

ACTIVITY IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1966-1967

(PLATES 5-17)

INTRODUCTION

THE definitive exploration of the southern part of the Agora was continued in the summer seasons of 1966 and 1967.¹ These "mopping up" operations were

¹ The maintenance of the Agora organization in Athens has been made possible by the use of the interest on the recent grant from the Ford Foundation, the capital of which is reserved for the excavation of the north side of the Agora. The commencement of work in that area has been brought closer by the authorization in November of 1967 on the part of the Greek Government of a substantial credit toward the cost of acquiring the additional property beyond the Athens-Piraeus Railway.

Continuing contributions from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the Old Dominion Foundation are making possible the preparation of additional volumes of the definitive publication.

The fieldwork in the seasons of 1966 and 1967 has been financed by special contributions. The University of Washington in Seattle has not only contributed to the excavation fund but has made available the services of Professor Colin N. Edmonson of the Department of Classics and of two graduate students. Miss Margaret Crosby and Mr. Peter E. Demarest continued their generous support of these operations in both years. Mr. and Mrs. Francis P. Miller and Professor Charles H. Morgan have contributed to the landscaping fund, while Mr. Ralph E. Griswold has given freely of his expert services in supervising additional planting. Deep appreciation is expressed to all these organizations and individuals for their support of non-glamorous but essential parts of the Agora program.

The fieldwork has been supervised by Mr. John McK. Camp of Harvard College, Mr. Gerald V. Lalonde of the University of Washington, Professor and Mrs. T. Leslie Shear, Jr. of Princeton.

Pari passu with the definitive exploration a great deal of measuring and drawing of buildings has been done. Mr. John Travlos as Architect of the American School's Excavations has exercised general oversight and has assumed direct responsibility for some of the monuments. Mr. William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. as Architect of the Agora Excavations has brought many of the other ancient buildings to life with his pencil. The initialled drawings used to illustrate this report represent only a small proportion of their total output. In the summer of 1966 Mr. Weaks G. Smith volunteered his services for sketching the present state of the north side of the Agora and of the Church of the Holy Apostles.

In 1966 the field photography was done by Miss Alison Frantz, in 1967 by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. Mr. James M. Heyle returned in the summer of 1966 to complete the photography of the Agora red figure. In this big undertaking he was greatly helped by the voluntary assistance of Mrs. Shirley Hutcheson.

Among the many volunteer workers who have assisted the enterprise in various ways, especially in the Records Department, may be named Mrs. Mary Nichols, Mrs. Marian McCredie, Miss Ursula Huws, Mrs. Lena Townsend, Miss Virginia Anderson, Miss Elizabeth Zingg, Mrs. Constance Jolly and Mrs. Donna Spieth. Their help has been much appreciated.

Once more we express our appreciation to our official hosts, the Greek Archaeological Service, and in particular to the Ephors, Messrs. Nikolaos Platon, Basileios Kallipolitis and George Dontas who have shown sympathetic understanding and an ever helpful attitude in sharing with the School the condominium over the Agora during the period under review.

on a relatively small scale, consisting largely of probings and soundings, but they have elucidated many problems in the topography, architecture and history of the area.

Among the gains may be noted a better understanding of the pre-Hellenistic history of the southeast corner of the Agora area. The study of South Stoa II has been rounded out by the recovery of the design of the fountain in its rear wall. Two temples of early Roman date have come to light in the open central area of the South Square. The design of South Stoa I of the late 5th century B.C. has been established, and new evidence has been secured for the function of this important old building. A richly furnished burial of the 9th century B.C. has been cleared at the edge of the ancient road outside the southwest corner of the Agora. In the same area has been found a sanctuary that was enclosed with a triangular peribolos in the late 5th century B.C. The early history of one of the principal entrances to the Agora has been explored beneath the west end of the Middle Stoa; this operation brought to light an archaic boundary marker of the Agora, the second such to be found *in situ*. The monument of the Eponymous Heroes received its definitive exploration with significant results for its history. Among the private dwellings to be studied may be mentioned a house splendidly situated on the northwest shoulder of the Areopagus. Measures of conservation were carried out on all the buildings that bordered the south side of the Agora, and some additional planting was done in this area. Finally, the model of the Agora has been brought up to date as of the end of the 1967 season.

THE EAST BUILDING OF THE SOUTH SQUARE

Some additional digging was done in and around the structure that closed the east end of the South Square, particularly in the hope of learning something of the area in pre-Hellenistic times. The excavation below the north end of the building quickly revealed that bedrock had been cut down by the builders of the Middle Stoa to facilitate work along the south side of the Stoa; hence little was learned in this area.

More rewarding was the exploration of the south half of the terrace to the east of the East Building (Pls. 5, a, 16). Although here too the Hellenistic builders had swept away most of the work of their predecessors, enough remained to show that much had taken place in this small area. The detailed account must await the final publication, but a few points of interest may be noted now.

The east front of the East Building was bordered by a terrace about 8.50 m. wide. From the terrace one ascended eastwards to the Panathenaic Way up a long flight of steps of which a few blocks remain in place toward the south end. Stairway and terrace and East Building were drained by an open stone channel that ran from south to north at the foot of the steps. All these elements date from the middle of the 2nd century B.C.

The earliest evidence for habitation in the area is found in a pit or shallow well *ca.* 0.70 x 0.90 m. in plan and *ca.* 2.50 m. deep, the mouth of which is now partially

overlaid by the Hellenistic steps at their extreme south end. The handful of sherds from this shaft are of Mycenaean date.²

Next in date may be put an establishment of which only a small area of pebble-paved floor survived the Hellenistic quarrying. The floor was set down in the bed-rock, and the resulting scarp has preserved the northeast corner of the room. The south side has been utterly destroyed by the Great Drain of the 2nd century B.C. The north-south dimension must have been between 3.20 and 5.20 m. A sounding

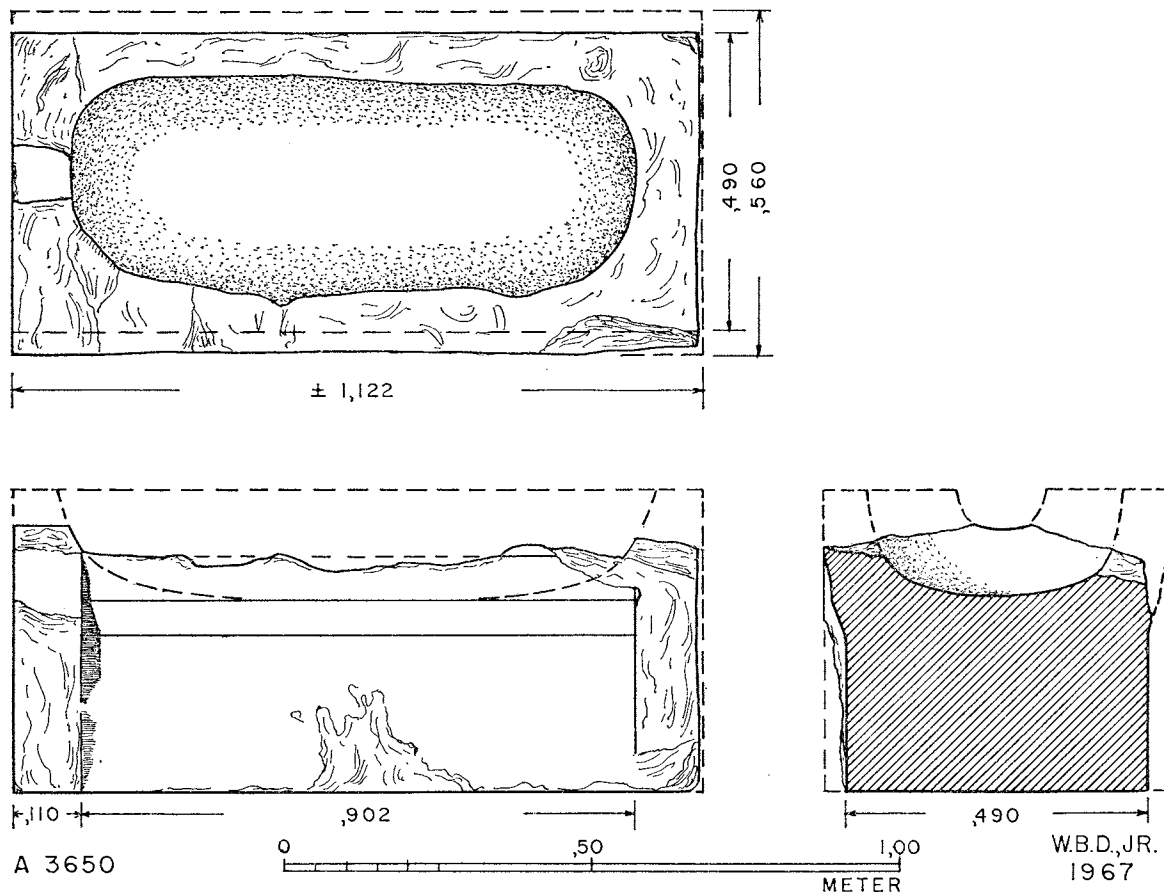


FIG. 1. Poros Wash Basin

below the floor of the East Building has revealed what may be the west end of the room at a distance of *ca.* 8.50 m. from the east end. The floor consisted of thin, water-washed pebbles laid flat on a bedding of clay above dressed rock. At the northeast corner this floor now lies at a depth of *ca.* 0.50 m. below the adjacent bedrock, and the depth must have been considerably greater before the Hellenistic quarrying.

² Very few wells of the Mycenaean period have been encountered beneath the Agora proper. The nearest came to light in 1965 *ca.* 40 m. to the northwest (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 45).

Presumably the floored area was bordered by a built wall of which, however, nothing remains. We have no indication of the date of construction, but the time of abandonment is given by a mass of pottery recovered from the firm earth filling that overlay the cobbled floor. From here too came a number of ostraka to be dealt with below, pp. 117-119. This pottery is consistently of the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. The purpose of the establishment, alas, is as yet completely obscure.

Next in order of date may be mentioned a pair of water basins of poros that were found incorporated as second-hand material in the north wall of the Great Drain of the 2nd century B.C. in its passage below the terrace of the East Building (Fig. 1; Pl. 5, c, d). Pryholes that cannot be connected with either the original or the final use of the basins attest an intermediate period of use as building material. The stone is hard, fine-grained poros, and the workmanship is of a high order.³ Although the rims have been entirely hacked away it is clear that the basins were oval in outline, and quite shallow, occupying less than half the depth of the massive block. Unlike the familiar basins of the Hellenistic period which were profiled only on one side because they were to be set against walls, our pieces are symmetrical with the same simple, angular crowning moulding and projecting legs on either side; they were clearly designed to be accessible from both sides. Carefully worked anathyrosis on both ends of each block and channels cut in the rim at either end show that our pieces formed part of a once longer row of linked basins.

The relatively early date of our basins is clearly shown by their "primitive" shape, for the vertical profile of the front is not likely to have persisted after the introduction of the curved undercut that provided space for the user's toes and that is normal in basins of the Hellenistic period. The anathyrosis on the ends of our blocks is characteristic of the 5th century, and is not likely to be later. We may accordingly date the making of the blocks somewhere within that century.

Our basins are evidently ancestors of those that are familiar in Greek gymnasia from the late 4th century B.C. onward as equipment essential to enable numbers of boys to wash quickly after strenuous exercise.⁴ So characteristic are such basins of the

³ The rim of one of the basins retains traces of a patch that was secured by two iron pins, presumably to make good some defect in the block.

⁴ On this type of basin cf. R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè*, Paris, 1962, pp. 33 f., 130-133. The earliest example cited by Ginouvès is from the Gymnasium of Delphi, dating from the late 4th century B.C., but G. had suspected the existence of the type in Athens already in the 5th century from a representation on a red-figured vase. An early parallel for the two-sided basins in the Agora is a series at Olympia comprising two complete and one fragmentary basin (H. Schleif and R. Eilmann, *Olympia Bericht* IV, 1944, p. 8, fig. 3; J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Paris, 1960, p. 109; Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè*, p. 132, note 5. Mr. C. K. Williams has kindly provided me with some excellent photographs). The Olympia basins have a curved undercut between vertical legs. One of them was evidently the last unit in a series since it has a finished end. Two of the blocks were found in the Gymnasium where they were undoubtedly used. But the admirable workmanship

gymnasium that their discovery in a given place immediately suggests the existence of a gymnasium in the neighborhood. In the present instance, to be sure, we must be cautious, having in mind that our basins had been re-used twice after ceasing to serve their original purpose. On the other hand, among much re-used material in the foundations of the East Building are a couple of poros wall blocks with longitudinal channels for water in their tops, precisely the arrangement that one would expect in the building in which the basins were originally installed. These blocks, like the basins, also give indication of an intermediate period of re-use. As to the source of the water, the only one of sufficiently early date in the area of the Agora is the round water pipe of the late 6th century B.C. that supplied the Southeast Fountain House.⁵ Here we may recall a curious change that was long ago observed in the arrangements for the disposal of the overflow from the fountain house. Originally a Y-shaped pipe-line of terracotta collected the water from the two end basins and carried it first northward, then eastward. The continuation of this line has been traced beneath the Library of Pantainos; the water was evidently to be used at some point outside the Agora. At a later date, but apparently within the 5th century, the original line was replaced by another, likewise made of round terracotta pipes. The new line began like the old with a Y, but the stem of the Y led more toward the west. This line has been traced only *ca.* 10 m. north of the Fountain House; farther north it was destroyed by the quarrying for the terrace of the East Building, and nothing more has been found of it.

The collation of these scattered bits of evidence suggests that at some time within the 5th century an establishment in the nature of a gymnasium was erected on the lower ground to the northwest of the archaic fountain house where its wash-room could be supplied by diverting the overflow from the fountain house. This structure would have been demolished early in the program for revamping the South Square, and some of its material, after a first re-use for some temporary purpose, would have been incorporated in the new course of the Great Drain and in the East Building. In view of the paucity of evidence we can scarcely hope for greater precision, but enough remains to suggest the existence of a predecessor to the Gymnasium of Ptolemy which, there is now reason to believe, stood in this area.

Ptolemy's Gymnasium, on the other hand, was probably the source of another series of three poros washbasins of the normal Hellenistic type which were re-used in the early Roman period in various structures at the southeast corner of the East Building (Pl. 5, b). These too were connected in series, but they were one-sided, clearly to be set against a wall, and their fronts are undercut in a deep curve. Here

suggests a date well before that currently accepted for the Gymnasium, viz. late 3rd or 2nd century B.C. The third basin came to light north of the Prytaneion. It is tempting to believe that the whole series was made for a predecessor of the Hellenistic Gymnasium.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XXV, 1956, p. 50.

again the argument from find-place must be used with caution since we are once more dealing with re-used material which, theoretically, might have been brought from some distant place. But the fact that three separate basins are represented among the fragments found in a limited area strongly suggests that they originated near by, and the most likely provenance is some part of the complex now identified as the Gymnasium of Ptolemy.

We resume our historical narrative. About 400 B.C. is to be dated Great Drain I the course of which has been traced in a diagonal line beneath the terrace of the East Building to a point beneath the east end of the Middle Stoa whence it swung abruptly westward (Pl. 16). After a service of just over two centuries the course of this drain was altered so as to pass beneath the East Building and thence westward beneath the open area of the South Square: Great Drain II. Close study of the terrain bordering the early course of the drain shows that the drain followed the line of a heavily travelled thoroughfare. It may be supposed in fact to have run beneath the Panathenaic Way as it existed before the eastward shift necessitated by the construction of the Middle Stoa. The drain is bordered by a row of rectangular pits sunk into the bedrock, in some cases with deeper circular pits inside the rectangles. These cuttings correspond with others found to either side of the Panathenaic Way both to the north and the south; they were intended in all probability to support the wooden bleachers erected for the convenience of spectators watching the events of the Panathenaic Festival.

TEMPLES IN THE SOUTH SQUARE

An interesting development in the exploration of the South Square has been the emergence in the middle of the open area of two buildings that can scarcely be other than temples (Pl. 16).⁶ The larger and more easterly of the two is probably also the earlier. The wish of the builders was presumably to center the structures as nearly as possible between the stoas that bordered the square to north and south. In both cases, however, cognizance had to be taken of the presence of the east branch of the Great Drain that ran under the square on a slightly oblique line from east to west. The southwest corner of each building encroaches, to be sure, on the line of the drain, but only the weight of the steps, not of the walls or columns, came down on the cover of the cloaca. The necessity of avoiding the drain will perhaps account also for the fact that the small building was set so close to its older and larger neighbor. Both buildings are extremely ruinous, having been stripped of virtually all their good masonry in late Roman times.

The eastern building measured 13.18 x 22.94 m. on its lowest foundation,

⁶ The smaller building and part of the larger were explored in the Summer of 1966 by the undersigned. The work on the larger was completed by John Travlos in the autumn of that year. It was he who succeeded in the difficult task of fixing the limits of the building.

