

THE ATHENIAN AGORA: EXCAVATIONS OF 1972

(PLATES 65–76)

FROM March to August of 1972, the American School of Classical Studies conducted its twenty-ninth campaign of excavations in the Athenian Agora.¹ Although the work of the past season was concentrated entirely in areas which had begun to be cleared during the previous two years, significant results were forthcoming in five separate sectors of the excavations. Our efforts brought nearly to completion the general clearing of the northern sections bordering modern Hadrian Street, and as a result the history and disposition of the monuments at the north-western and northeastern corners of the market square can now be charted in some detail. Here there remain to be carried out only a few tests and probings of the early stratified deposits in order to verify the results of recent years' work prior to publication of the area.

Our principal forces were massed on the eastern front during 1972, where the excavators succeeded in carrying out the general exploration of the large block of land lying between the south end of the Stoa of Attalos and the Market of Caesar and Augustus. Excavation of this area had commenced in 1971 at its western edge along modern Brysakiou Street, but the major part of the section remained to be opened from the modern surface at the beginning of last season. The clearing of this block provided the first evidence for the topography and architecture in a previously unexplored region of the ancient city. The archaeological history of Athens was further enriched by the addition of new evidence for a period which had hitherto

¹ The season of 1972 was entirely financed by the grant from the Ford Foundation which has made possible the excavations of recent years; and grateful acknowledgement is once again made for this support.

The archaeological field work was conducted under the supervision of John McK. Camp II and Ione M. Shear, who had charge of the two eastern sections, while Stephen G. Miller, Stella Grobel Miller, and Susan I. Rotroff were each in charge of one of the northern sectors. All the architectural work was in the hands of William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., some of whose drawings accompany this report. Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. was responsible for photography, and I owe to him all the illustrations included here. John H. Kroll continued to have charge of the numismatic work. Processing of new finds and supervision of the catalogue was in the hands of Effie Sakellarakis. Drafting and drawing of objects was done by Helen Besi. This report owes much to the work of all these colleagues.

It is a pleasure once again to record our deep and continuing debt of gratitude to our colleagues of the Greek Service of Antiquities and Restoration and particularly to its Inspector General, Professor Spyridon Marinatos. Thanks are due also to Dr. George Dontas, ephor of the first archaeological district, who has assisted the progress of the excavations in many ways.

Hesperia, XLII, 4

been represented only by the most insubstantial remains; for the buildings in the eastern zone proved to have been occupied well into the Dark Ages.

CLASSICAL SHRINE AT THE NORTHWEST CORNER

The northwestern corner of the Classical market square lies at the intersection of the Panathenaic Way and the western street, which gave access to the row of civic buildings bordering the west side of the Agora. It was here, just opposite the Stoa Basileios, that there came to light in the closing days of the season of 1971 a small sanctuary of the Classical period. A preliminary account of its discovery appeared in our report on that campaign.² Most of the excavation of the little shrine, however, remained for the following season and was carried out in the spring of 1972 under the supervision of Stella Grobel Miller. Something over half of the sacred enclosure had been incorporated in the heavy concrete foundations of a late Roman building. Thus at the time of its discovery a mass of architectural blocks and other material, re-used at second hand and set in hard mortar, entirely obscured the northwestern half of the square enclosure. Indeed, it is to these foundations that the sanctuary owes its excellent state of preservation, for they served to protect from later disturbances both the architecture of the Classical monument and its deposit of votive offerings. The late Roman foundations were carefully dismantled in order to permit excavation of the Classical fill which had gathered both inside and outside the enclosure. Now, after completion of its excavation, the sanctuary stands revealed almost intact (Pl. 65, a); and the structure itself, combined with the dedicatory offerings found within it, creates an unusually lively picture of a popular place of worship in Classical Athens.

Although the sanctuary occupies a prominent location at the northwest entrance to the Agora (Fig. 1), it is nevertheless of exceedingly simple type: an *abaton*, a low enclosure about a sacred spot, of a kind which finds nearly contemporary parallel at the southwestern corner of the Agora.³ The object of worship at the little shrine was a great outcropping of bedrock which appears to have served in its unworked state as a natural altar stone. The rock is surrounded by a parapet of poros orthostates forming a square enclosure which measures 3.95 m. by 3.65 m. in its exterior dimensions (Fig. 2). The orthostates are worked smooth both inside and out, and, although they were not fastened to each other by clamps, the joints are neatly closed. The slabs are uniformly 0.39 m. thick and stand to a height, on the north side, of 1.24 m., which is likely to be their original dimension, though many now show signs of heavy wear on their tops and outer faces.⁴ The blocks themselves are not of

² *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, pp. 126-130.

³ H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 58-60; G. V. Lalonde, *ibid.*, pp. 123-133.

⁴ The orthostates were probably originally finished with a coping course of which one block was found in the enclosure in the lowest part of the late Roman foundations near the northeast

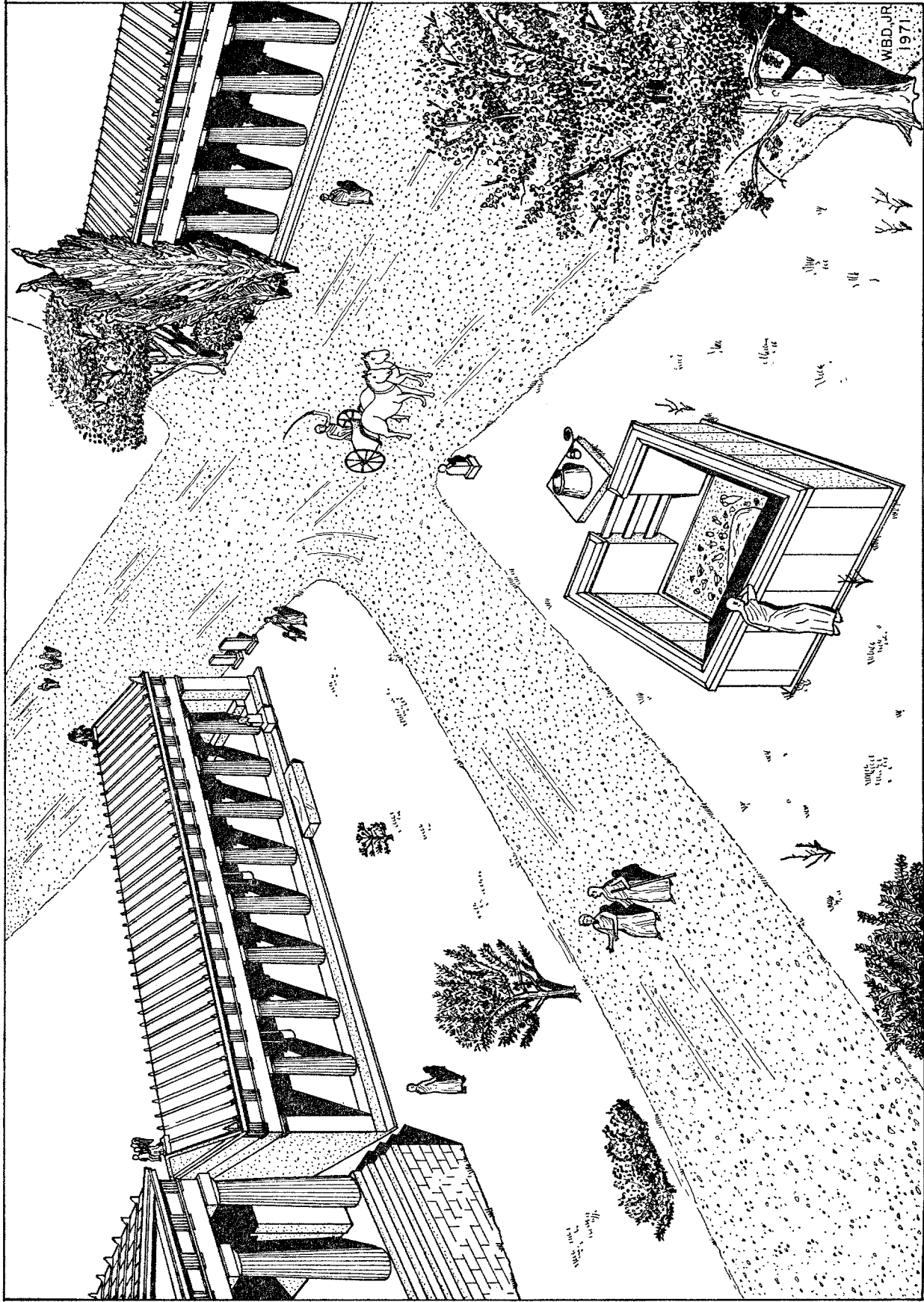


FIG. 1. Perspective View of Northwest Corner of Agora, from Southeast.

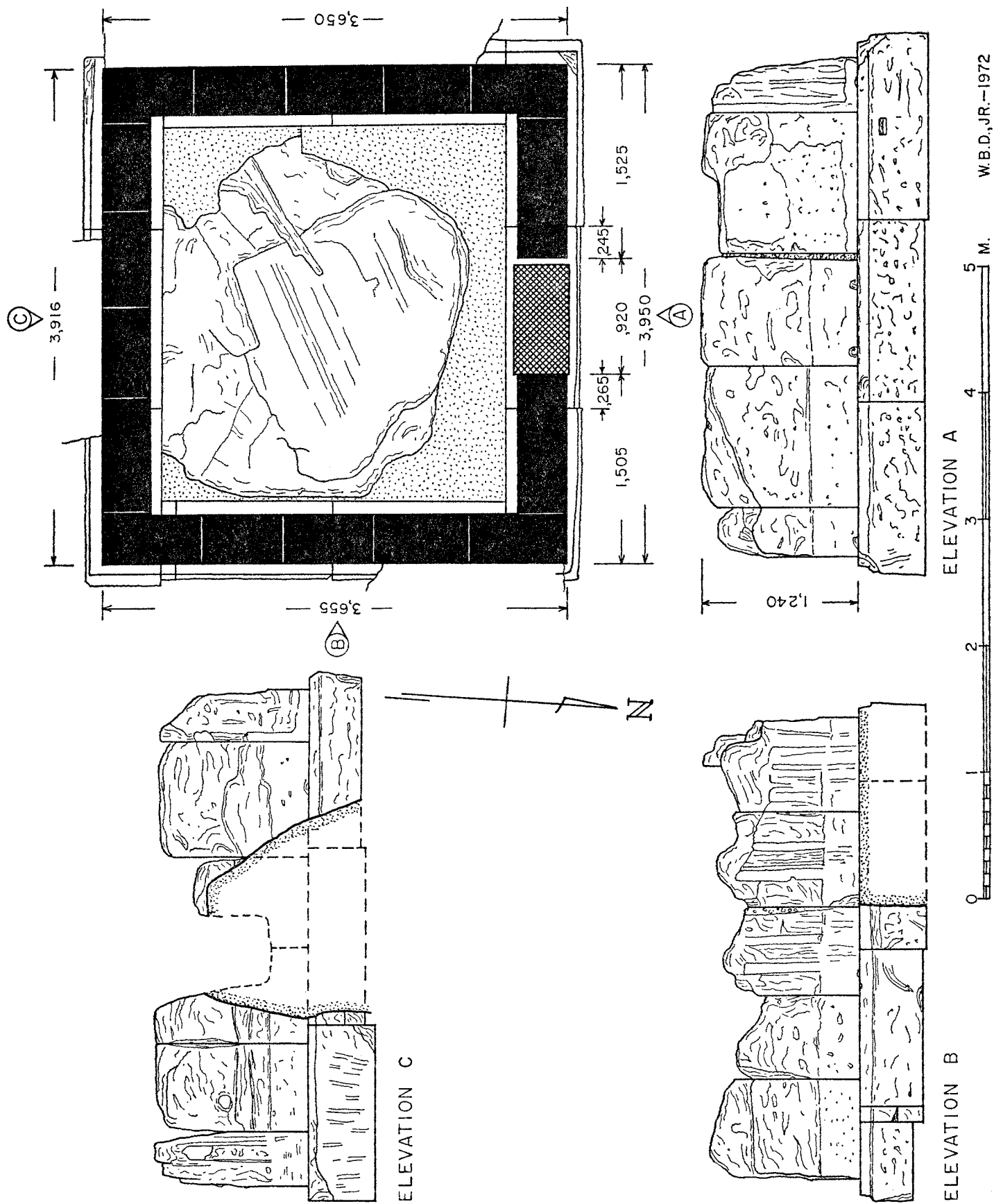


FIG. 2. Sanctuary Enclosure. Plan Partly Restored. Exterior Elevations, Actual State.

uniform width, but they are arranged with careful symmetry. Both the east and west walls are formed of five blocks, those at the ends being worked in each case with a slight return to close the corners. There are four blocks along the south side of the enclosure, while the north wall is composed of two orthostates of exceptional width, 1.10 m., flanking a narrower block, 0.92 m. wide.

Close examination of the central orthostate on the north side will reveal several details which suggest that the block was not part of the original construction. It alone measures 0.44 m. in thickness and thus projects slightly from the line of the wall both inside and out. The joint at its western edge, by exception, stands open as much as 0.042 m., and at the bottom of its outer face the block exhibits two pry holes used to lever it into position between the two adjacent orthostates (Fig. 2). Since this block falls almost precisely at the center of the wall, it is reasonable to suppose that it was intended to close an original opening in the parapet, which may have been barred with a light railing, as has been restored in Figure 1. The condition of the sill beneath the central block adds some strength to this suggestion; for its outer edge shows clear signs of foot wear, but no trace of such wear appears along the inner edge of the sill. From this it seems fair to infer that, although the worshipper might stand to offer sacrifice at an opening in the parapet, he was in some way debarred from entry within the enclosure.

The orthostates of the parapet stand on a poros sill, the blocks of which were laid simply on the hard ground surface of the Agora without further foundation. The sill measures 0.56 m. in width and 0.53 m. in depth, with slight variations, and thus projects 0.08–0.10 m. on each side of the orthostates. On the interior the blocks are worked smooth for their full depth, but the outer face is treated as a euthynteria with a smoothed band, 0.09 m. wide, along the top and a rough projecting panel beneath. When the enclosure was built, the sill was made level with the highest point of the sacred stone. The ground level round about was then brought to within a few centimeters of the top of the sill, and the rock rose as much as 0.52 m. above the floor, so that the sanctuary appeared originally as it does in Plate 65, a after the excavation was completed.

In the course of the excavation, it proved possible to investigate the early layered fill which had gathered about the enclosure from the time of its construction until the end of its life. Sections of this fill survived, undisturbed by the late Roman foundations, in narrow strips along the north, east, and south walls of the parapet.

corner. Inv. A 4353: H. 0.245 m.; W. 0.51 m.; P.L. 0.295 m. Recut at one end. Vertical sides 0.11 m. high, canted towards flat top 0.23 m. wide. Centered on top, a small drilled hole for anchoring grille (?). Anathyrosis on original end. Tan poros.

The coping would thus project 0.06 m. on each side of the orthostates agreeing well with the sill beneath. The overall height of the enclosure was then 1.485 m. Cf. the coping course, though triangular in section, on the *abaton* near the Stoa of Antigonos at Delos, F. Courby, *Délos*, V, *Le portique d'Antigone*, Paris, 1912, pp. 97-102.

This stratified deposit yielded sufficient ceramic material to fix the chronology of the sanctuary with some precision. Beneath the original ground level, the excavator encountered several layers, corresponding to the full depth of the sill, which were composed of chips of worked poros from cutting the blocks for the parapet. These layers of builder's debris produced pottery which can be dated in the third quarter of the 5th century B.C.,⁵ and this suggests that the enclosure was constructed about the sacred stone in the years after 430 B.C.

During the first few decades of its history, earth accumulated rapidly against the walls of the sanctuary, with the result that by the early 4th century B.C. the level of the ground outside the parapet had risen 0.32 to 0.36 m. in as many as five separate layers on all sides. The ground level thus established was evidently maintained for a considerable period, as is indicated by a clear line of weathering visible on all the orthostates at a height of about 0.36 m. above the sill (Fig. 2). Below this line the outer surface of the blocks is preserved in excellent condition; but above the line the upper part of the parapet is everywhere so heavily worn as to suggest that the soft poros was long exposed to the weather and passing traffic. In the late 4th century, the entire area appears to have undergone extensive landscaping and grading. This took the form of a deep artificial filling which raised the level of the ground outside the sanctuary from 0.44 m. to 0.58 m., so that only the tops of the orthostates were afterwards left exposed. Since this same deep fill was found both inside and outside the enclosure, it seems to mark the point, near the end of the 4th century B.C., at which the sanctuary ceased to be used.⁶

Excavation within the enclosure has shown that the little cult enjoyed a peak of popularity during the latter part of the 5th century B.C. It was then the practice to leave the dedicatory gifts where they had fallen when thrown by their donors over the parapet. Thus a great mass of pottery and other objects was allowed to accumulate on and around the sacred stone. A small part of this deposit of votive offerings was excavated in the southern half of the enclosure at the end of the 1971 season, but by far the majority remained to be cleared in the spring of 1972. Our preliminary description of the votive gifts, reported last year, was based on a fraction of the evidence now available, but the fragmentary findings of 1971 have been verified to a considerable extent by the work of the past season.

⁵ The construction fill containing worked poros chips was found in three layers against the north and east sides of the sill, and the pottery from these layers comprises Lots BΓ 405-407, 424-426, 446-448.

⁶ Pottery from the deep artificial filling (Lots BΓ 397, 431) dates to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., while a few of the latest pieces may be as late as the fourth quarter. A deep fill of the same period and the same depth within the enclosure (Lot BΓ 357) must surely have been deposited at the same time. The filling also caused the wellhead of the neighboring public well to be raised (cf. *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 130), for the lower wellhead agrees in level with the bottom of the deep fill and the upper wellhead with its top.

In all parts of the sanctuary which had not been disturbed by the late Roman foundations, there came to light a floor of hard-packed clay about level with the top of the sacred rock and with the sill beneath the surrounding parapet. As was reported in 1971, it was this floor which sealed the massive deposit of votive offerings; and it may well have been laid at the time when the original opening in the north wall was blocked by the central orthostate that now stands there. Beneath the floor, for a depth of 0.50 m., all the available space about the rock was packed with broken pottery, lamps, and other sacrificial material. The votive deposit appears as it was found in Plates 65, b, 66.

