

ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958¹

(PLATES 13-22)

MUSEUM INSTALLATION

THE Stoa of Attalos, rebuilt in the years 1953 to 1957, is now functioning smoothly both as a working headquarters for the expedition and as a museum. Its immediate proximity to the site is proving of immense advantage in both these roles; the student has the most convenient possible access to his material, while the visitor, having explored the out-of-doors, finds in the colonnades and galleries of the Stoa an abundance of material to fill out his picture of both public and private life. In the first year after its opening the Stoa was visited by over 47,000 people. As the building becomes better known the attendance is steadily rising; through 1958 the monthly figures were approximately three times those of the previous year. More

¹ Grateful acknowledgments are made once more to our official hosts, the Greek archaeological authorities. We are under particular obligation this year to Professor S. Marinatos, Director of the Department of Antiquities, and to his successor, Mr. John Papadimitriou, for their support in the acquisition of additional properties along the east side of the Agora; to Mr. John Threpsiades, ephor responsible for the lower city of Athens, for his ever helpful collaboration in the administration of the area, and to Mr. Christos Karouzos for his consideration in arranging the transfer of certain marbles from the National Museum to the Agora.

The resident staff consisted of Eugene Vanderpool (Deputy Director), M. Alison Frantz, Virginia R. Grace, Mary Zelia Pease Philippides, Maria Savvatiou, Lucy Talcott and John Travlos. Martin Jones joined the staff as Assistant Architect, bringing with him much valuable experience from Samothrace. Dorothy B. Thompson spent the spring and summer in Athens, G. Roger Edwards the autumn, while Evelyn B. Harrison, Mabel Lang, Evelyn L. Smithson and Eva Brann were on hand during the summer months, all engaged on their respective studies. Brian Sparkes collaborated with Lucy Talcott on their joint study of the classical black glaze until he departed in the autumn to take up a teaching appointment in the University of Southampton. George C. Miles, Chief Curator of the American Numismatic Society, in the course of a six-weeks sojourn, made good progress on his study of the Islamic coins from the excavation, numbering some 5000 pieces.

In order to gain more free time for her ceramic studies, Miss Talcott has turned over to Poly Pamel the administration of the records, an office in which for a quarter of a century she had rendered invaluable service both to her immediate colleagues and to visiting scholars of many nationalities. Among those who assisted in the Records Room on a part-time basis during the year particular mention may be made of Suzanne Young and Marion Miles.

Through much of the spring and summer Piet de Jong exercised his unrivalled talents on the preparation of diagrammatic plans for the Museum and the Capps Memorial Lectern.

A special word of appreciation is due to the Legal Advisor of the School, Mr. Aristides Kyriakidis, and to his associate, Mr. Victor Melas, for the skill and patience which they have devoted to the negotiations for the acquisition of the additional property along the east side.

convenient access to the building, for which plans are being made, should further increase the attendance.

Although the installation and display are for the most part completed, the mounting of sculpture still continues.² This is proceeding under the direction of Evelyn B. Harrison as a natural corollary to her commitment to publish the sculpture. The larger statues and groups of sculpture from known monuments such as the Temple of Hephaistos, the Temple of Ares and the Odeion of Agrippa have been erected in the lower colonnade, while portrait heads, grave stones and other smaller pieces have been placed in the more intimate setting of the upper colonnade.

By arrangement with the Archaeological Council the two large statues personifying the Iliad and the Odyssey which were found by the Greek excavators in 1869 near the south end of the Stoa³ have been brought back from the National Museum; together with the inscribed base of the Iliad which came to light in the current excavations in 1953,⁴ the statues now stand in the shelter of the Stoa within a stone's throw of the Library of Pantainos of which they must once have formed a principal ornament. A column capital from the Odeion of Agrippa, found in the construction of the Athens-Piraeus Railway in 1890/91,⁵ was likewise brought back from a long sojourn in the National Museum and has been set up in the ruins of the Odeion.

A constant effort is being made to assist the visitor, whether lay or learned, in a readier understanding of this complex site. Among the measures taken during the year has been the preparation by Piet de Jong of a series of six large and boldly colored plans showing the Agora in successive stages of its development from the 5th century before Christ into the 5th century after Christ. The plans have been hung on a screen in the upper colonnade which commands a full view of the actual area.⁶ Thus placed they can also be used effectively in conjunction with the model of the Agora (Pl. 18), work on which was resumed after the death of John Bakoulis by another talented Greek technician, Christos Mammelis, who works under the direction of John Travlos. In the course of the year the Middle Stoa and the Library of Pantainos have been added to the model, greatly enhancing its effect. A perspective drawn restoration of the Agora area, including the Market of Caesar and Augustus and the Library of Hadrian, has been completed by Piet de Jong on a slab of white marble which has been affixed to the Edward Capps Memorial Lectern on Kolonos Agoraios. The visitor approaching from the west can thus get a very good idea of the ancient appearance of the Agora before he descends among the ruins.

² For financial assistance toward the mounting of the sculpture grateful acknowledgment is once more made to Mr. John Crosby.

³ *Ath. Mitt.*, XIV, 1889, pp. 160-169.

⁴ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 62-65.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 44.

⁶ The effective display of these paintings has been greatly enhanced by a contribution of low-reflecting glass from the Libby-Owens-Ford Glass Co. of Toledo, Ohio, through the interest of Mr. John D. Biggers, Chairman of the Board.

EXPLORATION

The demolition of the Excavation House that followed on the completion of the Stoa made available an area of some 1500 square meters at the north foot of the Areopagus. This area was thoroughly and profitably explored by Dorothy B. Thompson between the middle of March and the middle of May. The results are particularly interesting for the light they have thrown on the private housing that pressed so closely on the Agora proper. Farther to the east, in the months of April and May, Eugene Vanderpool supervised the clearance of the Panathenaic Way on the north slope of the Acropolis. The excavation proper had been virtually completed in the 1930's, but at that time heaps of marble and ancient building blocks were left in the line of the roadway. The removal of this debris and a limited amount of excavation at specific points not only improved the appearance of the area but added much to our knowledge of the Panathenaic Way itself, of the fortification that was erected on its line in the 3rd century after Christ and of a series of aqueducts extending in date from the 6th century B.C. into the 6th century after Christ. Some work of conservation was carried out on all these monuments.

In the course of the year Eugene Vanderpool and John Travlos assisted the ephor responsible for the Lower City of Athens (Mr. John Threpsiades) in two small but rewarding "extramural" excavations. One of these brought to light a sanctuary, apparently of Artemis, between the southwest corner of the Agora and the Piraeus Gate; the other exposed the line of an ancient road that led northward out of the northwest corner of the square. In both cases the results are of interest to all students of Athenian topography and not least of the Agora.

Six additional pieces of property have been acquired along the east side of the Agora through expropriation proceedings instituted by the Greek Government. The purpose is to straighten the border of the excavated area and so to facilitate its maintenance, to permit the full clearance of the Panathenaic Way, the Mint and the Eleusinion, and to improve the setting of both the Stoa of Attalos and the Church of the Holy Apostles. It is intended to excavate the newly acquired areas in the spring of 1959.

THE PANATHENAIC WAY (Pls. 13-15)

The excavation of the 1930's had revealed the line of the Panathenaic Way not only in its diagonal course across the Agora proper but also in its further course from the southeast corner of the Market Square to its goal in front of the Propylaia.⁷

⁷ For the excavation reports, cf. T. L. Shear, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 327-337; VI, 1937, p. 359; VII, 1938, pp. 326-334; VIII, 1939, pp. 207-211; IX, 1940, p. 268. Cf. also *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations*, Athens, 1954, pp. 63 f.; R. E. Wycherley, *Testimonia (The Athenian Agora, III)*, p. 224.

The construction of the road differed from section to section. Within the Agora its gravelled surface was virtually uniform with that of the square. In the steeper stretch that led out of the southeast corner of the square the road was paved with massive stone blocks over a distance of some 200 meters. Beyond this, on the still steeper and more irregular upper slopes of the Acropolis, the roadway consisted of a ramp supported on either side by a wall. The width of the road in its various parts measured 10 to 12 meters.

The clearance carried out in 1958 was confined to the upper half of the stone-paved section of the road which now stands out as the most impressive piece of ancient street in Athens (Pl. 13). The paving consists of re-used ancient building blocks, almost all of poros, laid on the dressed bedrock or on an earth packing; the blocks were placed transversely to the line of the road. In the area adjacent to the Eleusinion a row of blocks of softer poros laid in a slightly different manner may derive from an early retaining wall connected with the sanctuary. Although the paving had been exposed to long and heavy wear, it retains in this section no traces of wheel ruts such as may be seen farther north near the Library of Pantainos. The gradient, *ca.* 1 in 6.5, would have been enough to deter most vehicular traffic.

There can be no doubt, however, that this was the course of the Panathenaic Procession, and up this steep roadway must have been hauled the ship bearing the new peplos for Athena.⁸ It was up this roadway, too, that Xenophon would have had the Athenian cavalry dash in their annual display of horsemanship.⁹ Galloping, as Xenophon recommended, from the Herms (presumably at the northwest corner of the Agora) as far as the Eleusinion in tribal contingents they would indeed have provided a show "pleasing both to the gods and to the spectators."

No new evidence has been secured for the date of the paving. Indications from the original excavation had suggested a date in the early Roman Period. The paving may indeed be contemporary with the construction of the ramp in the upper reaches; the ramp, which appears prominently on a familiar series of Athenian coins of the imperial period, has been tentatively identified with the *anabasis* mentioned in an inscription of the time of Claudius.¹⁰

The ancient street was much disturbed by the construction of the Late Roman Fortification Wall in the latter part of the 3rd century after Christ. Paving slabs were torn out along the east side of the road to permit the foundations of the wall

⁸ Philostratos, *Vitae Sophistarum*, II, 1, 7; Schol. Aristophanes, *Knights*, line 566. Rectangular sockets which appear at irregular intervals along the east side of the pavement conceivably served some purpose in connection with the handling of the ship which, according to Philostratos, "sped along not drawn by animals but gliding smoothly on underground contrivances." The cuttings in the pavement are reminiscent of the sockets along the ancient quarry roads on Mt. Pentelikon which are commonly supposed to have held posts for snubbing loads on their downward course.

