THE ATHENIAN AGORA: EXCAVATIONS OF 1968

(PLATES 101-108)

THE summer of 1968 saw the exploration of one of the last bits of unexcavated terrain within the original archaeological zone of the Athenian Agora.[1] In addition to this, a number of areas were subjected to detailed stratigraphic soundings which have helped to elucidate the history and topography of the region about the southwestern corner of the market square. Although the season's operations were rather sharply delimited topographically, they spanned the full chronological spectrum of classical antiquity, and they yielded objects and information ranging in time from the early fifth century B.C. to the late sixth century A.D.

Our efforts were concentrated in a sector of the Agora whose archaeological exploration goes back to the earliest years of the excavation, for a partial clearing of the area was carried out in 1932. Since then repeated sporadic assaults have revealed evidence of various monuments, but the definitive study of the area was only begun in 1966 and 1967 and was carried almost to completion during the campaign here under review. Throughout the long centuries of antiquity, several of the principal thoroughfares of ancient Athens merged together at a wide intersection just beyond the southwestern corner of the Agora.[2] From the west came the broad line of Piraeus Street crossing the valley from the Piraeus Gate. From the southwest came Areopagus Street hugging the western shoulder of the Areopagus. From the east two

[1] It is a pleasure to express our appreciation to those who have made possible the season's fieldwork in the Agora. We are particularly grateful for several special contributions which financed the actual excavations. The University of Washington at Seattle not only contributed to the excavation fund but also provided the services of two members of its faculty, Colin N. Edmonson and Carol G. Thomas. Margaret Crosby and Peter E. Demarest most generously continued their support of recent years. Continuing grants from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation and the Old Dominion Foundation will greatly assist in the publication of volumes in the Agora series. The maintenance of the Agora organization and the preparations for the new excavations north of the Athens-Piraeus Railway were made possible by the interest on the recent grant from the Ford Foundation, the principal of which will be used to finance the future excavations.

The fieldwork of 1968 was supervised by John McK. Camp of Harvard University, Alison Frantz, Stella Grobel of Oberlin and Bryn Mawr College, and Carol G. Thomas of the University of Washington. Numerous architectural studies and drawings were prepared by John Travlos and William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., a few of whose plans have been used to illustrate this report. The photography was undertaken by Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. and David Walton.

Finally, we acknowledge with great appreciation the cordial and friendly cooperation of the Greek Service of Antiquities and Restoration and particularly of Mr. George Dontas, ephor of the first archaeological district in which the Agora Excavations are included. His sympathy and helpful interest have assisted the progress of the excavations in many ways.

[2] Cf. the general plan published in *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pl. 15.

other streets entered the intersection: one which descended the northern slopes of the Areopagus from the direction of the Acropolis, and the other forming the main artery along the southern boundary of the Agora. From the junction thus formed, these streets debouched into the market square at its southwestern entrance. It was a vital and busy crossroads, for every citizen entering or leaving the market, everyone heading for the Pnyx or the southern and western quarters of the city must pass this way. It was to this area, particularly to the buildings which bordered the intersection but also to the history of the roads themselves, that we devoted our primary attention during the season of 1968.

HOUSE OF MIKION AND MENON

The excavations of 1966 and 1967 had revealed on the northeastern side of the intersection the remains of a small triangular temenos marking the point of junction where the streets divided for the south side of the Agora or for the entrance to the square itself.[3] The operations of the past season were continued in the block across the street from the triangular temenos, immediately opposite its western angle (Fig. 1). Here Stella Grobel supervised the investigation of a small private residence and industrial establishment which occupied the eastern portion of this block. The whole area had suffered grievous disturbance in relatively modern times, and the deep foundations of an 18th century Turkish house, superseded by those of a still more modern structure, had to be removed before the ancient levels could be explored. Although the ancient remains had been heavily damaged by this network of later foundations and by a honeycomb of refuse pits and cesspools, nevertheless enough evidence could be salvaged to piece together much of the early history of the site.

Only the northeastern corner of the block was preserved, forming an acute angle where a narrow alley opened into the intersection of Piraeus and South Streets (Pl. 101, a, b). But along the southeastern side of the block, enough survived to enable us to recognize a series of rooms grouped about a courtyard and bordering the intersection. Despite the exceedingly ruinous state of the architectural remains, the excavator was able to distinguish parts of ten separate rooms from the disposition of fragmentary segments of ancient walls and floors. It soon became clear in the course of excavation that the building had enjoyed continuous occupation for about a century and three quarters. Undisturbed stratification of no less than five floors could be recovered from several parts of the house (Fig. 1, Rooms 2, 5-9). On the basis of pottery found in these well stratified layers, the chronology of the building can be established from its construction in the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. to its destruction at the end of the 4th century. During this period, the building underwent various structural modifications on at least three different occasions.

[3] See H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 56-60; G. V. Lalonde, *ibid.*, pp. 123-133, pls. 35-37. The plan, p. 59, fig. 8, shows the state of the area at the conclusion of the 1967 season.

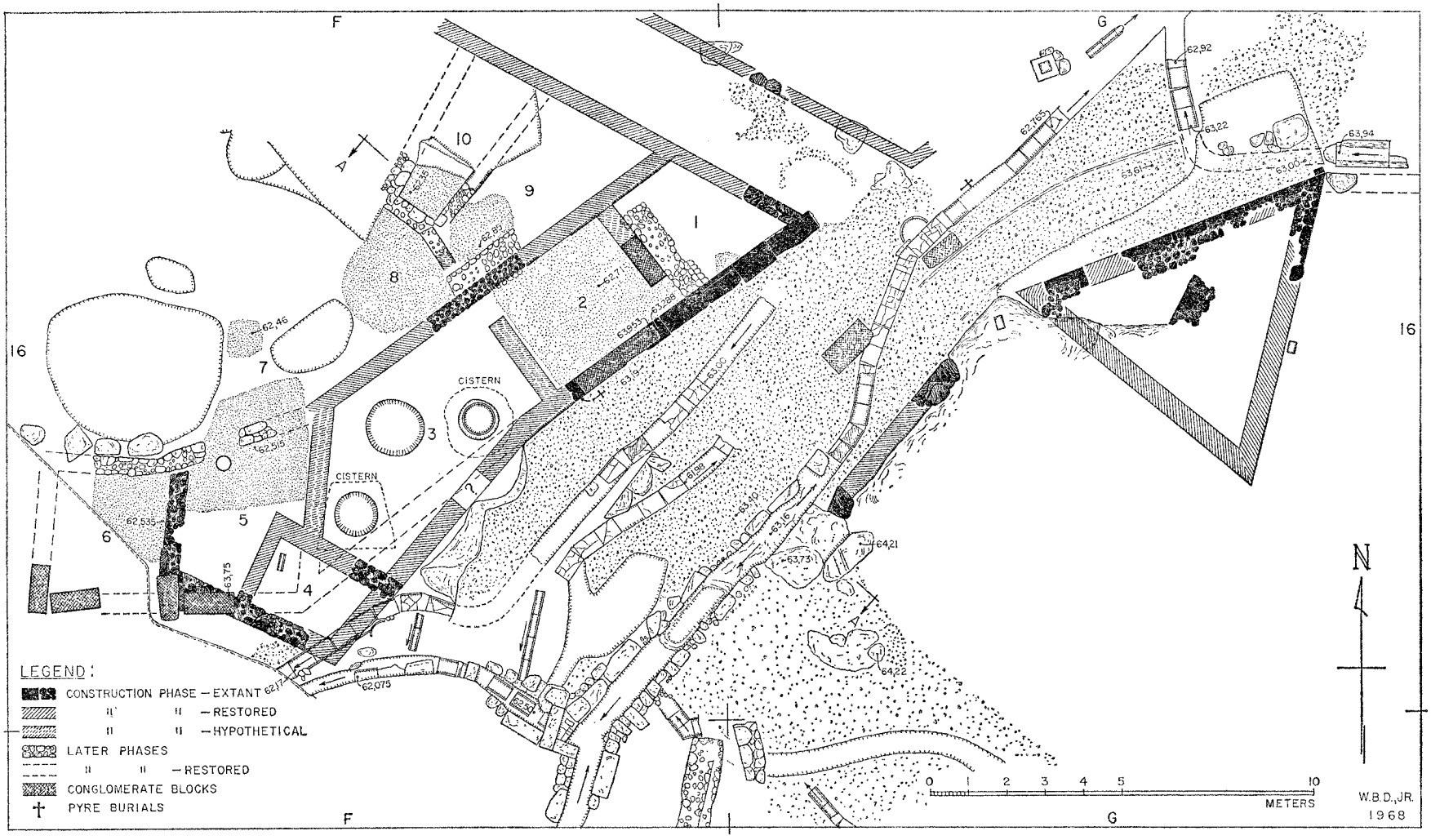

FIG. 1. Area of Marble Worker's House. Actual State with Partial Restorations.

Before the construction of the earliest building, a massive artificial filling was found to have been dumped on the site and leveled off to compensate for the natural northward declivity of the area. This filling, found chiefly in the area north of Room 8, produced considerable quantities of very much shattered pottery of the late 6th and early 5th centuries B.C. We may infer from this that the area was leveled as a part of the cleaning up operations just after the Persian sack of Athens in 480 B.C.,[4] and it was upon the leveled debris of that destruction that the earliest phase of our building was erected.

Of the original structure, only a partial plan can be reconstructed today. The building acquired at this time the acute angle of its northeastern corner. Its southwestern corner and the return of its western wall are preserved, giving the building an overall width from corner to corner of 19.75 m. A third corner projecting southward into the line of the street can be restored with considerable certainty (Fig. 1, Room 4). To the first period belong the most imposing architectural remains on the site, a fine stretch of polygonal masonry which forms the southeastern wall of the house along the street (Fig. 2, Pl. 101, a, b). Throughout its preserved length of

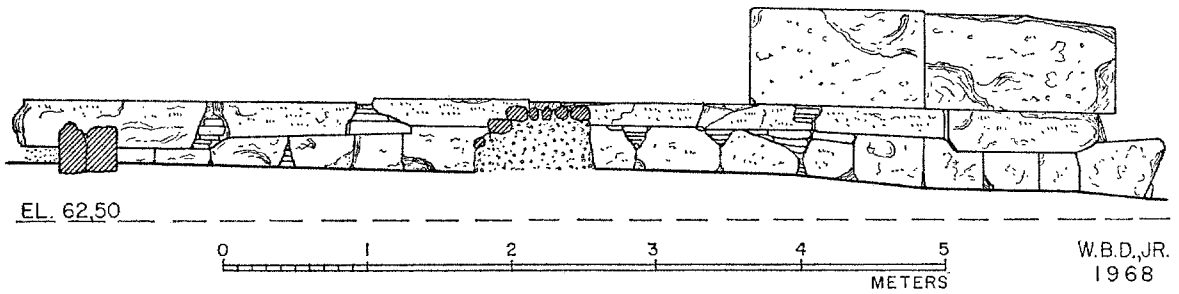

FIG. 2. Marble Worker's House. Elevation of Polygonal Socle and Orthostates. Inside Face.

8 m., the wall maintains a nearly constant height of 0.55 m., and its level upper surface is formed by a course of long limestone blocks laid end to end. The interior vertical surfaces of these blocks have been neatly trimmed to form a smooth, even face; but the outer faces along the street have been left to protrude irregularly. Beneath this course, the masonry consists of carefully trimmed and fitted blocks of Acropolis limestone (Fig. 2; Pl. 101, b), the interstices between them being wedged with smaller stones, some of which are laid in a ladder pattern so characteristic of polygonal stonework of the early 5th century. This polygonal construction clearly

[4] The latest pottery from the filling (Lot K 461) seems to date just prior to 480 B.C., one of the most characteristic pieces being a lamp (Inv. L 5554) of Howland Type 20 whose manufacture could be just post-Persian. That the earliest building was constructed just after the Persian Wars is indicated by the discovery of similar debris in a small sounding beneath the lowest floor of Room 2 (Lot K 469).

served as a socle for the superstructure of the wall, and in a later period it carried a row of conglomerate orthostates of which two have survived *in situ*. In the first phase of the house, the walls were in all likelihood composed of mud brick founded on the polygonal socle, for numerous fragments of mud brick were found about the southwestern corner of Room 5 in 1932. Furthermore the later conglomerate orthostates at that corner still rest on a thick layer of earth above the earlier polygonal socle, and this should probably be recognized as a bit of badly disintegrated mud brick from the original structure.

A much cruder form of polygonal masonry was used for the other walls of the first period, which survive at the southwest corner and in the short return of the acute northeast angle. The only surviving interior partition of this phase, the northwest wall of Rooms 2 and 3, parallel to the polygonal socle of the street façade, consisted of a socle, 0.50 m. high, of rubble masonry (Pl. 102, a) which once again may be presumed to have supported a mud brick wall. Although this partition was only preserved for a length of 2.90 m., its footing trench could be traced 4.85 m. further to the northeast where it joined the exterior northeast wall. The interior disposition of rooms is impossible to reconstruct on the basis of the slight evidence available. There is likely to have been a wall separating Rooms 1 and 2 as in the later phases, and Room 2 should probably be thought of as distinct from the courtyard (Room 3), because the highest preserved bedrock in that area is somewhat higher than the original floor of Room 2. The original plan of Rooms 4 and 5 is not likely to have differed greatly from our suggested restoration. There is no evidence whatever for the plan of the northwestern section of the house in the first phase, but it may be noted that floors of period I were discovered in Rooms 7-9, and these were clearly related to the earliest floors in Rooms 2, 5 and 6.