Among the several hundred pieces of pottery recovered from the sanctuary last season, lekythoi, lamps, and various drinking vessels were the classes most frequently represented. Not only were miniature squat lekythoi (Pl. 67, p, q, r, s) and those in red figure found in some numbers, but also several decorated with ivy wreaths and a large white-ground lekythos depicting a sepulchral scene, from which most of the color has been lost. The heavy concentration of lekythoi adds distinctly funerary overtones to the deposit; and indeed, the combination of shapes here represented seems to find its best parallels in the Rheneia purification pit and in the late 5th century graves from the Kerameikos and the cemetery in Syntagma Square.⁷ Some 33 lamps were found in the votive deposit among which Type 21 B of the second and third quarters of the 5th century predominates.⁸ A group of five large lamps, however, forms a class of its own, unusual in design and of a type not hitherto found in the Agora. In shape they resemble large one-handlers with a ring foot and incurved rim. They lack the normal nozzle of a lamp, for the wick was inserted in a broad central tube which drew oil through two holes at its base (Pl. 67, t).⁹ The drinking vessels found in largest numbers were stemless cups, one-handlers, and skyphoi, while bolsal bowls and ribbed mugs of the Pheidias shape were represented in smaller groups. In addition to these the deposit also included numerous salt cellars, miniature stemmed dishes, and small bowls decorated with stamped patterns of great delicacy. In general the pottery is noteworthy for the small size of the shapes and for its

⁷ Our group (Deposit J 5:2) is not so rich in red figure as the Rheneia pit and it lacks the large closed shapes, pelikai, amphorae, hydriai, and lebetes gamikoi. Otherwise the range of vessels is closely analogous; cf. C. Dugas, *Délos*, XXI, *Les vases attiques à figures rouges*, Paris, 1952. For contemporary graves from the Kerameikos, B. Schlörb-Vierneisel, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, pp. 4-111; for the Syntagma cemetery, S. I. Charitonides, *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*, 1958, pp. 1-152.

⁸ See R. H. Howland, *Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps*, Princeton, 1958, pp. 46-47.

⁹ Inv. L 5767: H. 0.045 m.; Diam. 0.14 m. Ring foot; reserved underside with broad band around central circle and dot. Deep open bowl with flat incurved rim; horizontal handle. Central cup rises slightly above rim, flaring slightly and pierced on opposite sides at base. Similar are L 5768, L 5769, L 5770, L 5778. These have some features in common with the large cult lamps of Roman date found in the Palaimonion at Isthmia, O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 16, 32 f., pl. 15, b.

unusually high quality, both characteristics which are appropriate to sacred dedications.

It is well to note the long chronological range of the pottery which fully spans the second half of the 5th century B.C. Among the earlier pieces are a pair of sturdy banded one-handlers dating before the middle of the century and a set of five large skyphoi of Corinthian type (Pl. 67, e),¹⁰ which likewise fall about 450 B.C. The great majority of the pottery dates to the third quarter of the century and especially to the decade 430-420. To this period belong the bolsal bowls (Pl. 67, i, j),¹¹ the two-handled mug (Pl. 67, n),¹² two of the amphoriskoi with stamped decoration (Pl. 67, l, m),¹³ and the more developed skyphos (Pl. 67, g).¹⁴ Another large group descends well into the fourth quarter of the century, and this is here illustrated by the latest skyphos of Corinthian type (Pl. 67, f),¹⁵ the Pheidias mug (Pl. 67, o),¹⁶

¹⁰ Inv. P 29686: H. 0.143 m.; Diam. 0.18 m. Flaring ring foot; horseshoe handles. Reserved: underside with three glazed circles and dot; edge of foot; zone above foot decorated with lines; handle panels; inside of rim. Added red: two lines below the handles. Similar are P 29687-P 29690. For a close parallel in shape and decoration, B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton, 1970, p. 257, no. 315.

¹¹ (i) Inv. P 29725: H. 0.061 m.; Diam. 0.125 m. Restored in plaster.

(j) Inv. P 29498: H. 0.058 m.; Diam. 0.123 m. Moulded foot; a ridge around lower part of wall. Completely glazed. Decoration inside: circle of ovules; enclosed zone of palmettes; circle of ovules; zone of linked palmettes. The pattern is the same in both, but executed with different stamps. Close in profile and pattern to *Agora*, XII, p. 273, no. 534; cf. also *Délos*, XXI, p. 60, no. 170.

¹² Inv. P 29574: H. 0.055 m.; Diam. 0.099 m. Low ring foot; convex wall with vertical ribbing; two grooves beneath; incised ridge at junction of neck and wall. Two double handles with shouldering. Completely glazed. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 252, no. 228.

¹³ (l) Inv. P 29544: H. 0.145 m.; Diam. 0.06 m. One handle missing. Moulded toe with depression beneath; flaring mouth. Stamped decoration: ovules, meander, and palmettes pointing down on shoulder; meander on upper body; meander between grooves on lower body with palmettes above and below, pointing up and down respectively; above toe, palmettes pointing up. Lightly stamped and worn. For the class, see *Agora*, XII, pp. 316-317, especially no. 1150.

(m) Inv. P 29545: P.H. 0.072 m.; Diam. 0.063 m. Toe, neck, and handles missing. Plump squat body. Stamped decoration: ovules on shoulder; on upper body, vertical rows of incised ellipses around scrolls alternating with vertical rows of palmettes stamped sideways; meander between grooves; incised lines with arcs beneath. Partly fired red.

¹⁴ Inv. P 29806: H. 0.096 m.; Diam. 0.113 m. Restored in plaster. Flaring ring foot; horseshoe handles. Reserved: underside with three circles and dot; outer edge of foot; zone above foot decorated with lines; handle panels; inside of rim. Partly fired red. For the profile at this stage of development, see *Agora*, XII, p. 257, no. 320.

¹⁵ Inv. P 29536: H. 0.094 m.; Diam. 0.108 m. Flaring ring foot; horseshoe handles. Reserved: underside with broad glazed band, four circles, and dot; otherwise glazed all over. Close in profile are *Agora*, XII, p. 258, no. 321; P 10996: P. E. Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 319 f., fig. 2, no. 27; and *Délos*, XXI, p. 61, pl. 49, no. 180.

¹⁶ Inv. P 29567: H. 0.094 m.; Diam. 0.08 m. Low ring foot. Vertical ribbing, joined at top by arcs. Groove at junction of foot and wall. Double handle with shouldering. Completely glazed. For similar examples, Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 332, pl. 93, nos. 78-80; *Agora*, XII, p. 251, pl. 11, no. 214; *Délos*, XXI, p. 62, pl. 49, nos. 187-188; *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1958, p. 91, fig. 157.

and another stamped amphoriskos (Pl. 67, k).¹⁷ The three squat lekythoi (Pl. 67, p, r, s)¹⁸ are representative of the latest material in the deposit and should all be dated near the end of the 5th century. A useful bit of independent evidence for the closing date of the deposit is provided by a group of ostraka bearing the names of the Younger Alkibiades, Kleophon, and Hyperbolos.¹⁹ All of these must certainly have been inscribed for the ostrakophoria of 417 B.C. Shortly after that date they will have found their way, no doubt by accident, into our sanctuary, and thereby provide a firm *terminus post quem* for the sealing of the deposit.

The red-figured pottery, though far less abundant than the black-glazed ware, exhibits many of the same shapes and a similar chronological range. Of particular interest is one of the earliest pieces, the circular disk of a bobbin (Pl. 67, a) depicting two male figures.²⁰ We recognize at once in the left figure the characteristic attributes of Hermes, the winged boots on his feet and the *kerykeion* which he holds in his right hand. The god is dressed only in a chlamys and wears the traveller's *petasos* flung back on his shoulders. His bearded face is seen in profile to the right, and he moves forward to grasp the shoulder of a naked youth carrying a cock, who is to be identified as Ganymede. The young boy moves quickly to the right while he looks back over his shoulder and at the same time grasps the god's right hand with his own. In the composition of the scene, in the interaction of the two figures, and in the erotic overtones of the legend represented, our piece invites comparison with the white-ground bobbin by the Penthesilea Painter in New York.²¹ Especially similar is the

¹⁷ Inv. P 29604: P.H. 0.088 m.; Diam. 0.045 m. Restored in plaster; mouth and upper neck missing. Flaring moulded toe. Stamped decoration: meander band around body; rows of ovules forming scale pattern cover remainder. P 5276: *Agora*, XII, p. 316, pl. 39, no. 1150 seems slightly earlier; *ibid.*, p. 317, no. 1159 later.

¹⁸ (p) Inv. P 29049: H. 0.085 m.; Diam. 0.053 m. Intact.

(r) P 29555: P.H. 0.07 m.; Diam. 0.05 m. Mouth and handle missing. Ring foot, reserved beneath; vertical grooves on wall. Glaze has run on outer edge of foot. Cf. P 10549: Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 326, pl. 91, no. 43 from a context of the late 5th century; *Agora*, XII, p. 315, pl. 38, nos. 1129-1131; 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1958, pl. 20, b, examples dated to the end of the century.

(s) Inv. P 29576: H. 0.082 m.; Diam. 0.04 m. Ring foot with concave moulding on inner face; groove on shoulder. Reserved: underside; outer face of foot; band on wall with one glazed line. Glaze worn in part. Close to P 23288: *Agora*, XII, p. 315, pl. 38, no. 1128. Cf. from the Kerameikos, *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 41, pl. 30, 2, Grave 81, 7 (420-410 B.C.); p. 49, pl. 40, 3, Grave 100, 20 (end of 5th century); 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1958, pl. 19.

¹⁹ Inv. P 29373, P 29374: two ostraka of Alkibiades the Younger; P 29862: ostrakon of Hyperbolos; P 29041, P 29375: two ostraka of Kleophon son of Kleippides. These will be published by E. Vanderpool in *Hesperia*, XLIII, 2, 1974.

²⁰ Inv. P 29670: a) Th. 0.007 m.; Diam. 0.11 m.; b) P.W. 0.027 m.; c) P.W. 0.06 m. a) Disk of bobbin complete; axle broken away behind. b) Fragment of opposite disk preserves right side of circle. Nude male with long hair seen frontally, moving to right apparently looking back. c) Fragment of disk. Piece of flying drapery and right hand held near body; behind possibly a staff.

²¹ G. M. A. Richter and L. F. Hall, *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*

way in which the movement of our figures, like that of Zephyros and Hyakinthos there depicted, conforms so happily to the circular frame of the composition. The bobbin is likely to have been painted by an associate of the Penthesilea Painter in the years around 450 B.C.

To the decade of the 440's belongs the stemless cup (Pl. 67, b), made of fine and fragile fabric, and unusually shallow in profile. Within the meander border of the tondo stands a draped maenad wearing chiton and himation and holding a thyrsos. A basin on a high stand, perhaps a perirrhanterion, is partially visible behind.²² Another stemless cup of the same shape (Pl. 67, c) forms a matched pair with a cup found in the sanctuary in 1971.²³ The scene shows a winged Eros alighting before an altar, toward which he moves rapidly carrying a large *phiale* in his outstretched hands.²⁴ The two cups share in common the unusual chevron pattern of the border about the tondo, and both depict a single figure about to offer sacrifice at an altar.

Representative of the later material in the deposit are a skyphos and chous, both of small scale and delicate fabric. On one side of the skyphos (Pl. 67, d),²⁵ we see a lady seated on a chair, framed by the elaborate scrolls of the ornaments in the handle zones. She is barefoot and dressed in Ionic chiton and himation, and she gazes intently at a flower which she holds between the thumb and forefinger of her raised left hand. A standing figure, preserved in very fragmentary state on the opposite side, is probably to be interpreted as her maid. A date in the 420's is suggested by comparison with a similar skyphos of Corinthian type by the Shuvalov Painter, while the handle ornament, consisting of antithetical palmettes and scrolls, resembles one by the Eretria Painter.²⁶ More typical work of the period is to be seen in the decora-

of *Art*, New Haven, 1936, pp. 103-105, pl. 76, no. 74; J. D. Beazley, *A.R.V.*², Oxford, 1963, p. 890, 175. Ganymede appears on another white-ground bobbin by the Penthesilea Painter from the Kerameikos, K. Gebauer, *Arch. Anz.*, 1940, p. 335, fig. 15; *A.R.V.*², p. 890, 176.

²² Inv. P 29666: H. 0.03 m.; Diam. 0.152 m. Restored in plaster. Low ring foot. Reserved: underside, resting surface, handle panels. Slight relief contour in eye, ear, hand, and toes. Similar in style are the maenads on a cup by the Painter of Athens 1237, Oxford 1924. 2: *C.V.A.*, III, I, pls. 3, 5; 9, 1-2 dated to the mid-5th century; *A.R.V.*², p. 865, 1.

²³ *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 129, pl. 27, a.

²⁴ Inv. P 29591: H. 0.026 m.; Diam. 0.156 m. One handle missing. Low ring foot. Reserved: resting surface; underside with glazed circle and dot; handle panels; a broad band around tondo in which is chevron border. No relief contour.

²⁵ Inv. P 29902: H. 0.09 m.; Diam. 0.10 m. Restored in plaster. Flaring ring foot. Reserved: underside with two circles and dot; zone above foot decorated with cross-hatched lines; narrow band beneath figured scene; handle panels. Ornament beneath handles: a pair of palmettes pointing up and down, joined by scrolls; tendrils composed of scrolls and terminating in buds rise to rim on each side.

²⁶ Skyphos by the Shuvalov Painter, Louvre CA 1588: *A.R.V.*², p. 1210, 71; P. Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, Berlin, 1927, pl. 128. Cf. the similar skyphos Athens 1246: *A.R.V.*², p. 1212; H. R. W. Smith, *Der Lewismaler*, Leipzig, 1939, pl. 36, g. Our piece lacks the wreath of small leaves which both these have about the rim. The handle ornament is closer to the amphoriskos by the Eretria Painter, Oxford 537: *A.R.V.*², p. 1248, 10; *C.V.A.*, III, I, pl. 40, 5.

tion of the chous (Pl. 67, h), but here the subject of the scene is quite unusual. A girl, dressed in chiton and himation, sits upon a stool and balances a long stick on the palm of her right hand.²⁷ Among the later red-figured pieces of the deposit is a squat lekythos (Pl. 67, q), decorated only with a female head in profile. Since other lekythoi of this type have been found in contexts of the late 5th century in the Agora, this too should belong to the last decades of the century.²⁸

Many of the new finds from the sanctuary tend to confirm the suggestion put forth last year that the cult was primarily female in character. Such objects as the three amphoriskoi (Pl. 67, k, l, m), the fragments of pyxides, a bronze mirror, and pieces of jewelry are surely the accouterments of a lady's toilet. The jewelry was of particular interest because it consisted almost entirely of token gifts, no doubt especially made and sold for votive offerings. Polished river pebbles of varying sizes were wrapped in the thinnest possible covering of gold foil, in order to make inexpensive gilded trinkets,²⁹ which even the most impecunious worshipper could afford to dedicate.

While the character of the sanctuary has become more clearly defined as a result of last season's work, its identification and the deity to whom it was sacred remain nonetheless unknown. Moreover, the late date, *ca.* 430 B.C., at which the poros parapet came to enclose the sacred rock, will perhaps be thought surprising. It is now a fair question whether this represents the date at which the cult began, or merely the time when the little shrine was given a more formal architectural treatment. In view of the presence in the votive deposit of considerable material older than the date of the enclosure, it seems preferable to suppose that the rock had begun to attract worship and sacrificial offerings long before the construction of its surrounding peribolos.³⁰ But the enclosure must mark an important landmark in the history of the cult and introduces the period of its greatest popularity. It is perhaps but natural that, in these troubled years at the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, people should have turned with greater faith to the minor divinities of popular religion and thronged their sanctuaries with votive gifts.

²⁷ Inv. P 29662: H. 0.12 m.; Diam. 0.09 m. Low ring foot, mouth flat on top, low strap handle. For the game of balancing a stick, cf. Richter and Hall, *op. cit.*, pp. 202 f., pl. 159, no. 161; G. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, Leiden, 1951, p. 64, fig. 288, no. 41.

²⁸ Inv. P 29559: P.H. 0.056 m; Diam. 0.054 m. Mouth and handle missing. Ring foot with concave moulding on inner face. Reserved underside. Female head wearing fillet in profile to right; scroll and leaf to right. Cf. P 10547: Corbett, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 313, pl. 81, no. 9 in a context of 425-400 B.C.; Charitonides, *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1958, p. 8, fig. 8; p. 115, fig. 194, both dated to the end of the 5th century.

²⁹ Nine gilded pebbles were found in the sanctuary deposit: Inv. J 170-174, J 178, J 182-184.

³⁰ In this respect, the triangular sanctuary at the southwest corner of the Agora forms a precise parallel. Although the walls of the temenos were there erected during the period 430-420 B.C., there was clear evidence of earlier votive offerings below the floor of the sanctuary going back as far as the 7th century B.C.; Lalonde, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 129-133. In the case of our sanctuary no Archaic deposit has come to light.

STOA ON THE PANATHENAIC WAY

Beyond the northwestern corner of the Agora, the broad avenue of the Panathenaic Way continued its straight course for half a kilometer to the Dipylon Gate. As has long been known, the street came to be lined in the Roman period with colonnaded porticos, which provided shaded and sheltered sidewalks for the pedestrian who would make his way from the city gate to the Agora. The stoa bordering the northern side of the street is known only from a small section uncovered by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1970;³¹ but enough of its counterpart along the southern side has now been excavated to permit some account of its architecture and history. The building was first explored between 1936 and 1939 when some 46 meters of its south aisle were traced in excavations to the northwest of the present excavated area, which have since been refilled to the modern level. In 1970 the eastern end of the stoa came to light in the area immediately behind the Stoa Basileios.³² As a result of last season's excavations, supervised by Susan I. Rotroff, the building now lies exposed for a length of 32 meters, and it is known to have extended more than 76 meters to the northwest.

The stoa, as originally designed (Fig. 3), consisted of two colonnades placed back to back and sharing a common median wall. Its twin aisles, uniformly 5.75 m. deep, flanked the Panathenaic Way to the north and to the south a narrower street leading into the city from the Sacred Gate. This latter street terminated in a cul-de-sac behind the Stoa of Zeus and the Stoa Basileios, between which there was no passage in antiquity. Because of this, the eastern end of the building was treated as a propylon, set at right angles to the line of the stoa, so as to provide communication for pedestrian traffic between the two streets. Although the general plan can be reconstructed with some accuracy, the superstructure can only be studied in the south aisle, where it stands in good condition as a result of the fortunate chance that the colonnade was walled up in late antiquity.

A single course of gray poros blocks, 0.65 m. wide and 0.43 m. deep, was laid directly on the dressed bedrock and served as both krepidoma and stylobate for the south colonnade (Fig. 4). The stylobate carried a row of Doric columns, two of which stand to a height of 1.60 m. at the eastern end of the stoa. These are spaced 2.945 m. on centers and exhibit a lower diameter of 0.56 m., while the upper diameter of 0.47 m. is indicated by a single Doric capital,³³ found on the floor of the building further to the northwest. The shafts are made of a granular brown poros, and as

³¹ See Y. Nikopoulou, 'Αρχ. Αναλ. 'Αθ., IV, 1971, pp. 1-9.

³² For earlier exploration of the stoa prior to last season's work, see *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 338-339; IX, 1940, pp. 299-300; XL, 1971, pp. 260-261.