⁹ *Hipparchikos*, III, 22.

¹⁰ *I.G.*, II², 2292, lines 49 ff.; A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, XII, 1943, p. 245.

to be carried down to bedrock, and the thoroughfare was largely blocked by one of the projecting towers of the wall. At a still later date the western half of the paving disappeared; the blocks had here rested on an earth fill which allowed them to be undermined and carried away by winter torrents; the resulting gully was found full of silt and gravel that yielded pottery of the 11th and 12th centuries.

In order to facilitate the ascent of the hill without disturbing the ancient paving a modern path has been constructed along its western edge.

LATE ROMAN FORTIFICATION WALL (Pls. 14, 15)

The season's activities shed a little more light on the fortification wall that was thrown up by the Athenians soon after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267.¹¹ The removal of the great heaps of excavation debris has in fact brought into view an imposing stretch of the west flank of the new enceinte that included the Acropolis and a comparatively small area at its north foot. Here as elsewhere the wall was made entirely of re-used ancient material. An inner and an outer face of well fitted blocks secured with a little tough mortar contained a core of loose stone fill, the total thickness being 3 to 3.5 meters.

At the north foot of the steep incline are the remains of a rectangular tower measuring 6 x 7.5 meters; first exposed by the Greek Archaeological Service many years ago, the tower has now been thoroughly cleared. To the north of the tower, at an interval of *ca.* 3 meters, a gateway provided for the passage of the age-old east-to-west road that skirted the south side of the square (Pl. 14, b). So well established was the ancient street that the gateway was set at an angle in the wall to conform to the course of the road. The opening was *ca.* 2.80 m. in width, and its marble threshold blocks are deeply rutted by the passage of wheels. This gateway is now seen to be the middle of three gateways in the west flank of the 3rd century enceinte, all serving important east-to-west thoroughfares.

The gateway and the adjacent curtain underwent various adjustments in the course of a long existence, as was natural at such a strategic point in the system of fortifications. Eventually the gateway was blocked and the curtain to north and south was rebuilt in crude rubble masonry of stone and brick set in clay (Pl. 14, b). The pottery associated with this construction points to a date as late at least as the 13th century. In view of the very shabby nature of the masonry the repair is presumably to be regarded as an emergency measure taken in the face of some sudden crisis in the turbulent period of Frankish domination.

In the angle between the north face of the tower and the short spur of wall between tower and gate is a small enclosure bounded by its own walls to north, south and west, by the curtain wall to the east (Pl. 14). It measured about 3 meters

¹¹ *The Athenian Agora, A Guide to the Excavations*, pp. 71 f.

square overall. Access was provided by an opening *ca.* 0.50 m. wide at the northeast corner. The enclosing walls are of rubble masonry retaining traces of plaster on their inner faces; their maximum preserved height is 0.85 m. Within the enclosure are five bedding blocks of re-used material each with a shallow socket in its top. In the central block the socket is round, *ca.* 0.39 m. in diameter and 0.16 m. deep; in the other four, which are grouped symmetrically around the first, are square sockets 0.25 m. to the side and 0.05 to 0.10 m. deep, centered *ca.* 1.20 m. from one another on the short sides, 1.50 m. on the long sides.

The available evidence does not permit a certain identification. Probably, however, we have to do with a small sanctuary in which a sacred object (altar, statue, holy water basin?) would have been protected against traffic by means of a railing supported by four square posts. In its original form the establishment presumably antedates the construction of the fortification wall; it would then have bordered the ancient east-to-west roadway. It was apparently respected by the wall builders, and subsequently, as the ground level rose, the open railing was replaced or supplemented by the solid wall. At a time around the middle of the 4th century, however, it was abandoned and dismantled.

As to the identity of the cult, if cult place it was, we have no specific evidence. One may note, however, that the establishment stood at the junction of the Panathenaic Way with the old east-to-west street, one of the most important crossroads in the ancient city. As such it would have been an appropriate site for a sanctuary of one of those divinities concerned with roads and crossroads: Hermes, Hekate or possibly Apollo Agyieus. Perhaps the most likely object to have stood in the central round cutting is a figure of the triple Hekate, several of which have been found elsewhere in the Agora.

AQUEDUCTS (Pls. 13, a; 15)

Throughout antiquity the principal aqueducts that supplied the Agora with water entered the region at its southeast corner, the highest point in the area. Three such systems are represented by remains cleared in 1958 within the area.

The earliest conduit was a round terracotta pipeline that supplied the Southeast Fountain House, both pipeline and fountain house dating from the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.¹² This pipeline (not indicated on the plan, Pl. 15) underlay the east-to-west street that skirted the south side of the square. The terracotta system was replaced late in the 5th century B.C. by a substantial stone aqueduct designed primarily to supply the Southwest Fountain House with which it is contemporary.¹³ In the area represented by the plan of Plate 15 the stone conduit followed a course parallel to but slightly north of its predecessor.

¹² *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 29-35; XXV, 1956, pp. 49-52.

¹³ *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 52-54; XXV, 1956, pp. 52 f.

The third system dates from imperial times, probably the Antonine period. The aqueduct, coming from the east, followed the line of the east-to-west road to the south of and above the Eleusinion. Carried beneath the paving of the Panathenaic Way, it poured its water into a square settling basin at the west edge of the road. From the basin one branch line, of which only very exiguous remains survive, led westward,¹⁴ while a second branch turned at right angles northward, bordering the Panathenaic Way in its course down the hillside. The *specus* or water channel of this system, as also the settling basin, were substantially made of massive blocks of poros. In the best preserved section, viz., that under the Panathenaic Way, the channel measures 0.63 x 0.75 m. inside. In its lower course the northern branch was carried on a massive underpinning of concrete, originally underground though now largely exposed, which is at first continuous but which lower down takes the form of a series of long piers. There can be little doubt that the piers supported a system of arches on top of which the channel would have descended with a uniform gradient. Provision was made for the east-to-west road that bordered the south side of the Agora to pass under the aqueduct through one of the arched openings, and the same may have been done for the lesser east-to-west road that joined the Panathenaic Way opposite the Eleusinion.

Beyond the northern limit of the area shown in the plan, Plate 15, the continuation of this aqueduct is overlaid by a modern house which, it is hoped, may soon be removed. Even now, however, it would seem certain that the aqueduct was the source of water for the semicircular fountain house or nymphaeum that was erected in the 2nd century after Christ at the extreme southeast corner of the Agora.¹⁵ There is also reason to believe that the conduit continued beyond the nymphaeum in a westerly direction. A massive concrete foundation set against the back wall of the South Stoa (Pl. 16) proves to be identical in thickness and in the nature of its concrete with the underpinning for the aqueduct where it bordered the Panathenaic Way. It seems likely, therefore, that the conduit went on as far as the Southwest Fountain House to replace or to supplement that fountain's original source of supply.

At some time in the late Roman period the aqueduct was stripped of practically all its cut-stone masonry. It is altogether probable that the blocks were removed to be re-used in the construction of the Late Roman Fortification in the latter part of the 3rd century. The north branch of the conduit was subsequently rebuilt, though on a more modest scale. A 40-meter stretch of the underpinning for the new channel is preserved above the concrete piers of its predecessor. In this period the foundation consisted of a continuous mass of concrete of poor quality *ca.* 0.75 m. thick; of the water channel proper nothing whatever remains. The date of the reconstruction

¹⁴ This branch of the aqueduct may have supplied water to a channel that has come to light northwest of the Areopagus flowing in the direction of the Piraeus Gate; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 156.

¹⁵ *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 57-59.

has not yet been established; but in this, its final phase, the aqueduct would seem to have been the source of water both for the great gymnasium complex erected above the middle of the old market square early in the 5th century and for the water mill that flourished in the 5th and 6th centuries just outside the Late Roman Fortification to the south of the gate at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos.

The removal of the large modern house to the east of the Nymphaeum and the Church of the Holy Apostles and the subsequent exploration of this area should elucidate further both the structure and the history of the aqueduct.

HOUSES AT THE NORTH FOOT OF THE AREOPAGUS (Pls. 16, 17, 19, 20)

The detailed exploration of the past season has tended to confirm the earlier observation that the north slope of the Areopagus was a residential district throughout antiquity.¹⁶ One small building, however, may make some claim to a public nature. Its tantalizingly exiguous remains lie on the very middle of the hillside, labelled "Poros Building of 4th Cent. B.C." on the plan, Plate 16. Only the southwest corner is left of a structure, the long axis of which would seem to have run east to west. Its back, i. e. south wall, was set down into the steep hillside, while its northern façade presumably bordered an ancient road. Ancient blocks have survived only in its back wall: a series of four poros euthynteria blocks and a single thin orthostate together with a packing of rubble stonework behind the line of the orthostates. In the face of the euthynteria are three shallow housings centered at intervals of 1.65 m.; these probably took the ends of supports for a continuous bench at the foot of the wall. This floor was presumably of clay laid over the dressed bedrock. The workmanship is good. The style of the stone work and a little pottery found in significant places indicate a date within the 4th century B.C.