12.32 x 22.42 m. on its bottom step. The site was prepared by planing down the soft bedrock and filling hollows and soft spots with broken stone bedded in clay. Then was laid a continuous course of large re-used blocks of which thirteen remain in place. The periphery was defined by a row of poros blocks laid as headers; within this border the blocks, insofar as they survive, were of conglomerate. The face of the first step retreated from the face of the foundation course *ca.* 0.30 m. on east and south, 0.25 on the west and 0.55 on the north. The careful bedding suggests that this step was of marble, and working chips of Pentelic marble were in fact observed at an appropriate level along the east front of the building. The uniformity in the foundation on all four sides leaves little doubt that the steps ran all around, but in the interior no pattern emerges from the traces left by the levelling course to help in the placing of walls or columns. The proportions are thoroughly appropriate to a temple, but whether there were columns all around or only at the east end remains a question. None of the superstructure has yet been recognized with certainty.

To the east of the East Temple and slightly to the south of its axis is a rectangular monument base measuring *ca.* 1.30 x 2.00 m. The employment of re-used material like that in the foundation of the temple and a close correspondence in ground level indicate the close contemporaneity of monument and building. No foundation for an altar has been observed, but the critical area has been terribly disturbed by the deep foundations of the Late Roman Gymnasium. A small round altar of Hymettian marble with a delicately carved base moulding found at a low level near the southeast corner of the temple may have some connection.

The evidence for dating the East Temple is extremely limited. The most significant indication is the close similarity in the nature of their foundations between this building and the Temple of Ares in the northwest corner of the Agora. In both cases the ground was prepared in the same way; the foundation material consists entirely of re-used blocks of poros and conglomerate; the lowest course is outlined by a row of headers, and a continuous platform was constructed without indication of the positions of walls or columns. In neither case was any mortar used in the foundations. The Ares temple was brought in from elsewhere and set up in the Agora in the time of Augustus, probably *ca.* 15 B.C. In the light of our present knowledge we may conjecture a roughly contemporary date for the East Temple.⁷

⁷ In view of the similarity in the foundations one should consider whether the superstructure of the East Temple like that of the Temple of Ares may not have consisted of re-used material. In this connection it may be noted that small fragments from the distinctive marble superstructure of the Temple of Athena at Sounion have been found within short distances of the East Temple: a fragment of capital (A 644) in area L 15; a second fragment of capital (A1976) in area N 14 and a fragment of epistyle (A 2004) in area Q 15. Numerous elements of the columns of the Athena temple were found incorporated in the Late Roman Fortification near the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos, i.e. *ca.* 75 m. to the east of the East Temple. This Sounion material was previously believed to have been brought to Athens for re-use in the Southwest Temple of the Agora because of the discovery among the ruins of that building of a geison from the Sounion series.

The smaller west building is very different from the eastern in both plan and construction. The foundations measure overall *ca.* 10 x 12.60 m., and an interior cross foundation attests a shallow porch facing east. In this case the foundations were confined to the lines of walls and colonnades. A trench 1.60 to 1.80 m. wide was dug through earth to bedrock and was refilled with layer after layer of small boulders bedded in clay. On top of this packing was laid a levelling course of large, re-used poros blocks of which four remain in place at the west end of the building. A small area of mortared underpinning for a marble floor has been noted in the porch, but there is nothing comparable in the cella. In the complete absence of elements from the superstructure the plan of the porch must remain conjectural.

The placing of the West Temple in relation to the East Temple and the drain may be taken to imply a later date for the small building. The distinctive technique used in the subfoundations is not in itself susceptible of close dating,⁸ but the absence of lime mortar would favor a date fairly early in the Roman period. A little pottery found in association with the foundations is not later than the 1st century after Christ. We may hazard for the construction of the building a date in the 1st or early 2nd century.

Both temples presumably suffered in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, and both were probably stripped soon thereafter by the builders of the new fortifications. The pillaging was carried still further when the great gymnasium was erected on the spot at the beginning of the 5th century.

We have as yet no clue to the identification of the temples. Their construction, however, is an interesting indication of a revival of interest in the area of the Gymnasium of Ptolemy which had suffered so grievously at the time of the Roman sack in 86 B.C.⁹

SOUTH STOA I

This venerable building which closed the south side of the Agora for two and one half centuries had been first recognized by Eugene Vanderpool in 1936 and subsequently excavated in large part under the direction of Miss Margaret Crosby in the years 1952 and 1953.¹⁰ The exploration was completed in the past two years

The geison, however, is very battered, and may well have been re-used many times; hence its evidence must be used with caution. On the importation of elements of old temples into the Agora in early Roman times cf. H. A. Thompson, *A.J.A.*, LXVI, 1962, p. 200; *Agora Guide*², pp. 56, 68 f., 90.

⁸ The same technique was employed in a large monument base set against the east end of the Middle Stoa (Pl. 5, a). This base would appear to have been sited in relation to the roadway that was laid out between the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos at the time of the construction of the Library, i.e. *ca.* A.D. 100.

⁹ *Hesperia*, XXIX, 1960, pp. 360-362; XXXV, 1966, pp. 43 f.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f.; XXII, 1953, pp. 28 f.; XXIII, 1954, pp. 39-45; *Guide*², pp. 100 f.

under the oversight of John M. Camp. In 1966 the back wall of the stoa was cleared as far as preserved, and the original length of the building was established. A stratigraphic study of the individual rooms was carried out in 1967.

The ground plan of the building may now be regarded as established (Pl. 17). It comprised a row of square rooms that faced north through individual doors on a two-aisled colonnade (Pl. 6, a, b). The total width was 14.89 m. Of the inner row of columns five bedding blocks remain *in situ*; they are spaced 3.49 m. center to center. The outer colonnade is now reduced to a short length of foundation bedding, several fragmentary blocks of the stylobate and one half of a Doric column capital of poros.¹¹ It is assumed that the spacing of the outer columns was half that of the inner, viz. 1.745 m. This seems extraordinarily close, but the lower diameter of the outer columns is also surprisingly small: 0.53 m. The architect may have been influenced by the difficulty of securing good stone for longer epistylia; the construction of the building in general is marked by an evident need for economy. Another assumption is that the inner columns were Ionic as usual in two-aisled stoas from the late 5th century onward. The imprint left by the base measures 0.57 m. in diameter.

In the back of the building twelve rooms are preserved in whole or in part, the western end of the series having been utterly cut away in the quarrying for South Stoa II. In order to assure a harmonious coordination of inner colonnade, outer colonnade and rooms we must restore the building with an overall length of 80.47 m. This results in a total of 22 inner and 45 outer columns and 15 rooms. The design is satisfactory in that it leaves a passage of reasonable width (*ca.* 8.50 m.) between the Stoa and its older neighbor to the west.

Equally satisfactory is the resulting symmetry in the series of rooms. The middle room, the eighth from either end, is now seen to have been given special treatment by the insertion of a narrow anteroom, 1.455 m. wide, at its east side. There are sockets for the double doors that opened into the anteroom from the colonnade. The position of a doorway between anteroom and main room is indicated by pryholes in the toichobate; there is no trace here of an actual door though the opening may well have been fitted with curtains. The north wall of the main room is too ruinous to afford evidence of an opening. It appears likely, however, that originally this wall was unbroken, and that consequently the main room was accessible only by way of the anteroom. Such suites of rooms are commonly found in contemporary domestic architecture, notably in the *andrones* or dining-rooms of Olynthos, the intention being to assure greater privacy for those in the main room and to provide suitable space for attendants.¹² The decision to insert the anteroom apparently came

¹¹ *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 40, fig. 3.

¹² D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, *The Hellenic House*, Baltimore, 1938, pp. 176 f. A well preserved example of a similar suite is to be seen in one of the private houses dating from *ca.* 300 B.C. to the south of the Areopagus; *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 52.

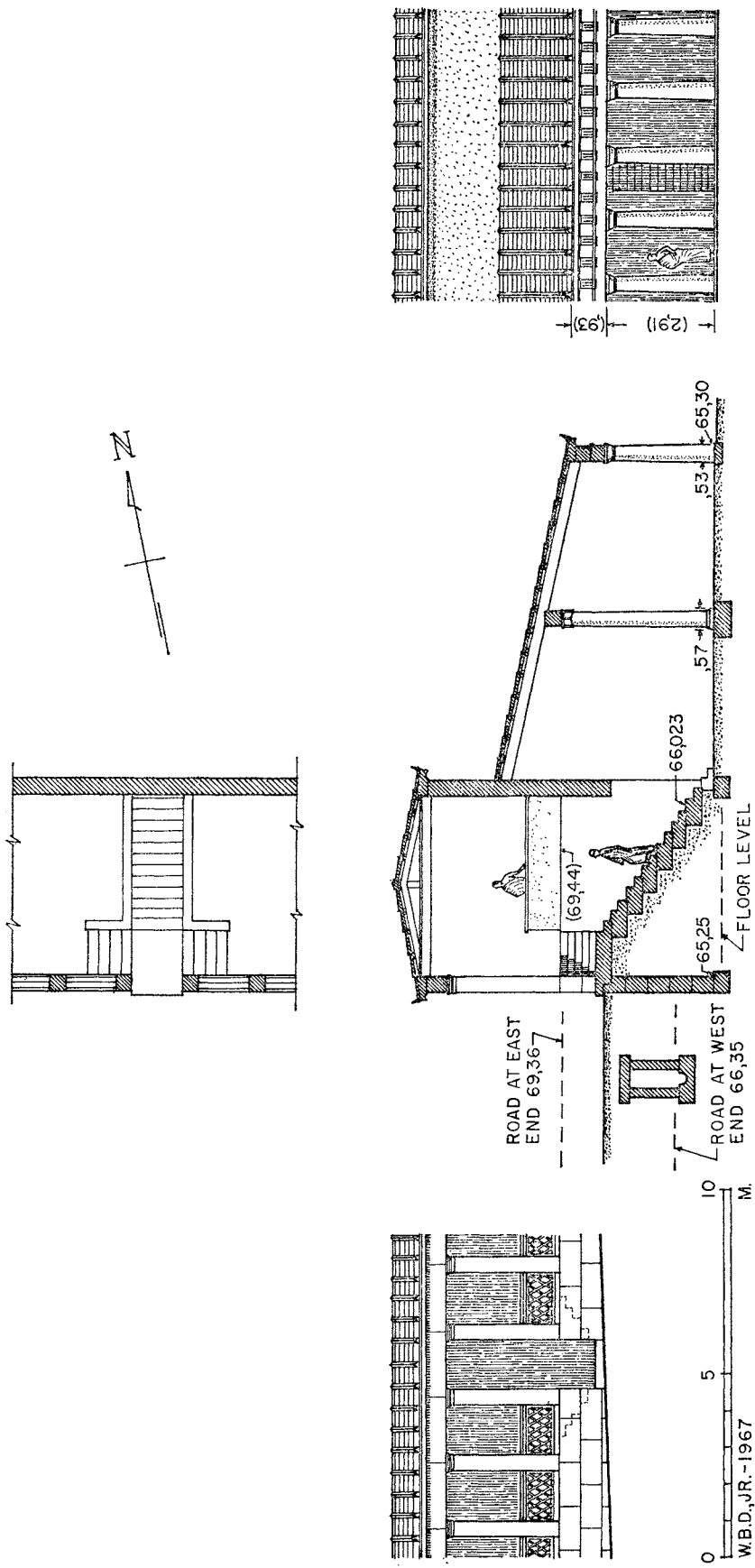


FIG. 2. South Stoa I, Details of Middle part of Building. Restored

late in the building program. The original intention would appear to have been a series of fifteen rooms each 4.86 m. square internally. The first six rooms from the east end were made "normal." Thereafter the width was reduced by *ca.* 0.15 m.; the sum of nine such reductions yields the width of the anteroom: $9 \times 0.15 \text{ m.} = 1.45 \text{ m.}$

At some time late in the history of the Stoa a stairway was inserted in the anteroom to the central chamber (Fig. 2). Two steps cut from re-used poros blocks remain in place. They overlie the original clay floor of the anteroom and the sockets for its doors. The stairway led up from north to south. It was presumably intended to permit passage through the building from the colonnade to the road that ran at a high level along the south flank of the Stoa. Had this been the sole intention, however, the start of the stair would probably have been kept within the anteroom. The evident need to lengthen the stair is most easily explained on the assumption that it was designed also to give access both from the colonnade and from the road to an upper floor in the Stoa. A conjectural restoration is suggested in Figure 2.¹³ Here it is assumed that the lower flight of the stairway was of stone masonry while the upper flights, leading both east and west, were of wood, a combination of materials commonly found in the stairways of the contemporary houses of Delos.¹⁴

The existence of an upper storey, at least in the rear of the building, is called for by a consideration of levels (Figs. 2, 3). The road that bordered the south side of the Stoa rose fairly steeply from west to east. At the time of construction the level of the road at the west end was *ca.* 1 m. higher than the stylobate of the colonnade, at the east end *ca.* 4 m. higher. If one assumes for a moment that the building was one-storeyed, the cornice, the level of which could be fixed approximately from the proportions of the front order, would have grazed the road at the southeast corner of the Stoa: a manifestly intolerable situation. Hence we must discard the assumption of a single storey and move on to consider the restoration of an upper storey.

We must admit at the outset that no architectural members from an upper storey have been found, or at least recognized. However, in view of the frugal construction of the building, the upper storey probably consisted largely of crude brick and timber, and in any case even of the indubitable lower storey only the slightest remnants have been recovered. The main lines of the restoration evolve from certain basic considerations. Inasmuch as there is no trace of communication between the upper and the lower storeys in the original form of the building we must suppose that access to the upper storey was from the road on the south side. The logical point of

¹³ A similar arrangement was worked out in the early Roman period in the southernmost room of the Stoa of Attalos. A stair led up from the lower to the upper colonnade in two flights. At the level of the landing between the two flights a doorway was opened in the back wall of the Stoa to give access to the higher ground behind the Stoa. This stair has been reconstituted in the reconstruction of the Stoa.

¹⁴ J. Chamonard, *Délos*, VIII, 1924, pp. 305-318.

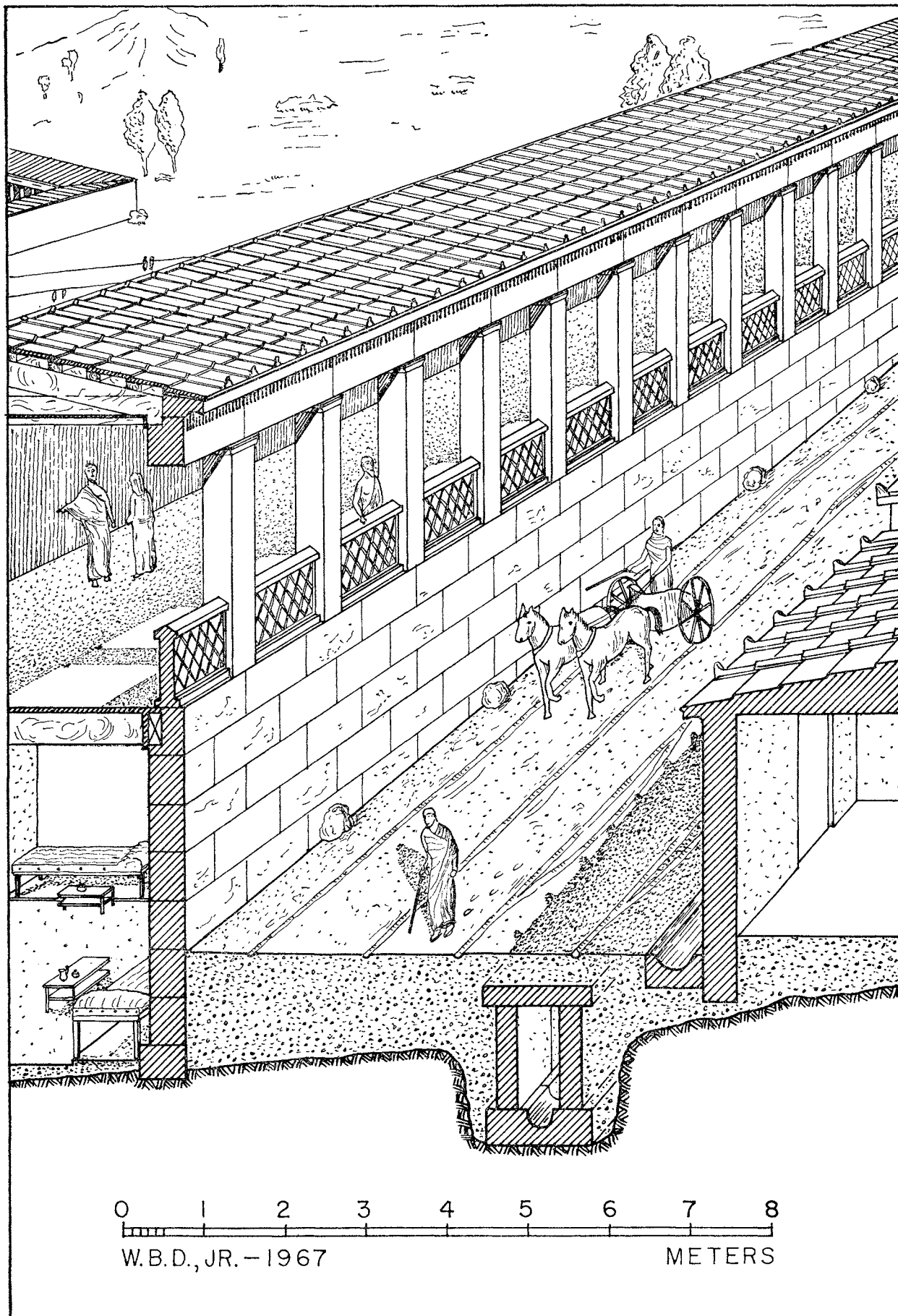


FIG. 3. South Stoa I, Restored Perspective. View from Southwest

entry would have been the place where the grade of the road most closely approximated the level of the upper floor of the building. This was obviously toward the east end of the Stoa.¹⁵ Since we have no way of fixing the exact level of the upper floor we cannot hope for a precise solution, but a level of *ca.* 69.44 m. above sea level for that floor would make access from the road easy, would permit of a plausible reconstruction of the stairway that was inserted in the anteroom to Room VIII and would result in a reasonable ceiling height for the rooms of the lower storey, (i.e. *ca.* 4.35 m.).