³³ Inv. A 664: H. 0.245 m.; W. of abacus 0.060 m.; Diam. of shaft 0.47 m. Hard gray poros, finished rough to receive stucco, of which a little remains. The top surface is so rough as to suggest a wooden epistyle.

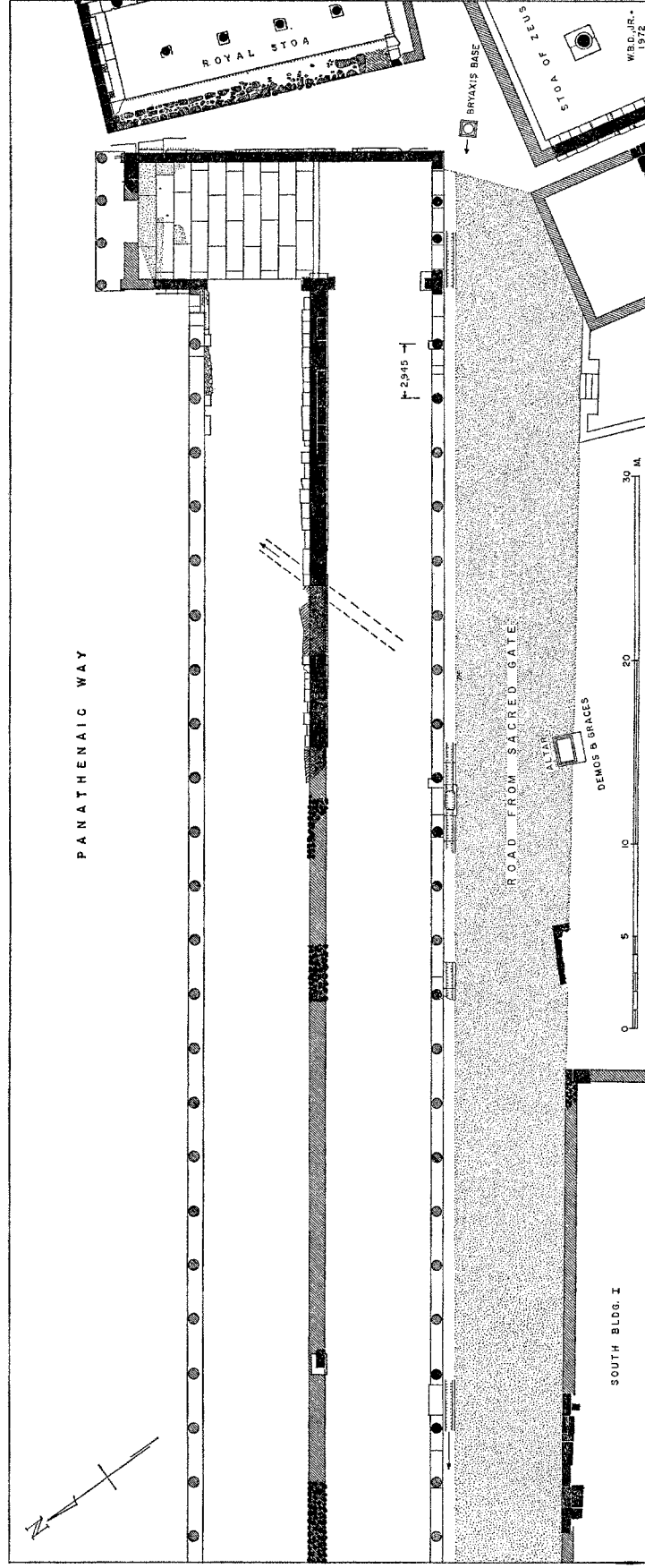


FIG. 3. Stoa on the Panathenaic Way. Original Plan, Restored.

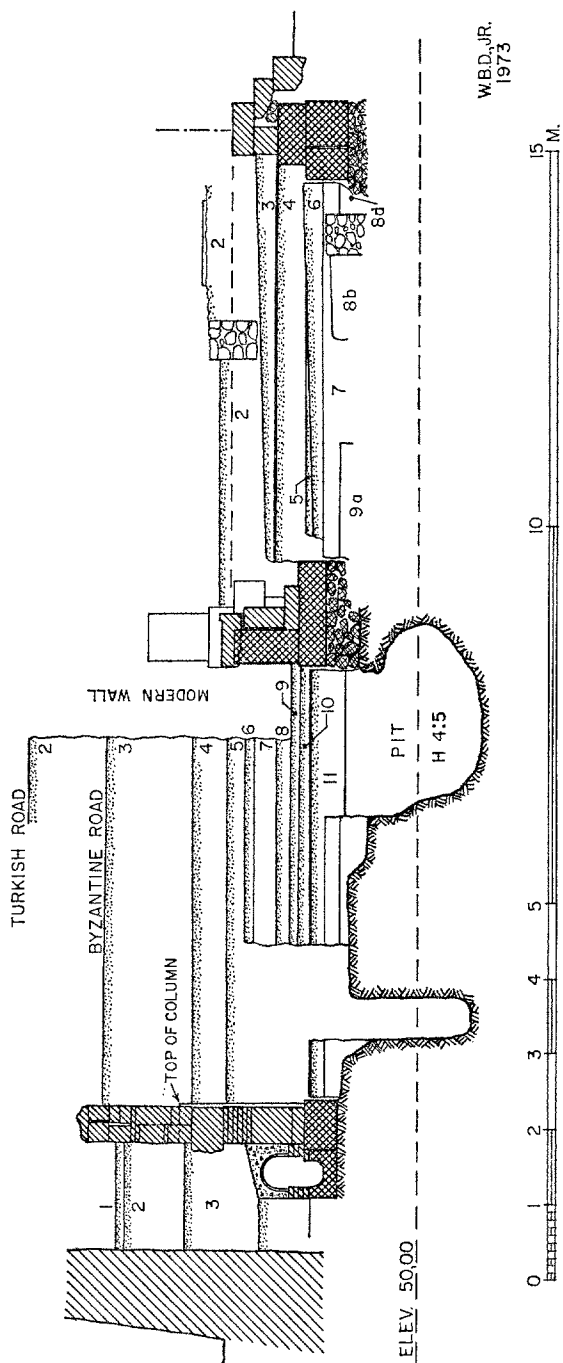


Fig. 4. Stoa. North-South Section looking West through Room 1 and North Colonnade.

is characteristic of columns in stoas, only their upper portions are fluted in the normal manner, the lower third of the shaft being finished in 20 facets. Along the outside of the colonnade a poros gutter apparently ran the full length of the building.

Although the median wall still stands to a maximum height of 2.13 m. above the floor near its eastern end, it was greatly rebuilt at a later period, so that only the foundations and a row of seven orthostates survive from the original construction (Pl. 68, a-c). A rough packing of field stones, set on bedrock, supports a single course of poros blocks of varying sizes which are laid chiefly as headers and form a foundation approximately 1.40 m. wide. Along the south side, the edges of the blocks are carefully aligned and their joints are tightly closed; for here the foundation was left exposed to view as a toichobate rising 0.15 m. above the floor. On the north side, however, the edge of the foundation is, by contrast, ragged and uneven; but this economy in the working of the stone would never have been visible, because the original floor of the north aisle was 0.47 m. higher than that of the south aisle and thus covered the foundation completely. A double row of orthostates, 0.86 m. high, originally formed the lowest course of the wall. These were aligned with the south edge of the foundation and gave the median wall a thickness of 0.90 m. Along the south side of the toichobate seven orthostates are preserved *in situ*, though not all stand to their original height; but the north side of the wall is now composed entirely of re-used material belonging to the later reconstruction. Above the original orthostates there now rest several blocks of a string course, 0.33 m. high and 0.80 m. thick; and this in turn carries a single great orthostate, 0.80 m. high and 0.62 m. thick, which is so placed that the string course projects 0.09 m. on either side of it (Fig. 4). It will emerge shortly that this construction forms the toichobate and orthostate course of the reconstructed median wall, at a time when the floor level of the stoa had risen as much as 0.88 m. above the top of the original foundation.

The north aisle of the stoa has only been exposed to its full width at the extreme eastern end of the building, where the krepidoma is partially preserved for a length of 7.70 m. Evidence for the original disposition of the northern colonnade has been almost completely obscured by the later raising and rebuilding of the krepidoma. In the present state of the remains, this construction consists of a short section of marble stylobate resting on two steps, the upper of marble and the lower of limestone. But a glance at the section (Fig. 4) will reveal that this krepidoma has been set on top of a pre-existing structure which it used as a foundation. In fact, the lower step has no foundation at all, the narrow blocks being simply bedded in earth fill at the appropriate level in front of the earlier foundation. The marble upper step and its backing blocks rest on a course of poros blocks, 0.82 m. wide and 0.38 m. high, of the same material as the stylobate of the southern colonnade. Level with the top of this course, the excavator encountered a hard-packed clay floor; and although this was uneven in places from long wear and honeycombed with later pits and dis-

turbances, it was found to extend over the whole area of the north aisle. That this was the original floor of the north aisle is evident from the fact that no other floors were found beneath it, but only the hard metalled surface of the Panathenaic Way through which the builders had sunk their trenches for the foundations of the stoa. It is clear, then, that the marble step and stylobate of the later reconstruction actually rest upon the original poros stylobate of the northern colonnade. As in the south aisle, the early krepidoma consists only of the stylobate without steps, and this is supported by a foundation composed partly of poros blocks and partly of rubble with a packing of stones beneath it. The wider stylobate of the north aisle, 0.82 m. as opposed to 0.65 m. at the south, and its heavier foundations suggest that the building may have turned a somewhat more imposing façade to the Panathenaic Way than to the southern street.

At its eastern end, the stoa terminates in a separate wing which is oriented north to south and apparently provided free passage through the building by way of colonnades at either end, in the manner of a propylon. This structure is closely similar in interior width, 6.30 m., to the aisles of the stoa. Its overall length was at least 17.20 m., but the exact dimension has not yet been recovered since the north end lies outside the excavated area. The south façade is the best preserved part of the propylon, for like the colonnade of the stoa it was walled up in the late Roman period. There were originally two Doric columns between antae, as we learn from square plinths for both columns and antae, and from the stump of one column, which all remain *in situ*, incorporated in the late blocking wall. Cuttings for dowels on both the plinth and the stylobate of the stoa indicate that the terminal anta of the south colonnade stood back to back against the southwest anta of the propylon. The façade of the propylon was thus articulated and set apart from the long colonnade of the stoa by the use of antae to enframe its columns and by the use of a slightly smaller order (0.50 m. lower diameter) raised on square plinths.

The remainder of the building is preserved only in its foundations which consist of large poros and conglomerate blocks, filled out in places with rubble packing. Nothing exists above this level except for two large orthostates and four poros blocks at the level of the stylobate, which survive near the northeast corner. One of these blocks indicates the position of the north wall, and beyond this massive foundations continue without break to the edge of the section. Since this differs markedly from the construction at the south end of the propylon, it does not seem likely that a similar pair of columns *in antis* originally stood at the north end. The construction here is better understood as the solid foundation for a shallow prostyle porch with four columns such as appears in the restored plan, Figure 3. The area inside the north wall is paved with large poros slabs, 0.23 m. thick, laid in a neat pattern with carefully alternating joints. Both the arrangement of the joints and the foot wear on the pavement give evidence of a doorway, approximately 2.80 m. wide, at the center of the

north wall. The elevation of this pavement agrees well with that of the original stylobate and clay floor in the north aisle of the stoa and suggests that these slabs form the original paved floor of the propylon. They may possibly have extended as far south as the line of the median wall where one or two steps are to be restored to compensate for the difference in level between the north and south aisles.

It is clear that both aisles of the stoa originally opened freely into the propylon, although both of the broad openings came subsequently to be closed with walls of differing construction and date (Pl. 68, a, Fig. 5). The late blocking wall which divides the south aisle from the propylon is supported by no earlier foundation, although two phases in the late construction can be distinguished. It evidently stands where there was no wall in the original plan. Moreover, the east end of the foundation for the median wall is flanked to north and south by two isolated blocks, measuring 0.62 m. by 0.42 m., and bedded only on a light packing of small stones. A similar block is placed in a corresponding position against the south stylobate. These are to be interpreted as foundations for pairs of antae framing the openings from the aisles of the stoa into the propylon. Additional evidence for their restoration comes from a matching pair of moulded capitals which were built into the late blocking wall of the south colonnade in Room 1 and are of suitable size to crown the antae.³⁴

One detail in the architecture of the propylon suggests a change of plan after construction had already begun. The heavy foundation for the north colonnade of the stoa was found to continue unbroken as far as the east wall of the building. Only the rubble packing and a few poros blocks of the lowest foundation are preserved, and there is nothing to indicate that the construction was ever carried any higher. It seems likely that the north end of the propylon was originally intended to coincide with the line of the stoa, as is the case at the south end. But after the foundations were already laid, it was decided to lengthen the building by 3.55 m. and to treat its north façade as a projecting prostyle porch. The reason for the change of plan is, no doubt, to be sought in the relation of the Roman stoa to its venerable eastern neighbor, the Stoa Basileios; for the projecting wing of the propylon effectively masks the rear corner of the Royal Stoa, which would otherwise have extended at an awkward angle beyond the northern colonnade, had the original plan been carried to completion.

When we come to consider the history of the building, it will be immediately apparent, both from its architectural remains (Fig. 5) and from the stratified floors, of which as many as five were preserved in some places (Fig. 4), that the story of

³⁴ Inv. A 3959: H. 0.442 m.; W. at bottom 0.459 m.; D. 0.354 m. Much of crown moulding broken away. At top of shaft, a fascia (0.11 m. high) crowned by shallow hawksbeak, cavetto, and narrow fascia. Dowel holes in top and bottom; cutting for hook-clamp at back of top. Soft granular brown poros covered with hard fine stucco. The matching capital was not removed from the blocking wall of the colonnade.

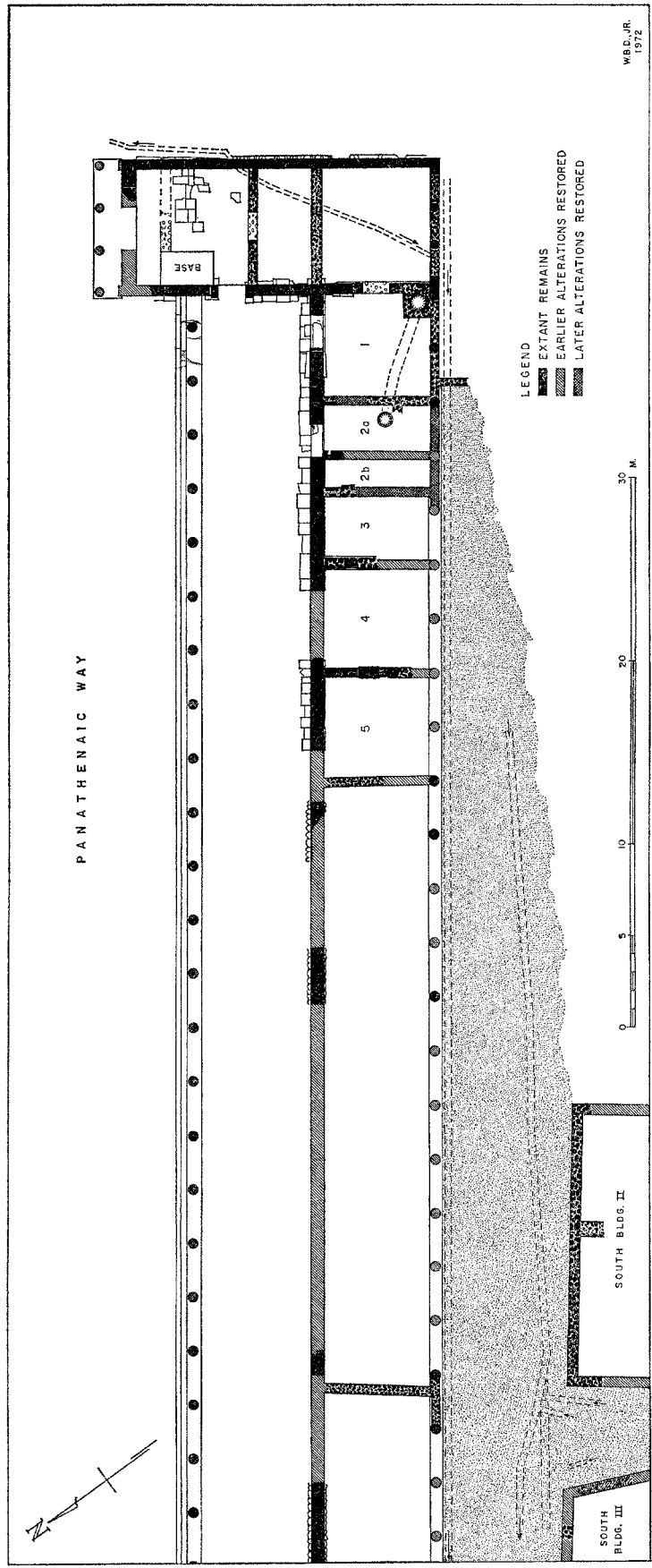


FIG. 5. Stoa. Restored Plan, showing Alterations.

its successive alterations, destructions, and rebuildings is one of unusual complexity. Indeed, only a brief sketch of the building's numerous chronological phases can be attempted here. For the date of its original construction, the only evidence is provided by the fragmentary pottery found beneath the floor of the north aisle and in the narrow footing trench which ran along the north side of the foundations for the median wall. The bulk of this pottery dates to the second half of the 1st century after Christ while the latest pieces descend into the early years of the 2nd century.³⁵ But a date as late as the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 118-135) is precluded by the nature of the construction. The massive rubble and concrete foundations which are the ubiquitous hallmark of Hadrianic construction in Athens are here conspicuously lacking.³⁶ No mortar was used in the fabric of the walls or foundations of the original stoa, which are composed rather of stone packing beneath a single course of poros blocks. This type of construction finds a close parallel in the stoas erected in conjunction with the Library of Pantainos during the years about A.D. 100 (below, p. 387), and this suggests a date at the beginning of the 2nd century for the original stoa on the Panathenaic Way.

Within the first half century of its life, the stoa began to undergo a series of extensive modifications which affected at first only the south aisle, and these give evidence for a considerable change in the purpose to which this part of the building was put. What had been designed as a colonnaded promenade along the street was now subdivided, at least in part, by partitions aligned with alternate columns of the south colonnade so as to form rooms measuring 5.40 m. wide (Fig. 5). To this remodeling belong four extant partitions, that dividing Room 2 a from 2 b, and walls of Rooms 4 and 5. Thus at least three compartments were created at the east end of the building, one composed of the later Rooms 2 b and 3, and Rooms 4 and 5. Rooms 1 and 2 a seem to have formed together a larger unit at this time. Further to the west the evidence is so fragmentary that it is impossible to be sure whether the colonnade was subdivided into rooms for its entire length. The only access to the rooms in the south aisle can have been from the street to the south, since the floors were uniformly lower than the original floor in the north aisle, and there is no evidence that doorways were pierced through the median wall until the floors had risen to a much higher level. In view of the fact that the earlier partitions are all aligned

³⁵ Pottery from beneath the original floor (Fig. 4, layer 4): Lots BΠ 170, 172; BΠ' 153. Among the later pieces is L 5830: alpha globule lamp, cf. J. Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, VII, *Roman Lamps*, Princeton, 1961, p. 107, pl. 14, nos. 426-427. A fragment of a similar lamp was found in the footing trench for the median wall, Lot BΠ' 155.