The north front and the east end of the Poros Building have been utterly destroyed by later activities on the hillside. It is altogether likely, however, that in the eastward direction the building stopped short of a cistern one gallery of which is bent in such a way as to suggest that it was carried around the corner of the building; this would indicate for the building a length of *ca.* 22 meters. The cistern may in fact have drawn water from the roof of the building. For fixing its north-to-south width the evidence is less precise. Between the missing north front of the building and the south wall of the house to the north we may, however, hypothesize a street. This consideration, coupled with the absence of any trace of internal supports, makes it unlikely that the width of the building exceeded 8 meters. The north front was probably supported in whole or in part by columns.

The identification of the building, in view of the paucity of the evidence, must be highly speculative. The most likely interpretation is as a *lesche*: a resort for leisurely

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, p. 147.

intercourse more elegant than the smithy, less grand than the stoa. If we may trust a scholiast on Hesiod (*Works and Days*, lines 493-495), in Athens alone there were no less than 360 such establishments. An example securely identified by inscriptions was brought to light by the German excavators near the southwest angle of the Areopagus.¹⁷ This building, too, like the structure on the north slope of the Areopagus, faced on a street in a district that was largely residential; it also dated from the 4th century B.C. and was modest both in scale and construction.

Among the private houses explored in 1958 we may begin with a group that stood on the gently sloping ground between the north foot of the Areopagus and the east-to-west roadway that bordered the south side of the Agora (Pls. 16, 17, 19, 20). Within this area the ancient buildings are somewhat better preserved toward the south where they were more speedily and more deeply buried by the silt from the hillslope. Toward the north the ancient remains have been almost utterly obliterated by the deep cuttings for modern house foundations.

The area was divided into blocks by narrow streets that ran from north to south, providing access from the broad and important road along the south side of the Agora. Of the two narrow streets that served the group of houses with which we are immediately concerned, the eastern continued down into the market square itself; when South Stoa I was erected toward the close of the 5th century B.C. provision was made for the ancient thoroughfare by inserting a stepped corridor near the middle of the stoa. The normal width of these side streets was *ca.* 3 meters (10 feet) as compared with about twice this figure for the main east-to-west street. They were surfaced with gravel and at steep points were provided with rough stone steps. No wheel ruts or other evidence of wheeled traffic have been observed. Beneath the eastern road are traces of terracotta drains of various periods; beneath the western is a trench for a pipeline that must have drawn on a source high up on the hillslope. The stratified deposit of road metal indicates that the eastern road was already in use before the Persian sack of 480/79 B.C.; the western may be equally early.

Wells and scattered deposits of household refuse indicate that the area had been inhabited at least from the 7th century B.C., as was natural in view of the proximity of the district to the market place and to one of the principal streets of the town. Certain foundation walls, especially in the northeastern quarter of the block, are as early as the mid 6th century, but the early houses would seem to have been thoroughly destroyed by the Persians in 480/79 B.C. or by the citizens themselves in their frantic search for material with which to rebuild their fortifications after the Persian with-

¹⁷ W. Dörpfeld, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, p. 91; XIX, 1894, p. 503; Middleton, *J.H.S. Supplement III*, pl. 20, XXVII (plan); W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*,² Munich, 1931, p. 299, fig. 36. For a general discussion of *leschai*, with particular reference to the one south of the Areopagus, cf. S. N. Dragomiris, *Ath. Mitt.*, XVII, 1892, pp. 147-155.

drawal.¹⁸ The main lines of the block as we now have it were apparently established in the course of a post-Persian reconstruction, presumably in the second quarter of the 5th century. In plan and construction the houses of this group closely resemble those excavated some years ago in the low lying area to the northwest of the Areopagus; they too in their earliest form also date from shortly before the middle of the 5th century B.C.¹⁹ Although the remains are tenuous and at many points not susceptible of certain restoration, the newly explored group nevertheless provides a welcome supplement to our scanty knowledge of Athenian domestic architecture.

The best preserved block (Pls. 16, 17, 19, b), bounded to east and west by the narrow side streets, measured *ca.* 25 x 22 meters. It appears to have comprised originally four dwelling units disposed in two pairs separated by a north-to-south party wall. Set into the hillside to the south of this main block were two small annexes that may either have been very modest independent units or subordinate rooms connected with the adjacent units to the north. The southern of the two major units in the western pair appears to have been divided subsequently into two separate establishments. The use of a party wall between the two halves of the main block, as also uniformity in construction, indicates that the four major units were part of one building program.

The individual houses were of modest size, the two eastern units, for which the overall dimensions are fairly certain, measuring 11.00 x 11.10 m. and 11.00 x 11.90 m. as compared with the Olynthos norm of *ca.* 17 x 17 m.²⁰ Each unit appears to have contained a courtyard situated in the middle of the house, at one corner or at one side. Around the courtyard were grouped rooms of various shapes and sizes. There is clear evidence for a porch roof supported by a central column on the west side of the court of the northeast unit, and similar porches have been restored, though on less secure evidence, in two other cases. But there is nothing to compare with the multi-columned porches or the well defined "pastas" that are so characteristic of the typical houses of Olynthos.

Only in one case can the use of a room be certainly established; this is the square chamber toward the southwest corner of the block which is clearly marked as a storeroom by the five beddings for large pithoi. In the small room immediately to the north of the storeroom two complete terracotta grills were found lying on the floor, giving evidence of culinary activity (Pl. 22, e).²¹ A set of nine loomweights found in the small chamber bordering the street at the very middle of the west side

¹⁸ Thucydides, I, 90, 3; 93, 1; Diodoros, XI, 39 and 40.

¹⁹ R. S. Young, "An Industrial District of Ancient Athens," *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 135-288.

²⁰ D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House*, Baltimore, 1938, pp. 33 f.

²¹ The round grill (P 26165) measures 0.33 m. in diameter, 0.06 m. high, the rectangular (P 26166) is 0.19 x 0.235 m. in plan with a height of 0.05 m.

of the block suggests the presence of a loom. No trace of fixed hearths has been observed. Nor is there any positive evidence of upper storeys although in view of the condition of the buildings this negative evidence is by no means conclusive.²²

The walls were of sun-dried brick resting on stone socles (Pl. 20). In several surviving stretches of the main walls the socle consists of large blocks of Acropolis limestone with careful polygonal jointing tending toward the rectangular. The surface, striated with short vertical strokes in no pattern, may well have been stuccoed, although no stucco survives.²³ In the inner walls the socles are normally of rubble masonry built of small blocks carefully laid in clay. The floors of most of the rooms were of rolled clay; in the large room in the central unit of the west half of the block there remains a little of a bedding of field stones that would be suitable for a cement floor; this room may well have been an *andron* or men's dining room.²⁴ Some at least of the courts were cobbled.

A feature that would seem to be characteristic of these houses is a rectangular stone-lined pit set down below ground level. One such occurs in the courtyard of the northeast unit, measuring internally 0.82 x 1.30 m. with a depth of 0.60 m. (Pl. 21, b). Another came to light in the side street just to the south of the door of the southeast unit (Pl. 21, a); its internal dimensions are 1.10 x 1.70 m. with a depth of 1.15 m. Both these pits were filled in the late 5th century B.C. with earth containing much broken pottery. A third pit, unlined and smaller (0.75 x 1.30 x 0.50 m. deep), in the west side road would seem from its filling to have gone out of use at the time of the Persian sack. The purpose of these pits is somewhat problematic. Since they were unplastered they could not have been intended as cisterns. The fact that two out of the three were in the street virtually rules out their use as repositories for food.

The pits were most probably cesspools which would have been emptied periodically,²⁵ a practice that persists in the older parts of Athens even to the present day. The dark discoloration of the floor of the pit in the court of the northeastern unit might well be due to such use (Pl. 21, b). The pits in the street presumably com-

²² Cf. the judicious remarks by J. W. Graham on the prominence of a second storey in the houses of Olynthos; *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 320-328.

²³ For comparable masonry in the houses to the northwest of the Areopagus, cf. *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pl. 63, b (mid 5th century), pl. 68, d (before the middle of the 5th century), pl. 75, c (third quarter of the 5th century). Similar also is the masonry in parts of the enclosure wall of the Sanctuary of Dionysos to the south of the Areopagus, *Ath. Mitt.*, XX, 1895, p. 164, fig. 1. The evidence from the Agora tends to confirm the 5th century dating of the upper part of the enclosure wall of the Sanctuary of Asklepios on the south slope of the Acropolis which was proposed with some reservations by W. Wrede (*Attische Mauern*, Athens, 1933, no. 73) but rejected by R. Scranton who regarded this part of the wall as probably Hellenistic (*Greek Walls*, Cambridge, Mass., 1941, p. 173).

²⁴ Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 171-185.

²⁵ According to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 50) the *astynomoi* were to see to it that the dung collectors did not deposit dung within 10 stadia of the city walls.

municated by means of a short length of drain with latrines immediately inside the house.²⁶ The arrangement in the southeast unit where the pit occurs at the side of the door corresponds nicely with the Theban practice as described in a passage of the comic poet Euboulos (early 4th century B.C.).²⁷ In Thebes Herakles discovered that each householder had a privy by his door, an arrangement of which the hero thoroughly approved. In contemporary Olynthos a couple of vessels plausibly regarded as toilet seats have been found, as also traces of drains leading out through the wall into the street, but neither cesspools nor proper street sewers are reported from that site.²⁸ A decree of 320/19 B.C. appears to prohibit cesspools in the streets of the Piraeus.²⁹ The fact that the latest of our pits were abandoned already before the end of the 5th century may indicate that in Athens customs had begun to change earlier. The new alternative was to construct sewers under the streets into which lateral drains might carry the discharge from the latrines as well as the rain water from the courtyards; this arrangement is well attested for later times in Athens,³⁰ as also in Priene,³¹ Thera³² and Delos.³³

Thus far we have described the houses in their original state. In the course of the following centuries they underwent many vicissitudes and innumerable alterations. Masses of debris of the 3rd century after Christ must derive from the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. A tomb with furnishings of the mid 4th century in the eastern side street would argue against habitation at this time.³⁴

But parts at least of the old buildings were subsequently, probably in the 5th century after Christ, patched up and used once more. The latest evidence for habitation in the area comes from a well which yielded pottery of the 6th and 7th centuries.