The original building seems to have continued in use for about half a cenutry, for the pottery which was found lying on the earliest floors ran well down into the 420's B.C.[5] It was presumably not long after this date in the last quarter of the century that the structure underwent its first remodeling. At this time the internal partitions which separate Rooms 8, 9 and 10 were first built, of light rubble masonry much like the northwest wall of Rooms 2 and 3. Although later disturbance in the area had thoroughly destroyed most of these walls, it was possible to recover some pockets of undisturbed fill in the original foundation trenches. The pottery from these deposits provided a firm *terminus post quem* in the decade 430-420 B.C. for the construction of the walls.[6] As part of the same remodeling the partition between

[5] Undisturbed deposits of pottery were recovered from between the first and second floors in Room 2 (Lot K 468), Rooms 5-6 (Lot K 479), and Rooms 8-9 (Lot K 473). The pottery was consistently of the 3rd quarter of the century with the latest pieces dating to the decade 430-420 B.C. One of the most characteristic pieces was a fragmentary red-figured oinochoe, Inv. P 28055.

[6] Especially useful was a stemless cup with stamped decoration, Inv. P 28052, dating to the third quarter of the 5th century, and the context pottery (Lot K 474) included a lamp fragment of Howland Type 23 B dating to the last quarter of the century.

Rooms 5 and 7 was also erected together with its westward extension which forms the north wall of Room 6. Although Room 6 displays the same architectural history as its neighbors to the east, there is no evidence to suggest that it ever communicated with Rooms 5 or 7, and it may be preferable to suppose that it formed a separate shop, with direct access from the street, or a room of an adjoining house. The only other alteration of note which occurred in period II was a general relaying of the floors thoughout the building which were now consistently raised by 0.20-0.25 m.

To the third period of our building's history may be assigned a most extensive remodeling and indeed a virtual reconstruction of part of the house. We have already mentioned the series of orthostates,[7] cut from conglomerate stone, which came to replace the original mud brick walls on the old polygonal socle (Pls. 101, 102, a). That these conglomerate blocks ought to be regarded as later reconstruction and not part of the original fabric of the building is indicated first by the material itself, the soft reddish stone which did not come into common use in Athenian architecture until the beginning of the 4th century. Secondly, a peculiarity in construction at the southwest corner of Room 5 leads one to the conclusion that the front wall of the house must have been substantially demolished when the stone orthostates were installed. The two conglomerate blocks comprising the later southwest corner of Room 5 will be seen to form a markedly different alignment from that indicated by the old corner of polygonal socle beneath them. But they align well with the similar blocks, uncovered in 1932, which form the adjacent southwest corner of Room 6. One supposes that the whole front wall of the courtyard (Room 3) was shifted at this time in order to eliminate the projecting angle of Room 4, which was doubtless felt to obtrude awkwardly upon the right of way. The position of the new courtyard wall, restored in dotted lines on the plan, Figure 1, can be estimated with fair precision from the placement of the two later cisterns. It is interesting to observe that the interior face of the two surviving conglomerate orthostates in Room 2, if projected in a straight line to the southwest, comes nearly tangent to the circular mouth of both cisterns. The latter were evidently placed as close as possible to the exterior wall in order to conserve space within the narrow courtyard. The mud brick superstructure will have been removed along the whole front of the house to permit setting of the new conglomerate orthostates, which in turn probably carried newly fashioned mud brick walls.[8] This extensive rebuilding of the front wall also affected the partition between

[7] In addition to the two blocks *in situ* in the southeast wall of Room 2, similar blocks were used to reconstruct the southwest corners of Rooms 5 and 6. Five other blocks of the same series were found built into a large late Roman settling basin which served a higher level of the street just east of the long disused polygonal socle, from which the blocks were undoubtedly pillaged. Two other members of the series were found buried in the road metal of the intersection, and both appear on the plan (Fig. 1) on either side of the Roman street drain. The average dimensions of the blocks are: W. 0.45 m., L. 1.15 m., H. 0.65 m.

[8] The history of reconstruction outlined here finds close parallel in the private houses of the

Rooms 1 and 2. If this had existed in earlier phases, it was now, in any event, removed and replaced by a socle of conglomerate blocks of which one still remains in place (Pl. 102, a). Since stratified floors were found to continue unbroken between the end of the surviving block and the exterior wall, it seems most probable that a doorway, 0.75 m. wide, had existed here from the first period, giving access to Room 1.

For the date at which the remodeling occurred, we may adduce once again the evidence of the stratified floors. A layer of crushed bedrock, mixed in places with white clay, was spread systematically over the second floor level, thus forming a third floor 0.20-0.25 m. higher than its predecessor. Since the third floor in Room 2 was almost exactly level with the top of the old polygonal socle, one is naturally predisposed to associate it with the installation of the conglomerate orthostates, whose chief purpose was evidently to increase the height of the socle itself. Excavation beneath the third floor in Room 2 yielded pottery with a lower limit in the second quarter of the 4th century.[9] In support of this date for the remodeling of period III, we may note that before the third floor had been tamped hard by long use, a small pit was dug in the southern corner of Room 2 immediately beside the polygonal socle. The builders themselves may perhaps have excavated the pit to test the depth of their foundation before setting the new orthostates, for the pit did not descend beneath the floor of period I. That this pit was in some way related to demolition and rebuilding operations is indicated by a number of broken roof tiles found in its filling. The latest pottery from this small pocket of debris could likewise be dated in the second quarter of the 4th century and provides a firm date for the remodeling of the building.[10]

The refurbished house continued in use for another fifty years or more until its final destruction in the closing years of the century. During this time, the accumulation of debris caused the floors to be raised a few centimeters on two more occasions. It was probably in association with the earlier of these two floor levels, period IV, that certain architectural repairs were also carried out on the walls of Room 2. Both the northeast and northwest walls of the room were now altered, and the neat masonry socles of the earlier partitions were replaced with a broad rubble packing, 0.80 m. and 1.00 m. wide respectively, almost twice the width of the original socle which, in the case of the northwest wall, was now covered over by the new construction. The super-

industrial district just to the southwest in the valley between the Areopagus and the Pnyx. Cf. particularly the replacement of mud brick walls above a polygonal socle in House K, R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 238-246.

[9] Lot K 466. The dating is corroborated by pottery found in association with floors of the same phase in other parts of the building: Room 6 (Lot K 483), which yielded a lamp (Inv. L 5546) of Type 23 C particularly characteristic of the second quarter of the 4th century; Room 7 (Lot K 482); Rooms 8-9 (Lot K 472).

[10] The context pottery (Lot K 467) included also two lamps typical of the early 4th century: Inv. L 5558 of Type 23 C and Inv. L 5559 of Type 24 C'.

structure above the rubble packing was presumably still mud brick; and even though the walls of the room may have been thickened and strengthened, one can hardly suppose that the superstructure ever had the great thickness of the rubble socle beneath it. After this repair, the doorway leading from Room 2 into Room 1 seems to have been blocked; and the one remaining conglomerate block of the earlier wall base came perhaps to serve now as a bench or stand, for its top surface protruded above even the latest floor.

Throughout the century and three quarters of its existence, the building served the dual function of a private house and workshop for a family of marble workers. On this point, there can be no possible doubt whatever, for the floors of all five phases were strewn with a heavy layer of marble working chips and marble dust. Indeed, this constant accumulation of debris from the cutting of marble was no doubt chiefly responsible for the rapid rise in the floor level of the house. Numerous hunks of partially worked marble were also found in every layer, and one of the cisterns in the courtyard produced two pieces of recognizable but unfinished sculpture: a roughly blocked out statuette of a seated figure and a trial relief of a head in profile, which was cut on a re-used piece of a marble basin.[11] Also from the various layers of debris on the floor, we recovered a collection of small tools of lead, bone, and bronze, which were unsuited to the working of marble but may perhaps have served for making models in some malleable material such as wax, clay, or pitch.[12] That the building housed the sculptors and their families as well as their workshops is indicated by the quantities of household pottery which found its way into the well and cisterns from the middle of the 4th century onward.

A happy chance has preserved for us the names of the first and last craftsmen who dwelt and worked on the premises. The first was Mikion, as we learn from his signature, scratched hastily in an idle moment upon a small bone tool[13] (Pl. 102, b). The implement was found on the lowest floor of Room 8 where it had doubtless been cast off when its thin shaft broke in the artist's hands, making it too short for practical use. The bone was polished from repeated handling and sharpened for use as a stylus or scriber. Along its flat shaft were inscribed the words]ο Μικίον ἐποίε[σε. The last two letters of the verb and all but a trace of the third have been lost through successive sharpening of the point. Mikion's distant descendant, the last marble

[11] Inv. S 201. The seated statuette (Inv. S 195) was likewise made from the broken post of a basin of which other fragments were found in the westernmost of the two cisterns in the court, excavated in 1932. See D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 88, note 2, p. 105, where she identifies S 195 as a Mother of the Gods or possibly Demeter. For the cistern see below p. 390.

[12] Lead tools: Inv. IL 1507-1511, IL 1513-1514; bone: BI 817-819; bronze: B 1337-1338. It is interesting to note that several large masses of raw pitch were found in the well beneath the east cistern. These may well have been used for models or casts in the sculptor's studio. On the use of pitch for making casts of statues cf. Lucian, *Iupp. Trag.*, 33.

[13] Inv. BI 819.

worker to occupy the house, was a certain Menon. He evidently prized highly certain pieces of his black-glazed table ware which he sought to identify as his own by inscribing his name or initials on the pottery itself. Two of Menon's favorite drinking cups were shattered in the final destruction of the house and fell into the west cistern, from which fragments were recovered in 1932. The base of one kantharos (Pl. 102, c, No. 1) was inscribed Μένων on its concave under surface; the base of the other preserved only the letters EN.[14] Three other fragments, one of which is illustrated on Plate 102, c, No. 2, came to light in the street immediately outside the courtyard wall.[15] All these were inscribed simply with the initial or first two letters of the owner's name. It is curious to observe also that one of Menon's black-glazed bowls, with the letters ME scratched on the floor, found its way into the well of a small building some 60 m. to the north of his own house.[16]

The last chapter in the history of the house of Mikion and Menon provides us with abundant information concerning its final destruction and with a large quantity of objects which had belonged to the household furnishings of the last resident. The courtyard of the house (Room 3) was equipped with two small cisterns, which had no subterranean tunnel connecting them. Both had been dug into the soft bedrock of the courtyard, and as was noted above, their openings were clearly located with relation to the new courtyard wall erected in the second quarter of the 4th century. Both cisterns measured about 1.00 m. in diameter at the mouth and opened out to much broader floors below, the western being nearly square in plan and 3.80 m. deep, while the eastern was roughly circular, 2.00 m. in diameter and 1.80 m. deep. The chambers were lined with firm waterproof cement smeared over the natural bedrock. The western cistern was excavated in 1932 and has been published under the name of "Demeter Cistern," because of the group of terracotta figurines discovered in its filling.[17] The rather small capacity of the two cisterns seems to have provided an insufficient supply of water for Menon and his family; and at some point in the history of the newly excavated east cistern measures were taken to insure a more plentiful source of water. A well was dug in the cemented floor of the cistern, its circular mouth, 0.80 m. in diameter, carefully centered beneath the mouth of the cistern itself. For its full depth of 5.60 m. the well was lined with drums of circular tiles, 0.62 m.

[14] Inv. P 897, P 898.

[15] Inv. P 307, P 308, P 309.

[16] Inv. P 1832 published by H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 317, no. A 7. The piece formed part of the period of use filling of the well whose lower chronological limit falls in the last decade of the 4th century. There exists thus an interesting link between Group A and the two cisterns of Menon's house, although the house must have been destroyed before the end of the period of use of the well which contained Group A. Cf. *infra*, p. 392.

[17] See D. B. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 87-107 for general description of the cistern and its contents together with detailed catalogue of the terracottas which it produced. The filling of the "Demeter Cistern" comprises deposit F 16:1.

high, of which the uppermost was placed flush with the floor of the cistern. That both the well and cistern continued to be used together is indicated by the filling, which was of a completely homogeneous nature from the top to within 1.00 m. of the well's bottom, and all of the contents to that depth appeared to have been dumped in simultaneously when the house was destroyed and abandoned.

The upper part of the east cistern yielded broken roof tiles and burned wood in sufficient quantity to testify that the building had met its final destruction by fire. The contents of the well and cistern [18]were remarkably similar in character to those of the " Demeter Cistern," and there could be no doubt that both had been filled with debris at the same time and as a result of the same destruction. The two cisterns differed only in the number of objects which had been dumped into them. From the masses of broken pottery extracted from the east cistern, no less than 81 vases have been mended and inventoried. The deposit also includes a collection of 71 terracotta figurines and fragments, 72 bronze coins, most of which disintegrated in cleaning, 7 lamps, and a few miscellaneous objects. At a depth of 3.30 m. in the well, the excavator encountered great quantities of olive pits, grape seeds and apricot pits. Evidently at the time of the destruction the contents of the larder as well as of the kitchen cupboards were thrown down the well, and the whole was covered with the broken tiles and burnt timbers of the collapsed roof.