³⁶ For the heavy concrete foundations of the Hadrianic Northeast Basilica, *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, p. 262; XLII, 1973, p. 134, pl. 29, a. For the construction of the Hadrianic buildings identified as the Panhellenion and the Pantheon, J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London, 1971, pp. 429 ff., 439 ff.; on Hadrianic construction in Athens generally, A. Kokkou, *Αρχ. Δελτ.*, XXV, 1970, pp. 150-173.

with columns of the stoa, it seems likely that the colonnade was left open at first. One draws this inference also from the existing portion of the blocking wall along the stylobate,³⁷ which after its construction allowed no direct access into Room 1 from the street.

It is the natural presumption that the rooms in the south aisle served as small shops and thus converted this part of the stoa to commercial use. In support of this we may adduce the later evidence of one of the two ancient references to the stoas on the Panathenaic Way; for Himerios (*Orat.*, III, 12), writing in the second half of the 4th century after Christ, mentions specifically the stoas "in which the Athenians and others buy and sell." The shops of this first period of remodeling seem to have been open booths which would be enclosed along the street, if at all, by light wooden grilles between the columns.

That the early remodeling of the stoa took place in the first half of the 2nd century after Christ is indicated by several bits of evidence. Already in this period the floor of the south aisle was raised 0.17 m. above the level of the original floor.³⁸ This floor must have been in use with the first series of partitions, as we learn from the east wall of Room 4, which is plastered down to its projecting foundation at the level of the original floor of the stoa, and the wall was thus clearly intended to be visible at this low level. Moreover, as part of the early remodeling, the broad opening which led from the north aisle into the propylon was partially walled up so as to leave only a doorway for passage. The north jamb of the doorway and the poros foundations for the blocking wall are still in place, and their construction can be placed in the first half of the 2nd century on the basis of the pottery recovered from the footing trench.³⁹ Finally, the partition dividing Rooms 2 a and 2 b was demolished, and its remains were covered by a floor as early as the first half of the 3rd century after Christ. This later alteration brought about the present disposition of Rooms 2 and 3 which were separated by a wall built at that time.⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that this wall, together with another some 50 m. further to the west, is not aligned with a column of the stoa, while the contemporary floor of Room 2 was laid as much as 0.35 m. above the stylobate. Both these details imply the existence of the blocking wall along the colonnade, and the lower part of the existing masonry which stands between the columns in Room 1 should thus be attributed to the 3rd century. From this time

³⁷ Cf. below, note 41.

³⁸ Floors, dated by the associated pottery to the first half of the 2nd century, were found undisturbed in Room 1 (Fig. 4, layer 10): Lot BΓ 157; Room 3; Lot BΓ' 118 together with coin BΓ' 281, Athenian imperial bronze of the 2nd century after Christ; Room 4: Lot BΓ' 95.

³⁹ Pottery: Lot BΓ' 174.

⁴⁰ The partition between Rooms 2 b and 3 was set into a pre-existing earth floor of Room 2 b which produced pottery from beneath it dating to the 3rd century, Lot BΓ' 138. The renewed floor, contemporary with the new wall, also yielded pottery of the 3rd century, Lots BΓ' 136-137. It is this floor which covered the demolished partition between Rooms 2 a and 2 b.

forward, the only access to Room 1 can have been through the southern part of the propylon.⁴¹

The subsequent history of the stoa in late Roman times is one of repeated destruction. Both the fabric of its walls and the stratigraphy of its floors bear witness to no less than three occasions on which the building incurred severe damage, a natural consequence of its prominent position along the principal avenue of approach for any invading army entering the city. The first serious destruction can be attributed with assurance to the Herulian raid of A.D. 267, and the chief evidence for this is to be found in the stratification above the early floors. In the western part of the building, the excavator came upon layers of heavily burned debris lying on the early floor of the south aisle, and pits of similar debris, surely from cleaning up after destruction, were encountered in the propylon. In Room 4, plaster which had fallen from the walls at the time of destruction lay on the floor of the 2nd century and was covered by a deep layer of debris. As has been the case in other areas of the Agora, here too, the datable material found in the destruction debris provides a striking commentary on Athens' slow recovery after the disaster of 267: for much of the pottery dates as late as the middle years of the 4th century and suggests that the stoa lay abandoned and in ruins for three quarters of a century after the Herulian sack.⁴² A more precise date for the reconstruction may be obtained from groups of coins found in the burnt debris beneath the first post-Herulian floors: in Room 4 the latest coins are of Constantine I of the period A.D. 337-341, while in Room 3 the latest pieces are of Constantius II dating to the 350's.⁴³ It is not improbable that the different shops were refurbished at slightly different times.

The extent of the damage to the stoa in A.D. 267 is difficult to ascertain, nor is it possible to determine exactly what parts of the existing architecture were rebuilt in the mid-4th century, because of still more extensive reconstruction at a later date. The partitions in the propylon and the later phase of the wall separating the propylon from Room 1 should probably date to this period, since the latter was certainly in

⁴¹ It should be noted that the anta capital A 3959 (above, note 34), from the opening between the south aisle and the propylon, was set directly on the stylobate in the lowest masonry of the blocking wall (Pl. 68, a). The late east wall of Room 1, separating it from the propylon, was built when the antae still stood; for it respects their foundations at both sides of the original opening. It seems likely that the construction of this partition in its first phase should be assigned to the 3rd century remodeling and related to the blocking of the south colonnade. When the wall had reached the height of the anta capitals, one capital was removed and placed in the blocking wall of the colonnade, the construction of which was just beginning. The partition must be restored with a door to provide access to Room 1.

⁴² Pottery from the destruction debris in Room 2 a: Lot BΓ' 132; in Room 3: Lots BΓ' 116-117; in Room 4: Lot BΓ' 94; in Room 5: Lot BΓ' 126.

⁴³ Coins from the destruction debris in Room 4: BΓ' 234-236. Of 14 coins from the same fill in Room 3, four are of Constantius II, period A.D. 351-354 (BΓ' 268-271); one of the period A.D. 351-361 (BΓ' 263); four slightly earlier pieces of Constantine I and II (BΓ' 265-267, 274).

use with floors of the 4th century. It seems likely that the raised krepidoma of the north colonnade with its re-used marble step and stylobate (Fig. 4) also belongs to the 4th century, although there is no evidence available to date its construction securely. That the building flourished throughout the second half of the 4th century is clear enough. Two floors of this period in Room 1 testify to its continuous use, and a great base, no doubt for an important monument, was installed in the north room of the propylon.⁴⁴ Finally, dozens of coins of this period were found on the poros pavement of the propylon and may be thought to add some substance to the commercial activities in the stoa to which Himerios alludes.

Evidence of a second major destruction, followed by another period of abandonment, was found in Rooms 1 and 4. In both rooms, layers of ash and burnt debris lay over the floors of the mid-4th century, and in Room 4 the chronological indications yielded by this layer were unusually precise. Among the debris were recovered 14 coins of which the latest, a group of five coins of Theodosius I, Valentinian II, and Arcadius, all date to the 380's and early 390's.⁴⁵ Moreover, in cleaning up after the destruction, someone, perhaps a returning shopkeeper, dug a shallow pit in the debris against the west wall of the room and here buried the great marble head of an archaistic herm (Pl. 76, b, below, p. 406), which we may presume to have been broken from its shaft in the destruction of the building. Together with the herm was buried a handful of coins, eight in number, of which five belong to the decade of the 380's.⁴⁶ Since the latest coins all show very little wear, indicating only a brief period of circulation, there is every reason to believe that they point to the year A.D. 396 and the invasion of Alaric and his Visigoths as the time of the second destruction. Although the passage of Alaric has not left abundant signs in other parts of the Agora, and indeed he is said by one author to have spared Athens altogether,⁴⁷ the implications of the stratigraphy seem inescapable; and we must suppose that our building fell victim to a minor incursion into the western part of the city, while the heart of Athens, protected at this time by the inner circuit of the late Roman fortifications, no doubt escaped unscathed.

The sequel was evidently much the same as it had been after the Herulian raid: a long period of disuse in which the stoa was occupied, if at all, only by squatters. It is a notable fact that floor levels of the 5th century were entirely absent from the

⁴⁴ Floors in Room 1 covering layers 8 and 9 (Fig. 4), pottery: Lots BΓ 159-160; pottery from the footing trench for the monument base: Lot BΓ' 170.

⁴⁵ Coins BΓ' 217-230 of which the latest pieces are 217, 218: Theodosius I, period A.D. 383-392; 219, 229: Valentinian II, period A.D. 383-392; 230: Arcadius, period A.D. 383-395. Pottery from the same layer in Room 4: Lot BΓ' 93; in Room 1 (Fig. 4, layers 6, 7): Lot BΓ 161-162.

⁴⁶ Deposit G 4: 3. Coins BΓ' 199-206 of which the latest are 200: Gratian or colleague, period A.D. 378-383; 201: Valentinian II, year 9, A.D. 383; 202, 203: Valentinian II, period A.D. 383-392; 204: Arcadius, period A.D. 383-395.

⁴⁷ Zosimos, IV, 18; V, 5.

stratigraphy of the south aisle, except in Room 2. What was a time of renewed prosperity elsewhere in the Agora was here a period of desolation. Perhaps the most striking evidence of this is the condition of the easternmost orthostate of the median wall (Pl. 68, c), beneath the later threshold. The block, though it stands *in situ*, has been broken away to a height corresponding to the top of the destruction debris of the late 4th century in Room 1 (Fig. 4, layer 6). More important its upper surface exhibits such wear as can only have been caused if it was exposed to the passage of wheeled vehicles for some decades. We may infer that this part of the building was allowed to lie in ruins from the destruction of A.D. 396 until its rebuilding in the 6th century.

The final phase of the stoa, then, involved its complete reconstruction. The plan, however, remained virtually the same, the walls simply being rebuilt on their 4th century lines. Every wall of the building, now preserved above the foundations, shows clearly by the change in its fabric the level to which it had been demolished in 396 and from which it was now reconstructed. The southern colonnade was not restored, but new masonry was set along the old blocking wall and carried above the lower shafts of the columns where these chanced to remain. The southern columns of the propylon had been completely destroyed since the new masonry extends down virtually to the stylobate. Only the southern row of orthostates survived in the median wall, and its thickness was filled out with re-used material, most of which came from the superstructure of the original stoa and was doubtless found lying about the site by the later builders. A new toichobate and orthostate course were set on the original orthostates so that the structure of the median wall now corresponded to the raised floor level indicated by the marble stylobate.

The most important innovation of this period was a series of doorways in the median wall which gave direct access for the first time from the northern colonnade into the shops behind it. Marble thresholds for Rooms 1 and 2 are partially preserved in place (Pl. 68, c), and these agree well in elevation with the raised floor and stylobate of the north colonnade. A floor in Room 1 was found at the same level, and this could be dated to the early 6th century after Christ on the evidence of the pottery found beneath it.⁴⁸ In fact, the south half of the room was greatly disturbed at this time by the installation of a well in its southeast corner and by the excavation of a deep channel which connected the well in Room 1 with another well in Room 2. It is apparent that not all the shops were made to communicate directly with the north colonnade and they presumably continued to have access from the south; for the floors of the 6th century in Rooms 3, 4, and 5 were considerably lower than the thresholds in Rooms 1 and 2. In Room 3, however, the early 6th century floor was raised later in the century so as to correspond precisely in level with the latest floor

⁴⁸ This floor covered layer 5 (Fig. 4); pottery: Lots BΓ 163-164. It should be noted that this floor also corresponds with the change of construction discernible in the south blocking wall.

in Room 1, and this suggests that a doorway was at that time opened into Room 3 giving it access to the colonnade.⁴⁹ The latest datable alteration in the stoa is a marble pavement in the north room of the propylon. This cannot have been laid before the middle of the century, as we learn from a coin of Justinian I, dated between A.D. 547 and 565, which was found beneath one of the marble slabs.⁵⁰ Thus the long history of remodeling, through which the building passed, continued to within a generation of its third and final devastation during the Slavic invasion of the 580's.

CLASSICAL REMAINS BEHIND THE STOA BASILEIOS

Excavation below the earliest floors of the Roman stoa, and chiefly beneath the propylon, has yielded some evidence for the use in the Classical period of the area behind the Stoa Basileios. From the late 4th century B.C. until the construction of the Roman building, for a period of more than four hundred years, the whole area was an open square bordering the Panathenaic Way. Immediately under the original floors of the stoa, the excavators encountered a hard, metallated ground level. In fact this surface was actually employed as the original floor of the south aisle. Throughout the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, the level of the ground must have remained constant since there was no accumulation of stratified deposits. This ground level proved to form the top of a deep artificial filling which covered the scanty remains of several small buildings and caused two tile-lined wells of the 4th century B.C. to be filled and closed. Since many of the Classical walls had been removed entirely, leaving only cuttings in the bedrock to betray their existence, and since the highest preserved point of both wells was the raggedly broken edge of an incomplete tile, there could be little doubt that the buildings had been demolished and leveled and the whole area actually graded down in the last quarter of the 4th century B.C.⁵¹

As a result of these grading operations, the architectural remains are so ruinous that no plan of a complete building, or even of entire rooms, can be deciphered. Nevertheless, it is clear that throughout the Classical period the area was occupied by a small but substantially built structure lying immediately west of the Royal Stoa. Three phases of construction could be distinguished, no doubt belonging to three buildings which succeeded each other on the site over the course of a century and a half. Walls of polygonal masonry of the first half of the 5th century B.C. gave way in the second half of the century to walls built of large poros blocks alternating with

⁴⁹ The best evidence for the latest stratification comes from Room 3 where a tile floor of the 6th century was found 0.60 m. above the original floor of the stoa. Pottery from below this floor: Lots BF' 112, 114. Within the 6th century, the floor was later raised 0.48 m. higher, bringing it up to the level of the thresholds in Rooms 1 and 2. Pottery below the later floor: Lots BF' 110-111.

⁵⁰ Coin BF' 407, the latest of five coins of the 5th and 6th centuries after Christ.

⁵¹ Pottery from the deep fill: Lots BF 153-154 (Fig. 4, layer 11, south aisle); BF' 178-179 (Fig. 4, layers 6-9, north aisle). This contained material dating chiefly to the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., with a few pieces as late as about 310 B.C.

rubble in the checkerboard style of masonry. A third phase, characterized by conglomerate blocks, probably dates to the first half of the 4th century B.C. In all three periods, the construction seems rather too massive and the quality of the masonry too good to belong simply to a private dwelling, and it seems preferable to suppose that the building had some public function.

A clue to this function is possibly provided by a great refuse pit filled with pottery, which came to light under the south aisle of the Roman stoa in the northeast corner of Room 1 (Fig. 4). In the Classical period this lay just outside the building in question, some 12 m. behind the Stoa Basileios. The pit yielded enormous quantities of very fragmentary pottery,⁵² together with many animal bones, which help to confirm its use as a kitchen dump—but no ordinary kitchen of a private house. The usual accouterments of the Classical kitchen were represented in fragmentary form: braziers, mortars, coarse water jugs, and a few actual cooking pots. But the great majority of the pottery is fine tableware, and the vessels most commonly represented are those most appropriate to the symposium, although plates and other dinner ware were also found in some numbers. Fragments of at least 400 skyphoi were counted in the deposit, as well as 50 cups and 150 stemless cups. Still more interesting are the pieces of at least 68 kraters, of which many bear red-figured decoration of high quality; and the wine that was mixed in them was the best imported Chian, if we may judge from the fact that among the many fragments of wine amphoras the Chian were most numerous.

A good indication of the source of the pottery is provided by the graffito which recurs 13 times on stemless cups, bowls, one-handlers, and askoi (Pl. 68, d).⁵³ This is the ligature \mathcal{A} , standing for $\Delta\text{E}\text{M}\text{O}\Sigma\text{I}\text{A}$, and it suggests that we have here to do with the kitchen dump from one of the public dining facilities which are known to have served Athenian magistrates and official boards. Pottery similarly marked as “public property” was found in the closely analogous refuse pits which characterized the kitchen of the Tholos in all periods.⁵⁴ Indeed, the Tholos, with its small kitchen annex, appears to form a precise parallel for the Royal Stoa and its out-building behind. Our new material should also be brought into relation with the pottery from a well under the Stoa of Zeus, some 30 m. south of the Royal Stoa. This well also produced 16 examples of the public ligature;⁵⁵ but its most interesting

⁵² Deposit H 4: 5.

⁵³ A sampling of fragments from the feet of “public cups” is illustrated in Plate 68, d. From left to right above, P 30000: banded one-handler; P 29994: Rheneia cup; P 29990: stemless; P 29995: Rheneia cup; below, P 30001: banded one-handler; P 29993: Rheneia cup; P 29991: skyphos, Corinthian type.

⁵⁴ For the refuse pits of the Tholos Kitchen, H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 126 ff. For the architecture and history of the Kitchen, *ibid.*, pp. 73-84.

⁵⁵ Deposit H 6:5, L. Talcott, *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 333-354; and for discussion of the public ligature, *ibid.*, p. 353. The material from this well has been associated with the Tholos Kitchen

relation to the new deposit is chronological: for it appears to have been closed as a dumping place about 460 B.C., at just the time when the new pit was beginning to be used, as if the one succeeded the other as a dump for the same kitchen. That the Stoa Basileios and other stoas were used for official dining is implied by the remarks of Aristophanes (*Ecclesiazusae*, lines 684-686), and the pottery from the kitchen dump now adds material evidence for the dinners which were served to the Basileus and his associates.

From the point of view of chronology, the pottery in the deposit was made, used, and discarded over a period of just under half a century. The earliest of the fine red-figured kraters belong to the years after 470 B.C. and the group descends in date to about 440. The wine amphoras of Chian type seem to date no later than 450 B.C. Much of the black-glazed pottery, which forms the bulk of the deposit, also belongs to the middle of the century, but a few of the latest pieces go down to about 425 B.C.⁵⁶

The finest and most complete of the large vases is a great column-krater, which stands 0.56 m. high to the rim (Pl. 69, a, b).⁵⁷ One side is clearly distinguished as the front by the panel of palmette ornament in the neck zone. Below is a lively scene of combat in which a mounted Amazon charges to the right against a Greek hoplite. In her raised right hand she holds her spear poised to throw, while with her left she reins in her mount so that he rears into the attack. The Amazon's dress is an odd combination of the Hellenic and the oriental: she wears the chiton, cuirasse, and mantle of the Greek hoplite together with the cap, jacket, trousers, and boots of eastern costume. Her adversary is a fully armed hoplite who stands his ground with a stalwart determination which we can read in the strong diagonal thrust of his leg and in the unwavering glance of his eye over the rim of his shield. The Greek wields a spear in his right hand, ready to defend himself, and raises his shield to ward off his opponent's blow.⁵⁸

The interaction of the two figures suggests the carefully studied composition

(*Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 127), but in view of its closer proximity to the Royal Stoa and to our pit, the latter seems a more likely association.