²⁶ Such an arrangement is attested in the 5th century phase of the Palace at Larisa on the Hermos; J. Boehlau and K. Schefold (editors), *Larisa am Hermos*, I, Berlin, 1940, p. 88, fig. 5. I owe the observation to K. Schefold. Somewhat similar stone-lined pits occurred in the 4th century phases of two of the houses west of the Areopagus; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 194, 201 (identified as rubbish pits).

²⁷ Kock, *C.A.F.*, II, p. 181 f., frag. 53: μετὰ ταῦτα Θήβας ἦλθον, οὐδὲ τὴν νύχθ' ὅλην τὴν θ' ἡμέραν δειπνοῦσι καὶ κοπρῶν ἔχει ἐπὶ ταῖς θύραις ἕκαστος, οὐδὲ πλήρει βροτῶ οὐκ ἔστι μείζον ἀγαθόν· ὥς χεζητιῶν μακρὰν βαδίζων, πολλὰ δ' ἰδίῳ ἀνὴρ, δάκνων τὰ χεῖλη, παγγέλοιός ἐστ' ἰδεῖν.

²⁸ Robinson and Graham, *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 205 f.; Robinson, *Olynthus*, XII, pp. 178-180. For a short length of round drain under a street at Olynthos, cf. *Olynthus*, XII, p. 273.

²⁹ *I.G.*, II,² 380 (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,³ 313), lines 34-40.

³⁰ As typical of numerous examples noted in the Agora excavations may be cited the arrangements introduced into the houses to the west of the Areopagus after the construction of a large sewer in that area in the early 4th century B.C. Cf. R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 198 f., 201, 203, 205, 206, 213, 216.

³¹ T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, p. 294.

³² F. Hiller von Gaertringen and P. Wilski, *Thera*, III, Berlin, 1904, pp. 157-159.

³³ J. Chamonard, *Delos*, VIII, *Le Quartier du Théâtre*, Paris, 1922, pp. 181-191. On the subject of street drains cf. R. Martin, *Revue de Philologie*, XXXI, 1957, pp. 66-72.

³⁴ *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 353, fig. 41.

Across the east side street opposite the southeast corner of the block described above are the well preserved foundations of a small, two-roomed house (Pls. 16, 20, c). Measuring overall 5.80 x 10.40 m., it was divided by a crosswall into rooms of equal size communicating with one another by a doorway. Though similar in construction to the larger houses, this building dates from the early 4th century. Repeated rises in the floor level indicate intensive use through the 4th and 3rd centuries, but there is no evidence of later occupation. Unusual though the plan may be for a dwelling, there is nothing to suggest that the structure was anything but a private house.

Extraordinarily unpretentious though these houses may seem for the great period of Athenian history, there is no reason to believe that their simplicity is due to their having been intended for people of the poorer or lower classes. The situation was desirable, being an open area conveniently close to the market place, to the Southeast Fountain House and to the Acropolis. Moreover, the remains of household furnishings that came to light in the excavation, though pitifully few in number, were of good quality. In a single room of the northeastern dwelling unit, for instance, and within the levels of the 4th century B.C., were found one silver tetradrachm and thirty-one bronze coins, a lead token (IL 1448), an arrow head (B 1214), a fine terracotta lamp (L 5298), and three pieces of exquisitely worked ivory: a whorl (BI 771), a boss (BI 769) and a handle (BI 770). Even the fragmentary pottery of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. found on the floors and in the streets of the district was of superior quality as illustrated, for example, by the two pieces of red-figure shown on Plate 22, a-c. The archaeological evidence appears, therefore, to be in full agreement with the literary tradition according to which the residential parts of Athens were poorly laid out, with narrow streets and with houses of such uniform modesty that one could barely distinguish the dwelling of an Aristides or a Miltiades from its neighbors. Demosthenes attributed this state of affairs to the self restraint and public spirit of the great men of old; a later and more astringent critic (Ps. Dikaiarchos) put it down to the incompetence of early times.³⁵

In the area farther to the east, i. e., at the northeast foot of the Areopagus, the exploration of the past two seasons has yielded evidence of habitation from the 7th century B.C. onward. In this region the houses of the Greek period were almost

³⁵ Demosthenes III, 25; Ps. Dikaiarchos, *F.H.G.*, II, p. 254; cf. also Philostratos, *Life of Apollonios*, II, 23. Robinson and Graham (*Olynthus*, VIII, p. 151) ventured to predict in 1938 that the pastas and pastas-peristyle house types so well illustrated at Olynthus would prove to be prevalent also at Athens. Although there is some basic similarity between the houses of the 5th and 4th centuries now known from the slopes of the Areopagus and the examples of approximately the same period from the northern city, the Athenian houses are on the whole appreciably smaller, simpler and less elegantly furnished with such good things as mosaic floors, stone columns and fixed culinary facilities. Cf. also the general observations made by R. S. Young on the houses to the west of the Areopagus; *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 226-228.

completely obliterated by two large establishments that date from the general revival of the 5th century after Christ. The more easterly, which is also the larger and the better preserved, is shown in plan in Figure 1. The irregularities in the south side were occasioned by the ruggedness of the terrain and by the line of a street against which the building was set. In the southern and eastern parts of the complex the

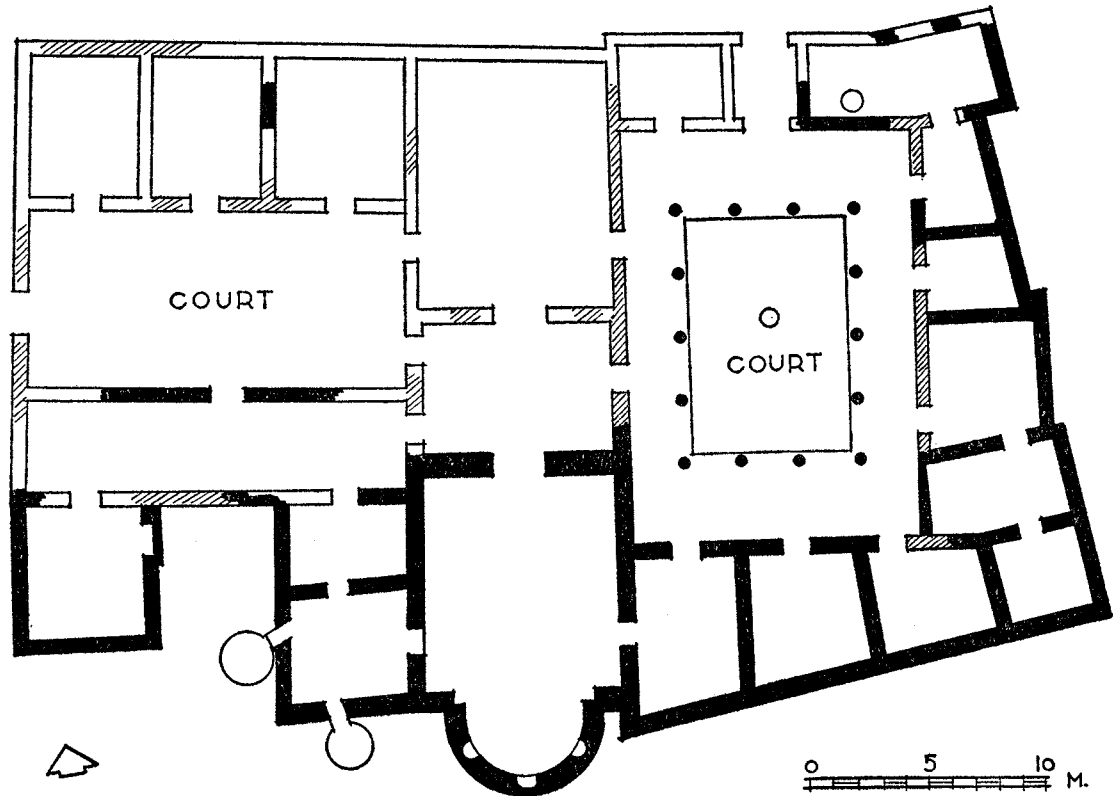


FIG. 1. House of 5th century after Christ at Northeast Foot of Areopagus

walls still stand to a height of two to three meters; toward the northwest the plan has had to be restored largely on the basis of plundered foundation trenches and beddings.

Despite minor uncertainties the building evidently comprised a central suite of three large rooms flanked to east and west by courtyards on which opened numerous rooms of moderate size. In the eastern court much of the marble stylobate remains with indications of columns; near its middle was a well. Particularly distinctive is the southern room of the central suite with its apsidal end containing niches for sculpture (Pl. 21, c). The wall construction throughout is that characteristic of the period: rubble stonework including much ancient material with levelling courses of brick and with solid brickwork for the niches and exposed corners.

The construction of two such large establishments in our region at this period, and a third of similar plan which has recently been brought to light south of the Acropolis, is striking.³⁶ There is little likelihood that we shall ever know with certainty by whom or for whom they were built. It is tempting, however, to bring those at the north foot of the Areopagus into historical association with the great gymnasium complex that was erected early in the 5th century after Christ above the middle of the ancient market square.³⁷ It has seemed altogether probable that this complex, with its courtyards and adjacent rooms, its bathing facilities and its gardens, served educational as well as purely athletic purposes, in this way carrying on the tradition of the Athenian gymnasia of the classical period. From an instructive passage in Eunapius' *Life of Julian* (p. 483, 5) we learn that in the 4th century (and the same was presumably true also for the 5th) some of the sophists held classes in their own houses which were elegantly furnished and equipped with auditoria modelled on the public auditoria but smaller.³⁸ We also know that in this period the sophists were in the habit of taking their favorite pupils into their own households. And finally there is good literary evidence for substantial assistance and encouragement from the Emperor Julian and from the proconsuls of the 4th and 5th centuries in the rehabilitation of educational facilities in Athens. It is a plausible conjecture, therefore, that some at least of the distinctive establishments with which we are dealing were occupied by successful sophists who would have found in them ample domestic accommodation for large households as well as chambers suitable for classroom use.