A small selection of the pottery is here illustrated (Pl. 103) in order to indicate the chronological limits of the deposit. The group was manufactured and accumulated over a short period of years beginning in the third quarter of the 4th century, though the bulk of the deposit should probably be placed in the last quarter of the century. Among the earlier pieces may be cited the kotyle-kantharos and the two bowl-kantharoi (Pl. 103, i-k) which find good parallels among pottery dated shortly after the middle of the century.[19] The lamps (Pl. 103, 1, n) also fit comfortably into the third quarter, although these types continued to be made well into the next century.[20] One of the lamps together with its metal lamp holder (Pl. 103, m-n) was found at the very bottom of the well where it had clearly been dropped during the period of use. Of special interest among the earlier pieces is the red-figured lebes gamikos [21]

[18] Deposit F 16:8.

[19] Kotyle-kantharos (i): Inv. P 28027. Cf. the very similar pot from a burial pyre dated just after 350 B.C., R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 115, pl. 50, b, no. 3; and another dated before the middle of the century, H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 133, fig. 98, a. Cf. also *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 74 (7), pl. 24, g. For the bowl kantharos (k): Inv. P 28035, cf. *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 128, pl. 53, c, no. 2; XXIII, 1954, p. 74 (8-9), pl. 24, h-i, third quarter 4th century.

[20] Inv. L 5548 (Howland Type 25 B') and L 5547 (Howland Type 25 B).

[21] Inv. P 28056. H. 0.153 m.; D. 0.135 m. Mended from many pieces, wall fragments and handles restored. On the shoulder, A, tongues above ovules; B, tongues. A, two women, one moving left, the other right. They carry chests with long taeniae and both look back towards a small Eros who flies between them right. B, two Nikai, flying left and right. No relief contour.

which likewise came from the lowest filling of the well (Pl. 103, c). The lower limit of the group and thus the date of destruction are best illustrated by the large series of black-glazed kantharoi, of which 22 were recovered in a nearly complete state of preservation. Generally speaking, the pottery from the well and cistern compares closely with three published deposits of the late fourth century from the Agora: Groups A and B, and the "Demeter Cistern."[22] The two kantharoi (Pl. 103, a-b) with moulded rims and spurred handles are matched by another of the same set which found its way into the "Demeter Cistern" at the time of the destruction.[23] This piece has been dated to the "last quarter of the century, but probably before the very end." It may be noted, however, that the two matching pieces came from the accumulated filling of use near the bottom of the well, which may suggest a somewhat earlier date. The three calyx kantharoi (Pl. 103, e, f, h), on the other hand, should probably be placed in the last decade of the 4th century; they represent some of the latest elements in the deposit.[24] They will have been used for only a short time before the destruction of the house brought them to rest in the cistern. It is to be noted that only a few pieces from the group showed West Slope decoration added in thinned clay over the glaze (Pl. 103, d, f). This consisted chiefly of simple garlands of leaves or flowers occasionally accompanied by an inscription naming a deity (Pl. 103, d).[25]

The most interesting class of objects from the east cistern was the large group of terracotta figurines of which a few representative examples are illustrated on Plate

Added white for face and arms of Eros; an added color, now vanished, for his wings, and added clay for the wing-ribs. The shape compares closely with the much more beautiful piece by the Marsyas painter: Beazley, *A.R.V.*², II, p. 1475, no. 1; cf. K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin, 1934, pls. 33-34, no. 286, there dated 340-330 B.C. Our piece may be slightly earlier but is more developed than *ibid.*, pl. 15, no. 277; cf. *Ath. Mitt.*, LXXXI, 1966, p. 73, pl. 50, dated 370-360 B.C.

[22] H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 313-345; D. B. Thompson, *ibid.*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 87 ff.

[23] Inv. P 27966, P 27967. Cf. the almost identical piece *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 88, note 6, pl. 20, b; see now *Agora*, XII, pl. 29, no. 703, there dated *ca.* 320 B.C. Other kantharoi of similar development but without the moulded rim may be cited from Group A, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 319, A 27-28. Our pieces are considerably more developed than anything found at Olynthos, destroyed 348 B.C.

[24] Calyx kantharos with loop handles (e): Inv. P 27972. Cf. similar pieces in Agora Group B, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 337, B 17-18, fig. 18; p. 344, B 46, fig. 26, which are dated to the turn of the 4th and 3rd centuries. Calyx kantharos with ribbed lower body and West Slope decoration (f): Inv. P 27971. Cf. an almost identical vase from a pyre burial dated late in the last quarter of the 4th century, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 122, pl. 52, a, no. 5; cf. also the fragmentary kantharos in Group B, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 338, B 20, fig. 18. Calyx kantharos with spurred handles (h): Inv. P 27968. Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 319, A 29, fig. 5; XX, 1951, p. 122, pl. 52, a, no. 4; p. 129, pl. 54, a, no. 2. The black-glazed skyphos (Pl. 103, g), Inv. P 27995, also finds close parallels in Group A and in the "Demeter Cistern," *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 319, A 26, fig. 5; XXIII, 1954, p. 88, note 6, pl. 20, c.

[25] For this practice, cf. examples from Agora Group B, *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 339, B 23-24, fig. 19.

104. Not only was the large number notable, but also the wide variety of types and the fine quality of the individual pieces. The pair of jointed "dolls" (Pl. 104, a), for example, is reminiscent of more fragmentary pieces found in the "Demeter Cistern" and other contemporary groups of figurines from the Agora.[26] More appealing and more decorative is the stylish lady[27] (Pl. 104, b) who sits at ease upon a rock, her left arm resting languidly on a ledge behind her. She twists her shoulders and draws her cloak tightly about her right arm, the better to display her charms of dress and body. Her hair is cut short to set off a pair of earrings, and she tilts her head coyly as she glances from beneath the shade of her petasos. A considerable group of figurines from the cistern (Pl. 104, c) represents young boys dressed in short cloaks and walking boots. Their hair hangs in long, curly locks to their shoulders and is adorned with elaborate headdresses of various kinds. Although the type is dissimilar in dress, these youths may be related to the male figure[28] from the "Demeter Cistern" which has been identified as a young initiate of the Eleusinian Mysteries. In support of this, we may point especially to certain features of our figures which particularly characterize such initiates in other artistic representations. Notable are the pudgy, childish features, the long hair, the short cloaks, and especially the hole in the clenched right hand of each which may be supposed to have held the Eleusinian *bakchos*, or sheaf of wheat stalks. It will be observed also that all six figures on Plate 104, c have in common the fact that their bodies were cast from a single mould, different heads and legs being added separately according to the artist's taste for variety. Two other pairs of similar figures were found in the cistern, and once again each pair was fashioned from a single mould. Both the numbers and the similarity of these groups lead one to infer that the terracottas were not part of the household furnishings but came rather from a neighboring coroplast's shop where they formed part of his stock of merchandise for retail sale. None of the installations of our house suggested that the marble workers had ever yielded up the premises to coroplasts, and we may prefer to suppose that a coroplast's shop occupied part of the now ruinous area to the north and west of the house in the same block.

Further evidence for the date at which Menon's house was finally destroyed is provided by a small pyre burial, set in a pit against one of the surviving conglomerate orthostates of the southeast wall.[29] The burial was placed in the actual line of the wall and could only have been deposited after the destruction of the building and the removal of the conglomerate block which stood west of those now *in situ*. The burial offerings were of the simplest kind consisting only of three household pots. A coarse

[26] Inv. T 3803, T 3804 (without arms). Cf. *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 75, 89, pls. 18, no. 1 and 20, no. 1.

[27] Inv. T 3797. H. 0.145 m.; Diam. of base 0.066 m.

[28] See *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 103, pl. 24, no. 10.

[29] The location of this burial, deposit F 16:7, is marked by a cross on the plan Fig. 1.

cooking pot (Inv. P 27913) contained a handful of tiny bones probably of a small bird or chicken, and this was covered by a saucer with rilled rim (Inv. P 27912) and accompanied by a black-glazed olpe of small standard (Inv. P 27911).[30] The pottery could be dated to the last years of the 4th century and may have been buried just after the beginning of the 3rd century. The pit for the pyre had been dug into the sixth layer of road metal in the street just beside the house, and this was the road in use during the latter part of the 4th century. A repair of this road and the succeeding layer of Road 5 had already covered the pyre by the early years of the 3rd century, thus providing a *terminus ante quem* for the demise of Menon's house. It may be noted also that during the course of the 3rd century the intersection was widened, so that Road 3 actually covered the upper surfaces of the surviving conglomerate orthostates in the middle years of the century. It is evident that most of the southeast wall must have been severely damaged in the original destruction or was thoroughly pillaged very shortly thereafter.

The little house and workshop of Mikion and Menon thus takes its place on the northern fringes of the heavily populated district between the Areopagus and the Pnyx, a district particularly inhabited by the artisans and craftsmen of the classical period. Here Mikion and Menon, at opposite ends of that period, formed part of a considerable colony of marble workers, whose shops came increasingly to occupy the older buildings of the district as the 4th century wore on.[31] The destruction and abandonment of our building at the end of the 4th century also seems to be related to the widespread ruin and depopulation which beset this whole industrial sector of the city at about the same time. The years of economic weakness and political turmoil which closed the century witnessed the desertion, and in some instances the violent destruction, of numerous private shops and houses near the Agora. More serious were the successive fires and disturbances which are known to have disrupted the sedate decorum of the Athenian prytaneis in their neighboring residence at the Tholos.[32] The contemporary destruction of Menon's house gives us one more vivid glimpse of this troubled period in the life of Athens.

SOUTHWEST BATHS

During the summer of 1968, we returned to a site long neglected since its original clearing in the late 1940's. This is the area immediately across the street from the corner occupied in the classical period by the House of Mikion and Menon.

[30] For the character, dating and distribution of similar pyre burials, R. S. Young, *Hesperia,* XX, 1951, pp. 110-114; detailed publication of 14 pyres, pp. 114-130.

[31] R. S. Young, *Hesperia,* XX, 1951, pp. 271-272 has assembled all the evidence for marble working in the valley southwest of the Agora.

[32] For the abandonment of houses in the industrial district, *Hesperia,* XX, 1951, pp. 113-114. For disturbances in the Tholos, *Hesperia,* Suppl. IV, pp. 134-135. Cf. also W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*[2], Munich, 1931, p. 86.

Here on an irregular terrace of the hillside, bounded on the north by Piraeus Street and on the east by Areopagus Street, there stood from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman period a prosperous public bath. The sprawling complex of buildings attained at its greatest extent a length of about 45 m. from north to south by about 28 m. from east to west, making it the largest bathing establishment yet discovered in the vicinity of the Agora. The site was originally excavated down to the Late Roman levels during successive campaigns in 1947 and 1948 under the supervision of Margaret Crosby; and some further work was carried out along the eastern edge of the area in 1957.[33] The ruinous structure confronts the modern visitor with a forbidding labyrinth of pillaged walls and broken floors, partially obstructed by deep pits and open drains, all of which have tended to discourage even the most determined archaeological efforts to disentangle the building's history. This sadly dilapidated site was subjected once again to a thorough two-pronged attack during the current season. Alison Frantz conducted a series of soundings beneath the latest floors in order to recover evidence of the building's chronology, while John Travlos and William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. grappled valiantly with its successive architectural phases. The summary account of the building here set forth owes much to their labors.

The earliest remains on the site are the two terrace walls which always determined the eastern and western limits of the area to the end of antiquity. On the east, Areopagus Street proceeds southward from the intersection with a steeply rising gradient which hugs the shoulder of the hill and climbs as much as 4 m. in its first 50 m. south of the junction with Piraeus Street. The street was supported by a heavy masonry retaining wall of which a section, 18.50 m. long, still stands in places to a height of 3.25 m. above the natural floor of the terrace, on which the baths later came to stand. The fabric of the masonry consists of large ashlar blocks of conglomerate alternating with sections of polygonal stonework so as to create a checkerboard pattern, a style which became popular among the masons in this district of Athens by the early 4th century B.C.[34] On the west side, the area is bounded by the polygonal retaining wall forming the eastern limit of the Poros Building and its annex,[35] which had occupied the bed of the valley, some 3 m. below the bath terrace, from the late 5th century B.C.

One of the most important results of the season's campaign was the discovery that a public bathing establishment had existed on this site from at least the 2nd century B.C. onward. Only one element of this early bath could be excavated and reconstructed with any degree of completeness. Deep beneath the ruins of the late

[33] For brief mention of the baths, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 284, XXVII, 1958, p. 146, cf. plan, XVII, 1948, p. 164, fig. 6. The bath was the only major building in this district omitted from the general publication, R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 135-288.

[34] Cf. *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 192-193, fig. 9, pp. 229-230, pls. 66, e, 81, a.

[35] *Ibid.*, pp. 168-187.