A long narrow monument base was erected against the south wall of the Stoa soon after its construction at a point opposite the crosswall between Rooms III and IV (Pl. 17). Part of the poros euthynteria course remains above a deep underpinning of broken stone. At ground level the base measured *ca.* 1.25 x 4.20 m. The massive nature of the foundation and the symmetrical disposition of its blocks exclude the restoration of a stairway. But a point close to the entrance to the building would have been an appropriate site for some important monument.

While the restoration of a second storey above the south part of the building appears to be required by the evidence, any attempt to carry the second storey over the colonnade will encounter a major difficulty. The appreciably greater lower diameter of the inner columns, irrespective of whether they be restored as Doric or Ionic, means that the inner columns were significantly higher than the outer. This in itself rules out the restoration of a horizontal floor at an upper level. The very flimsy underpinning of these interior columns (a single thin slab of poros resting in some cases at least only on earth fill) also warns us against supposing that they carried any great weight. A simple shed roof rising to abut against the north wall of the upper storey of the south part will meet the basic requirements (Fig. 2.). In this simple building and in this early period the rafters would undoubtedly have been exposed throughout their length.

Since the upper storey is thus confined to the narrow south part of the building, the most probable restoration is a long, narrow gallery opening through windows southward on the road. For the nature of the architectural details the evidence simply does not exist.¹⁶

¹⁵ A similar situation occurred in the Stoa of Attalos. Since the roadway in front of the building sloped up from north to south the entrance was put at the point where the levels of the Stoa terrace and the roadway coincided even though this meant having the entrance at one end of a very long building.

¹⁶ A comparable solution for the adaptation of a two-storeyed structure to an abrupt difference in ground level was perhaps employed in the West Building of the Argive Heraion (C. Waldstein, *The Argive Heraeum*, Cambridge, Mass., 1902, pp. 131-134, pls. XXIV-XXVI; P. Amandry, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 239-254; R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'agora grecque*, Paris, 1951, p. 484). The late archaic date of the building seems well established. Perhaps the most plausible reconstruction would be to put a second storey above the rooms with couches in the north block but to make the whole of the peristyle one-storeyed. This is certainly the solution followed in the 4th century B.C. under somewhat comparable circumstances at the Sanctuary of Asklepios in Corinth (C. Roebuck,

In the season of 1967 the interiors of all the surviving rooms were excavated down to bedrock though in each case a strip of the stratified accumulation was left along one side of the room. One will recall that the rooms were square, measuring *ca.* 4.86 m. to the side. The floors were normally of clean brown clay surfaced in some cases with a thin wash of white clay. From time to time the surfacing was renewed by laying another layer of clay (Pl. 7, a). This process was repeated as many as four or five times, especially from the late 4th century onward. The doorways were about 1.20 m. wide, framed in wood and closed by two-leaved doors. The original thresholds, too, were probably of wood. Beneath the middle of the threshold a gap of 0.15 to 0.36 m. wide was left in the stone foundation, presumably for drainage. In several of the rooms are rectangular areas roughly paved with stone or broken roof tiles. Elsewhere, set into the clay floors, are isolated bedding blocks of rudely dressed stone or series of such blocks. All these arrangements attest the existence of furnishings of various kinds the nature of which we cannot hope to learn. In Room X, in the very middle of the room, was a miniature hearth made of the upper part of a wine jar imbedded upside down in the floor; it was full of wood ash. A depression probably for another such hearth was noted in Room I. In most of the rooms, especially at the lower levels, enough ash overlay the floors to indicate the use of fire, presumably in portable braziers, for heating or cooking.

Another distinctive feature in the furnishing of the rooms was brought to light by the exploration of 1967. In Room V (Pl. 7, b) in its original form the floor on all four sides was raised *ca.* 0.05 m. in a border that projected in *ca.* 0.85 m. from the euthynteria, i.e. *ca.* 1.00 m. from the wall (Figure 4). This border was surfaced with cement studded with pebbles above a layer of fist-sized stones; in the middle of the room the floor was covered with a thin layer of plain cement. On the north side the raised border was interrupted in front of the door to facilitate washing the floor. This is the normal design for the floor of a dining room in the classical period (Fig. 5). The raised border with its reinforced floor supported wooden couches, in our case seven in number, while the cement surfacing and the arrangement for drainage made cleaning easy.¹⁷

Such treatment of the floor is positively attested only for Room V, and it is unlikely that a floor of this nature would have vanished without trace had it existed

Corinth, XIV, *The Asklepieion and Lerna*, Princeton, 1951, Plans A-D). Here a second storey is certainly to be restored above a suite of rooms equipped with couches and bordered by a one-storeyed peristyle. One may venture to suspect a similar solution at Brauron where an inscription affords good reason to believe in a second storey above the rooms with couches whereas the adjoining stoa was certainly one storeyed (*Εργον*, 1961 [1962], pp. 20-26, fig. 22, pl. 1). The building is dated in the late 5th century B.C. In the Hellenistic period irregular building sites stimulated much more daring and ingenious solutions. Cf. R. E. Wycherley, *How the Greeks built Cities*, 2nd ed., London, 1962, pp. 116 f.

¹⁷ On the andron cf. *Olynthus*, VIII, pp. 171-185.

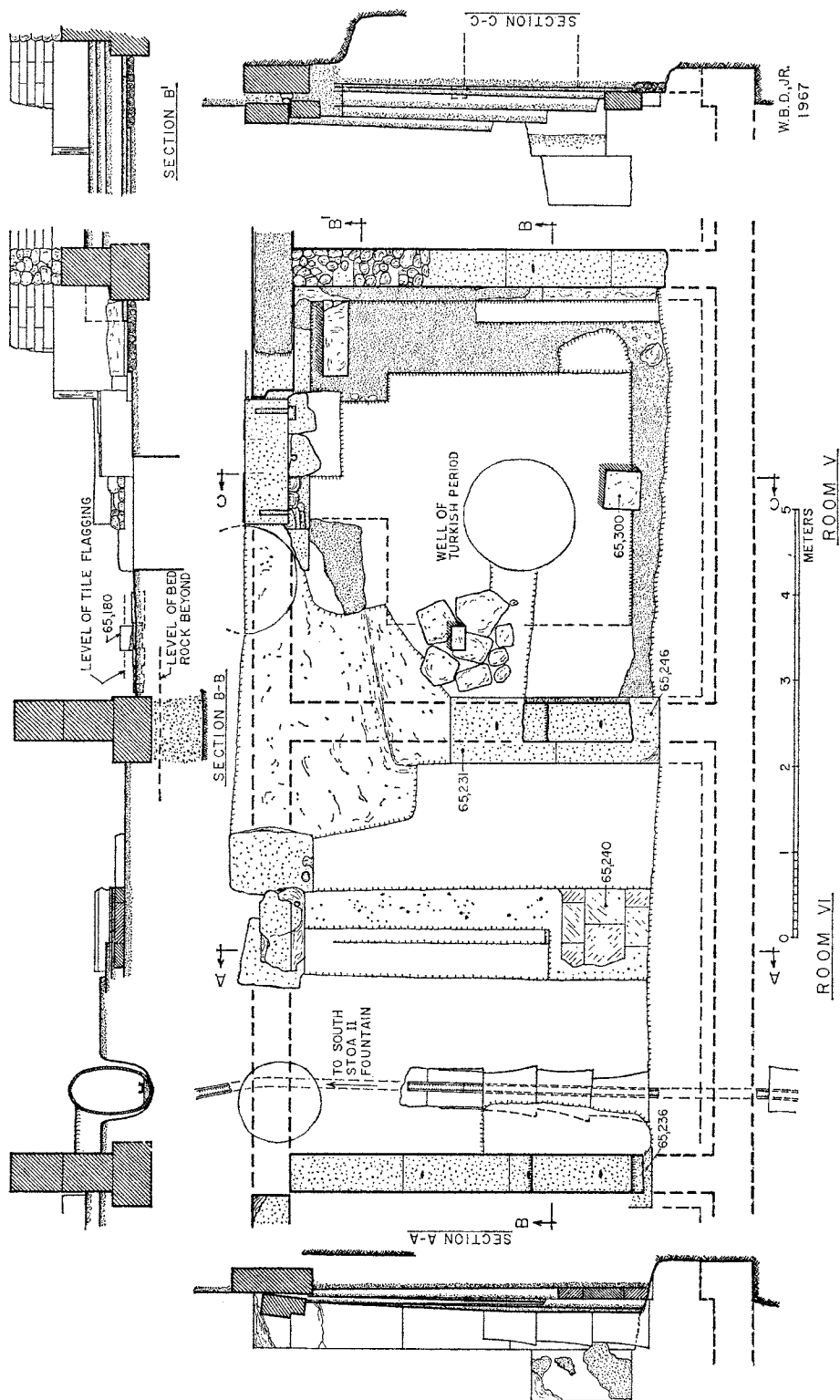


Fig. 4. South Stoa, I, Rooms V and VI. Plan and Sections

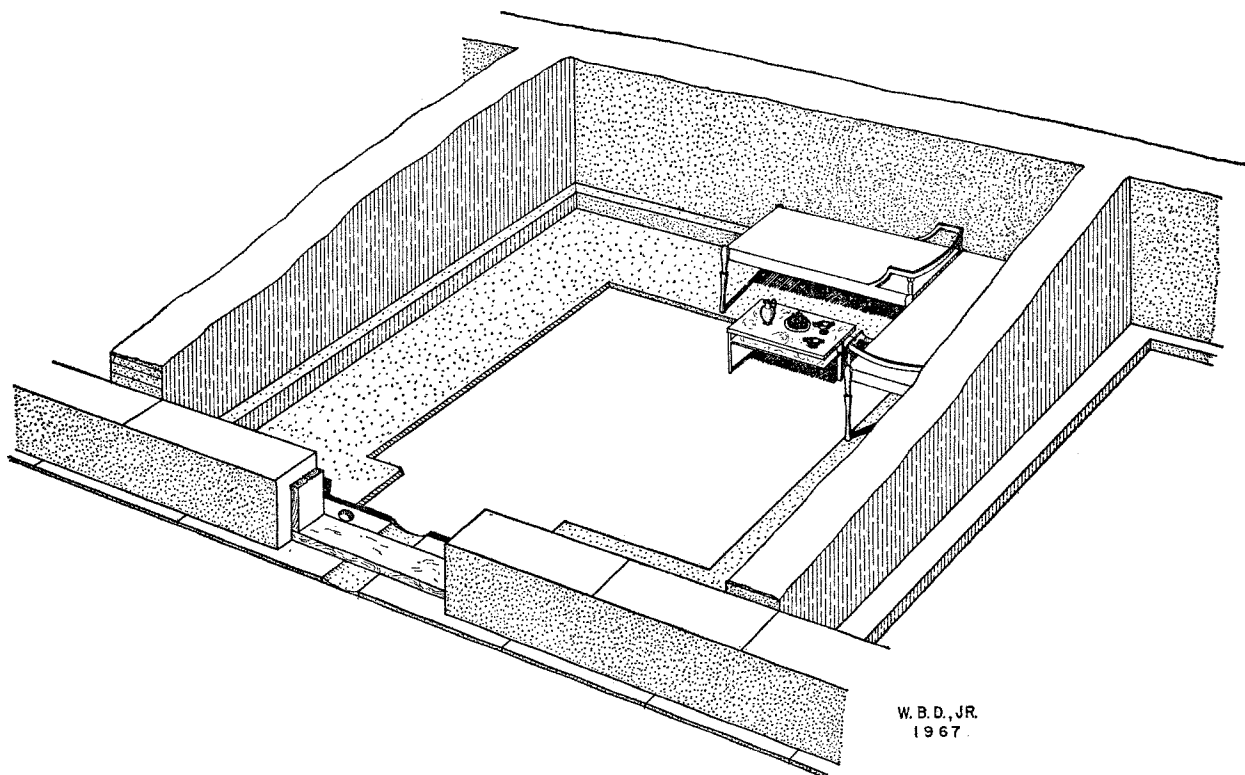


FIG. 5. South Stoa I, Room V in Period of Couches

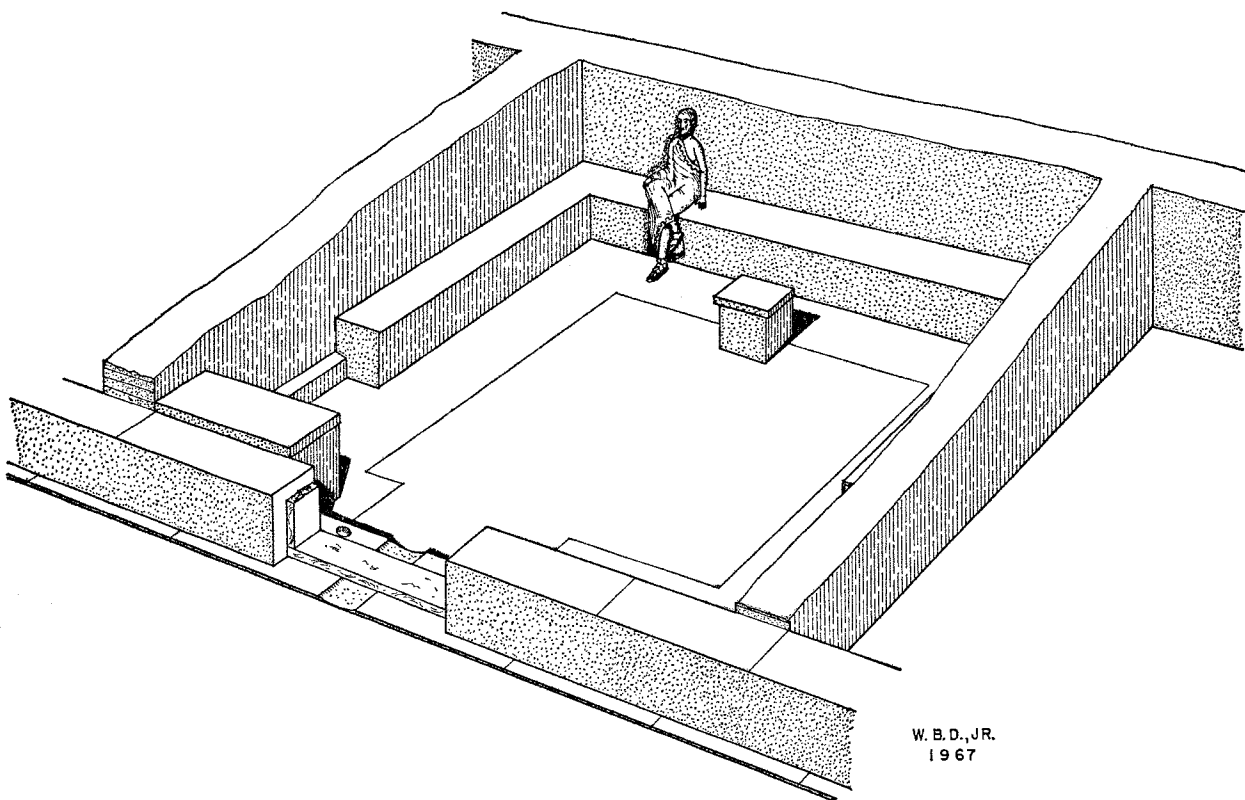


FIG. 6. South Stoa I, Room V in Period of Benches

in any of the other preserved rooms, i.e. Nos. I-X. On the other hand, the architect had evidently been instructed to design a series of rooms any one of which could if necessary be fitted out as a dining room. Thus the dimensions of the rooms for all practical purposes are uniform. Significant too is the fact that in all cases where the evidence exists the door was placed off center in such a way as to permit the couches to be arranged most compactly and to allow every diner to recline on his left side. Another small but significant detail is the regular occurrence of the drainage outlet beneath the thresholds, again a characteristic feature of dining rooms.

In the late 4th or early 3rd century the dining arrangement was abandoned in Room V and was replaced by seating associated with one of the later clay floors that extended over the raised borders (Fig. 6). The remains of a bench *ca.* 0.42 m. wide and 0.44 m. high were observed along the east side of the room. On this side the bench was confined to the south half of the wall. It may have continued across the south side of the room and along its west side, but this is uncertain. In Room IX there are clear traces of a similar bench along the east, west and south sides. In this room too these benches are associated with a later floor; but at a lower level, along the south side at least, are traces of a bench contemporary with the original floor. The benches were built up of clay, reinforced in places with small stones, and covered with plain plaster. Their dimensions are appropriate to their use as seats.

