Agora excavations, it seems wiser to leave the definitive exploration of these stratified deposits to a future generation. Meanwhile it appears unlikely that any major structure has eluded detection or that much more substantial evidence for disentangling the history of the area in classical times can be expected.

STUDY OF PRIVATE HOUSES

The study and publication of the private houses of the Greek and Roman periods has been generously undertaken by Professor J. Walter Graham of the University of Toronto. Professor Graham was well equipped through his experience at Olynthos in the 1930's, particularly since most of the houses that have come to light in the environs of the Agora date originally from the 5th or 4th centuries B.C. and are thus contemporary with those of Olynthos.²⁸ There the comparison ends; the Athenian houses are much less well preserved and, generally speaking, more modest both in their ground plans and their furnishings than those of the Macedonian city. Ruinous and simple though they are, the houses around the Agora nevertheless deserve attention as the best representatives we have of Athenian dwellings of the classical period.

Short campaigns for cleaning and supplementary excavation were conducted in the summers of 1964 and 1965 under the supervision of Professor Graham.

Attention was concentrated on two areas. The first was a block to the west of the Areopagus and to the south of the street leading to the Piraeus Gate, adjacent, that is, to the "Industrial District" published by Rodney S. Young in 1951.²⁹ Here the houses of the Greek period had been very extensively rebuilt and overlaid in Roman times.

The second group of houses lay outside the normal limits of the Agora excavations in the valley between the Areopagus and the Pnyx. This area had been excavated in 1892-98 by the German Archaeological Institute under the general direction of Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld.³⁰ It proved to be a solidly built-up residential district with numerous houses to either side of the road at the bottom of the valley. Interspersed among the dwellings were a number of small sanctuaries. The area was notable for the number and variety of its hydraulic installations. Since the region, because of its low situation, had silted over quickly in late antiquity, the houses have survived in better condition than most of those immediately around the Agora. In the German publications the houses did not receive as much attention as the sanctuaries and hydraulic installations. It seemed worthwhile, therefore, to re-examine the area particularly with a view to recovering more completely the ground plans of some of the better preserved houses and to working out their history with more precision. Both

²⁸ D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House*, Baltimore, 1938 is still the most illuminating study of Greek domestic architecture.

²⁹ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 135-288.

³⁰ On the results of the earlier excavations cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, XIX, 1894, pp. 496 ff. (Dörpfeld); XX, 1895, pp. 161 ff. (Dörpfeld); XXI, 1896, pp. 265 ff. (Schrader), 287 ff. (Körte); XXVI, 1901, pp. 305 ff. (Watzinger). General plans by Dörpfeld appeared in *Antike Denkmäler*, II, Berlin, 1908, pls. 37, 38. A good summary is given by W. Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 287-299.

the Greek Archaeological Service and the German Archaeological Institute readily concurred in the project.³¹ The Service assisted substantially in the cleaning of the area (no small task after a lapse of seventy years), while the Institute made available the eight original field notebooks and the admirable series of photographs taken at the time of the original excavation.

Special attention was paid to four houses. One of the four is familiar from the literature on the Enneakrounos as the "House of Aristodemos," the owner's name being known from a mortgage inscription on the front wall. This house, on the Pnyx side of the main street, was believed by Dörpfeld to have been set down in late antiquity in the "Platz der Enneakrounos." A thorough examination of the site indicated that the site had been occupied from the 4th century B.C. into late Roman times by a dwelling house of unusually large scale but otherwise of normal type which had undergone numerous alterations in its long history. No monumental fountain house could have stood here at any period. A small structure bordering the ancient road a few meters to the south of this house may, however, have been a fountain house of modest proportions, but certainly not earlier than the 4th century B.C. No suitable foundations have yet been recognized with which to associate the several isolated blocks found by the German excavators and correctly identified as coming from a fountain house of the archaic period.