MISCELLANEOUS FINDS

RED-FIGURED POTTERY³⁹

From the few fragments of red-figure found in the exploration of the houses at the north foot of the Areopagus two may be singled out for mention. A cup fragment of exceptionally fine quality (Pl. 22, b)⁴⁰ shows Ixion bound to the wheel; the bonds securing his left arm to one of the spokes may be clearly seen. The subject, so admirably suited to the tondo of a cup, appears to have been used but rarely for this shape. Miss E. Simon, in publishing a fragment with a similar representation from the Roman Forum, points out that the piece from Rome must antedate Pindar's

³⁶ I. Miliadis, *Πρακτικά*, 1955 (1957), pp. 46-49.

³⁷ *The Athenian Agora: A Guide to the Excavations*, p. 59, No. 25.

³⁸ The literary evidence for the state of educational facilities at Athens in late antiquity is most conveniently assembled by C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, I, Leipzig, 1874, pp. 711-713.

³⁹ I owe the notes on red-figure to Lucy Talcott.

⁴⁰ Agora Inv. P 26228. Cup interior. Max. dim. 0.053 m. Relief contour, excellent glaze.

account of the story, of about 475 B.C., by some two decades.⁴¹ The new piece carries the representation still further back, into the last decade of the 6th century.

The second fragment of red-figure (Pl. 22, a, c),⁴² also from a cup, will be of special interest to students of the Berlin painter; on the exterior the legs of a standing male figure remain, on the interior the border of the medallion: maeander with saltire squares. Sir John Beazley has pointed out⁴³ that these legs are very close in style to the Berlin painter and comments: "The only unusual point in the legs is that the mid-line leading up to the navel is black and in the Berlin painter it is always brown. But in the Gorgos cup⁴⁴ it is black." Another link between the Gorgos Cup and the Berlin painter is thus added to those already discussed by Robertson.

MINIATURE REPLICA OF THE ATHENA PARTHENOS SHIELD

A small fragment of a round terracotta shield (Fig. 2; Pl. 22, d) came to light in a deposit of the 3rd century after Christ, presumably to be associated with the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, among the ruins of the most westerly houses in the block at the north foot of the Areopagus.⁴⁵ The figures moulded in low relief on the front surface indicate clearly that we have to do with a miniature replica of the shield of the Athena Parthenos which bore on its outer face an amazonomachy.⁴⁶ Comparison with the Lenormant and Patras statuettes shows that the supine figure of our fragment is to be thought of as lying horizontal at the middle of the lower edge of the shield. Since, however, there is no trace of attachment on the surviving piece we cannot be sure whether it was made as an independent *objet d'art* or was accompanied by a figure of the goddess. The diameter, which may be restored as 0.15 m., is identical with that of the Lenormant statuette and corresponds to about one-thirtieth of the original.⁴⁷

Although sketchy and now badly rubbed, the modelling was done with not a little skill and feeling; when complete the general effect must have been quite satisfactory

⁴¹ *Jahresh.* XLII, 1955, p. 16, fig. 6.

⁴² Agora Inv. P 26245. Max. dim. 0.032 m. Relief contour, good glaze.

⁴³ By letter, October 13, 1958.

⁴⁴ Agora Inv. P 24113. *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 64-66, fig. 4, below, pl. 30; M. Robertson, "The Gorgos Cup," *A.J.A.*, LXII, 1958, pp. 55-66, pls. 6-10.

⁴⁵ T 3577. Max. pres. dim. 0.094 m. Soft clay ranging in color from buff to yellow and red. No trace of glaze or paint. The back is roughly finished.

⁴⁶ S. Ras, *B.C.H.*, LXVIII/IX, 1944/45, pp. 163-205; F. Brommer, *Marburger Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1948 and *Athena Parthenos* (Opus Nobile Series), Bremen, 1957, pp. 11-14 (restored drawing fig. 4); P. Stavropoulos, 'Η Ἀσπίς τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Παρθένου τοῦ Φειδίου, Athens, 1950 (reviewed by H. Möbius, *Gnomon*, XXIII, 1951, cols. 266-277); E. Bielefeld, *Amazonomachia*, Halle, 1951, pp. 18-32; D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 209-214.

⁴⁷ The height of the figure alone in the Lenormant statuette is given as 0.34 m. Cf. A. Michaelis, *Der Parthenon*, Leipzig, 1871, p. 277.

on a replica of such miniature scale. As one of a half dozen known copies of the figured shield the tiny scrap takes its place among the documents bearing on the restoration of Pheidias' masterpiece. Inasmuch as the new fragment derives from a part of the shield that survives also on the Lenormant, Strangford and Patras copies, it cannot be expected to provide startling new information. It does, however, add its modest testimony on several disputed points of detail.

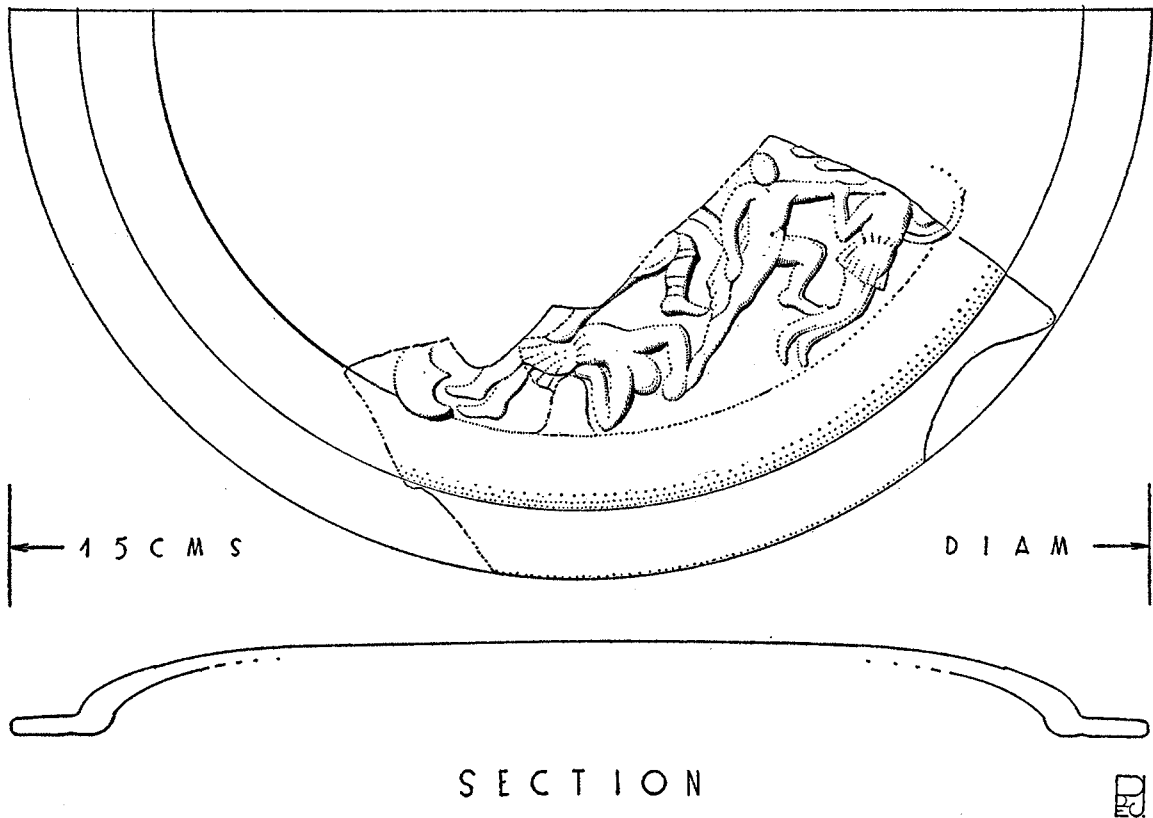


FIG. 2. Terracotta Replica of Athena Parthenos Shield

Parts of four figures remain, apparently two Greeks and two Amazons, the Greeks in both cases having the advantage. The affiliations of the supine figure to the left, which could scarcely be determined from the figure itself, are indicated by the shield at its feet, an Amazon's pelta. This is a matter of some interest in view of the divergence among the other copies; on the Strangford shield the figure is shown by its dress to be an Amazon, while the makers of the Lenormant and the Patras statuettes apparently took it for a Greek.⁴⁸ The Greek of whom only the legs remain on our fragment above this fallen Amazon, and who presumably has dispatched her, is shown

⁴⁸ Bielefeld, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

on the Lenormant, Patras and Strangford versions to be lunging to the right; in the Strangford copy he is armed with spear and shield. The right-hand group on the Agora fragment is more readily legible in the Patras and Strangford versions, as also on the slabs from the Piraeus: a Greek who has seized a fleeing Amazon by the hair is about to drive home his sword; the Amazon desperately clutches the left hand of her assailant. The very slight traces that remain of the shield held by this Amazon would favor the restoration of a round shield rather than the pelta which appears on the Lenormant and Strangford copies.⁴⁹

Apart from its value in recovering the design of the Parthenos shield, our fragment is of interest as adding to the now considerable repertory of minor *objets d'art* such as fine lamps, medallions and coins in which one or other of the famous Athena statues of Athens appears prominently.⁵⁰ One can readily believe that such objects were in demand among visitors as souvenirs of the venerable city.