Roman structures, there came to light a small circular building measuring 7.20 m. in diameter, set in the northern part of the area just beside Piraeus Street (Fig. 3; Pl. 105). The circular foundation was composed of conglomerate blocks laid at angles and their joints wedged with rubble. One block at the south side is set in such

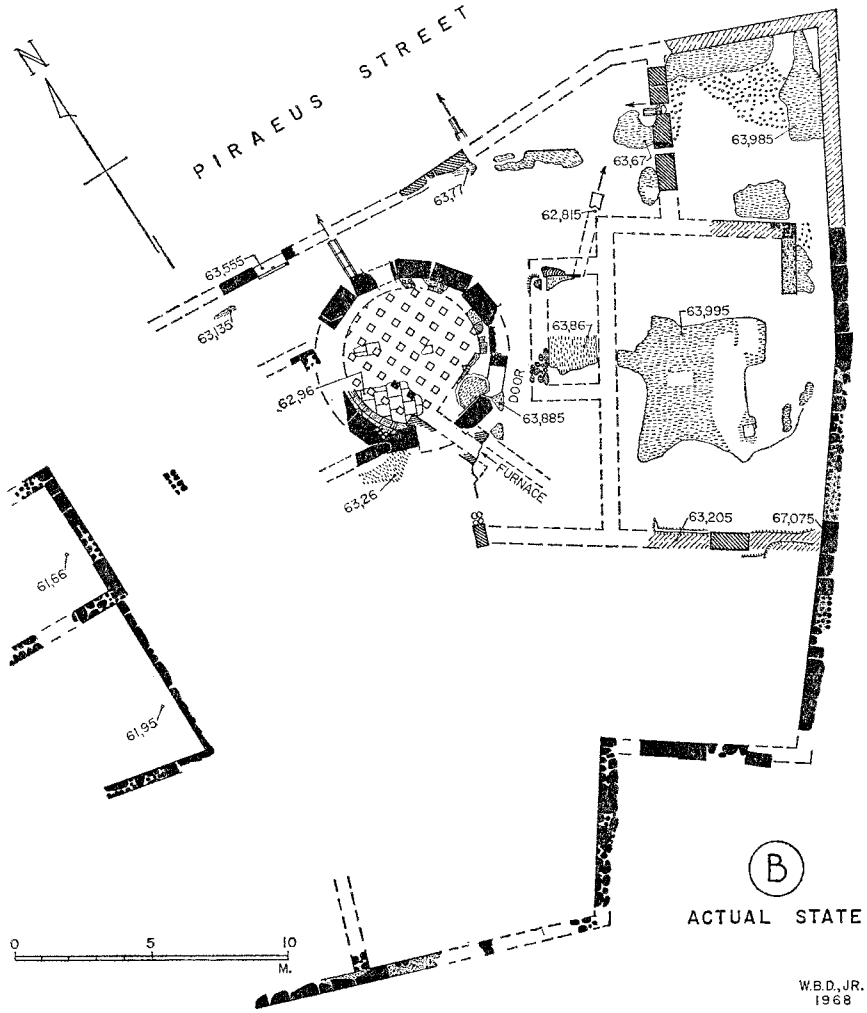

FIG. 3. Southwest Baths. Phase B. Actual State.

a way that it flattens the circle, which suggests that the original entrance may have been located at this point. The structure should undoubtedly be understood as a circular bath of a type well known in the late classical and Hellenistic periods and represented by a number of examples on other sites.[36] A building of this type would

[36] See R. Ginouvès, *Balaneutikè*, Paris, 1962, pp. 191-196 for discussion and examples of round baths. The best preserved and most complete bath of this type is that at Gortys in Arcadia, Ginouvès, *L'établissement thermal de Gortys d'Arcadie*, Paris, 1959.

normally be equipped with individual bathtubs arranged radially about the circle; and it is tempting to associate with our building just such a marble tub [37] (Pl. 108, e) found in the vicinity in 1939. The bathtub is wedge-shaped in plan and cut to fit a

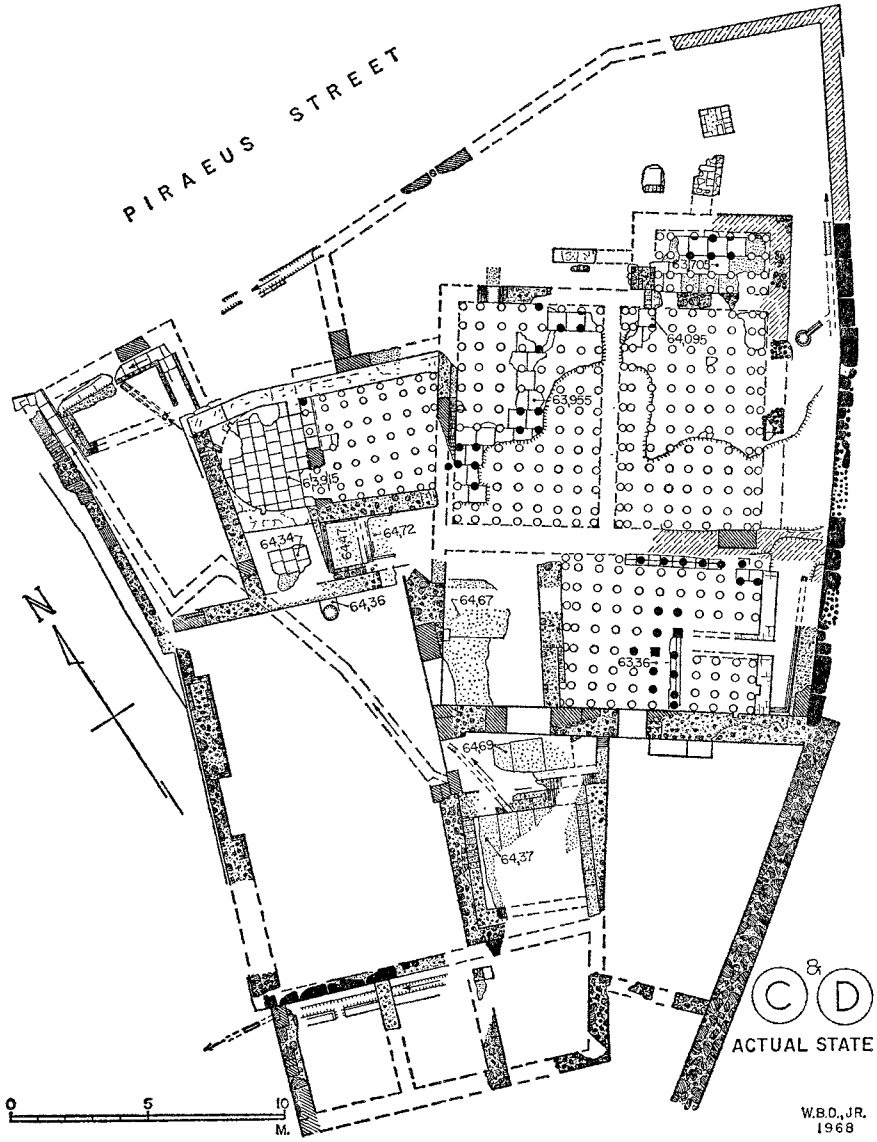

FIG. 4. Southwest Baths. Phases C and D. Actual State.

circular curve with almost precisely the radius of our structure. Exactly 20 marble bathtubs of this size would fit neatly in the circular building. Virtually no other

[37] Inv. ST 334. L. 1.245 m.; W. 0.71 m. (back); 0.545 m. (front); H. 0.52 m. (back); 0.54 m. (front).

architectural remains survive from this first period of the bath building itself. Some cuttings in bedrock for heavy foundations of a small square structure[38] are tangent to the south side of the circle and are probably related to the establishment, although no plan can be fully reconstructed. On the other hand, the outer limits of the enclosure to north and south can be established with some measure of certainty. Remnants of polygonal masonry define the southern boundary (Fig. 3, phase B) returning at right angles from the retaining wall of Areopagus Street and crossing the terrace in a zigzag line to its western edge. A handful of broken pottery recovered from a section of the footing trench for this wall indicates a date in the 2nd century B.C., contemporary with the circular building. On the north side, an enclosing wall of conglomerate orthostates bordered Piraeus Street. Only a few of these have survived *in situ,* but among them are those flanking the original entrance to the bath complex, a gateway 1.20 m. wide with a threshold fitted for a double gate. Excavation beneath a hard packed earth floor, just inside the gate, yielded pottery of the 2nd and early 1st centuries B.C., at which time the circular bath was certainly in use.[39]

Like many of the monuments in the Agora, the Hellenistic bath seems to have suffered damage at the hands of Sulla's legions when they invaded and sacked the city in 86 B.C. For it cannot have been long after this event that the circular building was substantially rebuilt. Its architecture now took on a more up-to-date look in a decidedly Roman style, and the refurbished bath was fitted out with all the latest western amenities. Chief among these was the installation of central heating in the form of a hypocaust beneath the floor, fired from an exterior furnace. At this time the interior of the circular wall was faced with a brick lining, 0.25 to 0.45 m. thick, which gave the wall a minimum thickness of 1 m. The lower floor of the hypocaust was paved with square terracotta tiles, *ca.* 0.49 m. on a side, well bedded in solid mortar. Most of the floor tiles have since disappeared, leaving only the impression of their pattern in the mortar bedding, except in the southwest quadrant of the circle where the floor is well preserved (Fig. 3, phase B; Pl. 105, b). Although the complex of later walls above the circular building prevented its complete investigation, it was possible to locate the bottommost tiles of two square piers of the hypocaust still resting *in situ.* Careful probing in the fill outside the southeast quadrant brought to light traces of the brick-lined flue which conducted hot air from the furnace to the hypocaust. The tile piers supported an upper floor likewise of square tiles of which only a few fragments are still visible. This in turn was originally covered by a thick layer of mortar surfaced with a mosaic of marble chips which formed the actual pavement of the building in phase B. The hypocaust was itself nowhere preserved to the level of the upper floor, but in the southeast quadrant

[38] These are visible on Plate 106, b, indicated by letter A.

[39] Pottery from the southern wall trench: Lot OO 797; pottery beneath the floor inside the north gate: Lots OO 772-773.

where the flue from the furnace entered the building, the brick wall facing was made much thicker, and on this solid foundation a small segment of the mosaic pavement and its bedding of motar still survives today. Since the mosaic at this point continues across the conglomerate ring of the outer wall, we should perhaps recognize this as the doorway to the building. Whatever had been the fabric of the Hellenistic circular bath, it seems now to have been largely replaced by rubble concrete, quantities of which fell from the superstructure when the building was destroyed and lodged in the hypocaust where they were found by the excavator. Among this destruction debris, several masses of concrete appeared to reflect the spherical curve of the vaulted ceiling and suggested that the building had been covered in this period by a concrete dome, for which the heavy masonry of the wall, 1 m. thick, would have provided ample support.

In its second period, the domed circular chamber formed only part of an expanded complex of buildings of which traces can be detected covering the whole northeast corner of the area. It is just possible to discern the outlines of a large rectangular hall adjoined by a smaller chamber which, because of its facilities for drainage, should perhaps be identified as a pool. Another room in the extreme northeast corner might have served as an entrance lobby offering direct access to the bath from Piraeus Street to the north. All these rooms, and indeed most of the area around the circular building, were paved with mosaic floors of marble chips identical with the floor which we found in the circular chamber itself. Traces of two walls extending westward from the round building suggest that it was enlarged by the addition of an annex in this period, but it proved impossible to verify the plan of these remains because of the later construction overlying them.

There is very little independent evidence bearing on the date at which the remodeling of the bath took place. Since pottery associated with the use of its predecessor runs into the 1st century B.C., and since the extensive reconstruction of the round bath implies serious damage to the earlier building, the destruction of 86 B.C. seems the most suitable occasion. Furthermore, some pockets of fill found just within the southernmost section of polygonal enclosing wall dated to the late 1st century B.C. and suggested a phase of construction at about the turn of the era. It is clear enough, however, that the remodeled bath of phase B enjoyed a life of only little more than half a century. Excavation in the southwestern quadrant of the circular chamber yielded masses of debris from the building's final destruction, which had been dumped in to level off the site preparatory to building operations of the next period. The latest pottery found among the destruction debris did not descend beyond the middle of the 1st century after Christ, and this provides a *terminus ante quem* for the end of the second bathing establishment. It seems likely that very little time elapsed between the second and third phases of the bath, and we may even wish to suppose that the circular building and its associated structures of phase B were deliberately

demolished in order to make way for the much more elaborate bath of the succeeding period.

About the middle of the 1st century of our era, the Southwest Baths were completely reconstructed on a far grander scale, and they now assumed the basic architectural form which, with some later modifications, they retained for half a millennium. This long period of their history is punctuated by one major alteration and interrupted by one major destruction and rebuilding, so that it will be more easily comprehensible to consider the remains as belonging to three separate phases. A glance, however, at the restorations of phases C, D, and E (Figs. 5, 6, 8) will indicate the long continuum of the basic plan. The plan was organized in two sections, one spanning the full width of the terrace on the west side and oriented with relation to the western retaining walls, while the other occupied the northeastern angle of the property, taking its orientation from the eastern retaining wall of Areopagus Street. The two sections of the building were thus laid out on two converging axes which necessitated a few awkward angles in various rooms. The construction of phase C, in those few places where it has not been obliterated by later repairs, is seen to be of uniformly good quality, consisting in the principal walls of rubble and concrete masonry which incorporates here and there a few re-used conglomerate blocks of the earlier bath. Some of the interior partitions were built alternatively of terracotta bricks neatly laid in fine white mortar.