A simple consideration of levels will show that the area in front of the building must have been supported by a retaining wall which was entirely removed by the builders of South Stoa II (Pls. 16, 17). This would have allowed a terrace commanding a splendid view over the early square.

As work proceeded on the remodelling of the South Square in the 2nd century B.C. the old stoa was abandoned. Layers of marble working chips above the latest clay floors in several of the rooms suggest that they were occupied by stone cutters until such time as the building was actually demolished to make way for South Stoa II. Since this was a deliberate program, there was time to remove the furnishings; hence only very meager gleanings remained for the excavators.

Among the objects found in the rooms may be noted two heads of Pentelic marble. These lay among broken roof tiles on top of the uppermost floor in Room V. Both are broken and so battered as to make it questionable whether they have any significant connection with the building. One is a female head a little under half life size (Pl. 8 a, b).¹⁸ An ample mass of wavy hair billows out from under a *sakkos*. The restrained modelling of the face, the shallow eyes with convex balls and the utter lack of expression point to a date in the late 5th century. The other head, slightly over half life size, comes from a youthful satyr as shown by the pointed ears and characteristic grin (Pl. 8 c, d).¹⁹ The front locks are sketchily modelled while the back hair, behind a simple head band, is merely roughed out. Despite the mutilation and dis-

¹⁸ Inv. 2 2224. Preserved height 0.132 m.; height from chin to crown 0.113 m.

¹⁹ Inv. S 2225. Preserved height 0.185 m.; height from chin to crown 0.16 m.

coloration one can still enjoy the sensitive articulation of face and brow and the fine surface finish. Since the context precludes a date below *ca.* 150 B.C., the head may be placed in the early Hellenistic period.

Fragments of an inscribed marble base (I 7015) for a small votive offering were found in the pillaged south wall of the Stoa in the area of Rooms V and VI (Fig. 7; Pl. 9, b). The pieces come from the flaring top of a columnar shaft. A deep rectangular cavity must have held the tenon of some marble offering, presumably a rectangular slab with a relief. The inscription, cut on the vertical fascia surrounding the capital, was carefully centered on the rectangular socket. The letter forms point to a date in the second half of the 4th century B.C. Only the beginning and end of the inscription remain: Η [.] θησαν. Between the initial Η and the beginning of the verb of dedication there were only three letter spaces: clearly not enough to accommodate both dedicators and recipient. Nor in fact can one find the names of suitable dedicators beginning with Η. We are driven therefore to restore the name of an appropriate divinity four letters in length in the dative case and beginning with Η. The only serious possibility is Hero, and this may be regarded as little short of certain.²⁰ Lacking the dedication we can scarcely hope to learn the hero's name. The identity of the dedicators was presumably indicated in some way by the object that was dedicated. In view of the remarkable freshness of the marble we may be sure that the dedication stood indoors, in all probability within the South Stoa.

Another inscribed marble (I 7030) came to light in Room III imbedded in the surface of the uppermost floor (Pl. 9, a). This proved to be the upper part of a stele recording a *traditio* made by the Commissioners of Weights and Measures (*Metro-nomoi*) of the year 222/1 B.C. It is discussed by Eugene Vanderpool below pp. 73-76.

Finally, among the objects found in the Stoa may be mentioned a sprinkling of coins. Thus the examination of the floors within the rooms in the season of 1967 alone brought to light about two hundred coins with as many as 27 coming from a single room. These were small Athenian bronze pieces imbedded in the successive clay floors. In view of the limited area of the exploration the numbers are perhaps large enough to indicate that money was used in the rooms.

The additional evidence gathered in the course of the past two seasons tends to confirm the date of construction proposed earlier, viz. the latter part of the 5th century B.C. In studying this building one can scarcely speak of architectural style, but the pottery found in the construction fill beneath the original floors regularly breaks off early in the last quarter of the century. It is interesting in this connection that the one silver coin from the building, an Athenian drachm found below the earliest floor of Room VIII, should also be compatible with such a date (Pl. 9, c, d).²¹

²⁰ I am indebted to Benjamin D. Meritt for the suggestion.

²¹ Section T, July 20, 1967, no. 12. Weight 3.9 grams. Cf. J. N. Svoronos, *Les Monnaies d'Athènes*, I, 1923, pl. 11, 19-26, time of the Peloponnesian War to 429 B.C. The profile eye is more apparent than real.

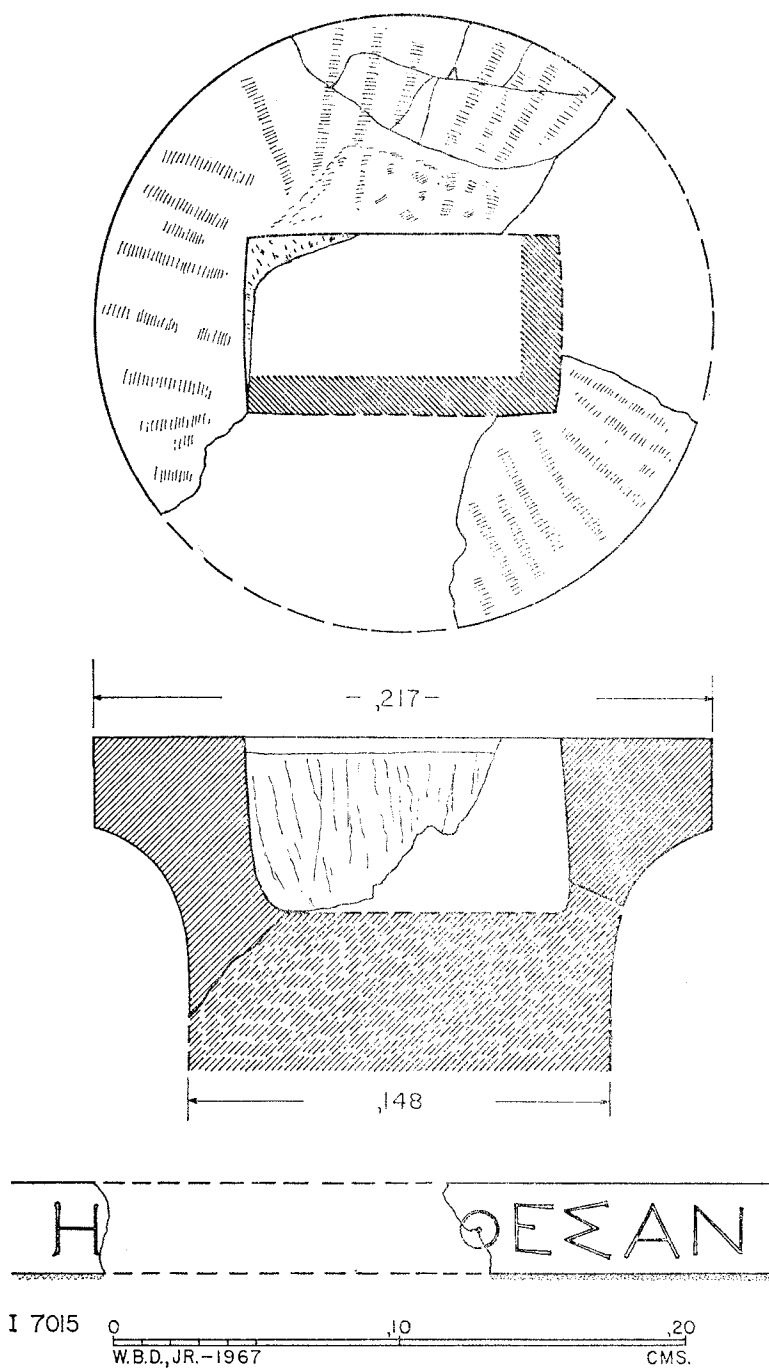


FIG. 7. Inscribed Pedestal for Offering, from South Stoa I

More difficult to determine than the date of the building are its function and name. Here too, however, the results of the recent exploration have lent support to an earlier suggestion, *viz.* that the rooms served as headquarters for administrative bodies.²² Particularly significant is the combination of rooms equipped with benches and rooms designed for dining, both now well attested. Such accommodation would have met the needs of Athenian officialdom who were accustomed to having their offices and lunch rooms in convenient proximity. The three establishments mentioned by the authors as places where common meals were served, i.e. *syssitia*, were the Prytaneion, the Tholos and the Thesmotheteion. The Prytaneion, as is shown by Pausanias' references (I, 18, 3-4), stood well up on the north slope of the Acropolis, i.e. in close proximity to the center of life in the early community. With the foundation of the Agora of classical times the prytaneis moved down and established their syssition close to the scene of their daily activity. The site of their new building, the Tholos, is of course well established: it stood in immediate proximity to the Agora and to the Bouleuterion in which they discharged their principal official duties. We have no direct evidence for the location of the third syssition, the Thesmotheteion, which, according to Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.*, 3, 5), from the time of Solon was the headquarters of the board of archons, i.e. the three archons and six thesmothetai.

In the Roman period citizens who had served as thesmothetai made dedications to Apollo in his shrine below the cliffs on the northwest shoulder of the Acropolis which suggests that the headquarters of the thesmothetai, like those of the prytaneis, had once been in this locality. It stands to reason, however, that the archons and the thesmothetai would have responded in the same way as the prytaneis to the shift in the center of gravity since their official duties, like those of the prytaneis, were henceforth centered in the Agora.

The focal point of civic administration in the classical Agora is now shown by many indications to have been the southwest corner of the square. Hence we should look for the headquarters of the principal administrative boards close to this area. The border of the square to the west was occupied by the Tholos and by a building which has been tentatively but plausibly identified as the Strategeion. For the Thesmotheteion, therefore, we should logically seek a site on the adjacent south side of the square. Since we now have an early building of appropriate type in this position we are compelled to consider seriously its identification with the Thesmotheteion. The whole building, to be sure, would seem more capacious than necessary for the needs of the archons and thesmothetai. But one can conceive the possibility that these officials were only the principal occupants of a building which was shared with other boards. So much, indeed, is suggested by the special treatment given to the middle room.

²² *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 42-45. Cf. also R. E. Wycherley, *Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, 1957, pp. 177-179 in which the literary evidence on the Thesmotheteion is presented and discussed.

Among other boards that may well have been accommodated in the Stoa we may number the metronomoi. The stele mentioned above which records an official act of the board may be assumed, in keeping with Athenian custom, to have been displayed in immediate proximity to the headquarters of the board. The marble as found in Room III had evidently been re-used, but its extraordinarily fresh condition implies that it had been exposed in a sheltered place which is likely to have been the Stoa.

The argument outlined above, however plausible, cannot be regarded as conclusive for the identification of the Stoa with the Thesmotheteion. In any case, only the lower floor of the building is likely to have served administrative bodies. This floor was readily accessible from the Agora proper; on the other hand it seems not to have had direct communication with the upper floor in the original form of the building. We may therefore assume that the upper storey served some different function. If it was not merely a promenade with an agreeable southern exposure it may well have served some commercial purpose situated as it was on a much used thoroughfare and readily accessible from the Piraeus Gate.²³

Whatever purposes the building may have been designed to serve, the recent exploration has shown that the rooms on the lower floor underwent many subsequent modifications in their interior arrangements. Thus it is quite possible that some at least of these square chambers came to be used merely as shops. Nor would this run counter to the literary evidence bearing on the Thesmotheteion: there appear to be no first-hand references to that building later than the 4th century B.C.²⁴

THE SOUTH ROAD

The age-old road that fixed the southern limit of the Agora has now been explored throughout the width of the ancient square, a length of *ca.* 250 m. (Pls. 15, 16). The excavation was supervised by John Camp in the eastern part, by Gerald Lalonde in the western. Although the ancient roadway has been terribly disturbed in mediaeval and later times, its history can be traced with fair completeness.

This stretch of road forms part of the thoroughfare that led into the heart of

²³ One thinks of the Stoa Alipitopolis where barley was sold (Wycherley, *Testimonia*, especially p. 193). The location close to the Agora and on one of the main roads from the Piraeus would be suitable. The Alipitopolis is first mentioned in 391 B.C. (Aristophanes, *Ecclesiazusae*, 686). Eustathius (on *Iliad*, XI, 630) reports a picture of Helen by Zeuxis in the Alipitopolis. But the famous Helen by that artist was indubitably painted for the Temple of Hera Lakonia at Kroton in Italy. Did Eustathius make a mistake in the subject? Zeuxis was active in the latter part of the 5th century.

²⁴ In earlier speculation on the function of South Stoa I it has been suggested that the building may have been used by the lawcourts (*Guide*², p. 207) or in connection with the festival of Theseus (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 47). These possibilities are by no means excluded by the hypothesis that the primary function of the Stoa was the accommodation of administrative bodies. Public buildings, especially those equipped with spacious colonnades, were certainly used for a variety of purposes.

the city from the west, following the natural contours along the lower slopes of the Areopagus and Acropolis. Its high antiquity was demonstrated some years ago when a stratigraphic test to the south of the east end of South Stoa I revealed stratified deposits going back to the Middle Helladic period. In the section explored in the past two seasons no such early deposits were encountered, the earliest road metal being a stratum of the 7th century B.C. opposite the Southwest Fountain House. But the continuity of use is amply attested by graves of the early Geometric period that have come to light from time to time on the line of the road.

Local adjustments in the level of the road were necessitated by the erection of one building after another in the course of the 6th and 5th centuries along its north border; this was done by throwing in masses of clay or gravel. A more extensive regularization of the grade was carried out in connection with the installation of the great poros aqueduct to supply the Southwest Fountain House in the first half of the 4th century B.C. (Fig. 3; Pl. 16). In view of the massive construction of the aqueduct its gradient was kept as uniform as possible; the newly adjusted surface of the roadway almost immediately overlay the tops of the stone cover slabs.

Later in the 4th century the first drain was laid. This took the form of an open channel cut in blocks of soft poros that were set down so that the lip of the channel was flush with the surface of the road (Fig. 3; Pl. 16). Placed close along the south edge of the road the drain was clearly intended to carry off the rain water from the adjacent buildings and that brought down from the slopes of the Areopagus by drains in the side streets. This arrangement left the middle of the road unobstructed for the heavy vehicular traffic that is attested by wheel ruts.

By the middle of the second century B.C. the gradual rise in the level of the road called for the insertion of a flight of several steps to facilitate descent in the line of the equally old thoroughfare that led northward past the west side of the Southwest Fountain House (Pl. 16). In the same period a similar flight of steps was built in this south to north road opposite the southwest corner of the Middle Stoa. Together they effectually prevented wheeled traffic from entering the Agora at its southwest corner.

Throughout its long history the road was surfaced only with gravel; there is no trace of stone paving. Toward its western end have appeared slight remains of side-walks consisting of borders *ca.* 1.50 m. wide supported by curbs of rough masonry at the level of the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C. The total width of the street varied from five to ten meters, the average being *ca.* six meters.

The roadway appears to have been maintained with only minor adjustments in its line, its width and its level down at least to the barbarian sack of A.D. 267. In the rebuilding that took place in the 5th century one of the large new houses intruded on the southern half of the road opposite the east part of South Stoa I. The road was violently disturbed in the 11th and 12th centuries when many houses were being

built at various points in the area. Builders in search of stone mercilessly pillaged the poros aqueduct which had long since gone out of use. Its cover slabs, wall blocks, and in many places even the thick stone floor were torn out. Of the houses that were constructed of this material virtually nothing remains. But the existence of houses, or more likely a series of shops, is attested by a row of some sixteen round storage pits, mostly of masonry but one of terracotta, that were set down in the south side of the old road opposite the Southwest Fountain House. Coins and pottery from these pits leave little doubt that the district was ravaged in the sack of Athens by Leon Sgueros in 1204. It built up once more in the 16th century; the old road, shabbily reconstructed, continued to serve as a busy thoroughfare throughout the Turkish period. With slight adjustments this road persisted until the time of the excavation. The modern Observatory Street (*Asteroskopeiou*) is now seen to have followed precisely the line of the classical road, its level in places no more than a foot or two above the ancient.

GRAVES AND SANCTUARIES AT THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE AGORA

The most richly furnished of the early graves that have come to light on the line of the south road was discovered in 1967 at the south edge of the road opposite the southwest corner of the Southwest Fountain House (Fig. 8). This proved to be the cremation burial of a woman dating from the middle of the 9th century B.C. The grave is presented in detail in a subsequent article in this issue of *Hesperia* (pp. 77-116).

Ten meters to the west of the early grave have appeared the slight remains of a triangular temenos clearly and certainly labelled as a sanctuary by a boundary stone that still stands at its eastern corner (Fig. 8). This discovery will be reported fully in a separate article later, but its general implications may be considered briefly here. The stone-walled triangular enclosure dates from the latter part of the 5th century B.C. Beneath the floor of this period, and near the middle of the triangular area, is a rectangular structure, probably of the 6th century B.C., that may plausibly be regarded as an altar representing an earlier phase in the history of the establishment.