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⁴⁹ On the diversity of shield forms, cf. Bielefeld, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

⁵⁰ *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 182 f., pl. LXII; XXVII, 1958, p. 159, pl. 46, d; G. Beccati, *Problemi Fidiaci*, Milan-Florence, 1951, pls. 63, 86, 87.



a. View from North



b. View from South. A¹ and A²: Aqueduct of Roman Period, B: Aqueduct of late 5th Century B.C., C: Tower in Late Roman Fortification, D: Modern House to be removed

Panathenaic Way and Late Roman Fortification on North Slope of Acropolis

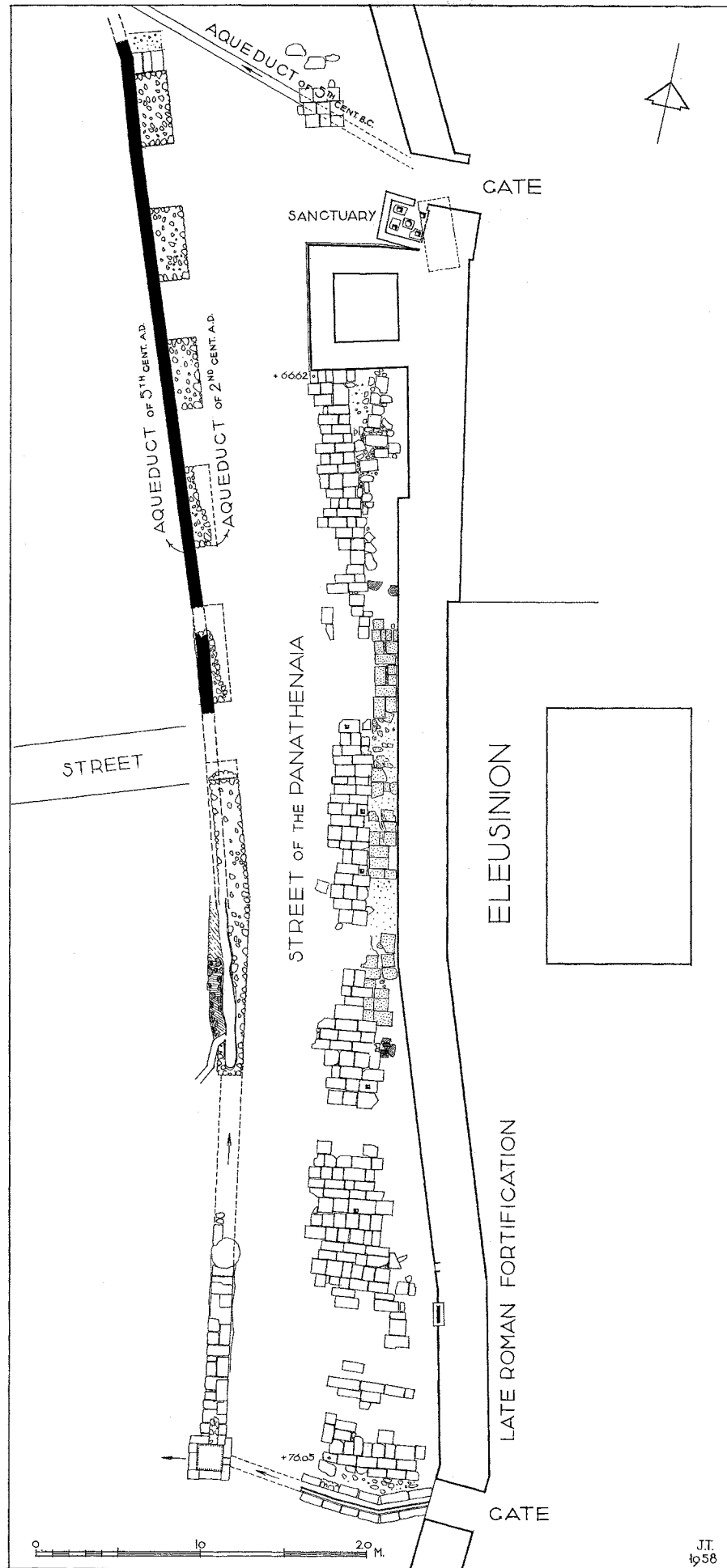
HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



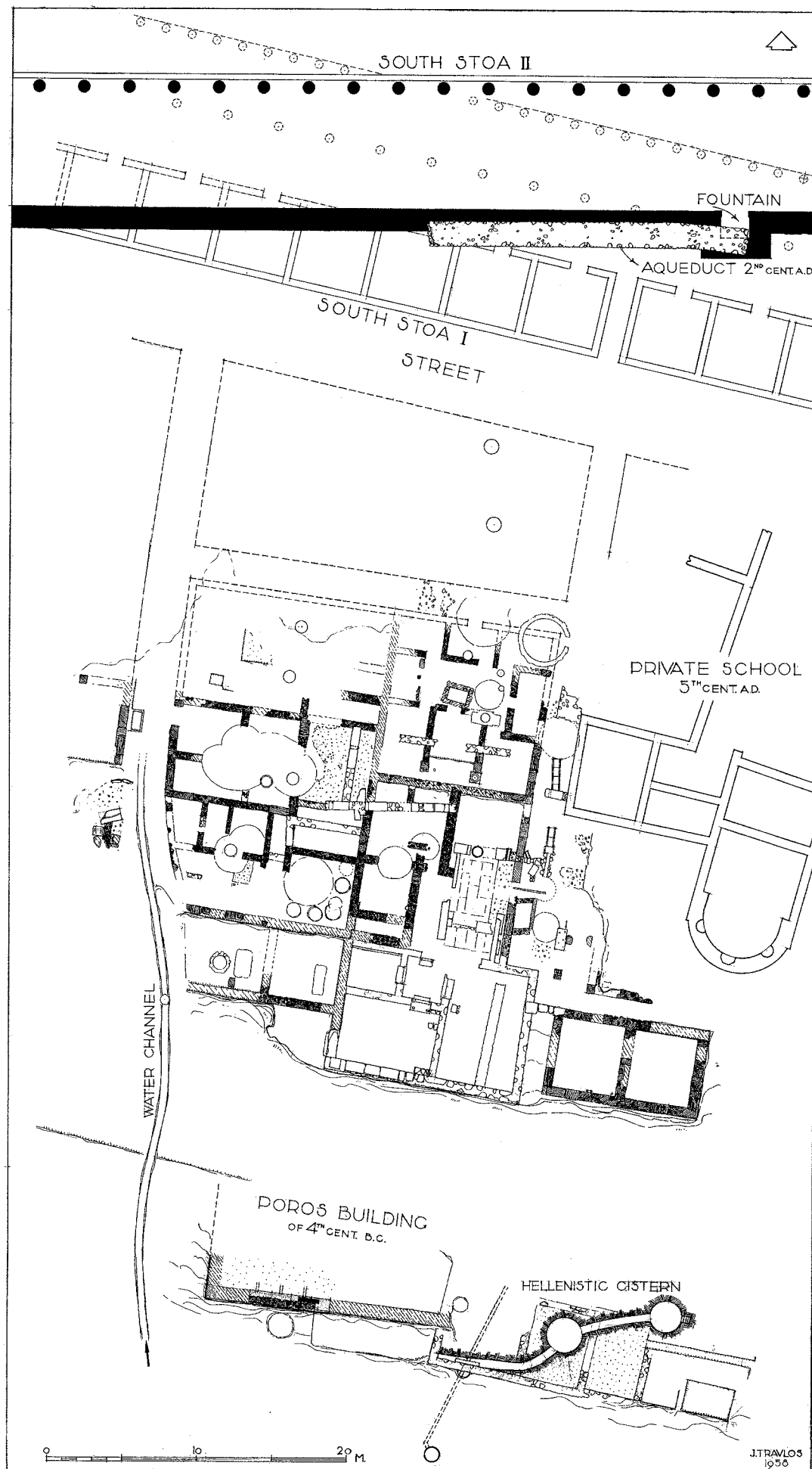
a. Tower in Late Roman Fortification with Sanctuary at lower left