On the other side, i.e. to the east of the valley road and close under the west slope of the Areopagus, is a better preserved house, one of the very few known as yet in Athens which can begin to compare in scale, plan and in the quality of its mosaics with some of the houses of Olynthos (Pl. 17, a). The ceramic evidence indicates a date *ca.* 300 B.C. for the time of construction, and here too the history of the house could be traced far down into the Roman period as late at least as the 4th century after Christ. One entered from the street through a prothyron or recessed porch into a courtyard with a broad portico on the north side and narrower porticos to east and west. The rooms were grouped to north, east and west of the courtyard; there is no indication of a second storey. The most interesting room occupied the northwest corner of the house. This was an andron or dining room, preceded by a smaller anteroom. Both were paved with pebble mosaic floors (Pl. 17, b). In the middle of the anteroom a four-spoked wheel was worked out with pebbles of various sizes and colors. The main room, as normal in dining rooms of the period, had a raised border on all four sides for the couches; here the floor was surfaced with yellow plaster. The inner rectangle and the entrance passage were adorned with simple geometric designs: a row of lozenges in the entrance way, concentric circles cut by diagonals in the main panel. These floors, although in remarkably fresh condition, give every appearance of

³¹ In this connection we wish to express our particular appreciation to Messrs N. Platon and E. Kunze for cordial cooperation.

belonging to the original period of the house, which may be designated accordingly the "House of the Greek Mosaics."

Farther south, and on the Pnyx side of the ancient road, are the remains of another house made prominent by the massive orthostates of Acropolis limestone which must date from the 4th or 3rd century B.C. and which still stand in place around the andron (Pl. 18, a). Traces of the original floor are now overlaid by a mosaic datable from its style in the 2nd century after Christ. The long rectangle within the plain border was filled with a central square bordered at either end by a diapered panel. Within the square is a geometric rosette. The small inner circle, according to the German scholar's field-notes, contained "a female head with Dionysiac attributes"; of this head only a few shreds now remain. The angles between the large circle and the square were occupied each by a pair of parrots imbibing from a two-handled drinking cup, a clear reference to the well known ancient practice of encouraging the alcoholic propensities of these impressionable creatures (Pl. 18, b).³²

Some time was devoted to the cleaning of the Amyneion, the sanctuary of the healing hero Amynos. Apart from its intriguing connections with Asklepios, Hygieia and the poet Sophokles, the sanctuary is important as one of the best preserved and best documented of the few heroa known in Athens.

The ancient road that served the area on its course between the Agora and the Acropolis has been cleaned and levelled over a distance of about one hundred meters. Here one may now stroll, oblivious to the flow of modern traffic on the Avenue of the Apostle Paul high overhead. To right and left rise the fronts of the ancient houses, their histories legible to the attentive eye through the changing style of masonry, the names of the ancient owners recorded in several instances in the mortgage inscriptions engraved in the stone walls. Among the houses, and likewise facing on the street, are the modest shrines that must be thought of as typical of the most common type of ancient sanctuary: one of Dionysos, one of Amynos, another labelled by its boundary stone simply "sanctuary" (*hieron*). Intriguing too is a small building that can also be identified from its boundary stone as a clubhouse (*lesche*). Here, more than anywhere else in Athens, one may savor the atmosphere of everyday life in the ancient city.

NORTH SLOPE OF THE AREOPAGUS

For the sake of the record it may be noted here that supplementary excavations were carried out in the summers of 1963 and 1964 high on the north slope of the Areopagus. The 16th century church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite and the adjacent Palace of the Archbishop were fully explored. Around the church was found an extensive cemetery of the 7th century after Christ, and beneath its floor remains of private houses of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods. Extensive conservation

³² Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.*, VIII, 12, 597 b: *καὶ ἀκολαστότερον δὲ γίνεται ὅταν πίνῃ οἶνον.*

was carried out on the church and Archbishopric. This whole undertaking has been reported in detail in an earlier number of this journal by Alison Frantz and John Travlos.⁸⁸