One gained access to the building by way of an entrance vestibule, now largely destroyed by later construction, which led originally from Piraeus Street into a great western hall, 13.70 m. in length and 7.70 m. in width (Fig. 5; Pl. 106, a). When this room was built a heavy artificial filling was dumped over the area raising the floor level 1.16 m. above that of the post-Sullan bath. In phase C, the floor was paved with marble slabs, one or two of which may still be seen at the north end, lying 0.34 m. beneath the marble-chip pavement of the last period. This hall was clearly the principal apartment of the bath and from it one had access to all the bathing rooms and other parts of the establishment. It may have been used in part as an apodyterion, although another room to the east seems better suited to that purpose. In all likelihood, the west hall served the many and imprecise functions which in Mediterranean lands have always attached to large sheltered spaces where people might gather to talk or stroll or loiter as the spirit moved. To judge by its wide span and the heavy concrete masonry of its walls, which vary in thickness from 0.93 to 1.10 m., the hall was probably vaulted with a long barrel vault running north to south. The less massive walls at either end would doubtless have been pierced by windows set high in the arches, above the roofs of the small adjoining rooms to north and south. Very little remains of the three small rooms which flank the west hall at its south end. It seems likely, however, that we should look for a secondary entrance at this end of the hall, giving direct access to the bath from Areopagus Street. The southern end

of the bath terrace is a vacant shelf of exposed bedrock, some 2.80 m. below the level of the street. This area was adorned at some time in its history with a marble-chip pavement, and it may well have been an open entrance court approached by a stairway from the street above and leading by way of a small vestibule into the west hall of the bath.

From two doors on the east side of the hall, one entered the bathing rooms themselves. The southern doorway led to the frigidarium and up a few steps to the apodyterion, a large trapezoidal room lined along two walls with a low bench (A on the plan Fig. 5, phase C). The frigidarium (F on the plan) consisted of a narrow lobby, more of a passage than a room, paved with thin slabs of marble revetment which have left their impressions in the mortar bedding. The greater part of the room was occupied by a large square plunge-bath, 3.45 m. by 3.70 m., whose walls and floor were lined with a thick layer of hydraulic cement and revetted with marble slabs. A drain set level with the floor of the pool on its north side conducted the waste water beneath the floor of the room and emptied ultimately into the main drainage system, which ran northward beneath the west hall. The sides of the pool were constructed of brickwork encased in walls of rubble and concrete masonry which attained an overall thickness in places of 1.65 m. The strength of the walls suggests again that the room was roofed with a vaulted ceiling, in this case perhaps a high cross vault which would allow the frigidarium to be lit through clerestory windows to south and east.

A second wide door, beside the entrance to the frigidarium, led the bather from the west hall into the northeast wing of the baths. Included in this wing were all those rooms whose functions required apparatus for central heating and hot water. Inspection of the plan of phases C and D (Fig. 4; cf. Pl. 106, b) will show that the actual state of the remains is extremely ruinous in the northeast corner of the baths. Only the massive south wall, 1.10 m. thick, and the west wall, where it converges with the western hall, are well preserved. But the original lines of the other walls can be determined with some accuracy from a few scraps of surviving masonry and some pillaged footing trenches, and these provide sufficient evidence to reconstruct the plan of the wing.

A small anteroom, measuring originally about 3.80 m. by 5.60 m., separated the tepidarium (T on the plan Fig. 5) from the west hall; and this lobby could also be approached directly from the frigidarium to the south and from a small subsidiary frigidarium at the north, equipped only with a shallow marble-lined pool. The anteroom retains in the mortar bedding for its floor the imprint of large slabs of marble revetment which originally adorned the floor of the room. From the anteroom, one entered the tepidarium, a long rectangular room which measured about 5.25 m. in width and 8.60 m. in length during phase C, before it was shortened by later alterations. The tepidarium, unlike its anteroom, was heated by a hypocaust beneath the

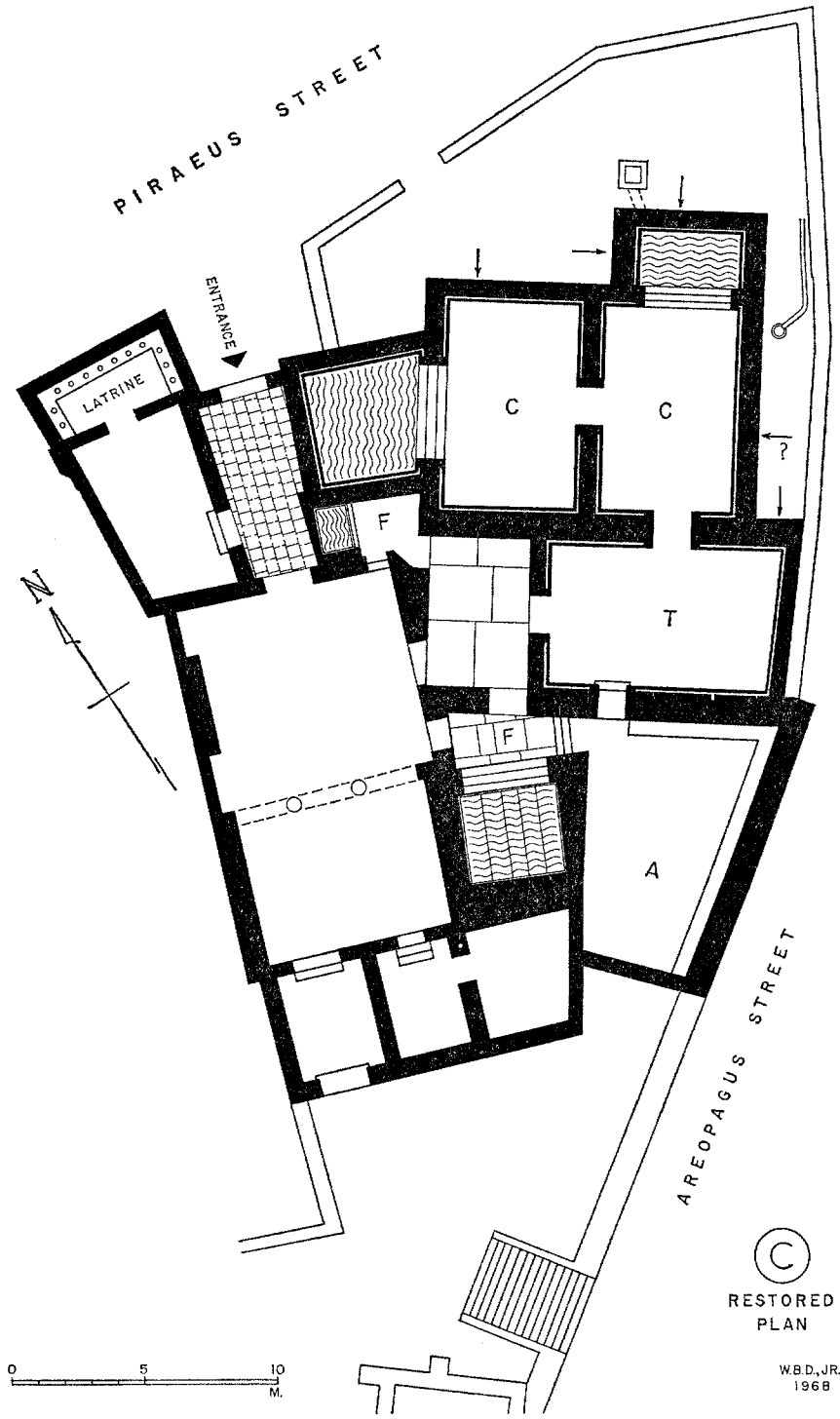

FIG. 5. Southwest Baths. Phase C. Restored. A: Apodyterion. C: Caldarium. F: Frigidarium. T: Tepidarium.

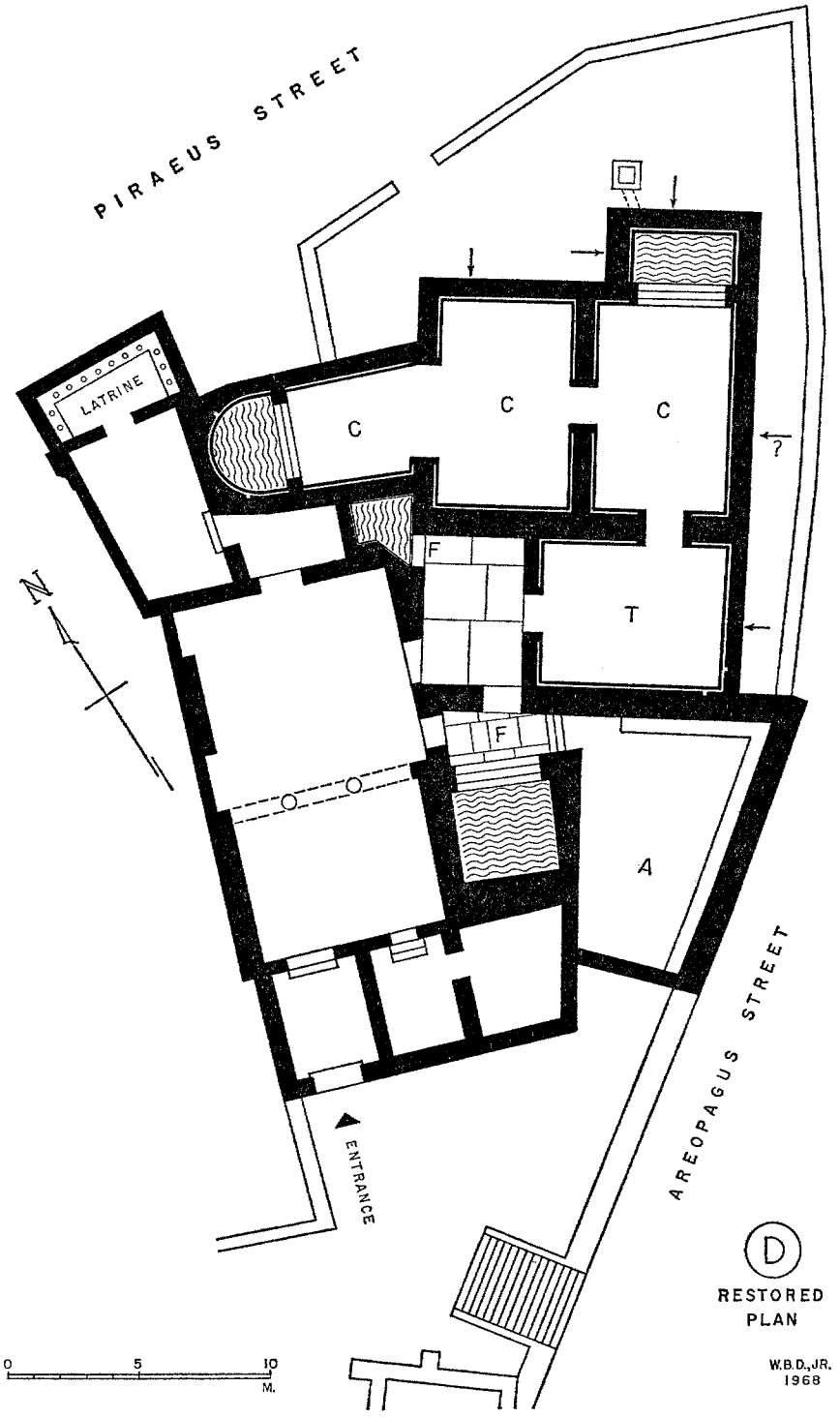

FIG. 6. Southwest Baths. Phase D. Restored. A: Apodyterion. C: Caldarium. F: Frigidarium. T: Tepidarium.

floor, and by hollow panels in the walls which allowed heat to circulate on all sides of the room. A tile floor was laid a few centimeters above the natural bedrock, and on this were erected columns, composed of 13 terracotta disks 0.06 m. thick and 0.26 m. in diameter (Pl. 108, a), which stood 1 m. high and brought the actual floor of the room level with that of the anteroom. There were originally 11 rows of 9 columns each, of which only a few have survived in place and one or two to their full height. The preserved columns probably belong to the construction of phase C, but may possibly date to the later remodeling of the hypocaust in phase D. A second tile floor supported by the hypocaust columns has survived in a few fragments, and this was undoubtedly covered by a pavement of marble. The excavator found clear evidence of the hollow panels which lined the walls. These were formed of *tegulae mammatae*, terracotta tiles measuring 0.49 m. on all sides and fitted with four conical knobs on their backs.[40] The tiles were set on edge along a brick curbing which ran around the base of the walls, and they were held in an upright position by short bronze clamps one end of which hooked over the edge of the tile while the other was mounted in the plaster of the wall behind.[41] The knobs protruding from the back of each tile thus rested against the plastered wall, where their impression is still to be seen in places (Pl. 108, a), and they formed a hollow space 0.10 m. deep between the tiles and the wall behind. The hot air was channeled into this hollow space through flues set in the masonry of the walls, of which only one was preserved on the south side of the room. It is likely that the tepidarium was originally equipped with some kind of hydraulic installation of which the exact nature can no longer be determined, for at the southeast corner there was found a section of neatly constructed tile drain laid on the lower floor of the hypocaust and running in a northerly direction. A door in the south wall of the tepidarium permitted bathers with a preference for warmer baths to enter directly from the apodyterion into the heated chambers of the northeast wing, without passing first through the frigidarium and anteroom. Another door restored conjecturally in the north wall of the tepidarium gave access to the caldarium.