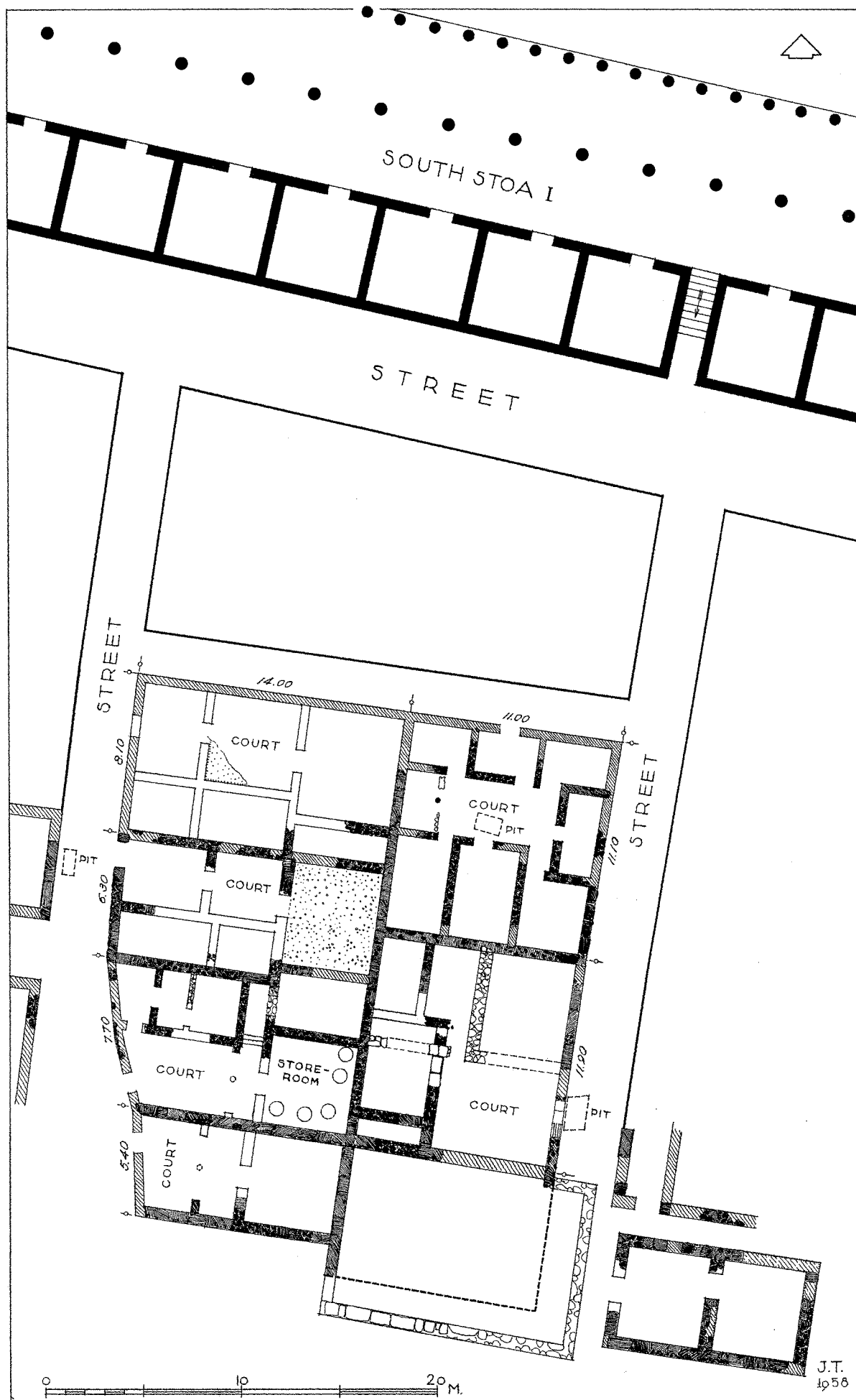
b. Rubble Repair of Byzantine date in Late Roman Fortification



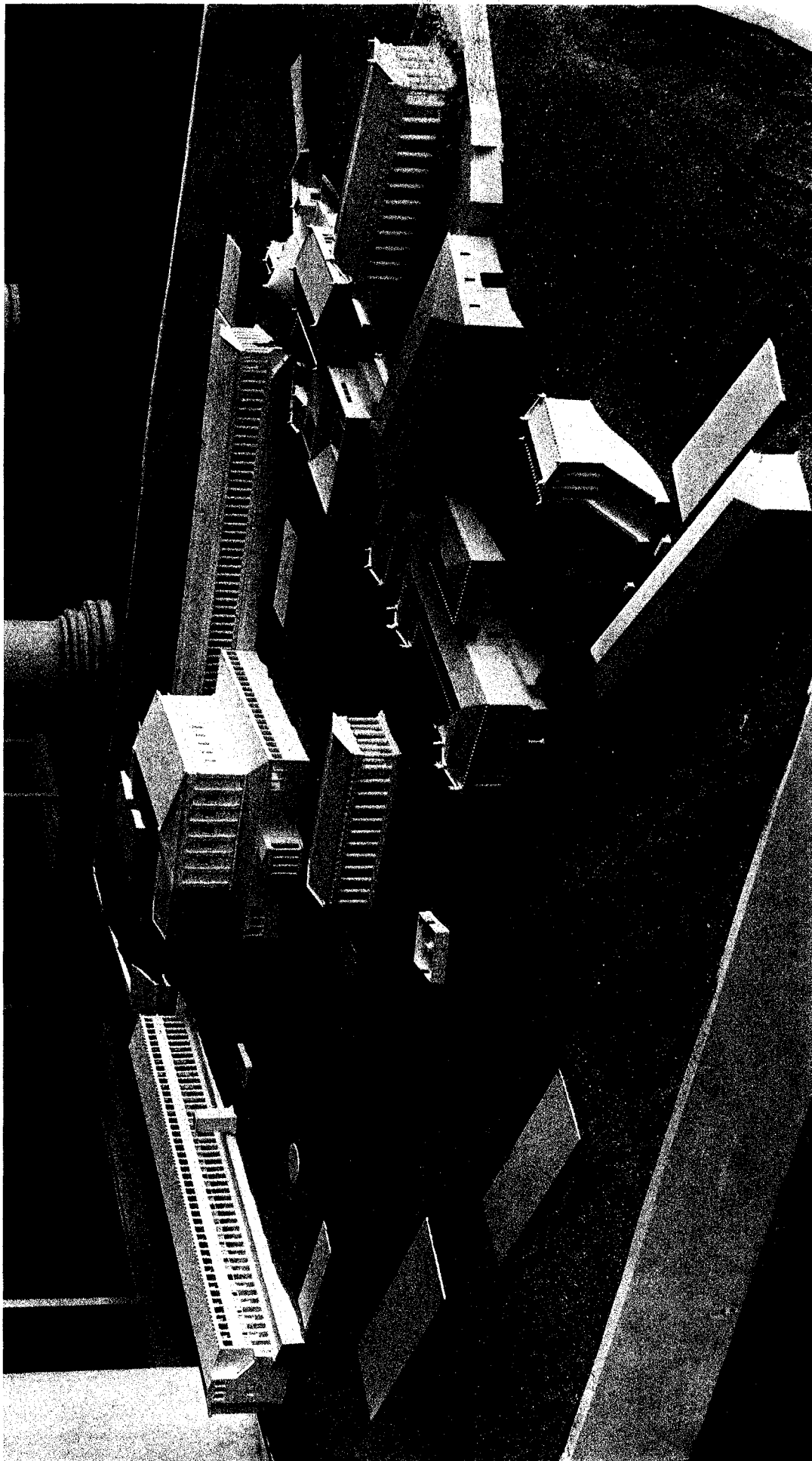
Street of the Panathenaia on North Slope of Acropolis
 HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



Houses at North Foot of Areopagus. Actual State
 HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



Houses at North Foot of Areopagus. Restored as of 4th century B.C.
 HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



Model of the Agora in the 2nd century after Christ. View from Northwest

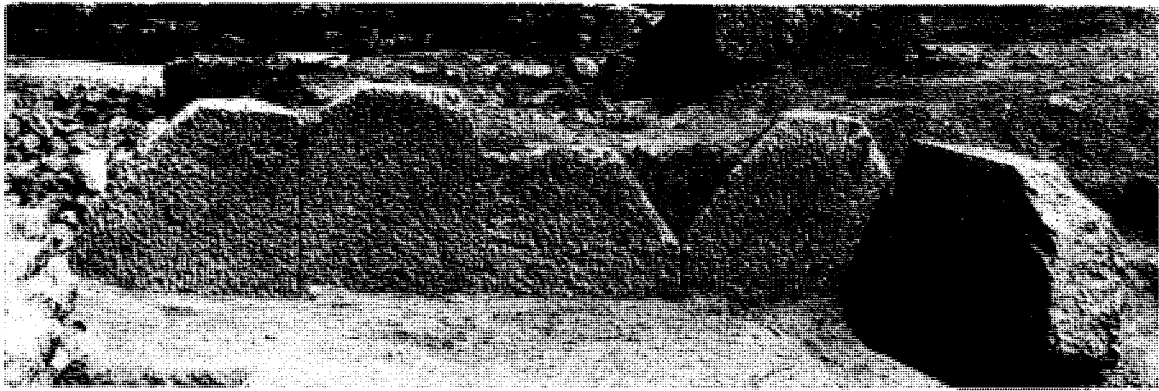
HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1958



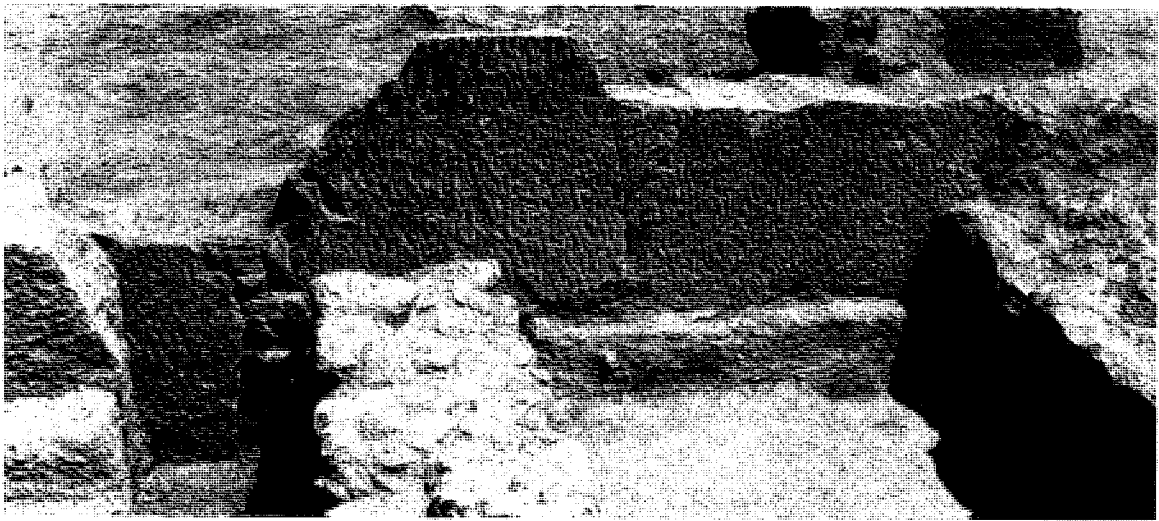
a. Houses at North Foot of Areopagus. View from Northwest