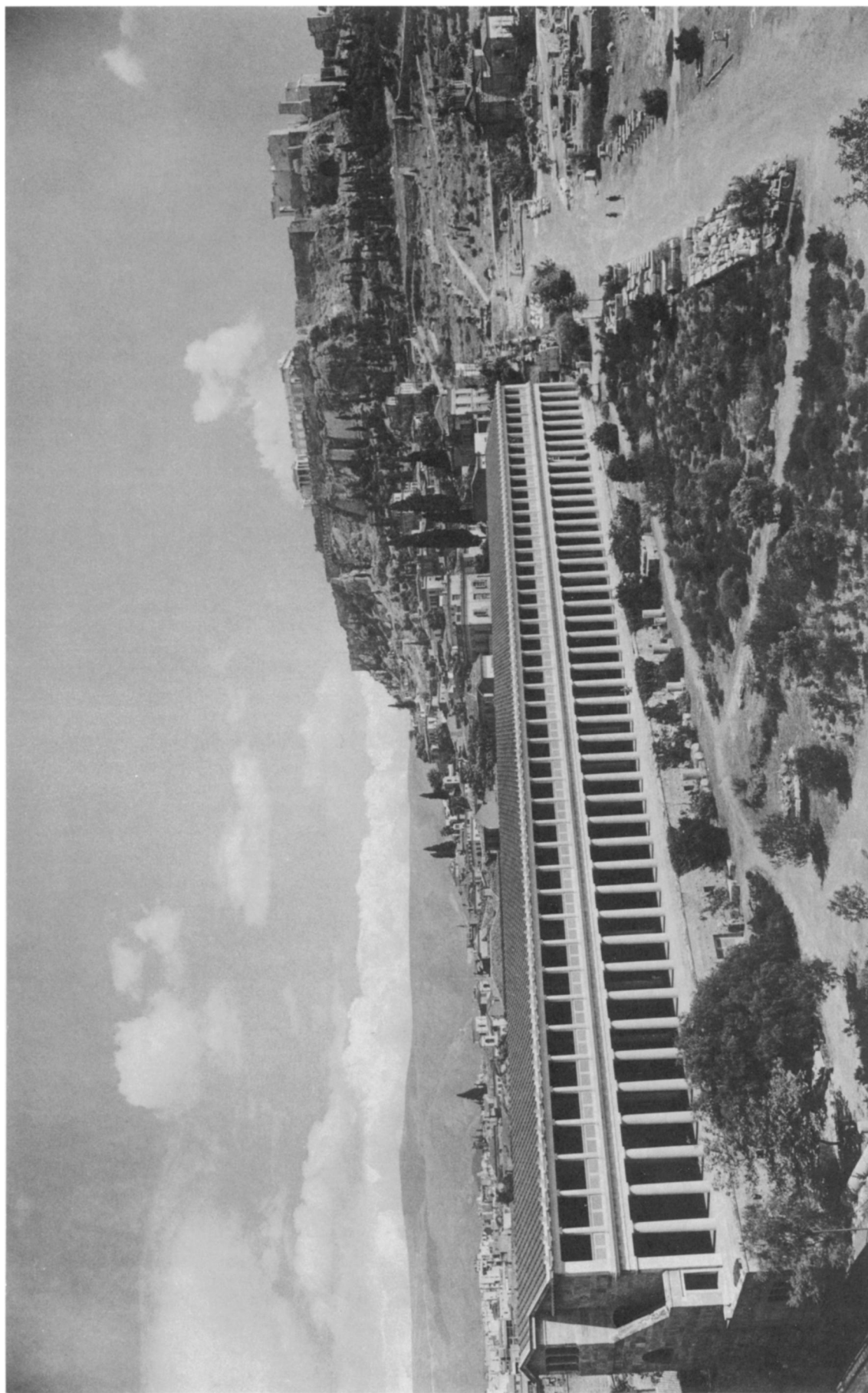
THE SOUTHEAST STOA

In the summer of 1965 an expedition from Brown University under the direction of Professor R. Ross Holloway and in collaboration with the American School of Classical Studies conducted an excavation in the garden of the Koletti House outside the southeast corner of the Agora proper. As a result the ground plan of the Southeast Stoa, the façade of which had been exposed in 1959, has been recovered, and a variety of other finds were made. This operation is described in a separate article by Professor Holloway (below, pp. 79-85).