⁵⁶ Two of the latest pieces are P 30087, P 30088: fragments of stemless cups with stamped decoration, similar in shape to *Agora*, XII, p. 267, nos. 460, 462; and for comparable decoration, *ibid.*, pl. 53, no. 544.

⁵⁷ Inv. P 30197: H. 0.56 m.; Diam. of rim 0.47 m. Mended from many pieces and restored in plaster.

⁵⁸ For duels between mounted amazons and Greek hoplites, see examples collected by D. von Bothmer, *Amazons in Greek Art*, Oxford, 1957, pp. 179-181, pls. 78, 5-6; 79. The precise composition of our figures is best paralleled on the stamnos in Copenhagen, Ny Carlsberg 2694: *A.R.V.*², p. 1048, 36; von Bothmer, *op. cit.*, p. 178, pl. 78, 1, no. 35. For similar combinations of Greek armor and oriental dress, cf. the volute-krater by the Niobid Painter, Palermo G 1283: *A.R.V.*², p. 599, 2; recent photographs in P. E. Arias and M. Hirmer, *Greek Vase Painting*, London, 1962, pls. 176-177.

of a sculptured metope; and indeed the scene recalls the spirit of the northernmost of the western metopes on the Parthenon, with which it must be nearly contemporary.⁵⁹ A date in the years after 450 B.C. will not be far wrong. The artist has achieved a powerful sense of movement, and at the same time he has caught the moment of high tension before battle is joined. In this we may suspect that he betrays his debt to major wall paintings of the period; but whatever the source of his inspiration, he adds to it his own interest in detail: the purple piping of the Amazon's sleeves and trousers, the bared teeth of the lunging horse, the delicate scrolls on the hoplite's greaves, the dolphin on his helmet, the tiny lizard on the cheekpiece, and the curious shield device, perhaps the head of an ornate trident.

The scene on the reverse (Pl. 69, b) is of lesser quality and interest. A winged female figure in chiton and himation runs to the right in pursuit of a draped youth carrying a lyre. Her outstretched hand gives the impression that she wishes to detain and carry him off, and she should be identified as Eos about to abduct Tithonos.

STOA OF THE LIBRARY OF PANTAINOS

We advance along the Panathenaic Way from the northwestern corner of the market square to the southeastern, where an important ancient thoroughfare led eastward to the Roman Agora from the south end of the Stoa of Attalos. The ancient street lies directly beneath the modern Poikile Street, its marble pavement almost exactly 4 m. below the modern asphalt. This street forms the northern limit of a large block of properties which was the second principal area explored during the season of 1972. Here, initial clearing at the western edge of the block had commenced in 1971,⁶⁰ but during the season just past the whole area was excavated to a general depth of the Roman levels, under the supervision of John McK. Camp II in the western half of the section and of Ione Mylonas Shear in the eastern half. As a result of the season's work, the disposition of buildings and monuments in this sector of the ancient city is now beginning to be revealed for the first time.

It has long been known that the western portion of this area was occupied by a building donated to the city by the philosopher T. Flavius Pantainos in the years about A.D. 100. According to Pantainos' own inscription of dedication, his donation consisted of "the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with its books, and all the embellishment therein." On the basis of this inscription, and another concerning regulations for the use of the books, the building has come to be known as the Library of Pantainos.⁶¹ The conventional nomenclature is still useful and convenient, but

⁵⁹ Cf. F. Brommer, *Die Metopen des Parthenon*, Mainz, 1967, pls. 4-5.

⁶⁰ *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, pp. 144-146. References to Pl. 30, a, p. 145, par. 1 should read Pl. 30, b.

⁶¹ For the dedicatory inscription, Inv. I 848, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 233, no. 64; A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 268-272; for the library regulations, Inv. I 2729,

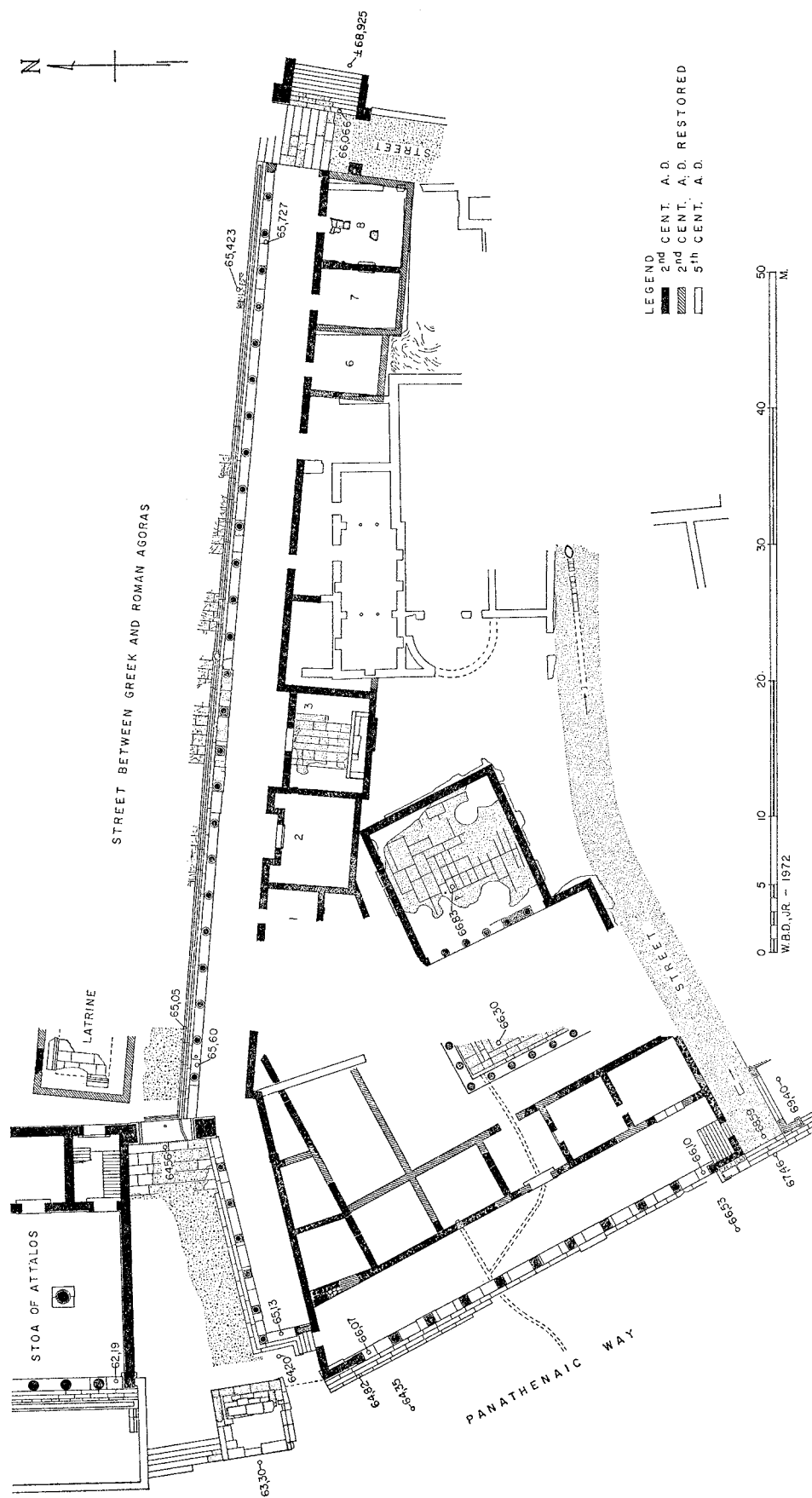


FIG. 6. Complex of the Library of Pantainos. Original Plan, partly Restored.

both a close reading of Pantainos' dedication and a glance at the architectural remains (Fig. 6) should now make clear at once that the library was only one part of a more extensive complex of buildings. Certain of the architectural features specified in the dedication are readily recognizable on the plan. A corner of the peristyle was cleared in the 1930's and a great square hall opening on to the peristyle from the east came to light in 1971. Which of the various spacious apartments should be assigned to the library is not yet clear; but since the modern Brysakiou Street still crosses the central part of the building in a strip 8 m. wide, it is to be hoped that future excavation may reveal more of the plan and history of the library itself.

The "outer stoas," it is now plain, formed the façades of the building, three in number because of the irregular configuration of streets about it. The principal façade bordered the Panathenaic Way to the west and determined the orientation of the peristyle and other rooms in the western part of the building. A second, smaller colonnade lay to the north, facing the end of the Stoa of Attalos, and terminating at a marble arch which abutted the southeast corner of that building. From here the ancient street ran eastward for a distance of 75 m. to a broad flight of steps (Pl. 72, b) which led the pedestrian up to the Doric gateway of the Roman market. The excavations of the past season have revealed that the southern side of this street was lined for its entire length by another colonnade, which formed the third "outer stoa" of Pantainos' building and served as a covered and colonnaded sidewalk along the street leading to the Roman Agora.

Like the other exterior porticos of the Library of Pantainos, the new stoa was of the Ionic order, and its columns rose above a marble stylobate with a single step beneath it and a marble gutter at the edge of the street (Pls. 69, c, 70, a). Stumps and bases of several columns and some 45 m. of the marble stylobate have survived *in situ*. The substructure of the colonnade is strikingly similar to that of the Stoa on the Panathenaic Way described above. The marble stylobate rests on a single course of poros foundations beneath which a packing of field stones set without mortar descends to bedrock, in some places necessarily for a considerable depth. Enough evidence is now available to be sure that the stoa had originally 25 columns spaced normally *ca.* 2.70 m. on centers. The greatest diameter of the Ionic bases was *ca.* 0.60 m. There are, however, certain anomalies in the spacing of the columns and rather more variations in dimensions among the seven preserved Ionic bases than one would normally expect in the order of a single building. These are due in part to a later reconstruction of the colonnade, as we shall see shortly, but some of the peculiarities must also be part of the original plan.

Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 41 f.; R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, Princeton, 1957, p. 150, no. 464. Brief general treatments of the building have appeared recently in H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton, 1972, pp. 114-116; Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. 432-435.

Nearly midway along the stoa two Ionic bases chance to survive *in situ*, opposite Room 3 (Pl. 70, a). These bases are carved in one piece with raised, square plinths, whereas traces of weathering on the stylobate show that the other columns did not stand on plinths in the original period. Moreover, these two bases measure 0.68 m. in greatest diameter and they are spaced 2.95 m. on centers, while the other columns have a smaller diameter and a narrower interaxial spacing. That these bases should be assigned to the original period of construction is indicated by a great marble block of the epistyle, found nearby in two joining pieces (Pl. 70, b). This block is precisely the correct length to span the interaxial between the existing Ionic bases, but it is too long to fit any other position in the colonnade. It is of interest to observe that the wider intercolumniation is exactly centered on the façade of Room 3 and may have been intended to give architectural emphasis to some special function associated with that room. Further evidence for this may be seen in the traces of wear and weathering on the stylobate, which show that a group of bases, presumably for statuary, filled the colonnade in front of Room 3, while other preserved sections of the stylobate do not seem to have been so crowded with monuments. A single large monument was centered between the surviving Ionic bases, and it may not be accident that its dimensions, measured from the traces on the stylobate, correspond exactly with the inscribed base for the statue of the Emperor Trajan which is built into the late wall of the stoa barely 4 m. distant.⁶²

Behind the colonnade was the broad open aisle of the stoa, 3.50 m. wide, and beyond this to the south a row of rooms of varying sizes entered through doors in the back wall of the stoa. Six rooms of the original building have been explored (Fig. 6) at the eastern and western ends of the area. In the central section of the stoa, the early plan is still uncertain where the building has been heavily rebuilt in late Roman times; nor is it yet possible to restore the arrangement of rooms at the west end under Brysakiou Street. The largest rooms of the stoa are Rooms 2 and 3, and they share a similar peculiarity in the treatment of their north walls. In Room 2, the doorway is set in a niche 3.32 m. wide and recessed 0.88 m. behind the wall of the colonnade. In the case of Room 3 the whole front wall of the room is set back 0.95 m. This room also was appointed with special elegance, for enough is preserved of its floor and walls to show that they were sheathed with marble veneer. Room 8 was similarly treated as we learn from the cement bedding for its marble pavement which is preserved in very ruinous condition. In the other rooms the original floors, where they were not disturbed, proved to be of hard clay.

Although there is yet no evidence to suggest the use to which the individual rooms of the stoa were put, their large size and the elaborate marble revetment in two of them suggest that they were something more than ordinary shops. In its

⁶² For the statue base of Trajan, *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 175, and Pl. 39, h.

architectural plan, the new stoa is integrally associated with the Library of Pantainos at its western end. There can be little doubt that the entire complex was included in Pantainos' dedication and was erected at the same time about A.D. 100. Indeed, this date for the stoa, proposed on epigraphical grounds when the dedicatory inscription was first discovered, is now confirmed by the evidence of the ceramic material extracted from beneath the original floors in Rooms 2 and 7.⁶³

Pantainos, however, was clearly not responsible for the entire beautification of the area, but only for the building described in his dedication. For it is of interest to note that about the same time the city of Athens paid from its own resources for the fine marble pavement of the street in front of the stoa; and passers-by were so informed by an inscription carved in large letters on the entablature of our building. The great epistyle which spanned the unusually wide intercolumniation in front of Room 3 bears the following inscription:

3. Inv. I 7349 (Pl. 70, b). Ionic epistyle of Pentelic marble found in two large joining pieces in a Byzantine wall above Room 3 (Area S 13). Profile from bottom: three fasciae surmounted by cyma reversa and cavetto, a large cyma recta crowned by a half round and ovolo. Three fasciae at bottom of back. Cuttings for hook-clamps at either end of top; anathyrosis on both ends.

Height 0.528 m.; length 2.953 m.; thickness at bottom 0.436 m.

Height of the letters 0.105 m. (upper line); 0.055 m. (lower line).

init. saec. II p.

Ὁ δῆμος ἀπὸ τῶν [ι]δίῳν προσόδων
τὴν πλατεῖα[α]ν ἀνέ[θ]ηκεν

There can be little doubt that the *πλατεῖα* here referred to is the marble-paved street in front of the building. Streets were similarly characterized as "broad" in Miletos, Alexandria, Peiraieus and elsewhere, and as in our inscription the adjective is often used by itself in a substantive sense without the accompanying noun.⁶⁴ Although only the southern edge of the marble pavement has been uncovered along the stoa, some general observations may be made. The marble pavement alone indicates that it was no ordinary thoroughfare. It must certainly have been confined to pedestrian traffic since it was approached from both east and west by flights of steps.

⁶³ Fragmentary pottery of the middle of the 1st century after Christ was found beneath the lowest Roman floors in Room 2: Lots PP 69-70, 75, 78; in Room 7: Lot PP' 46. For the date on epigraphical grounds, *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 331.

⁶⁴ For the street called "broad" at Miletos, *S.I.G.*³, 57, line 27 (450/49 B.C.); at Peiraieus, *I.G.*, II², 380, line 20 (320/19 B.C.). Also described in the same way was the great avenue at Alexandria, Diodoros, XVII, 52, 3; Strabo, XVII, 1, 10 (cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, Oxford, 1972, pp. 13-14), called simply ἡ πλατεῖα. For similar usage at Pergamon in the Roman period, *O.G.I.S.*, 491, line 9.

At the east end of the stoa, another street, measuring about 4.40 m. in width, descends from the slopes of the Acropolis in a northerly direction until it forms an intersection with the marble-paved street just beyond the excavated area (Pl. 72, b; Fig. 6). The poros paving slabs of this street, superimposed in two different periods, are heavily scored with wheel ruts and bear witness to the centuries of wheeled traffic which traveled this route. Square piers of poros blocks rise on both sides of the street just before it passes the open end of the stoa, and these are likely to have supported an arch through which the street entered the intersection.

That wheeled traffic was obliged to pass through the intersection without turning is suggested by the remains opposite the east end of the stoa. Here, a monumental flight of steps, 4.95 m. wide, rose toward the east. The lowest three steps are partially preserved, rising between two walls of ashlar masonry with cuttings at intervals which show that they were once revetted in marble (Pl. 72, b). It will be observed that the steps are strictly aligned with the open colonnade of the stoa, and they provide a natural approach to the gate of the Roman market, which lies just to the east, but at a level 4 m. higher than the stylobate of the stoa. The north wall of the steps terminates towards the street in a great square anta turned northward in a way which requires an answering anta on the north side of the "Broad Street" (Fig. 6). It is likely that the steps should be restored in three parallel flights, of which we have exposed the southernmost. Further north another flight of steps may well be found to align with a corresponding stoa along the north side of the marble-paved street, while a third, central flight of steps probably coincided in width with the "Broad Street" itself. If one may be allowed for a moment to reconstruct with his mind's eye the picture of this elegant avenue—paved with marble throughout its length, lined by colonnaded porticos, entered through stately arches at either end—it will be seen at once to provide a wholly fitting approach to the great marble market, which donations from Julius Caesar and the Emperor Augustus had caused to rise on ground to the east more than a century earlier.⁶⁵ It may be thought also not unworthy to be called *πλατεία*, the name it shared with the central boulevard of Alexandria, which had excited the praise of ancient authors.⁶⁶ In its architectural setting, our street invites comparison with the colonnaded avenue of the Lechaion Road which offers a similarly splendid approach to the Forum of Roman Corinth.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ On the market of Caesar and Augustus, W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*², Munich, 1931, pp. 371 ff.; Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. 28 ff.

⁶⁶ Above, note 64.

⁶⁷ Cf. H. N. Fowler and R. Stillwell, *Corinth, I, Introduction, Topography, Architecture*, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 148-158. Our street shares with the Lechaion Road, though on a somewhat smaller scale, its pavement, its flanking colonnades, its terminal arch, and its stepped approach to the Forum. The Lechaion Road also was restricted to pedestrian traffic. It is noteworthy that the street at Corinth, the provincial capital, took on its monumental form as early as the reign of Claudius, some three quarters of a century before Athens. But the Athenians were evidently

LATE ROMAN RECONSTRUCTION OF THE STOA

For close to a century and three quarters, the building dedicated by Pantainos stood in the form in which it was originally built. Then in A.D. 267, the face of the city of Athens was changed irreparably; and many of the Classical buildings and monuments suffered grievous damage or permanent destruction at the hands of the Herulii. Indeed, so thorough was the barbarian sack that the central area of the Agora was subsequently abandoned. In the aftermath of the Herulian raid, the ruined buildings were stripped to their foundations by the Athenians themselves in their efforts to find building stone for new fortifications with which they sought to defend themselves against further barbarian attack. In these years the town withdrew behind its new walls in a tight circuit north of the Acropolis.⁶⁸

The Library of Pantainos lay directly in the path of the western leg of the new circuit. Indeed, the outer curtain of the fortifications was thrown up along the western stylobate of the Library and pushed northward along the front wall of the shops in the Stoa of Attalos (Fig. 7). The superstructure of both buildings was dismantled and built into the fabric of the fortifications. At the corner of the Library, where the street led eastward from the Classical Agora to the Roman market, two massive towers were erected to defend what now became the principal western gate to the late Roman town.