The identification of the sanctuary is obscure. The inscription on the boundary marker is tantalizingly laconic: *τοῦ ἱεροῦ*. Nor have any votives been found in certainly significant association. Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the choice of site is the known existence of early burials in this area. As will be clear from the plan (Fig. 8), no less than thirteen graves of the Geometric period have been discovered within a radius of thirty meters from the triangular enclosure, and others have undoubtedly been obliterated by subsequent construction or have escaped discovery in areas not yet explored to bedrock. Thus beneath the western part of the triangular

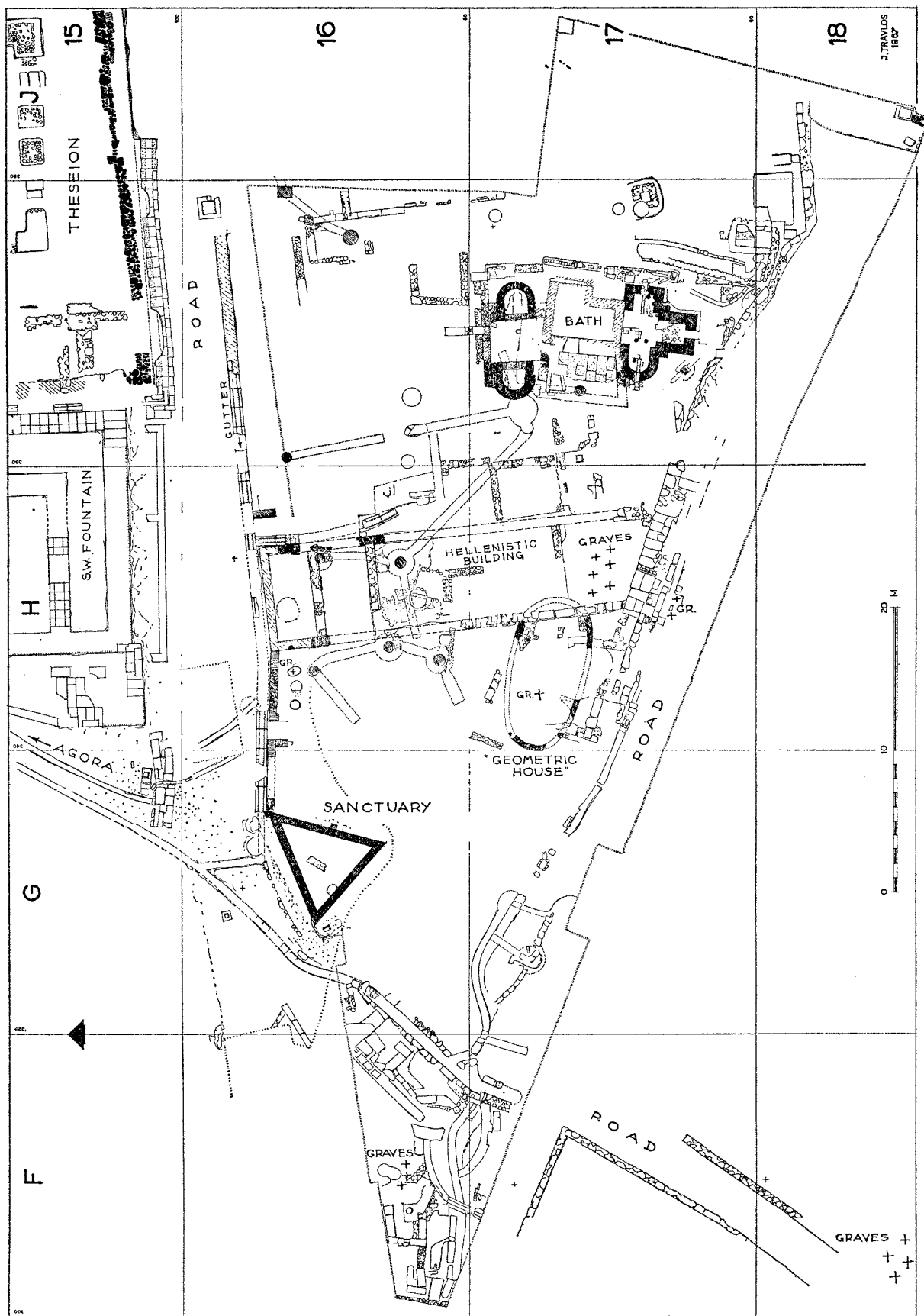


Fig. 8. Area to South of Southwest Corner of Agora

enclosure a shallow round pit neatly cut in the rock *may* mark the place of an early burial in the form of a bronze lebes used as a receptacle for ashes.

The triangular temenos finds a curious parallel in an oval structure that was excavated in 1932 some twenty meters to the southeast. The tenuous remains were tentatively identified at the time of discovery as those of a dwelling of the 8th century B.C.²⁵ As a house, however, this structure would be unique and isolated within the region of the Agora now so extensively excavated. The architectural features: a thin, low stone socle for the bounding wall, a clay floor cobbled in part, and traces of burning on the floor, would be equally and perhaps more appropriate to a temenos open to the sky. An undisturbed child's grave of the early Geometric period was found beneath the clay floor of the oval structure, and eight cremation burials of the same period came to light a few meters to the southeast. The oval building, whatever its nature, was short-lived. Above its ruins the excavator came on a mass of votive material of the 7th century B.C.: fine pottery, figurines of horses and chariots, rectangular pinakes and miniature shields of terracotta. All this material, which can be closely matched in the votive deposit found in the dromos of the Mycenaean tholos tomb at Menidi, is suitable to the cult of the dead. In view of the quantity and freshness of the deposit, it may be supposed to have originated in the immediate vicinity. The cumulative evidence suggests that the oval structure of the 8th century as well as the triangular enclosure of the 5th century are to be regarded as holy places that had their beginning in the cult of the dead.²⁶

A more tentative suggestion may be advanced regarding the later history of the area. The plan (Fig. 8) shows that both the oval and the small triangular temenos fall within a large triangular area that is bounded to north and south by roads and to the east by a long, narrow building that dates from the 2nd century B.C. This area was entered from the north through a recessed gateway centered between the small triangular enclosure and the narrow Hellenistic building. Inasmuch as no remains of substantial buildings have come to light within the large triangular area, this is perhaps to be regarded as itself a temenos embracing the earlier and smaller sanctuaries. However this may be, the establishment was extraordinarily prominent, standing as it did near one of the principal entrances to the Agora and at a point from which no less than six roads radiated. Further speculation may best be deferred until the whole area, both the part excavated in 1932 and that cleared in 1966/67, may be examined more thoroughly; this, it is hoped, can be done next season.

²⁵ D. Burr, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 542-640, "A Geometric House and a Proto-attic Votive Deposit."

²⁶ The possibility of associating the votive material found above the oval structure with a local cult of the dead was seriously considered by Miss Burr in 1933 (*op. cit.*, pp. 636-640), but was discarded in favor of a connection with the Sanctuary of the Semnai on the Areopagus. The association with the dead has been strengthened, however, by subsequent discoveries; *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 148-153.

EARLY ROAD BENEATH THE WEST END OF THE MIDDLE STOA

The Middle Stoa, erected in the first half of the 2nd century B.C., dislocated the ancient thoroughfares that led into the Agora at both its southeast and its southwest corners. We have already noted evidence for the earlier course of the early road at the southeast corner (p. 41). In order to learn more about the early road at the southwest corner, soundings have been carried out beneath the west end of the Middle Stoa; these were directed in 1965 by the undersigned and in 1967 by Ione M. Shear. Since the operation is not yet finished only a brief summary of the results to date will be given at this time.

The excavation has been confined to the westernmost two bays of the Middle Stoa, an area measuring *ca.* 11 x 14 m. (Pls. 10, a, 16). Work began at the level on which the builders of the Stoa operated in the 2nd century B.C., and soundings were carried down to bedrock through stratified deposits about two meters in maximum depth. Eight fairly distinct road surfaces could be distinguished. The lowest immediately overlay bedrock which was in fact deeply scored by wheel ruts. The pottery from the gravel of this earliest level was of the 7th century B.C., indicating the existence of a much travelled thoroughfare at least from that time. Through the subsequent five centuries the level rose spasmodically through the accumulation of silt or, occasionally, when the road surface became intolerably rough, through the laying of a new layer of gravel.

A curious episode in the history of the road was the opening of a deep channel that was cut down into the soft bedrock beneath the thoroughfare in a direction from north to south. The dimensions of the channel vary; at its greatest it measures *ca.* 1.45 m. deep and *ca.* 2.00 m. wide. Since this cutting aligns with the original course of the Great Drain that started to the east of the Tholos and ran northward, it is probably to be interpreted as an unfinished project for continuing that drain southward. The channel was filled with water-washed gravel that yielded many fragments of broken roof tile, scraps of poros architecture and much pottery of the first quarter of the 5th century from which it may be inferred that the filling occurred soon after the Persian destruction of 480 B.C.

On the west side of the early road, at a point near the southwest corner of the westernmost inner pier of the Middle Stoa, a boundary stone (*horos*) of the Agora was found in an upright position (Fig. 9; Pl. 10, b). The inscribed face is turned toward the east. The inscription, *hópos eîpì tês áγορᾶς*, is written retrograde across the top and down the left edge of the stone. The pillar, of Parian marble, is rough picked on all its vertical faces, while its top surface is undulating as if in its natural state. A band was smoothed for the inscription. The stone measures 0.155 x 0.326 m. in cross section, and it rises to a height of 0.68 m. above its original ground level. The gathering road metal crept gradually up on the pillar until its top was completely overlaid by the late 4th or early 3rd century B.C.

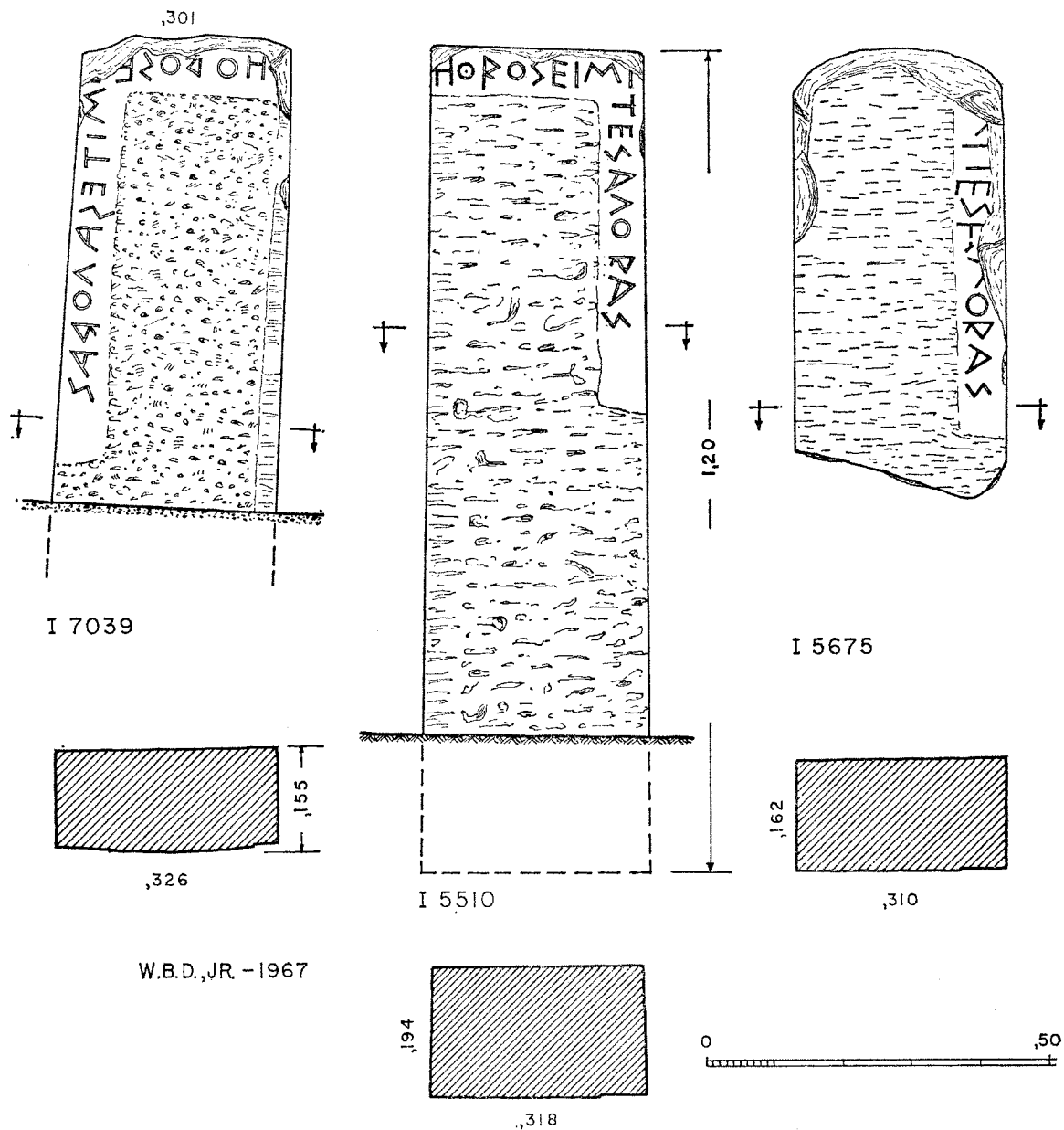


FIG. 9. Three Marble Boundary Stones of the Agora

The new horos stands at a distance of *ca.* 21 m. almost due south of the companion piece that came to light in 1938.²⁷ One may ask why it was necessary to place these costly markers at such close intervals. The explanation undoubtedly is that in each of these cases the horos stood beside a roadway leading into the Agora from the west. The new discovery is especially significant in that it proves the southward continuation of the official limits of the Agora beyond the horos of 1938 which might otherwise have been interpreted as defining the southwest corner of the Agora.

A comparison between the horoi found in 1938 and 1967 makes it likely that both the marble workers and the letter cutters were different. Yet the general treatment and aspect of the two stones are so similar as to leave no doubt that they must be closely contemporary; indeed they may well have been erected in the same program. A third marble horos of the Agora was found in 1939 in the disturbed interior of the Hephaisteion where it had been re-used as building material in mediaeval times.²⁸ The diagram in Figure 9 will indicate that this stone also belongs in all probability to the same series. A date in the neighborhood of 500 B.C. that was proposed long ago for the horos of 1938 may be taken as valid for the whole series.

We may note one more point of interest that has emerged from the exploration within the west end of the Middle Stoa. To the east of the early road and beneath the south aisle of the Stoa have appeared the lowest foundations of a rectangular monument base measuring *ca.* 2.20 x 9.80 m. (Pl. 16). Its long axis lies almost due north and south, and its orientation was clearly fixed in relation not to the road but to the large square building farther south that has been identified tentatively and variously as the Heliaia and the Theseion.²⁹ An interval of *ca.* 8 m. permitted the passage of traffic between building and monument. The triangular space between the monument and the early road was filled with a mass of rough masonry including many re-used fragments of fine poros architecture; this was intended, it seems, to protect the monument against the encroachment of wheeled traffic.

The evidence thus far available points to a date in the second quarter of the 5th century for the construction of the monument. It appears to have been dismantled and very thoroughly stripped as early as the 4th century. Not a block of its superstructure has been recognized. This is the more regrettable inasmuch as the large scale and the very prominent position at the entrance to the Agora attest the importance

²⁷ Inv. I 5510. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205 f., fig. 4; Supplement IV, 1940, p. 107; *Agora Picture Book*, No. 4, *The Athenian Citizen*, 1960, fig. 35.

²⁸ Inv. I 5675. *Hesperia*, Supplement IV, p. 107, note 91. Another horos of the Agora (I 3226), not of marble but of poros, has been found in the wall of a modern house in the north central part of the excavation. The excavation of 1965 outside the southeast corner of the Agora brought to light a small fragment from a top corner of a marble stele (A 3534) very similar in workmanship and in its traffic-worn condition to the inscribed marble horoi. Although no lettering is preserved, the piece probably comes from another horos of the same series. For the excavation report of the area cf. R. Ross Holloway, *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 79-85.

²⁹ *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 40-48.

of the monument. The hope of establishing its identity is slight. One may speculate on the possibility that this was the original site of the Eponymous Heroes, who, as we now know, must once have stood elsewhere than in their familiar position to the east of Bouleuterion and Metroon (below). But this is a very tentative suggestion that may or may not stand up to the definitive exploration and study of the area.

THE EPONYMOUS HEROES AND ENVIRONS

The long fenced pedestal that carried the statues of the heroes who gave their names to the Athenian tribes came to light in the first season of the Agora excavations (1931). It received a preliminary study and publication by Richard Stillwell in 1933 (Pl. 11).³⁰ Since that time two of the marble crowning members and several fragments of the fence have been found, but no definitive exploration or study of the monument had been made. In the summer of 1967 T. Leslie Shear, Jr. carried out a thorough stratigraphic excavation of the site and began the detailed study of the architecture. This short account is to be regarded merely as a progress report pending Mr. Shear's new publication.

The fenced enclosure measured 3.58 x 18.38 m. overall (Fig. 10). The poros sill, a single row of blocks, is preserved throughout except at the northeast corner and in a short gap near the middle of either side. The sill blocks increase slightly in depth from south to north to fit the gently sloping terrain. In its original form the fence was supported by poros posts, fifteen on the long sides, four across the ends, counting the corner posts twice. The crowning member was likewise of poros, gabled in section. Three wooden rails completed the barrier. The posts flared out slightly from bottom to top so as to produce in the intervening spaces the upward contraction that is normal in Greek doorways. The outer face of the post was divided into a pair of pilasters by a lightly recessed V-shaped fillet. At first the posts were set above joints in the sill and secured to the smooth top of the sill by means of a dowel on either side. In subsequent alterations, occasioned no doubt by the repeated collapse of this frail barrier, the posts were set into sockets which became progressively deeper. In the latest phase the original poros posts on the east side, presumably regarded as the front of the monument, were replaced with marble posts leaded into deep sockets.