HOMER A. THOMPSON

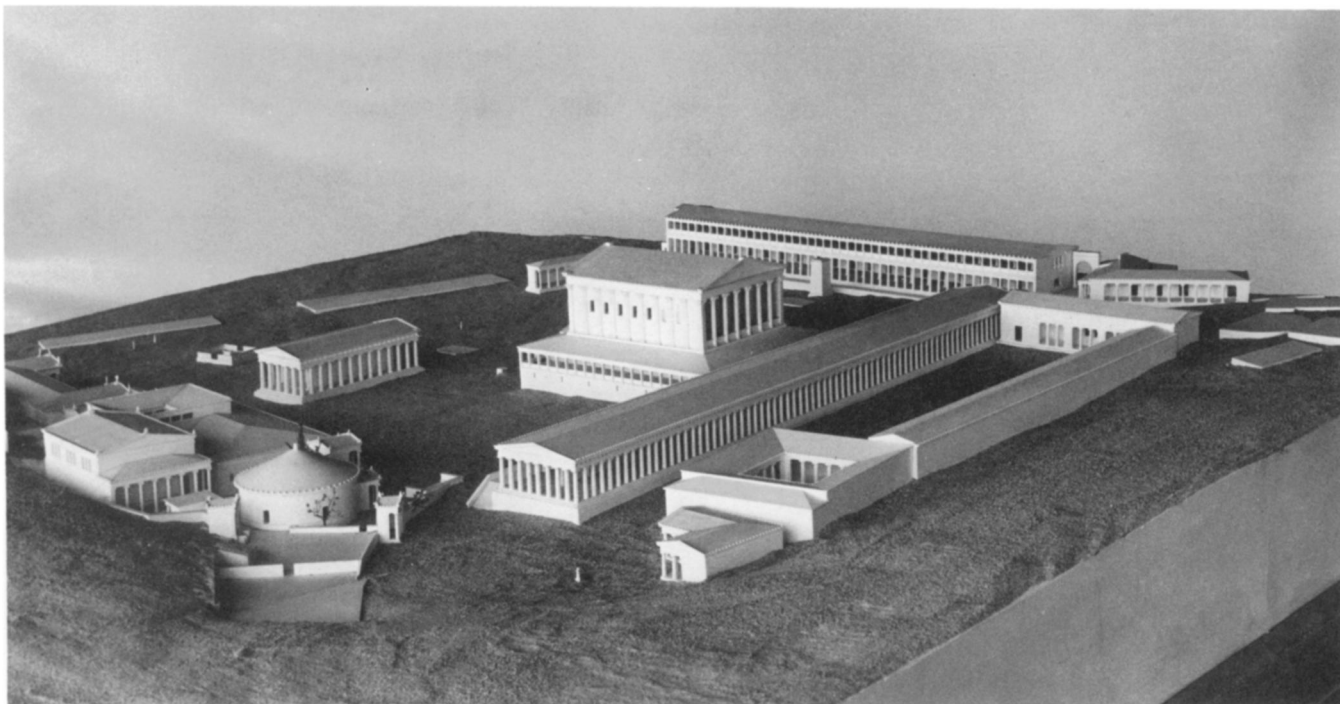
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PRINCETON

⁸⁸ *Hesperia*, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 157-202.