During the season of 1972, it was possible for the first time to open an extensive area within the circuit of the late Roman walls, and it is thus not altogether surprising to find that important remains should have survived in this more protected part of the inner city. The new evidence will aid materially in reconstructing the archaeological history of Athens at the end of antiquity. But one of the most striking results to emerge at once from the new excavations is a wholly negative one. It is clear that this sector of the city, just within the new walls and around the western gate, fared much the same as the central area of the Agora and remained a wasteland for a full century after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. In the newly excavated area, there is no evidence of reconstruction until the beginning of the 5th century after Christ. Indeed, the only traces of human occupation of any kind are two wells: one is a Classical well in Room 2 which was evidently cleaned out and put back in use by the pillagers of the Library; the other was sunk in the colonnade probably during the late 3rd century. Both were filled with debris when the whole area was leveled and cleaned up, preparatory to rebuilding, at the end of the 4th century after Christ.⁶⁹

attempting to achieve the same effect at the beginning of the reign of Trajan, when both the "Broad Street" lined with stoas and the colonnades along the Panathenaic Way (above, pp. 370-382) were constructed.

⁶⁸ On the post-Herulian period in Athens, see generally Thompson, *J.R.S.*, XLIX, 1959, pp. 61-72; *Agora*, XIV, pp. 208 ff.; Travlos, *Πολεοδομική Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν*, Athens, 1960, pp. 125 ff.

⁶⁹ Deposit S 13: 1, well in Room 2: the latest material is P 29937, fragment of red-ware plate

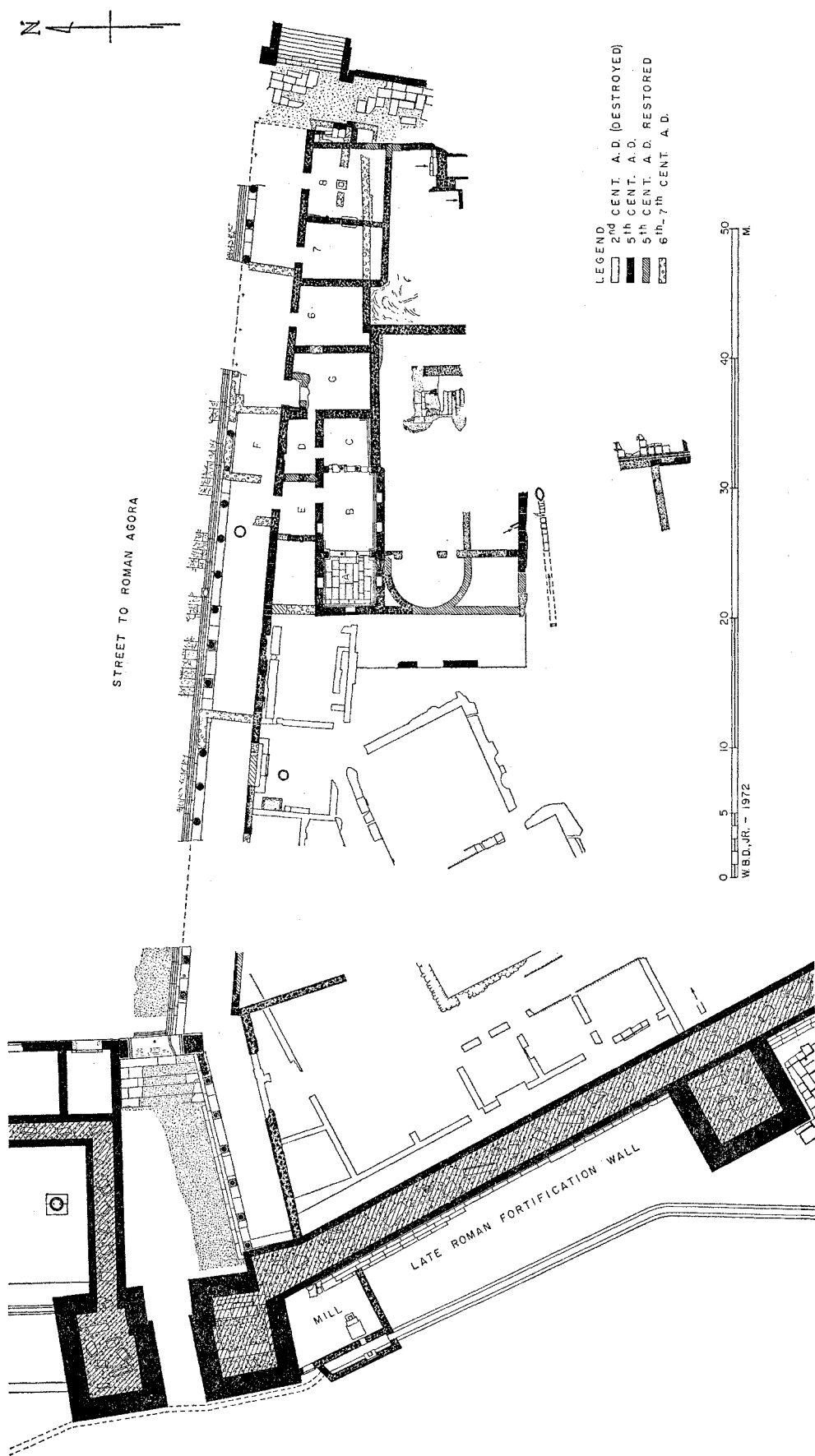


FIG. 7. Complex of the Library of Pantainos. Late Roman Reconstruction, partly Restored.

There can be no more vivid reminder of the low estate to which Athens had been reduced physically, economically, and socially by the barbarian destruction than this picture of painfully slow and arduous recovery.

In the first quarter of the 5th century after Christ, a major program of reconstruction was undertaken in the area formerly occupied by the stoas and the Library of Pantainos. The colonnade of the stoa was now rebuilt along the southern side of the street for its entire length from the new western gate to the old Roman market (Fig. 7). Many of the columns and bases used in the reconstruction had to be borrowed at second hand from other ruined buildings, since the originals had disappeared in the long interval after the Herulian sack; and where the re-used shafts or bases proved to be a little too tall for the order, the stylobate was cut down a few centimeters to receive them. The rear wall of the colonnade had to be erected again in large part from its foundations, so thorough had been the original destruction and subsequent pillaging for building stone. Of the rooms which once stood behind the colonnade, only four at the eastern end of the building were now restored (Pl. 72, a). At the western end of the stoa, Rooms 1, 2, and 3 were filled with debris; their doors were walled up, and they together with the rooms about the peristyle were allowed to remain in their dilapidated state throughout the rest of antiquity.⁷⁰

At a point midway along the stoa, a great new building now arose, which made use of the refurbished colonnade as its principal façade toward the street. It is the massive ruins of this structure which appear so prominently in Plates 69, c, 70, a; and indeed some of its walls still stand in places to a height of 3.25 m. The main apartments were laid out on a high terrace to the south, behind the original stoa, and they were oriented at an angle which diverges slightly from the line of the old colonnade along the street. Here are preserved in very ruinous condition the foundations of a great square hall, measuring about 6 m. on a side, and terminating in an apse toward the west (Fig. 7). The plan, at a glance, betrays its relation to that of the basilica with nave and two side-aisles. In this case, the south aisle measures 3.80 m. in width, while the north, formed by the second story above Room B, would have been only slightly wider. The state of the remains makes it uncertain whether the side chambers were divided from the main hall by colonnades or solid walls, although on the whole the former seems the more likely restoration. There is clear evidence that the arched opening of the apse was articulated by a pair of columns between antae. Another

with circular rosette stamps (cf. H. S. Robinson, *Athenian Agora*, V, *Roman Pottery*, Princeton, 1959, p. 111, pl. 36, M 289); L 5802, lamp similar to *Agora*, VII, p. 154, pl. 31, nos. 1871 ff. Deposit T 13: 1, well in the colonnade: the latest pieces are P 29936, painted-ware bowl (for the decoration cf. *Agora*, V, p. 103, pl. 37, M 209; closer in profile to *ibid.*, p. 111, pl. 71, M 290); L 5803, lamp from the same mould as *Agora*, VII, p. 128, pl. 20, no. 924, but the mould is much more worn; L 5817, lamp similar to *ibid.*, p. 127, pl. 20, no. 901.

⁷⁰ The accumulated debris found over the original floors of the western rooms dated uniformly to the end of the 4th century after Christ. Pottery: Lots PP 1, 8-10, 12, 15.

large, square area just to the east, not as yet fully explored, probably contained a peristyle, which would have formed a suitable approach to the great hall beyond. It is possible that one gained access to this from the lower level of the street at the north by way of a stairway inserted in one of the rooms of the old stoa. That the most prominent rooms of the building were on the upper level is suggested by the reconstructed form of the stoa. There is good reason to believe that its colonnaded façade, unlike that of its predecessor, now rose in two stories, because Ionic capitals, columns, epistyles, and cornice blocks of a smaller size than the lower order were found scattered in the street where they had fallen in front of the colonnade.

While the principal apartments were thus disposed on the upper level, the lower floor once occupied by the earlier stoa was now converted into an elegant suite of small rooms. It is this part of the building which has survived in such good condition (Pl. 71). Beneath the northern aisle of the great hall above were three chambers (Rooms A, B, and C), separated from each other by two pairs of light columns only 0.19 m. in diameter, of which the stump of one and the bases of two others are preserved *in situ* between antae. The walls are pierced by shallow arched niches, set at regular intervals, one in each wall of Room A and two in the south wall of Room B. In the north wall, a single niche corresponds to the western niche of the south wall, while opposite the eastern niche is a doorway, now blocked, which gave access to the suite from Room E and the colonnade. The masonry of the walls consists of large blocks alternating with rubble and threaded with an occasional string course of brick. In Room B, solid brickwork begins 1.25 m. above the floor and rises continuously into the barrel vault, of which enough is preserved to calculate that the crown of the vault originally rose 3.60 m. above the floor. Room A likewise had a vaulted ceiling but it must have sprung from a higher point on the wall and is no longer preserved.

The cement bedding for a marble pavement is preserved in Room A and some bits of marble revetment still cling to the walls and antae. This offers clear evidence that the rooms were once sumptuously decorated and we may well suppose that the niches contained small pieces of decorative statuary. These are surely no ordinary basement rooms and should rather be interpreted as an elaborate vestibule where the visitor might be received before proceeding up to the great hall on the floor above. With regard to the identification of the building not much can usefully be said. Its prominent location, large scale, and formal symmetrical plan would suggest a public building rather than a private dwelling. An ecclesiastical function is precluded by the orientation of the apse toward the west. On the other hand, the design of the apsidal hall, with its obvious similarity to the basilica, seems well suited to public audiences and official ceremonial. It is tempting to think that the building served an important local magistrate as office or residence, and that a visiting pretorian prefect might here hold court on occasion.

The date of construction of the late Roman building can be fixed fairly exactly

to the first quarter of the 5th century after Christ. The clearest evidence for this is the fragmentary pottery recovered from the builders' footing trench along the west wall of Room A and especially from the deep fill which was dumped behind the high south wall of Room B before the floor of the upper level was laid. In both cases the pottery could be dated to the second half of the 4th century after Christ, the latest pieces being as late as the beginning of the 5th century.⁷¹ The footing trench for the east wall of Room G yielded welcome confirmation of this date in the form of a coin of Theodosius I,⁷² dating to the period A.D. 383-395. Since the considerable wear on the coin suggests that it had circulated for about a generation before being deposited, a date about A.D. 420 for the construction of the building will not be far wide of the mark. That the four eastern rooms of the original stoa were refurbished at the same time as part of the 5th century building is indicated both by the construction of the south wall and by the interior partitions which, except for that between Rooms 7 and 8, diverge from the lines of the earlier walls. Moreover, earth floors of the early 5th century were found in Rooms G and 7.⁷³ In Room 8, the stratigraphy of the floors suggests that the builders merely repaired and re-used the original marble floor of the room.

Because of its location within the circuit of the late Roman fortifications, the building continued to be used until well into the Dark Ages, and some of its rooms seem to have been occupied more or less continuously for half a millennium from the 5th to the 10th centuries after Christ. To be sure, very little of this occupation, especially in the later phases, is likely to have been in any way ennobling to the ancient name of Athens, and some of the occupants can scarcely have risen above the level of squatters. Even if a ray of light from the new excavations may here begin to dispel the archaeological obscurity of the Dark Ages in Athens, it will not be thought to have revealed an age in which the quality of life was much less dark. Nevertheless, it is impressive to observe the tenacity with which the local inhabitants clung for centuries to the crumbling Roman buildings of the ancient city, when the city itself had long since dwindled to an impoverished and provincial village of the Byzantine Empire.

In archaeological terms, the later history of our building is written in the succession of repairs, the cleaning up of debris following destructions, the rebuilding of internal walls, the raising and renewing of floors. Three rooms yielded evidence which attests the passage of the Slavs in the invasion of the 580's, and there can be

⁷¹ Pottery from the footing trench in Room A: Lot PP 102; from the construction fill south of Room B: Lots PP 110-112.

⁷² Coin PP 612.

⁷³ The clearest evidence comes from Room 7, where the second renewal of the floor, 0.25 m. higher than the original floor, could be dated by the pottery beneath it to the late 4th or early 5th centuries after Christ, Lot PP' 43. The same layer produced 18 coins, of which the latest were three (PP' 458, 459, 510) of Constantius II or his colleague, datable to the period A.D. 351-361.

no doubt that the building suffered damage at their hands. In Room G, the excavator encountered signs of heavy burning on a floor which had been renewed during the 6th century, and lying on this floor was a group of six coins, of which five were of Justin II dating to the period A.D. 565-578.⁷⁴ These perhaps represent the contents of a purse dropped by accident a few years later in the onslaught of the Slavic hoards. Similar evidence was found in Room 8, where a hoard of 244 coins, probably buried in the 580's, was scattered over the lowest Roman floor, which had been stripped of its marble pavement before the deposit of the coins.⁷⁵ New earth floors were laid in Rooms G, 7, and 8 apparently very soon after the Slavic destruction since there was virtually no accumulation of debris beneath them. The prompt recovery and continued occupation of the building during this period are best attested in Room 8 where the floor was renewed three times in the half century following the Slavic sack.⁷⁶ The damage of the 580's, however, had clearly weakened the fabric of the building at its east end; for new walls were now thrown up along the south side of Rooms 7 and 8 (Pl. 72, a), thus reducing the depth of the rooms by 1.60 m. and 2.00 m. respectively. In Room 8, this construction seems not to have been thought sufficient to support the weight of the upper story, and early in the 7th century the room was further subdivided by a light partition (Pl. 72, a, Fig. 7). This obviously unsatisfactory arrangement came shortly to be replaced by a free-standing marble pier installed when the latest floor was laid (Pl. 72, a).

The next episode in the history of the building is another destruction, evidently accompanied by fire, the date of which can be fixed with some precision although the extent of the damage is difficult to assess because of the subsequent remodeling. Documentation for this phase comes only from Room 8 which clearly was never re-used after the destruction. The latest floor of the room was covered by a layer of burnt debris 0.92 m. deep which continued beyond the south wall and northward across the east end of the colonnade. Scattered through the debris within the room was a group of 86 coins, of which 72 were *folles* of the Emperor Heraclius (A.D. 610-641).⁷⁷ The latest piece dates to year 24 of the reign, A.D. 633/4, and this implies a date for the destruction in the later 630's, but at whose hands must in the present state of the evidence remain unknown.

⁷⁴ Coins PP 381-385. The associated pottery from the same layer (Lot PP 138) is likewise datable to the second half of the 6th century. The most characteristic piece is P 29938, bowl of Late Roman C ware: for the shape, J. W. Hayes, *Late Roman Pottery*, London, 1972, pp. 343 f., fig. 71, Form 10 A.

⁷⁵ The latest legible coins in the hoard were eight (PP' 291, 528-534) of Anastasius I (A.D. 491-518). Nearly half the hoard dates to the 4th and 5th centuries; but the large number of clipped, heavily worn, and otherwise illegible pieces gives the impression that the group was deposited a good deal later, very likely during the invasions of the 580's.

⁷⁶ Pottery from beneath all three floors (Lots PP' 53, 55, 56) was datable to the late 6th and early 7th centuries.

⁷⁷ Coins PP' 91-103, 107-156, 162-164, 178-179, 184-186, 188 of which 186 is the latest piece.

To the middle years of the 7th century belong extensive signs of remodeling in all parts of the great late Roman building. We may note first the striking absence of debris from the destruction of the 630's on the floors of all the rooms except Room 8. Elsewhere in the building the debris was thoroughly cleared away and dumped into deep pits, some half dozen of which were encountered by the excavators, chiefly beneath the floor of the colonnade. The pits seem to have been dug by the builders of the mid-7th century, who sought to extract clean earth with which to renew the floors, and who then refilled their pits with debris. In the once elegant suite of vaulted rooms behind the colonnade new earth and tile floors were laid to conceal the fact that the original marble revetment had been stripped from the rooms sometime after the Slavic invasions. In fact, floors of this period were found in as many as five rooms. Now, too, the old colonnade of the stoa along the street lost its original architectural integrity and was subdivided into small rooms. Rough walls were thrown up along the stylobate between the columns, where these survived, and partitions were inserted at intervals (Pls. 69, c, 70, a, Fig. 7). The most vivid signs of building activity were found in Room 6 where hundreds of terracotta roof tiles, no doubt recovered from the fallen debris of the 630's, were piled in neat rows against possible re-use, which in the event never occurred.

The date of these alterations is best indicated by coins of the Emperor Constans II (A.D. 641-668) found beneath the raised floors in Rooms C, D, E, and in the newly created room in the colonnade north of Room E.⁷⁸ Five of these coins are datable to the period A.D. 651-658, and they suggest that the remodeling took place in the years about A.D. 660. The numismatic evidence thus points to a date strikingly close to A.D. 662/3, in which year Constans II is known to have spent the winter in Athens on his journey to the west.⁷⁹ The synchronism makes it tempting to think that our building may have been refurbished specifically for the imperial visit. We shall have little doubt that there was insufficient accommodation in Athens of the 7th century to house the emperor and his retinue in a manner befitting their station. Thus, we may well imagine that some of the older buildings, and ours among them, were hastily refurbished to accommodate the imperial court. Not only would the apsidal hall and its surrounding apartments be suitable for public ceremonial, but the enclosing of the colonnade suggests a need to create as many rooms as possible.