The inner foundations that supported the pedestal have been reduced to a series of five poros stretchers on the east side. This one foundation course rested chiefly on firm earth reinforced below the joints by rough blocks of poros. A few small scraps of Pentelic marble found on the site presumably come from the steps that intervened between the sill course and the die of the pedestal. Of the die nothing has yet been recognized. We are fortunate, however, in having two blocks from the marble crowning course, one a terminal and one an intermediate unit. Both bear

³⁰ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 106, 137-139; *Agora Guide*², pp. 54 f., fig. 12; *Agora*, III, *Testimonia*, pp. 85-90.

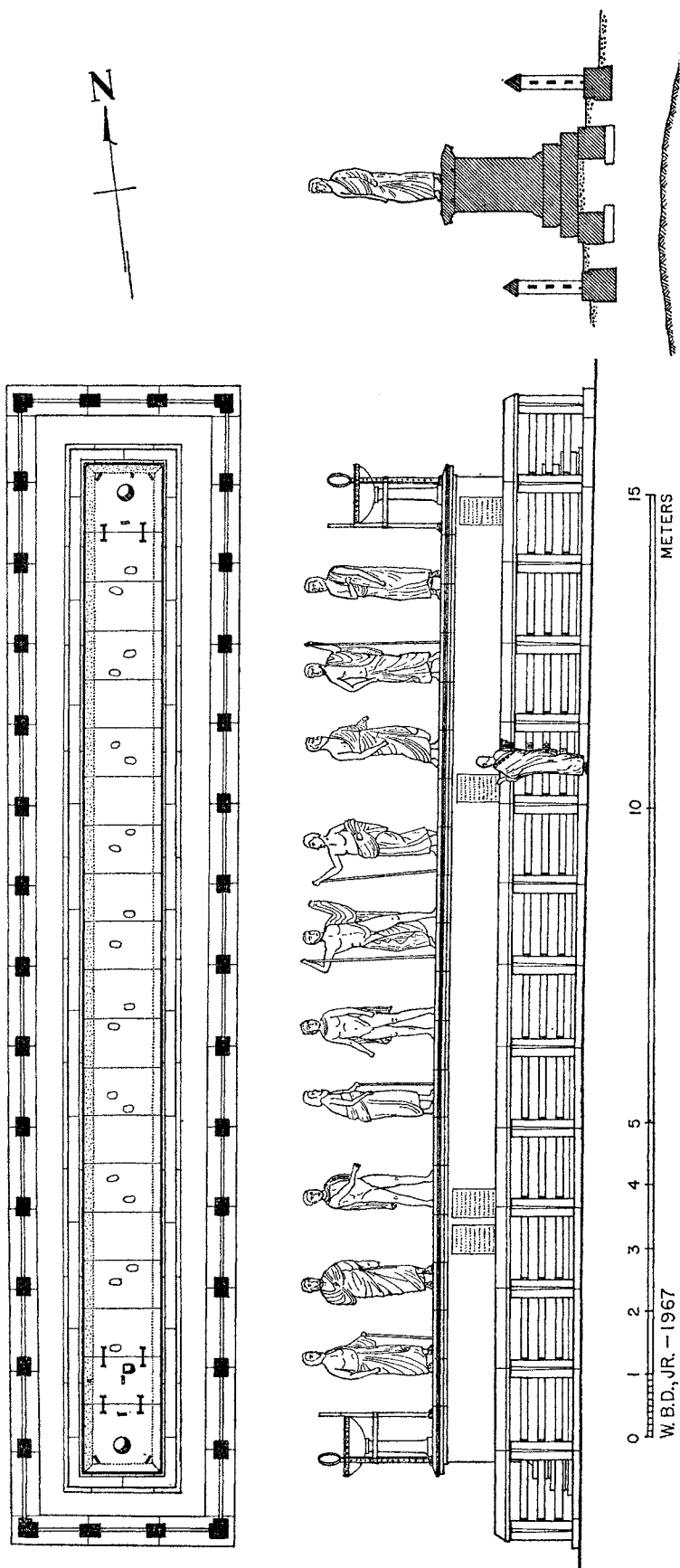


FIG. 10. Monument of the Eponymous Heroes. Restored

mason's marks: a K on the end block, a B on the intermediate. The K would indicate a total of twenty blocks, and this number does indeed suit the requirements, yielding a length of *ca.* 16 m. for the crowning course. A cutting in the top of the intermediate block is appropriate for the tenon below the foot of a bronze statue somewhat over life size. The original cuttings in the top of the terminal block were obviously for a bronze tripod supported by a round central colonette. The restoration of the original is thus straightforward: a series of ten large bronze statues of standing figures bounded at either end by a tripod, an appropriate attribute for heroes. This monument in which the Athenians did honor to their mythical ancestors thus anticipated and doubtless served as the model for the monument erected by Antigonos Gonatas in front of his great stoa on Delos to honor his ancestors (*progonoi*).³¹

The one serious gap in our knowledge of the pedestal is the height of the die. In the restored drawings (Fig. 10) the height has been shown as somewhat greater than one might have expected in a normal statue base of the period. This is to provide for the public notices, written on whitened wooden tablets, which, as we know from many references in the orators, were displayed in front of the heroes. The cross section will illustrate how effectively these notices were protected against the weather by the cornice of the crowning member, protected also against the fingers of the citizens by the fence.

The date of the monument is a matter of interest. On the basis of the plain but good workmanship, the profile of the cornice mouldings and the use of double T clamps, the structure has hitherto been dated in the latter part of the 5th century. But the north end of the enclosure is now seen to overlies the stripped foundations of a large, rectangular monument (probably an altar) which is shown by the use of brown conglomerate stone and by the associated pottery to be not earlier than the early 4th century. A few scraps of pottery found in the construction fill of the main monument also call for a date in the 4th century. A *terminus ante quem* is provided by the statement in Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 53, 4) that in his day "the names of the ephebes were inscribed on a bronze plate which stood in front of the Bouleuterion by the Eponymoi." Our monument surely stood in front of the Bouleuterion of the time of Aristotle, and a number of bases for bronze stelai, a rare phenomenon in Athens, have been found beside the fenced monument base.³² The date of the *Ath. Pol.* may be put *ca.* 329-322 B.C. For the construction of the monument a date close around the middle of the 4th century would meet the evidence here adduced.

Difficulties are caused, however, by references to the Eponymoi in reliable authors of the last quarter of the 5th century.³³ The monument with which we are familiar

³¹ F. Courby, *Délos V*, pp. 74-83. The better preserved crowning course of the Delian monument is instructive for the spacing and attitudes of the figures.

³² R. Stroud, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 142 f.

³³ Aristophanes, *Peace*, 1183 f. (421 B.C.); Isokrates, XVIII, 61 (*ca.* 402 B.C.); Andokides I (*de Mysteriis*), 83 (399 B.C.). There are repeated references in Demosthenes: XX, 94 (355/4 B.C.); XXIV, 8, 18 and 23 (353/2 B.C.); XXI, 103 (347 B.C.)

was clearly designed for its present position. It bears no evidence of transplanting. Nor does it overlie the remains of any earlier monument of suitable shape. Clearly we must hypothesize an earlier monument in some other position. A possible candidate has been noted above (p. 64).

The number of Eponymoi fluctuated in later times. Antigonos and Demetrios were added in 307 B.C. but removed at the end of the 3rd century. Ptolemy was added in or about 222 B.C., Attalos in 200 B.C., Hadrian in his own time. A close study of the architectural remains will probably yield clues as to how all the late comers were accommodated. It has been observed, for instance, that the one surviving terminal crowning block bears cuttings for a bronze statue that must have displaced the original tripod. The same may have happened at the other end of the pedestal. A cutting on the sill of the fence across the south end indicates that at one time the pedestal had been extended southward to the very face of the fence; this would have provided space for a displaced tripod, or for a thirteenth eponymos. Finally, the peribolos was extended southward a distance of 2.80 m. to enclose a large monument base of which only a little mortar remains. This undoubtedly supported a colossal statue of Hadrian.

Several of the exploratory trenches cut across the site of the Eponymous Heroes were continued westward to the Great Drain (Pl. 12). This is the main line of the drainage system for the whole Agora area, and the earliest part of the system. Starting originally at a point to the east of the Tholos it ran almost due north to issue from the Agora through its northwest corner. The pottery found in the exploratory trenches in association with the side walls of the drain will necessitate the down-dating of its construction from the late 6th century, as previously believed, into the early 5th. Whether it should be put soon before or soon after 480 B.C. is still a question.

Irrespective of its precise date the drain is an impressive piece of construction. Measuring about one meter in width and the same in depth, it was placed in such a way that the tops of its cover slabs would have been flush with the surface of the ground; surface water would have entered through the interstices between the cover slabs. The side walls rested on a levelling course of irregular masses of Acropolis limestone. The walls themselves were of a very hard breccia, gray in color, which has stood up remarkably well to the corrosive power of water. The blocks were carefully jointed in a bold polygonal style. Working chips found at one point indicate that yellow poros had been used for the original cover slabs, and one block of this material was found in place near by. In the course of the centuries most of the covering was replaced with re-used material in great variety. At the end of the season a 10-meter stretch of the drain was opened up so that it can now be appreciated by the visitor.

Stratigraphic studies were continued eastward of the Eponymous Heroes as far as the great marble altar tentatively identified as that of Zeus Agoraios.³⁴ It has

³⁴ *Agora Guide*², p. 53.

long been known that the altar, constructed in the 4th century B.C., had been brought to its present position from elsewhere, perhaps the Pnyx. A small amount of pottery recovered from the footing trenches in 1967 points to a date in the early Roman period (1st century B.C. or 1st century after Christ) for the transplanting.

The stratigraphic studies also yielded evidence of interest for the early history of this part of the Agora. It is clear, for instance, that at a time near the middle of the 6th century B.C. a great mass of broken bedrock and earth was brought in to fill a shallow gully and to level the area. At about this same time, or a little earlier, a well went out of use and was closed; its mouth was overlaid much later by the west side of the peribolos of the Eponymoi. Although the collapse of the rock prevented clearing the well below a depth of 4.25 m., an interesting group of pottery was recovered; as usual in Athens at this period it was a mixture of Attic and Corinthian.

THE MODEL OF THE AGORA

Significant additions and alterations have been made on the 1:200 model by John Travlos with the assistance of the experienced and skilful technician, Christos Mammelis (Pl. 14). The provisional rendering of the terrain has now been supplanted by a definitive restoration based on a comprehensive survey of the whole area. Among the individual structures that have been added are the Southeast and Southwest Temples, the Civic Offices, the Southeast Fountain House (Enneakrounos), the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, and the triangular temenos outside the southwest corner of the square. The general aspect has also been enlivened by an indication, in schematic form, of the many monument bases that bordered the principal thoroughfares.

One of the major early buildings now appears in a radically different form. The rectangular structure near the southwest corner of the Agora, tentatively identified as the Theseion, began life as a walled enclosure open to the sky. In the 4th century B.C. major changes were made. The western part of the building was walled off leaving the remainder square in outline. Within this square was inserted a set of supports in a square scheme six to the side. The outer wall was now stripped of its saddle-shaped crowning member and was carried up to support a roof. Hitherto this roof was believed to have been confined to a colonnade surrounding a central courtyard that would have been open to the sky. This restoration, however, is now seen to be invalidated by two points. First: the interior supports rested on isolated piers which were certainly not linked by a continuous stylobate such as was normal in a peristyle court. Second: there is no trace in this period of provision for drainage such as would have been essential in a courtyard open to the sky. These considerations have prompted an alternative restoration in which the whole of the square part of the building is roofed, the interior supports carrying a lantern that would have assured light and air.

The multiplicity of buildings in the Agora may be thought to result in a cluttered appearance. On the other hand the model in its more complete state also demonstrates the striking nature of some of the vistas that were created in the final development of the square. Such, for instance, was the view from the northwest corner of the Agora looking up the Panathenaic Way. To right and left the gently rising road was bordered by buildings and monuments widely different from one another in size, shape and material, yet coordinated by a common determination to be seen to advantage from the processional way.

CONSERVATION AND LANDSCAPING

As the study of the buildings in the southern area has gradually neared an end conservation of a modest nature has been carried out to assure the survival of the already pitifully exiguous remains. Thus the rear walls of South Stoa I, of the west part of South Stoa II, of the Theseion and of the Southwest Fountain House have been carried up high enough to support the ancient south road at the level of the classical period. After thorough excavation the interior foundation trenches of the Theseion and the Southwest Fountain House have been refilled with earth to prevent erosion. The Civic Offices and the little colonnade to the east have received a good deal of attention: additional excavation, levelling and the filling out of ruinous foundations.

These supplementary operations have enriched our knowledge of a number of the ancient buildings. Two illustrations may suffice. Thorough cleaning and study has yielded enough evidence to enable W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr. to produce a complete restoration of the fountain in the rear wall of South Stoa II (Fig. 11). Fed by a pipeline that tapped the great poros aqueduct, this attractive installation added greatly to the appearance of an austere simple colonnade as well as to the convenience of its habitués. Substantial gains have been made also in the definitive study of private houses. Thus Professor J. Walter Graham, working in close collaboration with Mr. Dinsmoor, thoroughly cleaned the site of a house that had been first excavated by German scholars in the 1890's high on the northwest shoulder of the Areopagus (Fig. 12; Pl. 13, a). The eastern part of the building rested on a ledge quarried from the solid rock; its western part was supported on an artificial terrace. Practically no masonry survives above floor level, yet the restored plan shown in Figure 12 is certain in all essentials. A series of six rooms was grouped around two adjacent sides of a colonnaded court with a pool at its middle. The cuttings for joists in the high rock scarp attest an upper storey. We have thus recovered the design of one of the more attractive as well as one of the most beautifully situated dwellings known from ancient Athens. The history of the house has been traced from the early Hellenistic period into late antiquity.

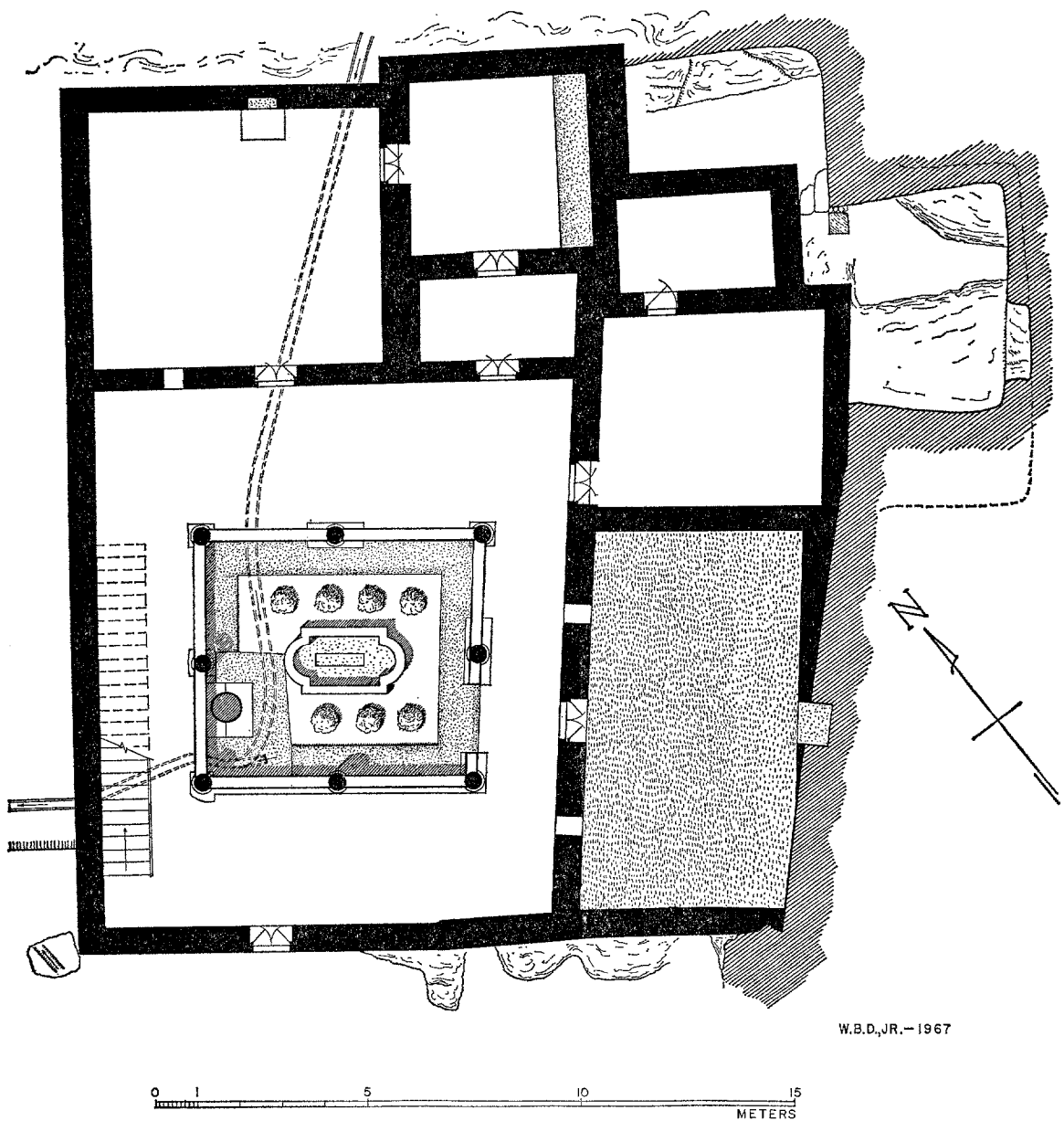


FIG. 12. House on Northwest Shoulder of the Areopagus. Restored Plan

green grass provides a pleasing foreground in the views of distant buildings. Further planting of shrubs is planned for the winter of 1967/68 within the limits of the South Square. All this has been done in consultation with Mr. Ralph E. Griswold, the author of the original landscape design, and most of the planting has been carried out under his personal direction.