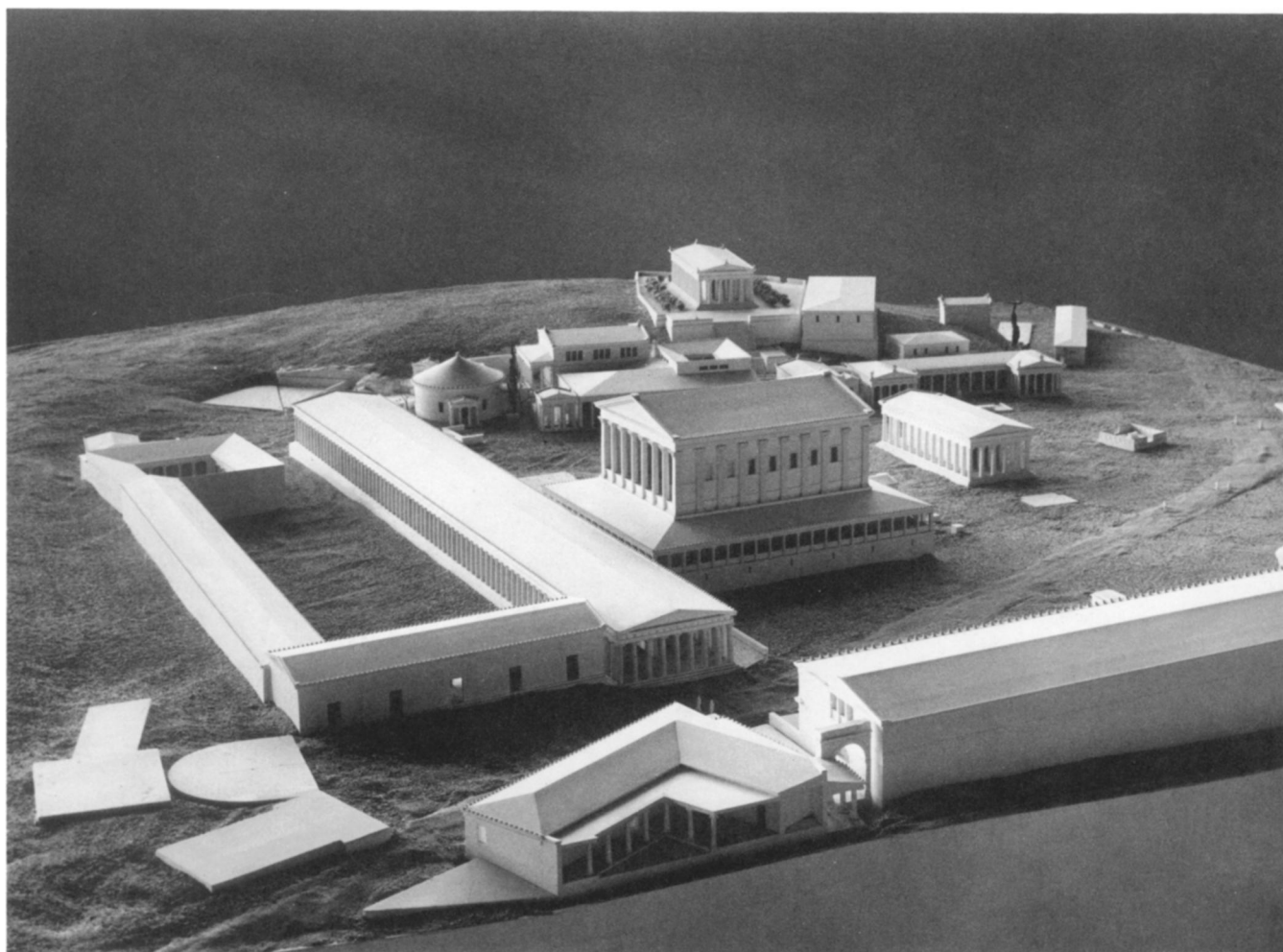


Stoa of Attalos from the Northwest (1965).

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITY IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA 1960-1965



a. Model of the Agora from the Southwest.