The suggestion may gain some strength from the fact that the principal rooms seem to have been abandoned rather shortly after the remodeling, and the building soon began to fall into disrepair. By the late 7th century, silt had begun to gather over the marble pavement of the street to the north, and about this time, the marble

⁷⁸ Coins PP 324, 332, 333, 354, 402; a sixth coin (PP 397) dates slightly earlier to year 6 or 7 of the reign, A.D. 646/7 or 647/8.

⁷⁹ For other evidence of the imperial sojourn in Athens, A. Frantz, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, XIX, 1965, pp. 197-199.

colonnade of the second story collapsed sending many of its pieces into the street. By the early 8th century, there was already a considerable accumulation of silt and debris over the floors of the vaulted rooms. Only in Rooms 6 and 7 were floors renewed in the 8th century,⁸⁰ and these individual rooms of the otherwise dilapidated building probably came now to be inhabited as small private dwellings of the humblest sort.

EARLY BURIALS

Deep beneath the late Roman remains at the southern edge of the eastern sector, the excavator came upon two graves which take us abruptly to another dark age at the opposite end of antiquity. The earlier burial (T 15:2, Pl. 73, a) was a simple oblong cist cut into the soft bedrock; it was oriented north to south and measured 1.65 m. in length and 0.63 m. in width. The depth of the cist as found, 0.25 m. to 0.45 m., is not original since the bedrock round about was leveled in late Roman times, if not earlier. The cist was entirely unlined with stone slabs, and no trace of cover slabs was found. In view of the fact that the fill consisted exclusively of crushed bedrock, the grave was probably refilled after burial with the bedrock which had been dug to form the cist.

The skeleton, preserved in good condition, was found lying on its back in extended position with the skull at the south end of the grave. The left arm lay across the waist; the right was raised over the chest. The skull was turned on its right side. Subsequent examination of the bones revealed that it was the skeleton of an adult female about 33 years of age.⁸¹ The burial offerings were meager indeed and consisted only of two small pots: a lekythos,⁸² placed beside the skull, and a small rim-handled amphora⁸³ by the left shoulder (Pl. 73, b). Both belong to the Submycenaean period, but at an advanced stage, close to the transition to Protogeometric. The lekythos is sufficiently developed in shape to suggest that the true Protogeometric

⁸⁰ The date of the accumulation of silt and debris in Rooms A, B, and C is indicated by the fragmentary pottery found above the latest floors (Lots PP 100-101, 104, 115) and by coins (PP 212, 239) of Philippicus (A.D. 711-713). Some time must have elapsed before the renewal of floors in Rooms 6 and 7, for the 8th century floor in the latter was found 0.60 m., and in the former 1.00 m., above the 7th century floors. Pottery beneath the floor in Room 6: Lots PP' 30-31; in Room 7: Lots PP' 39-40.

⁸¹ I am indebted to J. L. Angel for his examination of the skeletal remains of both graves, and to E. L. Smithson for her general observations on the burials.

⁸² Inv. P 29772: H. 0.118 m.; Diam. 0.087 m. Handle and pieces of rim missing. Flaring ring foot; rounded body. Decoration: on lower body, bands; on shoulder, hand-drawn concentric semicircles around solid semicircles; narrow band on neck. Air hole on shoulder. Buff clay; thin brown glaze. Cf. W. Kraiker and K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, Berlin, 1939, pls. 13 (Grave 84, inv. 494), 14 (Grave 112, inv. 517).

⁸³ Inv. P 29773: H. 0.133 m.; Diam. 0.099 m. Flaring ring foot; flaring rim; strap handles from shoulder to rim. Decoration: lower body glazed except for two narrow reserved bands; chevron pattern on shoulder; neck glazed. Buff clay; very worn brown glaze.

style may already have begun, but the maker of this pot clung to the old fashion of hand-drawn concentric semicircles for the decoration on the shoulder. On this basis, the date of the burial should be placed in the first half of the 11th century B.C.

The second grave (T 15: 1, Pl. 73, d) came to light less than a meter to the southeast of the first. It also proved to be an adult inhumation, in every way similar to its neighbor in physical characteristics. Once again a simple cist was cut in bedrock without constructed sides or cover slabs, and it measured 1.70 m. long, 0.67 m. wide, and 0.70 m. deep. Like the earlier grave, it was oriented north to south. The skeleton was well preserved, lying on its back in the extended position. Both arms were laid out straight at the sides, and the skull, originally placed on its back, had tilted slightly forward and to the right. This may have happened when the grave was first closed with the crushed bedrock filling encountered by the excavator. The skeleton proved to belong to a woman who had died at about the age of 44. Her sex might possibly have been deduced also by the presence among the funeral offerings of a clay spindle whorl and a cooking pot. But the total absence of jewelry, even of the meanest sort, in both graves should be emphasized, and it bears witness to the grim poverty which beset the inhabitants of Athens on the threshold of the Iron Age.

A group of four pots and a spindle whorl was buried with the body (Pl. 73, c). As in the first burial, a lekythos⁸⁴ was found to the right of the skull. There was a skyphos⁸⁵ by the right hand, an oinochoe⁸⁶ beside the left shoulder, and a cooking pot⁸⁷ at the left foot. Three of the pots were lying on their sides; and it is possible that they were inadvertently knocked over when the grave was filled. The oinochoe, however, was found upside down in a position which almost suggests that it was dropped or thrown into the grave. It is well to note also that both the oinochoe and the skyphos seem to have been broken before burial, since in one case the mouth and

⁸⁴ Inv. P 29767: H. 0.176 m.; Diam. 0.115 m. Flaring ring foot, rounded body, flaring rim. Decoration: lower body completely glazed except for three narrow reserved bands; on shoulder, above two narrow bands, three groups of compass-drawn concentric semicircles separated by double zigzag line; horizontal bands on neck and handle. Air hole on shoulder. Grayish clay; black glaze. For the type, V. R. d'A. Desborough, *Protogeometric Pottery*, Oxford, 1952, pp. 69 ff.

⁸⁵ Inv. P 29769: P.H. 0.08 m.; Diam. 0.109 m. Foot missing. Deep bowl; concave rim; horizontal loop handles. Decoration: between the handles, a zone of solid triangles between narrow lines; otherwise completely glazed. Pinkish buff clay; peeling black glaze. For the class, Desborough, *PG.P.*, pp. 77 ff.

⁸⁶ Inv. P 29768: P.H. 0.18 m.; Diam. 0.12 m. Most of trefoil lip missing. Decoration: four reserved lines on lower body, three at shoulder; on shoulder, five groups of compass-drawn concentric semicircles (quarter circles beside handle); bands and zigzag line on neck; horizontal bands on handle. Buff clay; brownish black glaze. For the type, Desborough, *PG.P.*, pp. 45 ff.

⁸⁷ Inv. P 2770: H. 0.195 m.; Diam. 0.145 m. Rounded bottom; flaring rim; single handle. Handmade. Dark buff clay burned gray from use. Cf. *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 75 (Grave 15, inv. 548); K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, IV, Berlin, 1943, pl. 28 (Grave 48, inv. 1184).

Also in the grave group, Inv. MC 1198, spindle whorl: H. 0.013 m.; Diam. 0.023 m. Conical; pierced through center; worn around hole. Gray clay.

in the other the foot was not recovered. The cooking pot was heavily burned and clearly had seen long use in the kitchen before it was chosen to honor the dead.

Examination of the pottery reveals a date for the grave clearly within the Proto-geometric period, near the end of the 11th century B.C. This is evident from the well-developed profiles of the lekythos and oinochoe, and particularly from their decoration; for both pieces have neat compass-drawn semicircles on their shoulders. The lekythos and the skyphos, with its dogtooth pattern, find close parallels among the cremation burials of the Kerameikos cemetery (PG. Graves 39, 40)⁸⁸ with which the Agora grave must be closely contemporary. These comparisons point up the striking fact that ours is an adult inhumation, in a period when the unanimous evidence of the Attic cemeteries indicates that cremation had become the standard form of burial in Athens.⁸⁹ We must consider the new grave as an unusual anachronism harking back to the customs of the Submycenaean period.

SCULPTURE

As has been the case in all recent years, the season of 1972 added a number of pieces of sculpture to the collections in the Stoa of Attalos. Some of the more interesting pieces call for special comment and these may be briefly presented and illustrated here.

One of the earliest pieces and perhaps the most attractive came to light in the small Classical sanctuary at the northwest corner of the Agora. This is the head of an Archaic kore (Pl. 74, a-c)⁹⁰ which seemed strikingly out of place as it lay among the pottery of the late 5th century B.C. in the votive deposit (Pl. 66, a). The head is broken from a statue of about half life size and betrays in the treatment of the hair and features all the unmistakable hallmarks of the late Archaic period. She has much in common with her sisters on the Acropolis: her oval face with high prominent cheek bones; her almond-shaped eyes, slightly protuberant, with the delicate rendering of the tear ducts still visible despite the worn surface; and her carefully modeled lips which meet at the corners in a fine line and show only the slightest trace of a transverse groove marking the transition to the plane of the cheek. Her hair is carried across the forehead in four horizontal, zigzag waves with similar side coils. Similar wavy tresses are combed back straight from the forehead and fall in parallel waves to the shoulder, while three tresses are brought to the front on each side. She is crowned with a narrow *stephane* and wears large disk earrings with central knobs which hide the lower parts of the ears. At the top of the head is a small hole for the insertion of a *meniskos*.

⁸⁸ Very close to the lekythos P 29767 are Kerameikos inv. 2021, 2097: *Kerameikos*, IV, pls. 17, 18. For the skyphos P 29769, cf. Kerameikos inv. 2014: *ibid.*, pl. 22.

⁸⁹ Desborough, *PG.P.*, p. 306.

⁹⁰ Inv. S 2476: P.H. 0.20 m.; H. chin to crown 0.125 m.; W. between ears 0.093 m. Broken at neck; nose, mouth, and chin damaged. Island marble.

The new head is clearly related to the latest group of Archaic korai from the Athenian Acropolis. The shape of the face, the rendering of eyes and mouth, and particularly the treatment of the hair find close parallels in the korai nos. 641 and 684 which belong in the period 500-490 B.C.⁹¹ Our piece may be thought to be slightly more routine work of the same period.

Although no trace has been found of the rest of the statue, or of the base on which it stood, it seems likely that it was set up somewhere in the vicinity of the *abaton* in which it was found. The features of the face are worn and battered, but this is in marked contrast to the rest of the head which is preserved in excellent condition and shows little sign of wear or damage. Moreover, a pair of dowel holes, fed through a channel at the back of the neck (Pl. 74, c), is still full of lead which protrudes from the broken base of the neck. In addition, the long waves of hair at the shoulder have been somewhat roughly chiselled off and reworked. This evidence indicates that the head had been broken and repaired in antiquity before it came finally to rest in the sanctuary enclosure.⁹² Because of the Archaic date, it is tempting to see in these signs of early breakage one more casualty of the Persian destruction of 480 B.C. The worn condition of the face suggests that it lay about on the ground, face up, for some little time before the broken head was restored on the shoulders of the kore.

The torso illustrated in Plate 75, a, b, was likewise found lying among the votive offerings in the Classical sanctuary. An interesting and tantalizing piece, it comes from a small terracotta sculpture slightly over one third life size.⁹³ That the figure is male is indicated by the dress, for he wears a chlamys which is fastened over the right shoulder and falls in heavy layered folds from the shoulders. The cloak is pulled taut across the bent left arm and elbow and hangs free on the right side leaving the naked right flank exposed from beneath the arm to the buttock. The garment is painted a rich dark red, edged at the hem with a pale buff line and a narrow border

⁹¹ Acropolis 641: E. Langlotz in H. Schrader, *Die archaischen Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, Frankfurt, 1939, p. 134, pl. 99, no. 104; H. Payne and G. M. Young, *Archaic Marble Sculpture from the Acropolis*, London, 1936, pl. 81; G. M. A. Richter, *Korai*, London, 1968, p. 103, figs. 597-598, no. 187. Acropolis 684: Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 104 ff., pls. 78-81, no. 55; Payne and Young, *op. cit.*, pl. 80; Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 101, figs. 578-582, no. 182.

⁹² It seems preferable to interpret the leaded channels as a repair rather than original. Each was formed by drilling two holes: one vertically upwards from below, and the other diagonally downwards from the back of the neck to intersect the first. They presumably were used to lead an improvised mortise-and-tenon joint between neck and shoulder. If the head had originally been carved separately from the body, one would expect the means of leading the joint to be more expertly concealed, as for example the neat, square holes filled with marble studs in the shoulders of Acropolis 674: G. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, Cambridge, 1912, p. 213; Langlotz in Schrader, *Marmorbildwerke*, p. 94; Richter, *Korai*, p. 81, no. 127.

⁹³ Inv. T 4025: P.H. 0.26 m.; W. across shoulders 0.18 m.; Th. 0.10 m. Torso and neck hollow. Outer wall, ca. 0.025 m., of pinkish buff clay with grits of tempering, covered by slip of clay of same color.

of black. The whole surface of the drapery was given plastic texture by applying tiny lumps of clay, before painting, in neat parallel rows which follow the folds of the garment. The technique recalls the treatment of certain plastic vases,⁹⁴ and the studded texture which it gives to the fabric of the cloak forms a pleasing contrast to the polished surface of the exposed skin. The hair falls well down over the back in a mass of rippling waves modeled with great delicacy and painted a brownish black.

The angle and spread of the buttocks, and the upward turn of the drapery below the broken left arm suggest that the figure was seated astride a horse. The line of breakage where the rider made contact with the back of the horse is clearly visible on the right buttock (Pl. 75, b).⁹⁵ The chlamys, too, is particularly suitable dress for horseback riding. The right arm was raised and may have brandished a weapon while in his lowered left hand the horseman will have grasped the reins to guide his mount. The style of the figure, especially the long wavy hair and the heavy, flat folds of the drapery, suggests comparison with marble sculptures of the late Archaic period. Similar treatment of the drapery may be seen on the draped male statue (Acropolis 633) and the rendering of the hair has close affinities to some of the korai.⁹⁶ Our piece is likely to have been made in the closing years of the 6th century B.C.; and both the scale and subject suggest that it belonged to an architectural group, perhaps most appropriately an acroterion. In view of its discovery only a short distance from the Stoa Basileios, it is tempting to wonder if the horseman comes from an early set of sculptural acroteria on that building. These would, then, have been replaced in the mid-5th century by the terracotta acroteria which Pausanias describes and of which some fragments have been recovered.

Another piece of early sculpture found during the past season is the marble mask of a bearded god (Pl. 74, d).⁹⁷ Only the face and front half of the head are represented, the back being worked to a flat vertical plane and fitted with an iron

⁹⁴ Cf. the raised lumps of clay used to simulate hair on plastic vases in the shape of negro heads, Boston 00.332: *A.R.V.*², p. 1529; E. Buschor, *Münch. Jahrbuch*, XI, 1919, p. 13, fig. 19; I. Richter, *Das Kopfgefäß*, Diss. Cologne, 1967, fig. 14. Louvre CA 987: *A.R.V.*², p. 1530; Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 272. Cf. the similar technique on the ram's head rhyton, Naples Stg. 58: *A.R.V.*², p. 1550; H. Hoffmann, *Attic Red-figured Rhyta*, Mayence, 1962, pl. 18, 2-3; K. Tuchelt, *Tiergefäße*, Berlin, 1962, pl. 18.

⁹⁵ R. V. Nicholls has drawn my attention to the fact that the angle of the back of the horse, as indicated by the broken line, was extremely steep for an ordinary horse and rider. On this basis, he has suggested that the figure might be identified as Bellerophon riding Pegasos and attacking the chimaera.

⁹⁶ Acropolis 633: Schrader, *Marmorbildwerke*, p. 204, pls. 128-129, no. 308; Payne and Young, *Archaic Marble Sc.*, pl. 102, dated to the last decade of the 6th century. For the hair, cf. Acropolis 615; *ibid.*, pl. 92, 5; Richter, *Korai*, fig. 401, dated ca. 500 B.C.; cf. also the small bronze kouroi of the Ptoon 20 Group, Richter, *Kouroi*³, London, 1970, figs. 473, 516.

⁹⁷ Inv. S 2485: H. 0.20 m.; W. 0.14 m.; Th. 0.075 m. Found in well S 13:1 in the Stoa of the Library of Pantainos (above, note 69). Beard and nose chipped, otherwise complete. Large-crystallized island marble.

dowel in the middle so that the mask could be suspended. It is a severe and symmetrical face, somewhat rectangular in structure. Beneath the sharp ridge of the eyebrows, the eyes have the heavy surrounding lids, continuous at the outer corners, which characterize the early Classical period. The straight line of the mouth with its full lower lip has lost all trace of the Archaic smile. Above the forehead, the hair is parted in the middle and pulled to either side in long wavy strands covering the upper part of the short side locks which fall straight to the level of the cheekbone. A narrow fillet binds the hair in place and above this the crown of the head is left smooth with no articulation of the hair. The beard is broad and straight at the sides where it extends down the planes of the cheeks, and a thin mustache droops low over the corners of the mouth. Lightly incised parallel lines score the surface of the beard and create the effect of thin wavy strands of hair.

The mask is to be identified as Dionysos and it should be brought into relation with the similar marble masks from Ikaria and Marathon.⁹⁸ The latter is close in style to our piece, especially in the treatment of eyes and beard, and together they betray many affinities to the early Classical herms. The heavy lids of the eyes, the lower lip, the rendering of mustache and beard find close parallels in two herms in Athens (Agora S 211 and N.M. 96),⁹⁹ and this comparison suggests a date about 470 B.C. for the new mask. The mask from Marathon in Berlin differs sharply from ours in that it is to be restored with the ears and horns of a bull and interpreted as Acheloos. The Agora head, however, shows no trace of such bovine excrescences so that its identification as Dionysos seems assured, and it should be recognized as a somewhat later version of the mask found in the sanctuary of Dionysos at Ikaria. The place of such Dionysiac masks in Athenian religious ritual is long familiar, if not fully understood, from the pictures on contemporary vases,¹⁰⁰ where we see similar masks crowned with wreaths of ivy and suspended from a column or tree, which has been wrapped in garments to create a xoanon as a cult image. The image is regularly shown receiving sacrificial offering in the form of wine or fruit at the hands of attendant maenads. It is perhaps a reasonable question whether our mask was actually used as a cult object, since it is dowelled for suspension. The vases, however, frequently, though not always, depict the mask of Dionysos larger than life size; and the marble mask from Ikaria conforms to this. Thus it seems preferable

⁹⁸ Mask from Ikaria, Athens N.M. 3072: S. Karouzou, *Collection of Sculpture*, Athens, 1968, p. 18, pl. 11, a; from Marathon, Berlin 100: C. Blümel, *Die archaisch-griechischen Skulpturen der staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, Berlin, 1963, p. 20, figs. 29-33, no. 12. For discussion of the masks, W. Wrede, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIII, 1928, pp. 66-95.