HOMER A. THOMPSON

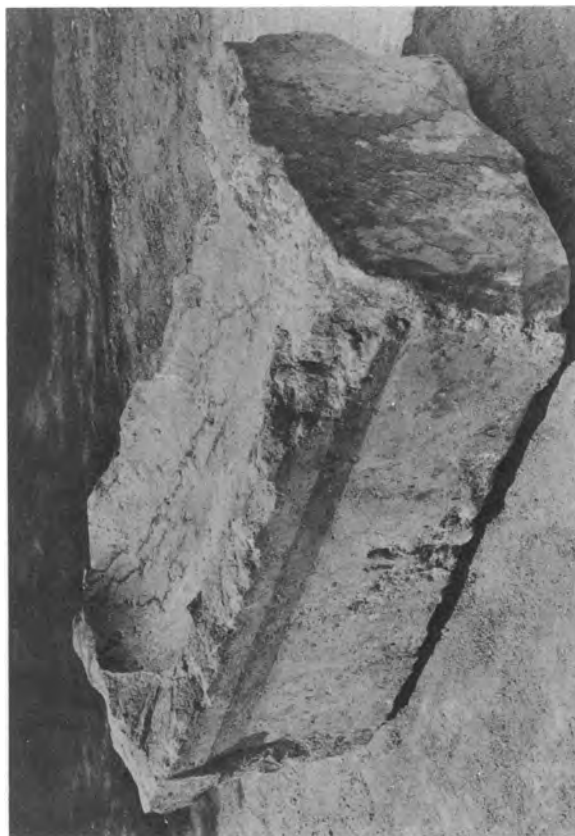
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a. Terrace of East Building from North.
(Arrow marks northeast corner of cobbled floor)



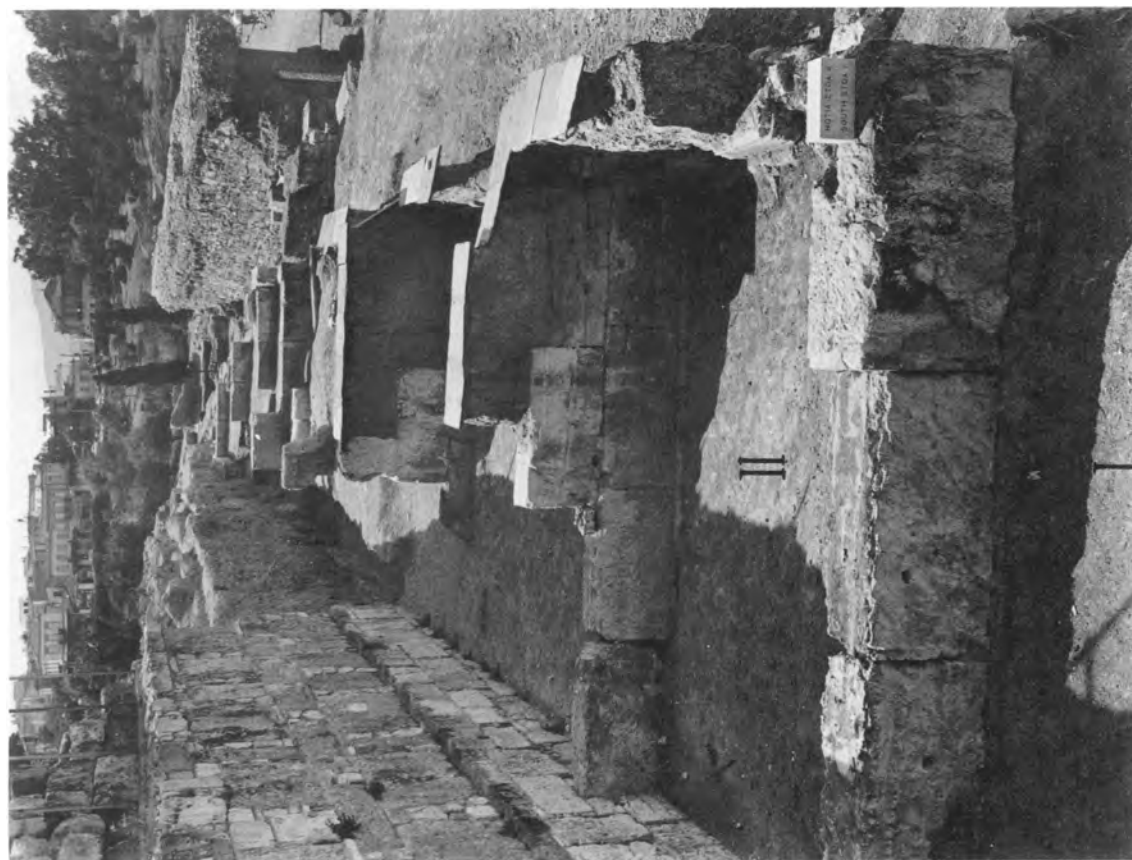
b. Two Poros Water Basins. Hellenistic



c. Poros Water Basin. 5th Century B.C. (A 3650)



d. Poros Water Basin. 5th Century B.C. (A 3649)



a. South Stoa I, from East



b. South Stoa I, from West



a. South Stoa I, Room VII, from North



b. South Stoa I, Room V, from North



a.-b. Female Head from South Stoa I, Room V (S 2224)



c.-d. Head of Satyr from South Stoa I, Room V (S 2225)

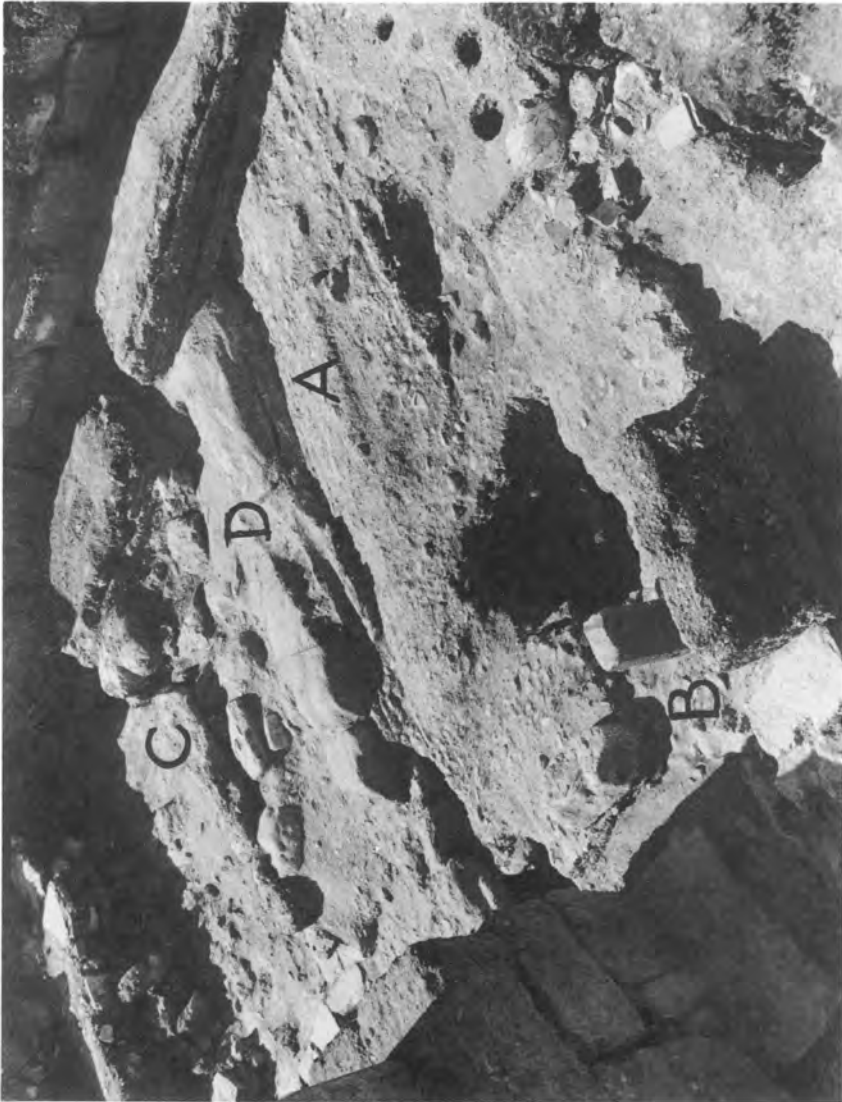


a. Metronomoi Inscription (I 7030)



b. Base for Votive Offering (I 7015)

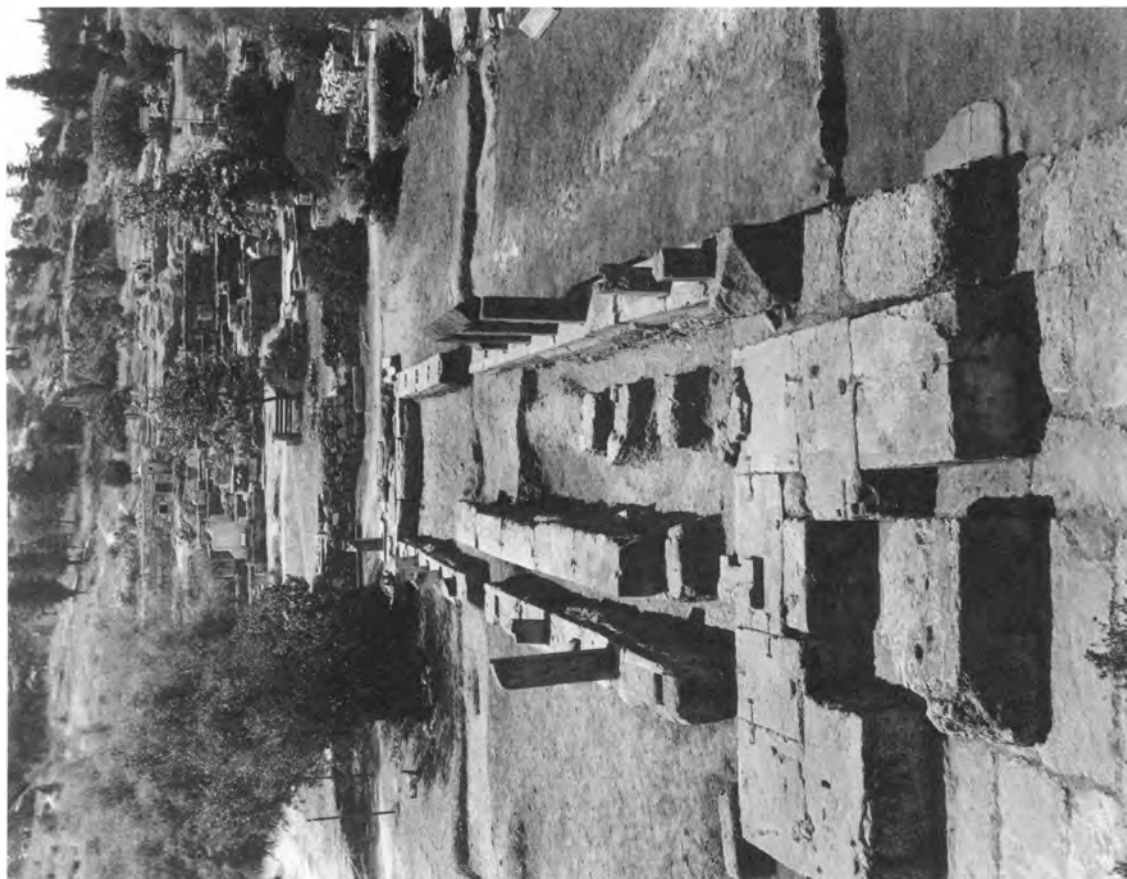
c.-d. Silver Drachm found below Floor of South Stoa I, Room VIII



a. Early Road below West End of Middle Stoa, from Northwest.
A = Roadway, B = Horos, C = Monument Base, D = Curb



b. Horos (I 7039)

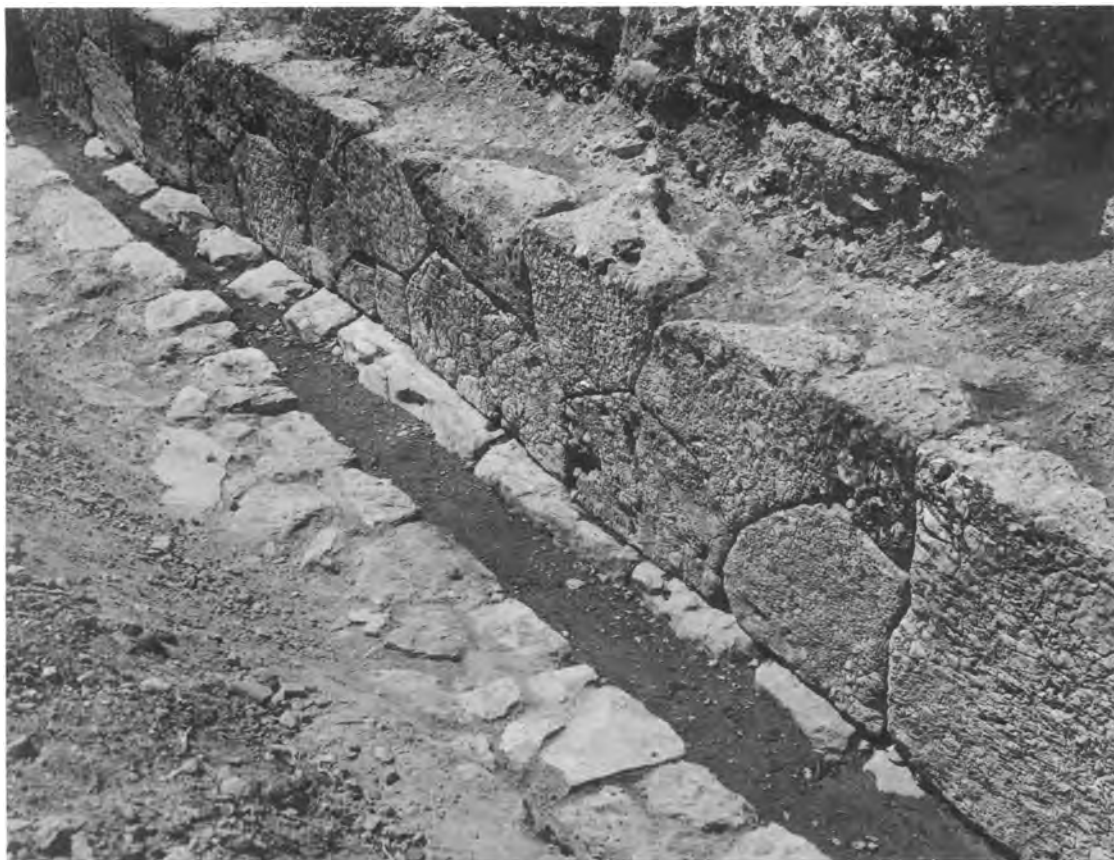


b. Monument of Eponymoi, from North



a. Monument of Eponymoi, from South

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITY IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1966-1967