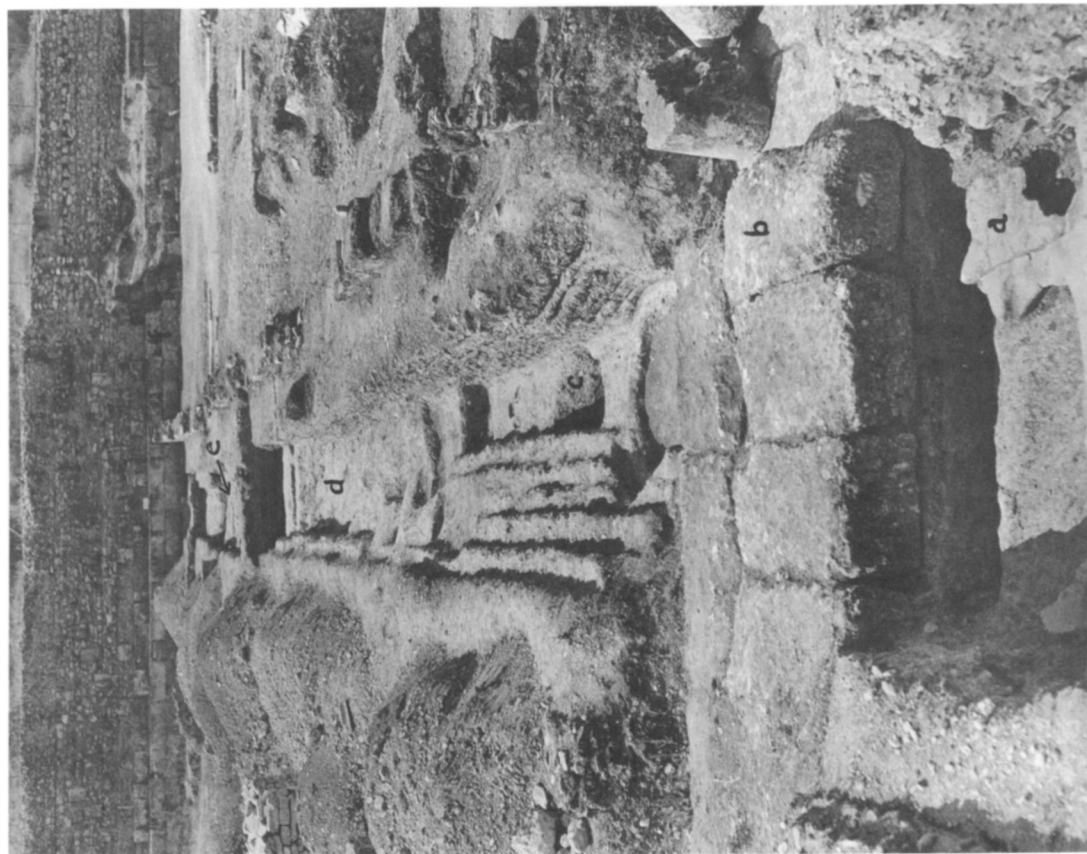
b. Model of the Agora from the Southeast.



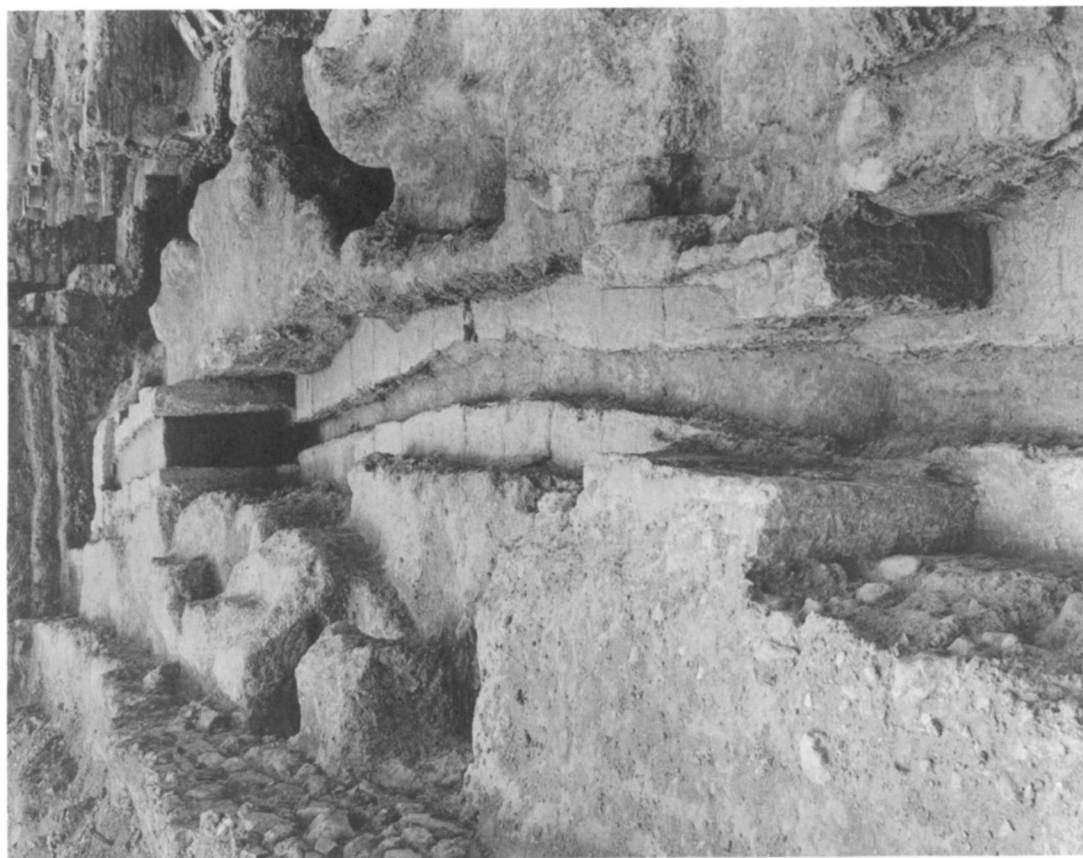
South Square from the Northeast. End of Season 1965. Arrow points to pre-Stoa Temenos. * = Mycenaean Tomb.