The caldarium (C on the plan Fig. 5) is the most thoroughly devastated part of the structure, and although its general lines can be deciphered, there is little evidence for a detailed reconstruction. It was divided apparently into two rooms, each measuring 4.85 m. in width and 7.60 m. in length, and presumably communicating through a doorway in the dividing wall. Both chambers of the caldarium were heated by hypocausts, of which the lower tiled floor was laid directly on the marble-chip pavement of the post-Sullan bath. Fragmentary remains of a few hypocaust columns

[40] Hundreds of fragments of mammary tiles were encountered in destruction debris of all phases and it seems a safe assumption that they lined the walls of all the heated rooms. An inventoried example is Inv. A 3685.

[41] One such clamp, Inv. B 1331, was found in the destruction debris of the room.

were discovered here in the excavations of 1948. One or two of the columns preserved the full height of the hypocaust, but its upper floor had nowhere survived. Adjoining each room of the caldarium was a heated plunge-bath, the smaller, 2.10 by 3.65 m., serving the eastern chamber and protruding from the northeast corner of the building. The lower floor of the hypocaust beneath this small pool was laid 0.39 m. below the hypocaust floor of the main room in order to increase the depth of the bath. Only the bare outlines of the pool for the west caldarium can be recovered today, fitted at an odd angle into the available space between the northeast wing and the entrance vestibule, and its function has been conjectured on the analogy of its successor in phase D. Remains of no less than three furnaces for firing the hypocausts of the caldarium have come to light in the open service court along the northeast side of the building. The locations of these are indicated by arrows on the restored plan, Figure 5, and the pottery recovered from the furnace dumps showed, as we shall see shortly, that they served for a long period. The sooty and unsightly operations of the service court were screened from passing traffic on Piraeus Street by an enclosing wall, of which traces can be made out. But the proximity of this busy thoroughfare also provided an easy route of access for the teamsters who supplied fuel to the furnaces of the Southwest Baths.

The construction of the caldarium is seen, in those few places where fragmentary segments of its walls survive, to be closely similar to that of the tepidarium, its heavy walls composed of rubble and concrete masonry, with some use of brick especially for the flues from the furnaces. The massive walls of the northeast wing suggest that it was entirely roofed with concrete vaulting from the time of its original construction in phase C. The excavator recovered clear evidence of a vaulted ceiling over the tepidarium in phase D, for among the destruction debris of that period were found several masses of fallen concrete which preserved the curvature of a vault.[42] A single long barrel vault, running east to west, would probably have roofed the tepidarium and its anteroom. The twin chambers of the caldarium, with their heavy dividing wall, would have had two smaller barrel vaults running north to south. High windows opening to the north and east would have provided air and light to the three rooms. Some evidence of these windows in the tepidarium came to light in the excavation. This took the form of two fragments of terracotta window tiles which preserved parts of the mullions between several small arched openings.[43] The fragments were found among the debris which filled the extreme eastern end of the room, just below the spot where they are likely to have been installed originally high in the vault above, and from which they probably fell at the time of destruction.

One other amenity of the Southwest Baths probably dates its construction to the mid 1st century after Christ. That is a small latrine located at the extreme northwest

[42] An inventoried sample is A 3680.
[43] Inv. A 3673 and A 3674.

corner of the complex (Fig. 5; Pl. 107, a). This utilitarian structure reflects in its modest architecture all the vicissitudes which befell the baths. Its walls were originally of brick laid in neat, even courses, its trenches floored with tile, and its pavement of simple stucco. The latrine was approached from the south by way of a large anteroom, which had access from the main entrance vestibule. Its site was aptly chosen not only because of its proximity to the street, but particularly because it was so placed that its northwest corner fell above the point of confluence of the two principal bath drains. In fact, the west and north trenches of the latrine were formed simply by removing the upper U-shaped tiles from the western drain and by widening slightly the northern drain, brick walls being substituted for the original drain tiles. The northern drain followed the line of the enclosing wall for the service court, and it no doubt served the hydraulic installations of the northeast wing. The western drain begins under the east side of the great west hall where it serviced the pool of the frigidarium. By means of these two drains, all waste water from the baths and latrine was emptied into the main street drain of Piraeus Street at a point just beyond the northwest corner of the latrine, whence it flowed in a westerly direction into the Great Drain of the Agora which passes some 18 m. to the west.

Phase C represents the principal period of construction in the long history of the Southwest Baths. But owing to later rebuilding and re-use, we were able to isolate only a very few pockets of uncontaminated fill which could be associated with the construction of the building. The most useful of these was found beneath the northwest corner of the caldarium. It has already been noted that, wherever possible, the hypocaust of the caldarium was laid directly on the marble-chip pavement of the earlier bath. But the northwest corner fell within the circle of the round building, and here a special rubble packing, consisting of field stone and mortar, was dumped into the old circular building to form a firm foundation for the corner of the caldarium. The pottery from the stone packing belonged chiefly to the late Hellenistic period, but a fair number of fragments ran down to the middle of the 1st century after Christ at the latest.[44] This construction filling provides our best evidence for the date of the building.

Although the major part of the baths continued to be used in the form we have already described for nearly two and a quarter centuries, a few important alterations occurred sometime in the 2nd century after Christ. These have been characterized as phase D and appear on the restored plan of that period in Figure 6. The most extensive of these modifications involved the heated pool on the west side of the caldarium which was now converted into a third small, heated chamber. The floor

[44] The pottery forms Lot OO 776. The date is corroborated by two other bits of construction fill, one found just west of the round building, Lot OO 779, and another below the floor of phase C in a deep sounding at the northwest corner of the west hall, where the marble-chip pavement had been broken away, Lot OO 784.

level above the hypocaust was no doubt raised to be level with the floor in the neighboring room; but since the latest floor in this area was lower than the earlier ones, no definite evidence of this survived. The structure was also pushed westward to form an apsidal pool (Pl. 107, b), built with massive walls of brick-faced concrete to support a half dome of which many pieces of fallen masonry were discovered in the destruction debris of the building. Only the lower tiled floor of the hypocaust has survived, together with the lowest terracotta disk of one column. The discovery of two vertical tile-lined flues on either side of the apse gave evidence once again of hollow panels for heating within the thickness of the walls. That the apsidal section of the new room was occupied by a plunge-bath is indicated by its well constructed drain composed of terracotta tiles. The drain began at the level of the higher floor of the hypocaust, its uppermost tiles being supported by a rough pier of concrete which stood between the two floors of the hypocaust in the northwest quadrant of the apse (Fig. 4; Pl. 107, b). Thence the drain flowed northward, falling steeply as it passed through the wall and beneath the floor of the neighboring latrine to find egress in its north trench.[45] The construction of the new apsidal caldarium virtually obliterated the former entrance vestibule and blocked access to the baths from Piraeus Street. The southern entrance from Areopagus Street now became in phase D the principal means of entering the building. For the date at which this remodeling occurred, we must depend solely upon a layer of filling found beneath the latest floor in the southeast corner of the room, but above the destruction debris of the circular building, which was dumped in connection with the construction of phase C. Pottery from the layer in question[46] could be dated to the first half of the 2nd century after Christ, a date which may be taken to provide a reasonable *terminus post quem* for the apsidal caldarium.

The other major alteration of phase D is likely to have been contemporary although no specific evidence of its date could be recovered. This involved the reconstruction of the east wall of the tepidarium which was shifted westward about 1.50 m. so that it now aligned with the east wall of the caldarium. It is impossible to say whether this change came about merely in the interests of architectural symmetry, or whether some damage to the building, or even a structural weakness which may have developed at the east end of its vault, dictated the rebuilding of the east wall. The heavy rubble and concrete masonry of the earlier period was now abandoned in favor of solid brick construction (Pl. 108, b), and it is noteworthy that a great many re-used tiles, both round and square, from the floors and columns of the hypocaust,

[45] The point at which the caldarium drain empties into the north trench of the latrine is clearly visible on Plate 107, a.

[46] The pottery is stored as Lots OO 777 and 778. A very few fragments of much later date will have found their way into the earlier fill at the time of the laying of the latest floor in the post-Herulian period.

as well as *tegulae mammatae* from the wall panels, were built into the fabric of the new east wall. Midway along the wall was the opening, 0.56 m. wide, where the main flue from the furnace entered the hypocaust. Thin walls of brick masonry lined the flue on either side and extended at least 1 m. into the hypocaust, in order to create a better draft for the hot air from the furnace. The furnace itself was located in the narrow space created by the westward shift of the wall, and here the excavator came upon masses of burned material, ash, and soot from the repeated fires which had burned at the mouth of the flue. After the renovations of phase D, the narrow service corridor now ran the full length of the northeast wing between its exterior walls and the high retaining wall of Areopagus Street. At some time in its history, this narrow passage was covered at least partially by a brick vault, of which portions of the brickwork can still be seen along the upper part of the retaining wall. The crown of the vault would have risen to about the level of the street outside, and it is likely that the structure was not intended so much to roof the service area as it was to buttress the walls of the bath.

We should perhaps associate with the vaulting of the service area a curious architectural terracotta recovered from the debris above the furnace of the tepidarium (Pl. 108, c-d). This is a hollow lantern-like object,[47] roughly oval in plan, and broken about the bottom in such a way as to suggest that it was made in one piece with a square tile of standard two-foot size. Its low sloping walls are pierced by six holes, and the top and ends are strengthened by a solid ridge of terracotta, decorated with four low bosses. The hollow interior shows no trace of soot or stain of smoke, which thus precludes any direct connection with the furnace itself. It seems likely, however, that the piece should be interpreted as some kind of ventilator, designed to be set above an air hole in the brick vault over the service corridor. We may suppose that the vault was covered by a flat tiled terrace at street level, and that a series of such ventilators were inserted in the tiled floor along the crown of the vault where they would admit a modicum of air and light to the dark passage below.

There can be no doubt whatever about the date at which the Southwest Baths underwent the most extensive and violent destruction in their long history. The baths, constructed principally in the middle of the 1st century after Christ (phase C), with modifications about a century later (phase D), were severely damaged during the raid of the invading Herulians, which caused such widespread destruction, reflected in most of the public and private buildings of the Agora, in the year 267 after Christ. Wherever it was possible to probe beneath the latest floors of the baths, the excavations yielded masses of destruction debris which offer grim testimony to the havoc of that year. The debris was remarkably homogeneous wherever we en-

[47] Inv. A 3671, H. 0.19 m.; P. L. 0.32 m.; P. W. 0.27 m. Only one other similar object, Inv. A 2715, has come to light in the Agora and this is slightly smaller and more fragmentary, but found in a similar context of Herulian destruction.

countered it, in the latrine, on the floor of the apsidal caldarium, at the east end of the tepidarium, in the furnace dumps and refuse pits of the north service court; and the same unmistakable signs of deliberate devastation were always present, quantities of broken tiles from the hypocausts, shattered fragments of marble revetment, hunks of mosaic pavement, and especially the ubiquitous powdery rubble of fallen mortar and plaster. The bulk of the pottery found among this debris belonged consistently to the second half of the 3rd century after Christ, but it is important to note that the latest pieces of each context ran well down into the first half of the 4th century.[48] The inference seems clear that the building stood partly in ruins, largely abandoned and disused for as much as half a century, before its systematic renovation toward the middle of the 4th century after Christ.

Some parts of the building suffered more severely than others. The vaulted ceilings of both the apsidal caldarium and tepidarium collapsed, leaving abundant remains of their destruction. On the other hand, there is no evidence in the renewed plan of phase E to indicate that the vaults fell in the western hall or the twin chambers of the caldarium. Indeed, the thickening of the east wall of the caldarium suggests rather an attempt to buttress a weakened vault than the construction of a new one. Futhermore, the basic continuity of the old plan in post-Herulian times (Fig. 8) shows that the major parts of the bath must have survived the sack with only superficial damage to the decorative revetment of their walls and floors.

Nevertheless, the refurbished structure which arose from the ruins of its predecessor displayed a number of important changes. Once again the principal entrance to the building was moved, so that one no longer approached it from the south end of the terrace but rather by way of a new entrance court over the ruins of the old tepidarium. A section of masonry, 2.50 m. wide, was removed from the east retaining wall to create a broad doorway which gave direct access to the bath from Areopagus Street. But since the original floor of the tepidarium was about 2.60 m. below the level of Areopagus Street, a vast artificial filling had to be dumped into the ruined tepidarium in order to raise the ground level of the new court to within reach of the street. The rubble from the collapsed vaulting of the room was left where it had fallen and in addition masses of debris were brought from the ruins of the neighboring houses, as we learn from the quantity of broken domestic pottery found in the fill. The eastern portion of this filling had survived to a depth of 1.50 m. before our excavations, and it must originally have been deeper still, for the mediaeval floors preserved

[48] The largest and most useful group of pottery came from the furnace dumps north of the caldarium (deposit F 17:1) and in the passage east of the tepidarium (deposit E 18:6), both of which included large numbers of lamps, used presumably to light the way of the unfortunate stoker to whose lot it fell to clean out the dark spaces of the hypocausts. Fragmentary pottery from the Herulian destruction also comprised Lots OO 769, 771, 775 (from pits in the north service area); OO 782 (from the apsidal caldarium); OO 800 (from the latrine).