a. Great Drain near Eponymoi, from Northeast



b. Great Drain near Eponymoi, Interior

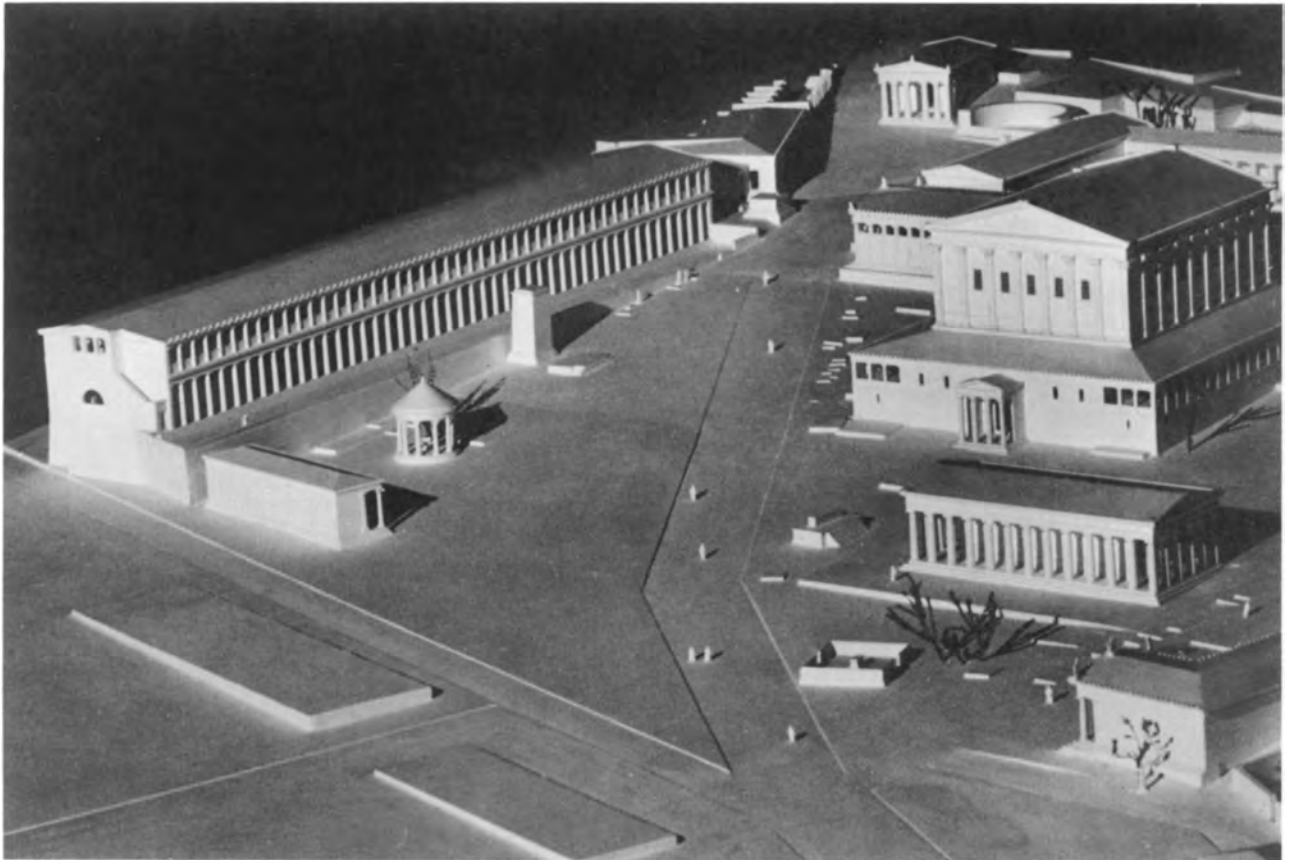


a. Site of House on Northwest Shoulder of Areopagus, from Southwest

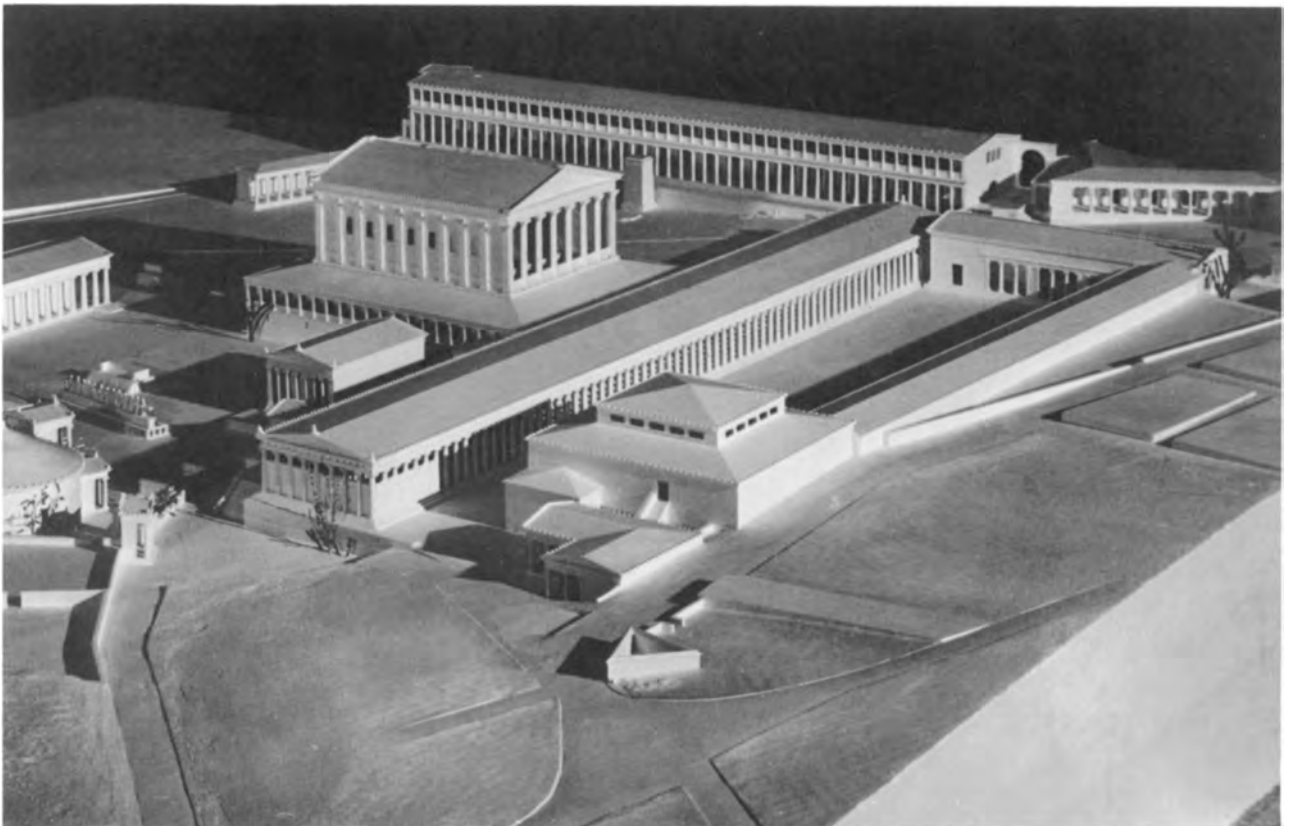


b. Southwest part of the Agora, from Northwest (1967)

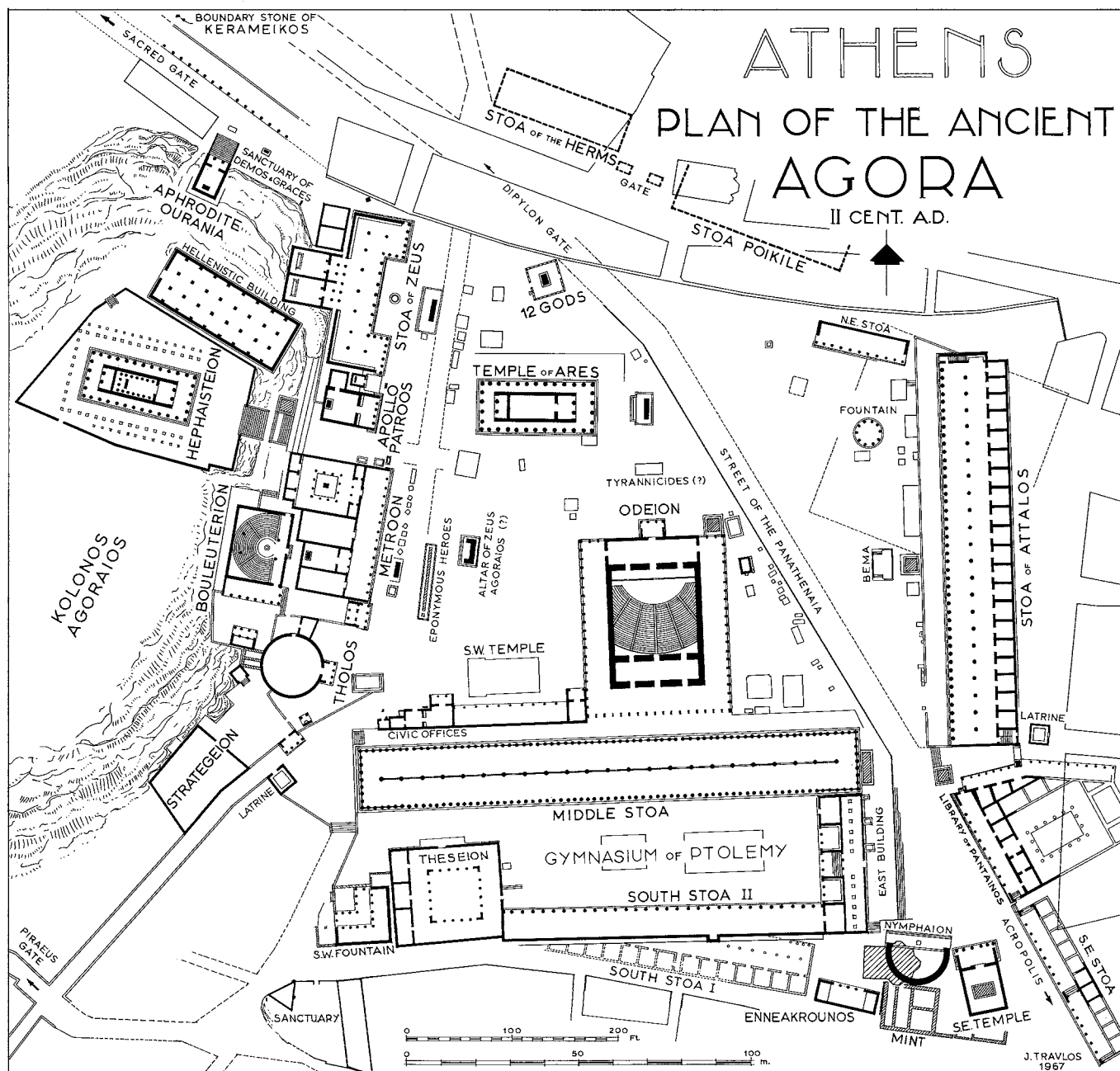
HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITY IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1966-1967



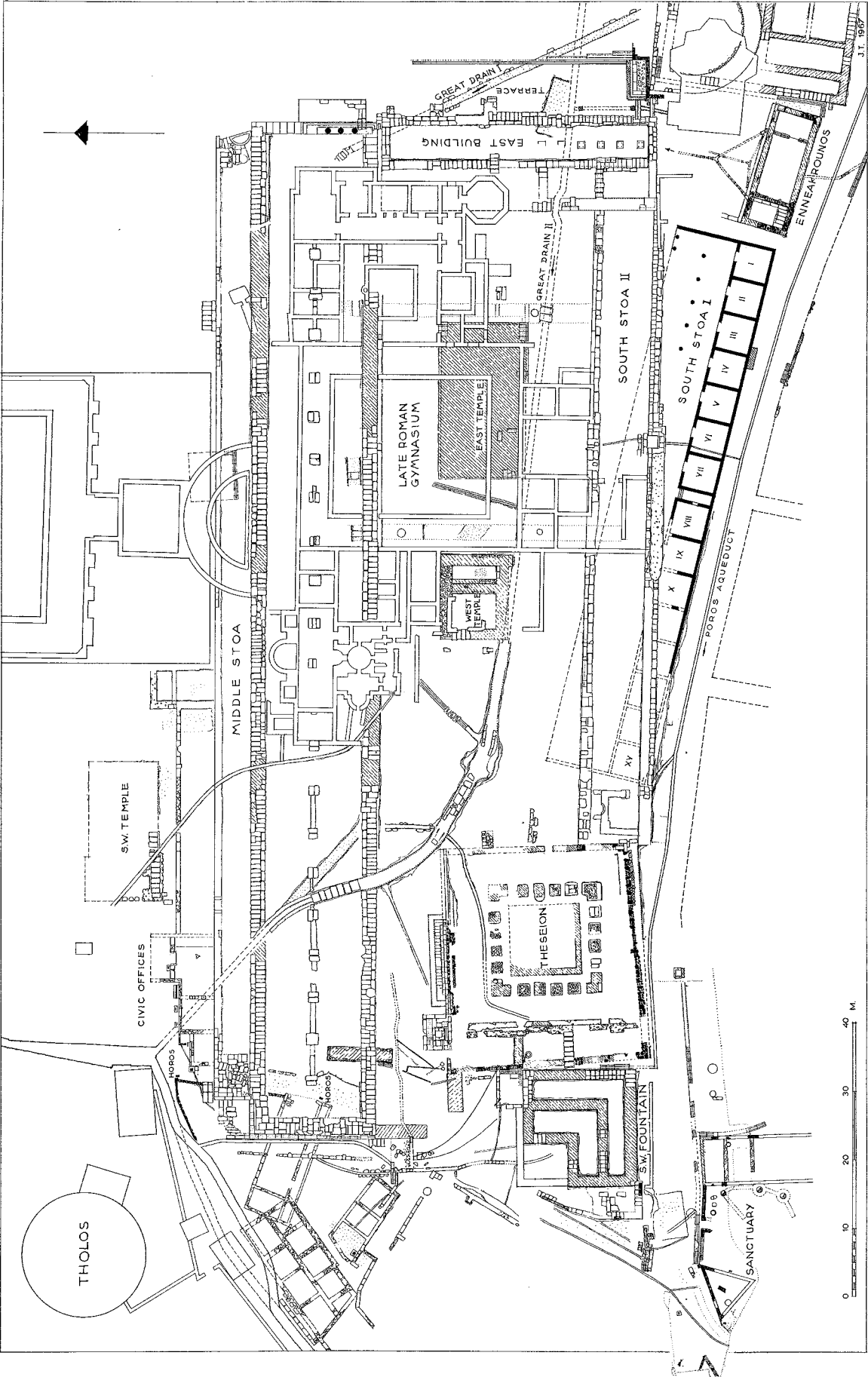
a. Model of the Agora, from Northwest



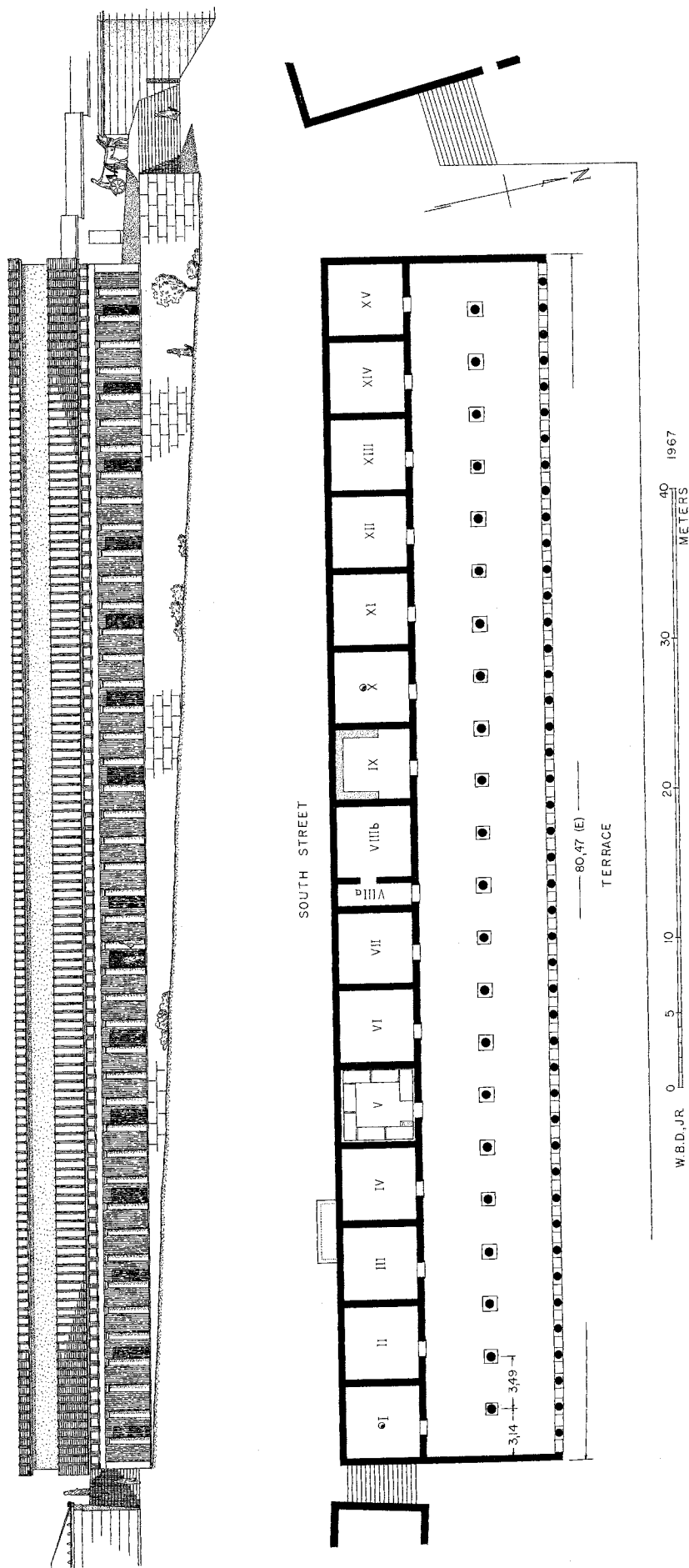
b. Model of the Agora, from Southwest



Restored Plan of the Agora. Second Century after Christ



South Square of the Agora. Actual State



South Stoa I. Restored Plan and Elevation

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITY IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1966-1967