b. Southeast Corner of pre-Stoa Temenos below Middle Stoa Terrace.



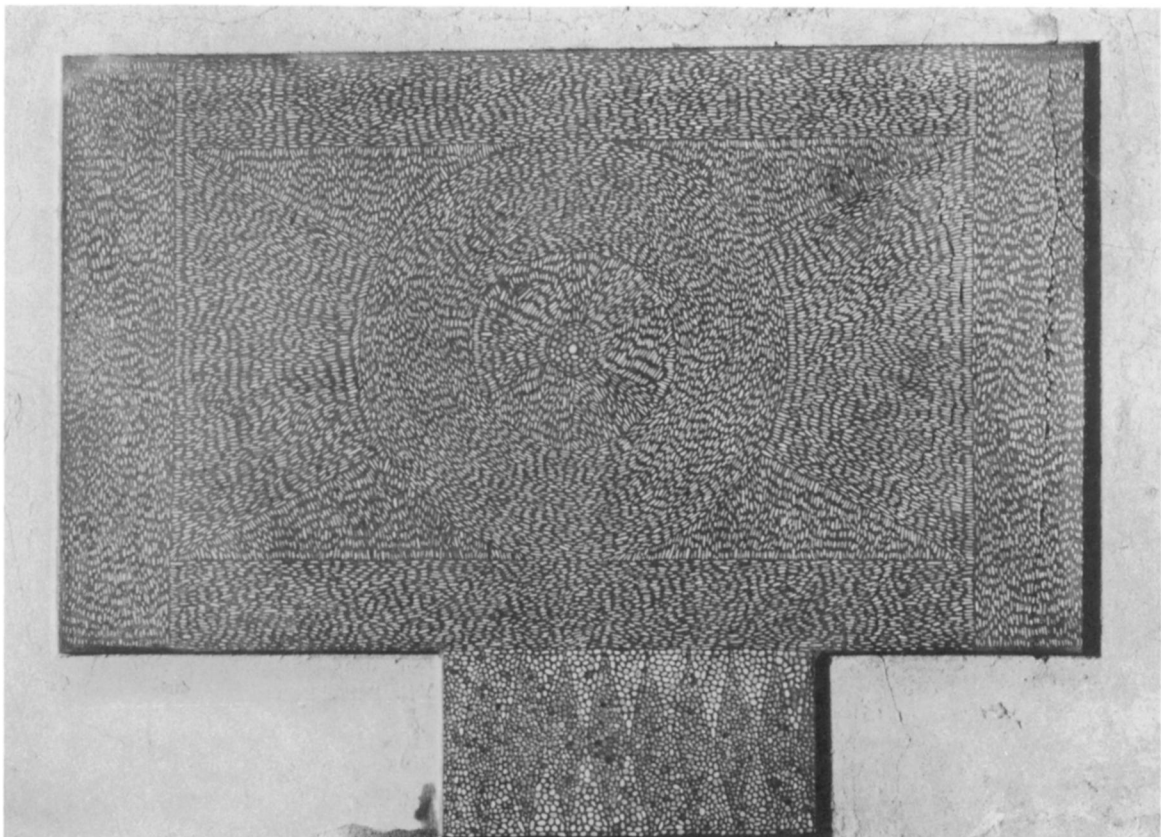
a. Stratigraphic Trench through South Square, from the North.
 a. Drain of *ca.* 400 B.C. b. South Foundation of Middle Stoa.
 c. Well of 8th Century B.C. d. Middle Helladic Road.
 e. Early Helladic Well. f. Back wall of South Stoa II.