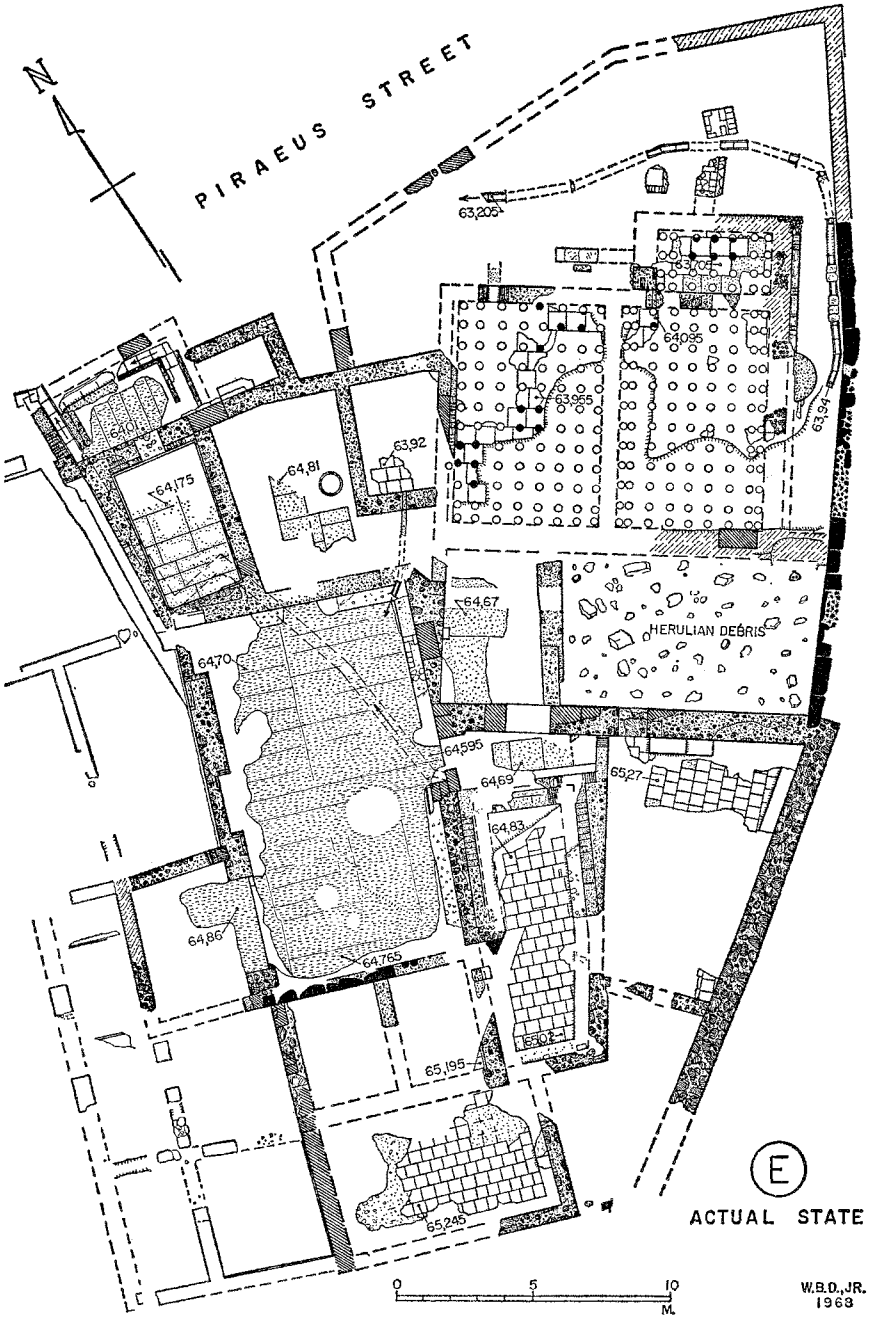

FIG. 7. Southwest Baths. Phase E. Actual State.

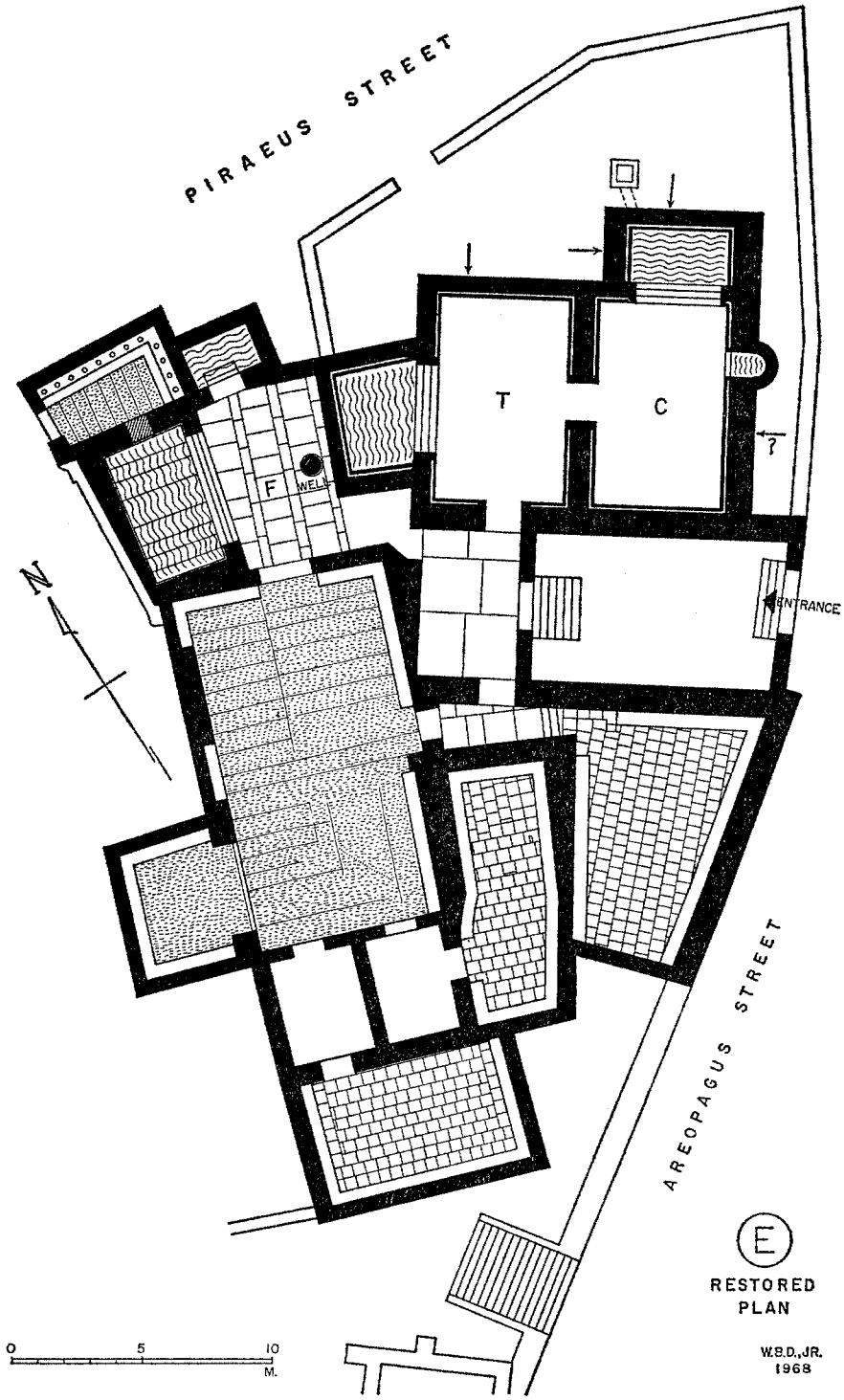

FIG. 8. Southwest Baths. Phase E. Restored. C: Caladrium. F: Frigidarium. T: Tepidarium.

over the area were clearly lower than those of late Roman times. At the western end of the open court, thus created, an imposing flight of steps, now vanished without trace, must have led the visitor down to the level of the old anteroom to the tepidarium, which retained its original floor and served as the entrance vestibule to the post-Herulian bath.

During the last period of the bath, all of its hydraulic installations were confined to the northern section of the building. The area occupied formerly by the apsidal caldarium and the room to its west, which gave access to the latrine, was converted into the frigidarium. Over the destruction debris of the apsidal pool, the builders laid down a thick packing of rubble and concrete which served as the bedding for a new pavement of marble slabs. The floor was thus raised so as to be nearly level with the floor of the neighboring caldarium, and this could now be approached from the frigidarium by way of a small passage, created by flooring over the shallow pool which had previously occupied this space. The room to the west was reconstructed in phase E as a plunge-bath for the frigidarium, measuring 5.30 m. in length and 2.80 m. in width. Its heavy north wall had to be rebuilt from the lowest foundations, while the others were merely thickened irregularly in an attempt to make the room's awkward trapezoidal shape more nearly rectangular. To the walls and floor was applied a thick layer of hydraulic cement which retains the imprint of thin marble floor slabs, and a few fragments of marble revetment still adhere in places around the base of the walls. The floor of the pool remained 0.65 m. lower than that of the room proper in order to give it a serviceable depth. A well on the east side of the frigidarium was probably the chief source of water for the pool, and its waste drained through a terracotta channel installed at floor level in the southwest corner. A small subsidiary pool, 2.68 m. long and 1.60 m. wide, opened off the north side of the frigidarium. Accessible by two steps from the floor of the room, this was likewise a cold bath and it rounded out the facilities of the new frigidarium.

The construction of the pools for the frigidarium also affected arrangements in the latrine next door, for they effectively blocked all access to the latrine from within the bath. In response to this, the latrine also underwent alterations. Its west trench was filled in with a loose packing of stones and a little mortar, and the new floor, paved with marble chips, was carried westward over the refilled trench. In all likelihood, a door was now opened in the west wall which would have made the latrine conveniently accessible from the street itself, even though its capacity was somewhat reduced. It should be noted also that at some later stage, the new pool of the frigidarium for some reason ceased to be used as a bath, and once again a doorway was broken through the wall from the disused pool to the latrine. This latest feature of the latrine is clearly visible on Plate 107, a.

Those bathers who preferred the less bracing atmosphere of the caldarium would still have found the heated chambers and baths concentrated in the northeast corner

of the building. The two rooms of the old caldarium seem to have suffered the least changes in the reconstruction of phase E. In view, however, of the refilling of the former tepidarium to form an entrance court, we may suppose that the west chamber of the caldarium now took over the function of the tepidarium (T on the plan, Fig. 8) and probably enjoyed direct access from the vestibule. A new pool was constructed in the area between the frigidarium and the west wall of the room. Its builders re-used the side walls erected originally for the apsidal caldarium of the 2nd century, but a new wall of shabby rubble construction was built to enclose the west side of the pool. Part of the lower floor of the hypocaust beneath the pool has survived, and this was found to consist of re-used mammary tiles, with their knobs knocked off, which had been laid face up to serve as ordinary floor tiles. Aside from the western pool, the only other apparent addition to the caldarium in post-Herulian times was a small apsidal fountain, of no great size or depth, which was made to protrude from the east wall. Only its semicircular foundation of firm concrete and its drain have survived to inform us of its existence. This little structure is probably to be thought of as a decorative nymphaeum rather than as a proper bathing pool.

With the bathing facilities thus strictly relegated to the northern parts of the building, the rest of the establishment was left free for other activities, which, if we may judge from the new interior appointments, were of a decidedly less corporal nature. It is a most striking feature of the late Roman bath that all of its principal southern rooms were fitted out with low benches, lining the walls of the rooms on three, and in one case on all four, sides. Since the reduced bathing facilities of this late period can scarcely have required so many apodyteria to accommodate the crowds of bathers, it is natural to suppose that these rooms served primarily for lectures and discussions and the instruction of the young. The Southwest Baths seem now to have acquired something of the atmosphere of a philosophical school, and indeed their architectural appointments share much in common with several large private educational establishments which have come to light along the northern slopes of the Areopagus.[49] We may even compare the close association of bathing and educational facilities in our building with the similar combination on a much grander scale in the great gymnasium, erected about A.D. 400 over the ruins of the Odeion and the South Square of the Agora.[50] Although there was perhaps no formal change in the public function of the Southwest Baths, one is tempted to think that they had come increasingly to be patronized by professors of philosophy and their pupils, whose desire to follow their ablutions by pursuits of more edifying and spiritual content may still be reflected in the architecture of the building.

The west hall was repaved in phase E with chips of marble, its floor being raised 0.34 m. to correspond better with the floor levels of surrounding rooms (Pl. 106, a).

[49] H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 104-105, fig. 1; J. Travlos, Πολεοδομικὴ Ἐξέλιξις τῶν Ἀθηνῶν, Athens, 1960, pp. 130-134, figs. 83-84.

[50] Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 134-139, fig. 21.