⁹⁹ Agora S 211: E. B. Harrison, *Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton, 1965, p. 142, pl. 40, no. 156; for N.M. 96, *ibid.*, pl. 65, b; Wrede, *op. cit.*, Beilage 22, 3.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. the examples collected by A. Frickenhaus, *Berl. Winckelmannspr.*, LXXII, 1912, pp. 33 ff. where the scenes are associated with the Lenaia. Others have placed the ritual at the Anthesteria, cf. van Hoorn, *Choes and Anthesteria*, pp. 24 ff. with references there cited.

to think that the Agora piece, which is actually slightly under life size, may have been a votive in a sanctuary rather than part of a cult image.

Excavation in the Stoa of the Library of Pantainos yielded two interesting pieces of sculpture which are nearly contemporary with the building itself and may possibly have formed part of its original sculptural adornment. The very fragmentary statue illustrated in Plate 75, c was found broken in numerous small pieces in a great pit of debris in Room 2 (Fig. 6). The statue was probably damaged in the Herulian sack; its extremities were subsequently broken off so that the torso might be used as a building block; and the surviving fragments were then buried in the general clean-up of the area at the beginning of the 5th century after Christ. We have preserved the lower part of an imperial portrait statue¹⁰¹ of heroic scale, well above life size. The statue is broken just above the knees, but the boots, the hem of the tunic, and the end of the mantle at the left calf suggest that the emperor wore military dress. He stood with his weight carried firmly on his right leg, while the left leg is bent at the knee and drawn slightly back so that only the ball of the foot touches the ground. The emperor's feet are clad in high boots of panther skin, fashioned with the head and two paws hanging down from the top as decoration, and fastened with laces across the instep. Several surviving fragments form a mass of drapery, 1.30 m. long, which joins the drapery at the left calf; it is thus clear that the *paludamentum* fell in bold vertical folds probably from the bent left arm above.

The chief interest of the statue, in its present fragmentary state, lies in the figure of the captured barbarian kneeling at the emperor's right foot. The captive crouches down on his left knee with his shoulders hunched forward; and to judge by the broken angle of the arms, his hands were probably bound behind his back. His head is thrown back to reveal a powerful and striking face, modeled in a style which gives the impression of stark realism, but actually composed of conventional elements which the Roman sculptor seldom failed to attribute to the barbarian: the low brow scored with vertical furrows at the bridge of the nose, the rugged, angular features, the large eyes set deep in their sockets, the gaunt cheeks and bushy, unruly hair. His face is creased with the anguish of his defeat; but he does not cower in submission before his captor. Half rising, he looks up in pride, and in the parted lips and glaring eyes, there is still a dangerous flash of anger which does not easily brook defeat. This was a difficult and valiant foe whose conquest brings still greater glory to his conqueror; his is the portrait of the noble savage whose merciful treatment at his captor's hands serves to ennoble still more the emperor himself.

Although the sculptor has created in the captive barbarian a generalized image rather than a personal portrait, it seems likely that he intended to allude to a specific

¹⁰¹ Inv. S 2518: P.H. 0.90 m.; W. 0.86 m.; P.Th. 0.50 m.; H. of plinth 0.09 m. Heavy support behind right leg, rough-picked. Drapery worked with rasp to give texture; areas of flesh polished smooth but not glossy. Pentelic marble.

barbarian tribe and a specific imperial victory. The dress and physiognomy of our figure correspond in every detail with the representations of Dacians from the Forum of Trajan in Rome. The boots and trousers, the long tunic regularly shown with long sleeves, the pointed cap and cloak fastened with a brooch at the shoulder, these elements of dress appear in hundreds of examples on the Column of Trajan, as well as in the Trajanic reliefs and free-standing figures incorporated in the Arch of Constantine. It should be noted that our figure has somewhat less hair about the forehead and a thinner growth of beard along the jawbone and chin than is usually represented; but strikingly similar faces appear among the Dacians on the great Trajanic frieze and on a relief in the Villa Medici.¹⁰² On the basis of these comparisons, the statue can be identified as a portrait of the Emperor Trajan with a captive Dacian kneeling at his feet, a type not otherwise attested among the surviving monuments or the known portraits of Trajan. The available evidence indicates that our statue was closely similar in pose, in dress, and perhaps in gesture to the relief portrait in the frieze on the Arch of Constantine.¹⁰³ We can imagine this figure magnified to colossal size and erected in the years after the Dacian wars (A.D. 101/2, 105/6) in one of the principal rooms of the Library of Pantainos. This building was dedicated to Trajan himself, as well as to the goddess Athena and the city of Athens, and it would certainly have included among its statuary a prominent portrait of the emperor.

From Room 3 of the stoa dedicated by Pantainos (Fig. 6) came an unusually fine portrait head of an unknown Athenian (Pl. 76, a).¹⁰⁴ It was found in the debris covering the floor of the room, and this combined with the fresh condition of the sculpture suggests that it cannot have moved far from its original position. We have the portrait of a man of mature years who turns his head and tilts it slightly to his left. His face is clean-shaven and his curly hair is cropped short and recedes on the top of the head above a broad high brow, marked with two sharply incised parallel wrinkles. The eyes are set deep beneath the overhanging ridge of the brow which is delicately modeled at the bridge of the nose to create slight vertical wrinkles, more felt than seen. The modeling of the lower part of the face conforms to a clear compositional pattern. The thin lips, pressed tightly together, form a straight, hard line at the mouth which curves slightly downward at the corners; and this is framed by

¹⁰² On the Trajanic frieze, similar treatment of face and beard can be seen on the mounted Dacian to right of the charging emperor, and on the severed Dacian head held just behind him, M. Pallottino, *Bull. Com.*, LXVI, 1938, p. 53, fig. 13; cf. also the first standing Dacian from the right end of the frieze, *ibid.*, pl. 1; for recent general photographs, A. Giuliano, *Arco di Costantino*, Milan, 1955, figs. 6-7. For the relief in the Villa Medici, M. Cagianò de Azevedo, *Le antichità di Villa Medici*, Rome, 1951, p. 54, pl. 25, no. 40; cf. *idem*, *Rendiconti*, XX, 1943-1944, pp. 230-231, figs. 4-5. I am indebted to Diana Kleiner for her observations on the Agora statue and its Roman parallels.

¹⁰³ Pallottino, *op. cit.*, pl. 1; Giuliano, *op. cit.*, fig. 8.

¹⁰⁴ Inv. S 2468: P.H. 0.31 m.; W. between ears 0.20 m. Broken at neck, end of nose, and edges of ears. Pentelic marble.

two deep, diagonal creases curving down from the nose to the corners of the mouth. Beneath the lower lip a definite horizontal groove separates the triangular area of the mouth from the strong, projecting chin.

The overall effect is one of familiar artistic devices deployed with great skill to create both a general sense of realism and an impression of strong individual characteristics. The plastic, textured modeling of the hair stands out sharply against the hard, polished surface of the skin; and the contrast shows the sculptor's considerable technical virtuosity. The style of the work shares many similarities with portraits dating to the early years of Trajan. The treatment of the hair and the design of the lower face find a close parallel in the portrait herm of the kosmetes Heliodoros, which was set up in the archonship of Fulvius Metrodoros, dated on epigraphical grounds to one of the years before A.D. 112/3.¹⁰⁵ Our portrait also compares closely with two other heads from the Agora which have been placed in the Trajanic period¹⁰⁶ and suggest a date for the new piece in the first decade of the 2nd century.

In view of the date of the sculpture and its discovery in one of the principal rooms of the Library of Pantainos, it may not be thought too fanciful to guess that we have before us a portrait of the donor himself, T. Flavius Pantainos. Although certainty is here beyond reach, the possibility exists; and at any rate we see in the man before us everything we should expect in a wealthy and prominent philosopher of Roman Athens. His is a profoundly intellectual face, expressive in its every line of the strength and discipline achieved by the study of philosophy. The highly modeled jaw and the down-turned line of the mouth belong to a man well schooled in the scepticism of scholarly inquiry. His hair has thinned and receded, his brow has furrowed with long hours of contemplation. One senses even in his marble likeness a man of incisive logic, gifted with the assurance of high intellect; but there is also in the distant gaze of the deep-set eyes something of the dreamer, who looks with long-accustomed pleasure into the world of the mind.

A complete spiritual antithesis divides the lively portrait from the head of the herm (Pl. 76, b), which was buried after the destruction of Alaric (A.D. 396)¹⁰⁷ in Room 4 of the Stoa on the Panathenaic Way. It is a fine example of one of the most familiar types of archaistic herm, here represented by a head somewhat over life size.¹⁰⁸ The face is square and massive, crowned at the forehead by three rows of tight corkscrew curls. Below is a broad voluminous beard which shows flame-shaped locks interspersed with short curling strands of hair to form a lively pattern. Large

¹⁰⁵ P. Graindor, *B.C.H.*, XXXIX, 1915, pp. 292 ff., fig. 10, no. 2; *I.G.*, II³, 2021.

¹⁰⁶ Inv. S 1182: E. B. Harrison, *Athenian Agora*, I, *Portrait Sculpture*, Princeton, 1953, p. 28, pl. 13, no. 18. Inv. S 1299: *ibid.*, p. 30, pl. 14, no. 19; *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 178, pl. 56.

¹⁰⁷ Above, p. 380.

¹⁰⁸ Inv. S 2499: from Deposit G 4:3, P.H. 0.35 m.; W. 0.24 m.; P.Th. 0.27 m. Broken at neck. Beard, side locks, right side of nose, curls over forehead broken. Cutting and traces of iron dowel for repair at lower back. Pentelic marble.

expressionless eyes look out from beneath sharply cut eyebrows which are carried down into the side lines of the nose. The full curving lips are slightly parted. On top of the head the hair radiates from the crown and is bound by a twisted cord, from beneath which it falls in a heavy, wavy mass, incised to simulate the individual strands of hair.

The type has long been associated with the famous Hermes Propylaios of Alkamenes on the basis of a herm found at Pergamon which bears an inscribed epigram mentioning Alkamenes as the sculptor.¹⁰⁹ Comparison of that herm with ours reveals a number of close similarities, especially in the symmetrical rectangular structure of the head and face, the design of the eyes and nose, and the rendering of the corkscrew curls over the brow. But there are differences as well: the pattern of locks on the beard shows a freer use of corkscrew curls on our head, and the lips of the Pergamene herm are more clearly parted. The two cannot be said to be copied in every detail from the same 5th-century original. If, indeed, the head from Pergamon be thought to represent the precise design of Alkamenes, then the sculptor of the Agora piece will have indulged in slight variations on a famous theme.¹¹⁰

A number of details suggests a date for the carving of the new herm in the 2nd century after Christ. The modeling is crisp and dry, and the areas of flesh are worked to a hard polished surface. In addition there are marks of the rasp on the underside of the hair and on the neck, while the ears show traces of drilling. The character of the work gives the impression that it may be as late as Hadrian or the Antonines. It is, nevertheless, one more monument in a long and popular tradition at Athens. If we may judge from its place of finding, it will have stood among the host of herms which guarded the northwestern entrance to the Agora. A comparative latecomer to this celebrated group of monuments, the new herm bespeaks in its late date of manufacture the tenacious conservatism of Athenian religious practice; and its conventional, hieratic form still contrives to impress the observer with its very adherence to an ancient style.

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¹⁰⁹ F. Winter, *Altertümer von Pergamon*, VII, *Die Skulpturen*, Berlin, 1908, 1, pp. 48 ff., no. 27. For a recent photograph, Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*⁴, New Haven, 1970, fig. 673; for recent discussion, Harrison, *Agora*, XI, pp. 122 ff.

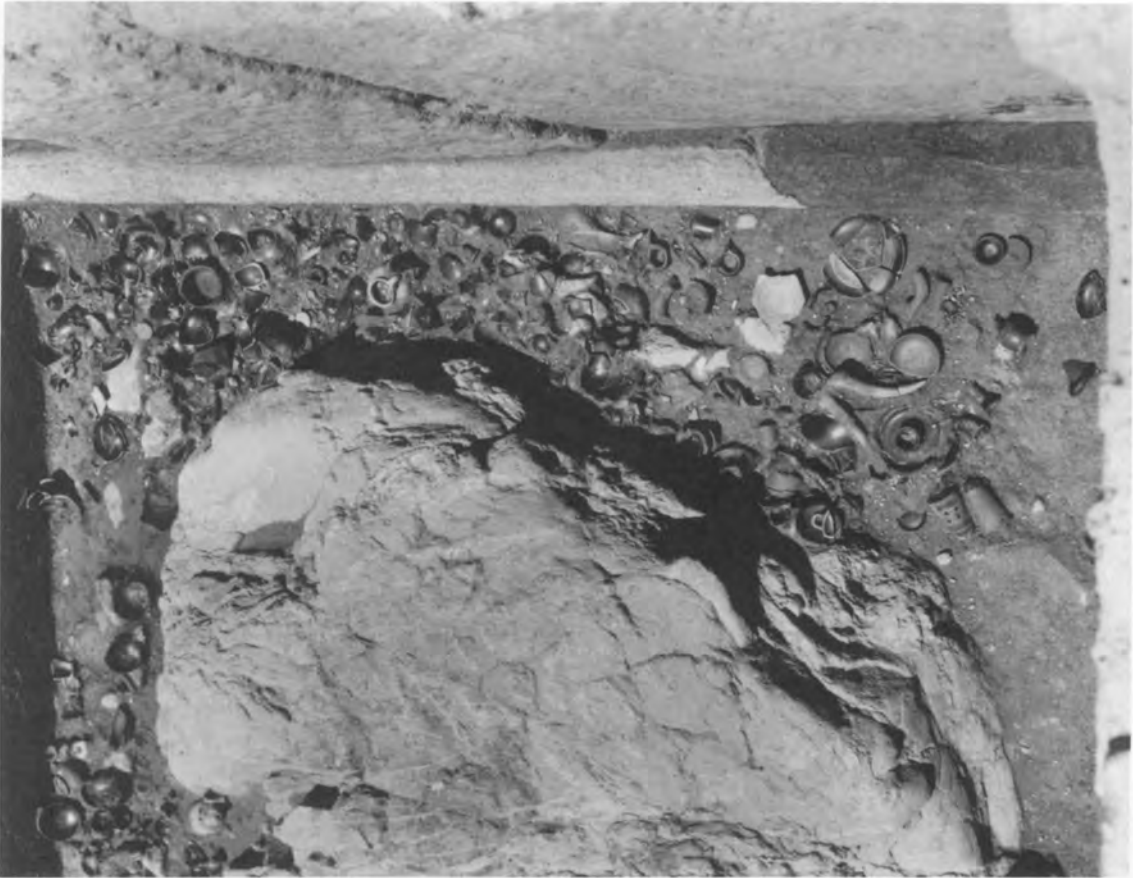
¹¹⁰ Other herms with similar variations are Agora S 1077, S 2104: *Agora*, XI, pp. 148 f., pls. 44-45, nos. 163, 164.



a. Sanctuary Enclosure, from Northwest



b. Sanctuary, from Northwest, showing Votive Deposit as found



a-b. Details of Votive Deposit as found. Arrow indicates Archaic Kore
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a



b

c



d



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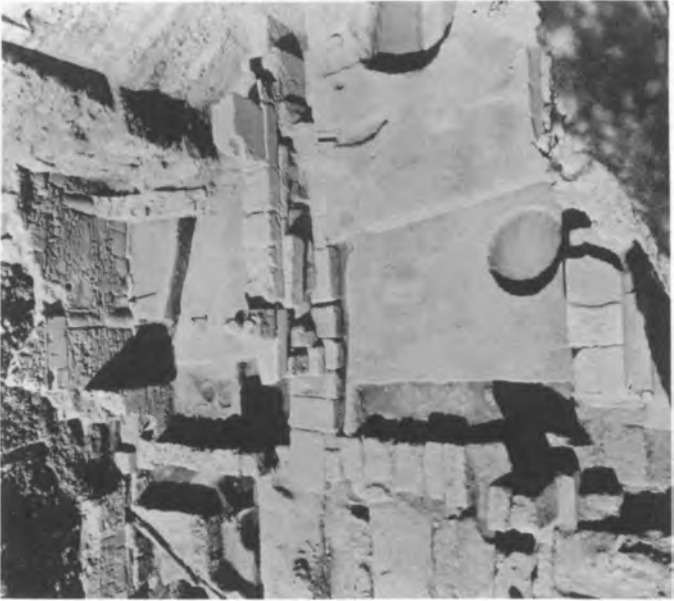
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Pottery from the Votive Deposit



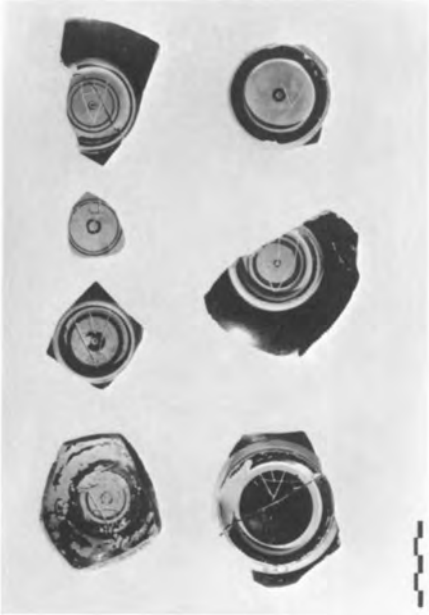
a. Stoa on the Panathenaic Way, East End, from North, showing North Aisle and Room 1. Arrow indicates A 3959 as found



b. Stoa, from West, showing North Aisle and Rooms 1-5



c. Median Wall in Room 1, from South



d. Fragments of "Public Cups" from Kirchen Dump



a. Front



b. Back

Red-figured Column-krater (P 30197)



c. Stoa of the Library of Pantainos, from Northeast, showing Colonnade, Rooms 2-3 of Original Stoa, and Rooms A-G of Late Reconstruction

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a. Stoa of the Library of Pantainos, from West



b. Inscribed Epistyle of Stoa (I 7349)

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a. Late Roman Building, Rooms A-C, from East



b. Rooms A-B, South Wall, from Northeast



a. Stoa, East End, from Northwest, showing Rooms 6-8



b. Steps leading to Roman Agora, from West



a. Grave T 15:2, from North, as found



b. Pottery from Grave T 15:2



d. Grave T 15:1, from North, as found



c. Pottery from Grave T 15:1



a. Front



b. Side

Head of Archaic Kore (S 2476)



c. Head of Archaic Kore (S 2476), Back



d. Mask of Dionysos (S 2485)



a. Front

Terracotta Torso (T 4025)



b. Back



c. Fragmentary Statue of Trajan with Kneeling Dacian (S 2518)



a. Portrait Head (S 2468)



b. Head of Herm (S 2499)

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