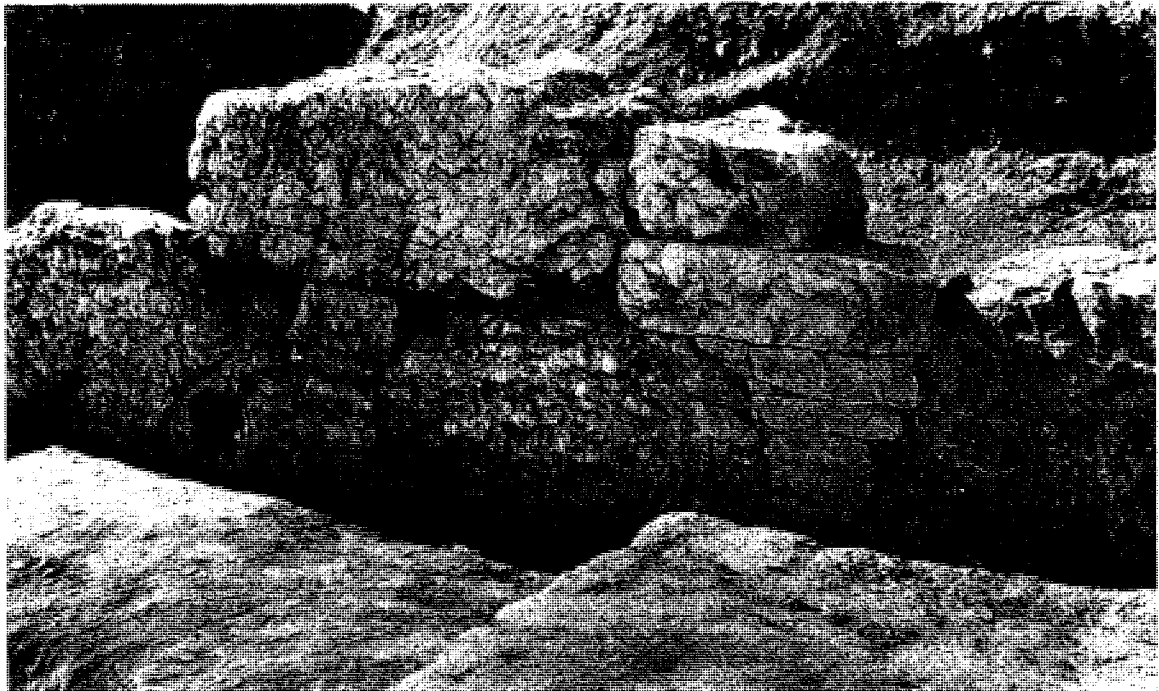
b. Houses at North Foot of Areopagus: Foundations. View from Northwest



a. Houses at North Foot of Areopagus: Wall Socle. 5th century B.C.



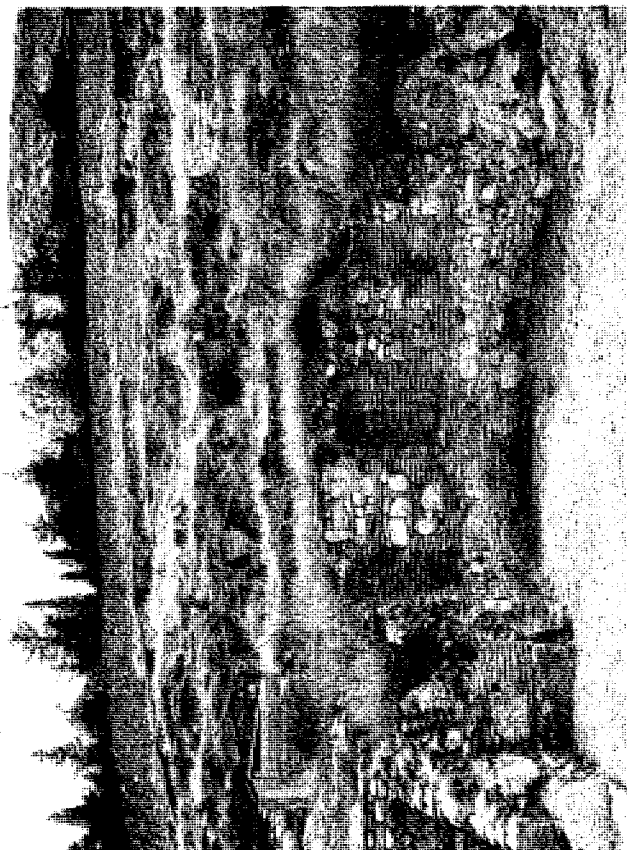
b. Houses at North Foot of Areopagus: Wall Socle. 5th century B. C.



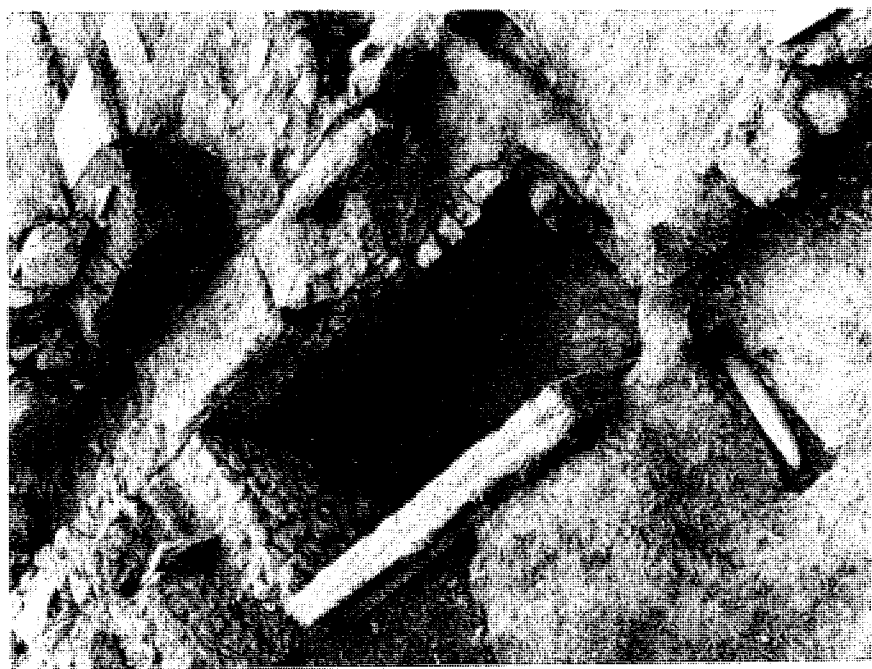
c. Two-roomed House at North Foot of Areopagus: Wall Socle. 4th century B.C.



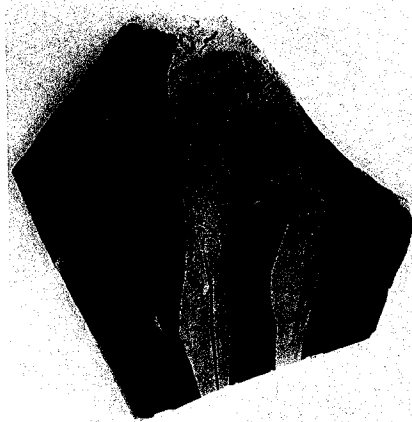
b. Stone-lined Pit (Cesspool ?) in Courtyard



c. Apse in House of 5th century after Christ. View from North



a. Stone-lined Pit (Cesspool ?) in Street



a. Red-figured Cup (P 26245)



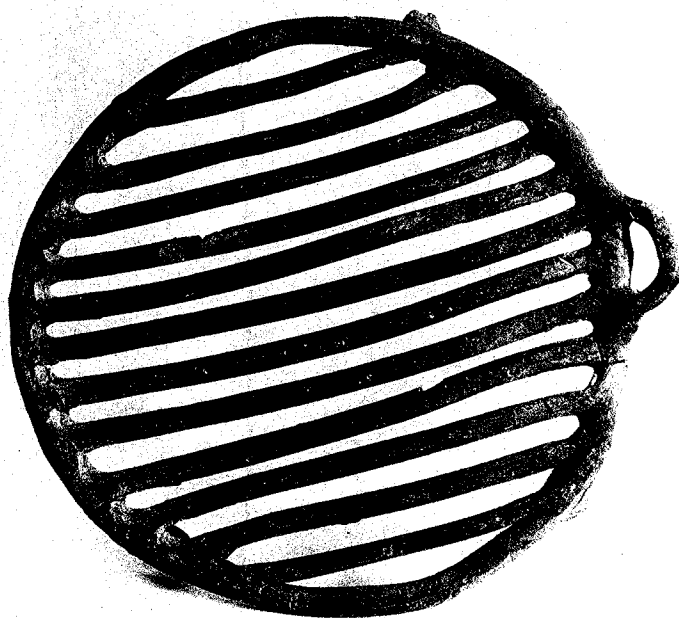
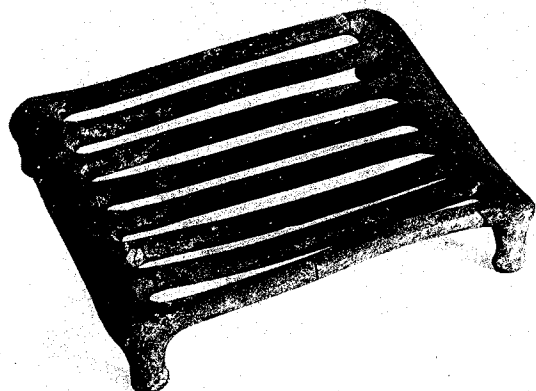
b. Red-figured Cup: Ixion (P 26228)



c. Red-figured Cup (P 26245)



d. Terracotta Replica of Athena Parthenos Shield (T 3577)



e. Terracotta Grills. 4th century B.C. (P 26166, P 26165)