b. Poros Aqueduct serving Southwest Fountain House. View from East.



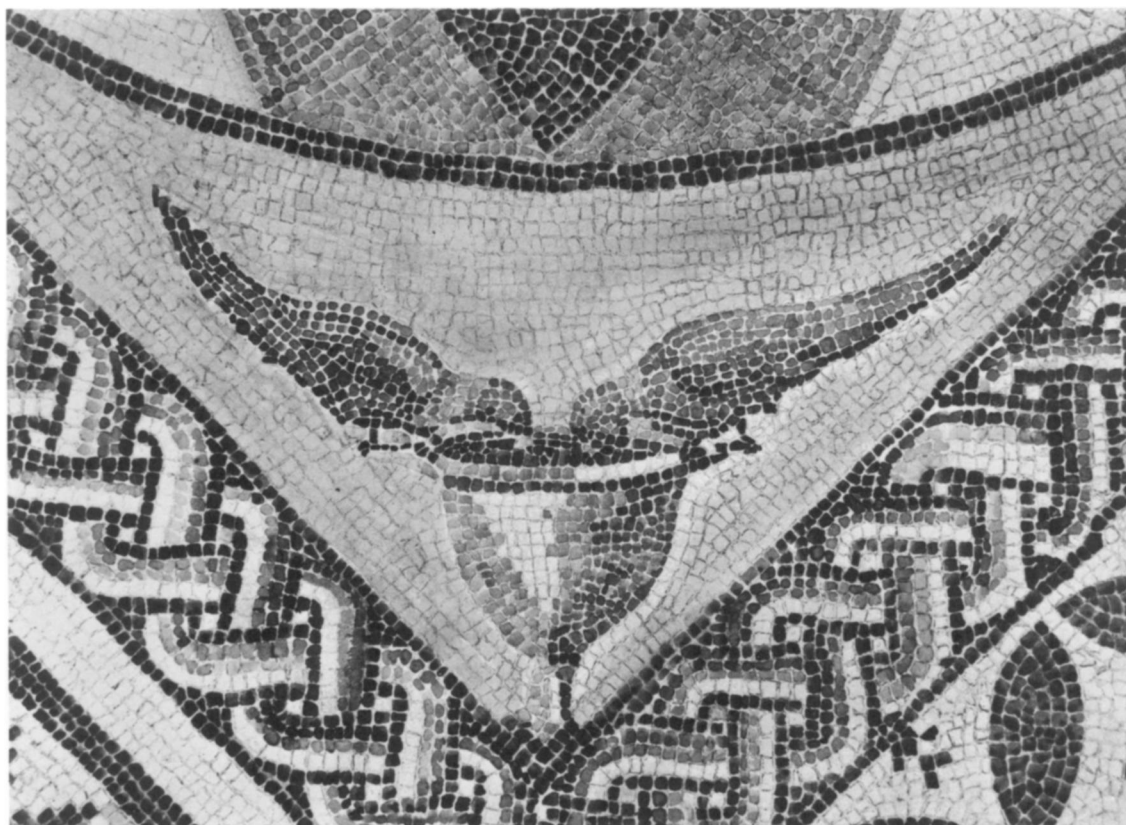
a. House of the Greek Mosaics from West (Arrow points to Andron).



b. Pebble Mosaic in Andron.



a. House of the Parrots Mosaic from the West.



b. Bibulous Parrots in Mosaic of Andron (From a Water Color by Weaks G. Smith).