Benches were installed along every available bit of wall except at the south end. Most significant, however, was the addition of a large exedra, measuring 4.85 m. by 3.50 m., at the southwest corner of the hall. This too was paved with marble chips laid in mortar and its sides lined with benches. In the construction of the exedra, the builders encroached on the ruins of an adjacent private house which had likewise suffered destruction at the hands of the Herulians.[51] One of its rear rooms was completely filled in with destruction debris in order to raise its level to that of the west hall of the bath, 1.82 m. above the original floor of the room. Other changes in the southern part of the building involved the cold bath of the former frigidarium. This was now thrown together with a small room at the south to form a long narrow room of irregular shape, approached by a small anteroom at the south end of the west hall. The old pool was filled in and a pavement of terracotta tiles was laid over the whole room, its walls being lined with benches. A similar tiled floor and benches were installed in the old apodyterion just to the east; and it may be suggested that its former function as a place for disrobing was inherited by the west hall, which was more easily accessible to the bathing rooms at the north end of the building. As part of the same building program, an entirely new room of similar type was added to the south end. This occupied the area of the south entrance court, which had formerly provided access to the baths from Areopagus Street. Measuring 7.80 m. in length and 4.75 m. in width, the room formed a major addition to the building and would have served well for lectures and classes. It was separated from the west hall by the former south entrance vestibule, through which one entered the new room, and its interior arrangements were closely similar to the surrounding rooms, three of its walls being lined with benches and its floor paved with tiles.

Our excavations yielded abundant evidence for the chronology of this final phase of the Southwest Baths. It has already been noted that the latest pottery found among the debris of the Herulian sack suggested a *terminus post quem* for the reconstruction near the middle of the 4th century after Christ. In addition to this, we were able to recover a few pockets of construction filling from beneath some of the latest floors. From beneath the marble-chip pavement of the latrine and the late tiled floor of the old apodyterion came small amounts of pottery dating to the second half of the 3rd century and the first half of the 4th century after Christ. This date was fully corroborated by pottery from the filling of the original pool of the frigidarium.[52] On the other hand, it is interesting to observe that pottery found under the concrete bedding for the later frigidarium and above the destruction debris of the apsidal

[51] The neighboring houses below the bath terrace to the west have been briefly described by R. S. Young, *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 277 and cf. p. 183. They exhibit a series of architectural periods closely analogous to the baths.

[52] Lots OO 798-799 came from under the floor of the latrine where it was broken away along the west edge. Lot OO 795 came from a similar spot on the west side of the apodyterion. Lot OO 793 was found in the filling of the pool of the frigidarium. The fill included quantities of broken bits of marble revetment from the pool, and it was sealed by the later tiled floor.

caldarium of phase D had a lower chronological limit in the early 5th century after Christ.[53] This suggests that the marble-paved floor of the new frigidarium was renewed, perhaps at the time when the pool on its west side went out of use and the doorway was opened into the latrine. The latrine itself appears to have gone out of use sometime in the second half of the 5th century, at an appreciably earlier date than the final destruction of the building.[54] For the date of the final destruction we find a firm *terminus ante quem* in the debris which accumulated over the latest floors of the bath and was sealed by the still later floors of mediaeval buildings at a higher level. Such an accumulation was uncovered in the east apodyterion where the pottery was found to date consistently to the late 6th century after Christ. A similar date was yielded by the material from a pillaging trench along the north side of the same room.[55] Layers of destruction debris along the northern edge of the bath complex and a deep disturbance at the northwest corner of the west hall likewise produced pottery which ran down to the end of the 6th century after Christ.[56] We may suggest with considerable probability that the long history of the baths came finally to an end during the Slavic invasions of the 580's after Christ.

EARLY MONUMENT BENEATH THE MIDDLE STOA

Definitive exploration of the early stratified deposits under the west end of the Middle Stoa was carried to completion in the summer of 1968 under the supervision of John McK. Camp. The beginning of this task in 1965 had brought to light the foundations of a large and important early monument beneath the southern foundations of the Hellenistic stoa; and the work of 1967 had probed the sections of stratified road metal lying west of the monument.[57] Our efforts in the current season were aimed at recovering evidence for the chronology and history of the monument and its relation to the early classical road. Since a detailed study of the monument has been prepared for publication in a forthcoming number of this journal, only a most cursory account need be included here to indicate the chief results of the season's work.

A significant section of the classical road was laid bare to the southwest of the Middle Stoa, and its course can now be charted with certainty. We have to do with the continuation of Areopagus Street, whose course carried it in a northeasterly direction from the Pnyx and the western slopes of the Areopagus to the intersection

[53] The pottery forms Lot OO 781.

[54] Lot OO 804 from the east trench of the latrine ran no later than the second half of the 5th century after Christ, and the destruction debris cleared from the north trench, Lot OO 806, showed the same lower limit.

[55] Lot OO 794 came from the east apodyterion between its latest Roman floor and the later mediaeval floor above. Lot 00 796 includes material recovered from the pillaging trench along the north wall.

[56] Lots OO 228-229 from destruction debris north of the bath; Lot OO 783 from the disturbance in the west hall.

[57] H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 61-64.

with Piraeus Street, where it passed the little house of Mikion and Menon. Thence it proceeded directly toward the center of the market square, and a branch, leading to the buildings along the west side of the Agora, diverged just south of the Hellenistic stoa. The evidence of stratification confirmed the results of 1967 and showed that this busy thoroughfare saw constant use from archaic times until the construction of the Middle Stoa in the 2nd century B.C. caused its course to be shifted westward. In most places, the excavation was carried no deeper than the road surface of the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., for this proved to be paved with large rough cobblestones covering a deep fill of heavy stones, which had been dumped in connection with grading operations during the years just after the Persian sack of Athens in 480 B.C.

It was at a point where the street opened into the square that the long, rectangular monument was erected. The foundations for its base were so placed that it partially obstructed the thoroughfare and would have been readily visible to everyone entering or leaving the Agora. Both its prominent location and its great size (9.80 m. long and 2.25 m. wide) suggest that the structure was an important one. Excavation of the stratified fill on both sides of the monument have now enabled us to reconstruct its history. The foundations were laid on bedrock in a trench dug through the cobbled surface of the early 5th century street. At the time of construction, the area east of the monument was graded, and we were able to recover some of the packing of crushed bedrock which had been thrown against the east side of the foundation. Pottery from this filling could be dated late in the third quarter of the 5th century. In addition, the road surface next above the cobbled street of post-Persian times was found to consist mainly of working chips and dust of Pentelic marble, undoubtedly left behind by the stone masons who had cut the marble for the superstructure of the monument. Pottery from this layer of road metal likewise suggested a date *ca.* 430 B.C. for the erection of the monument and the resurfacing of the road to the west of it. After its construction in the closing years of the Periclean period, the monument stood for about three quarters of a century until its systematic demolition in the mid 4th century B.C. Various pieces of evidence combine to suggest the identification of this foundation as the original site for the monument of the Eponymous Heroes, whose familiar peribolos opposite the porch of the Hellenistic Metroon is now known to have been constructed about the middle of the 4th century, although literary and historical testimonia make it certain that the monument existed elsewhere as early as 424 B.C.

INSCRIPTIONS

In a season which was otherwise somewhat devoid of major finds, three additions to the epigraphical collection may be mentioned here. As part of his exploration of the early roads at the west end of the Middle Stoa, John Camp undertook the clearing of the line of house walls bounding the western edge of the street. The corner of one small building just southwest of the Middle Stoa proved to have in its

fabric two inscribed marble stelai. They were built into the wall of the house in such a way as to serve also as cover slabs for the drain of the Southwest Fountain House, which passed down the street just beside the wall. One stele (Inv. I 7042, below, No. 2, pp. 425-431, Pls. 109, 110, 112) of Pentelic marble was found virtually intact except for a few chips. It was equipped with a tang at the bottom and tapered slightly toward the top which was crowned with a low pediment. The inscription included the complete texts of two decrees honoring the prytaneis and their officers from the tribe Pandionis, who served on the Council in the Archonship of Menekrates, 220/19 B.C. Appended to the texts was a roster of the Councillors representing Pandionis in that year. The other stele (Inv. I 7043, below, No. 1, pp. 418-425, Pls. 109-111) of Hymettian marble, was also largely complete, though broken in two pieces and missing most of its pediment. The document, whose text was once again almost wholly preserved, comprised two similar decrees bestowing honors upon the prytaneis of Aigeis during the Archonship of Philinos. A long formula had been erased at a later date from the text of each decree, where reference may have been made to the Macedonian kings Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes, against whom a *damnatio memoriae* was carried out after 200 B.C. Because of the excellent state of the two documents and their extraordinary chronological, historical, and prosopographical interest, a complete publication of the texts is provided below (pp. 418-431) by John Traill, and accompanied by a detailed study of the documents' chronological implications prepared by Benjamin D. Meritt (pp. 432-441).

A third inscription of great interest was a small slab of Pentelic marble[58] broken on the left side and bottom, but preserving its original top and right hand margin. The inscribed face had been neatly smoothed with a toothed chisel, while the other original surfaces had been left rough. The stone preserved only two lines of inscription which can be read with reasonable certainty: [Ἀθ]εναίας [Ἰτ]ονείας. The inscription is cut in letters probably belonging to the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. Among their characteristics, it may be noted that the Σ has three bars, the N slopes sharply to the right, and the cross-bar of the A also slopes. The E, however, is vertical with horizontal bars of equal length. The stone is probably to be understood as a boundary marker of a small sanctuary belonging to Athena Itoneia who is known to have had a cult in Athens in the 430's when her property was listed among the inventory of treasures belonging to the Other Gods.[59] Unfortunately, the discovery of the stone re-used in a very late wall divests it of the topographical significance which would have been most welcome.

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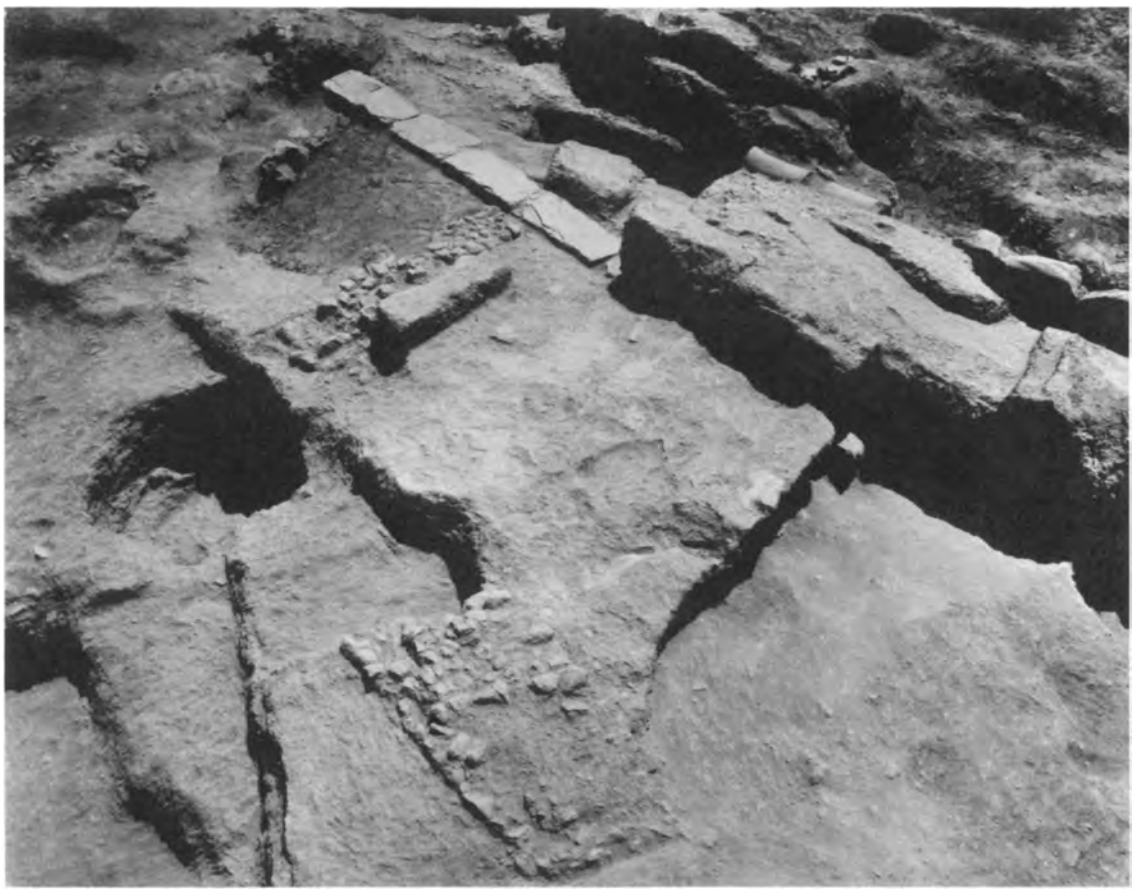
[58] Inv. I 7047: P. H. 0.305; P. W. 0.249; Th. 0.058. Found in a wall of the 7th century after Christ or later at the northeast corner of the post-Herulian exedra which was added to the west hall of the Southwest Baths.

[59] Cf. *I.G.*, I², 310, line 217. I am indebted to B. D. Meritt for both the reading of I 7047 and this reference.



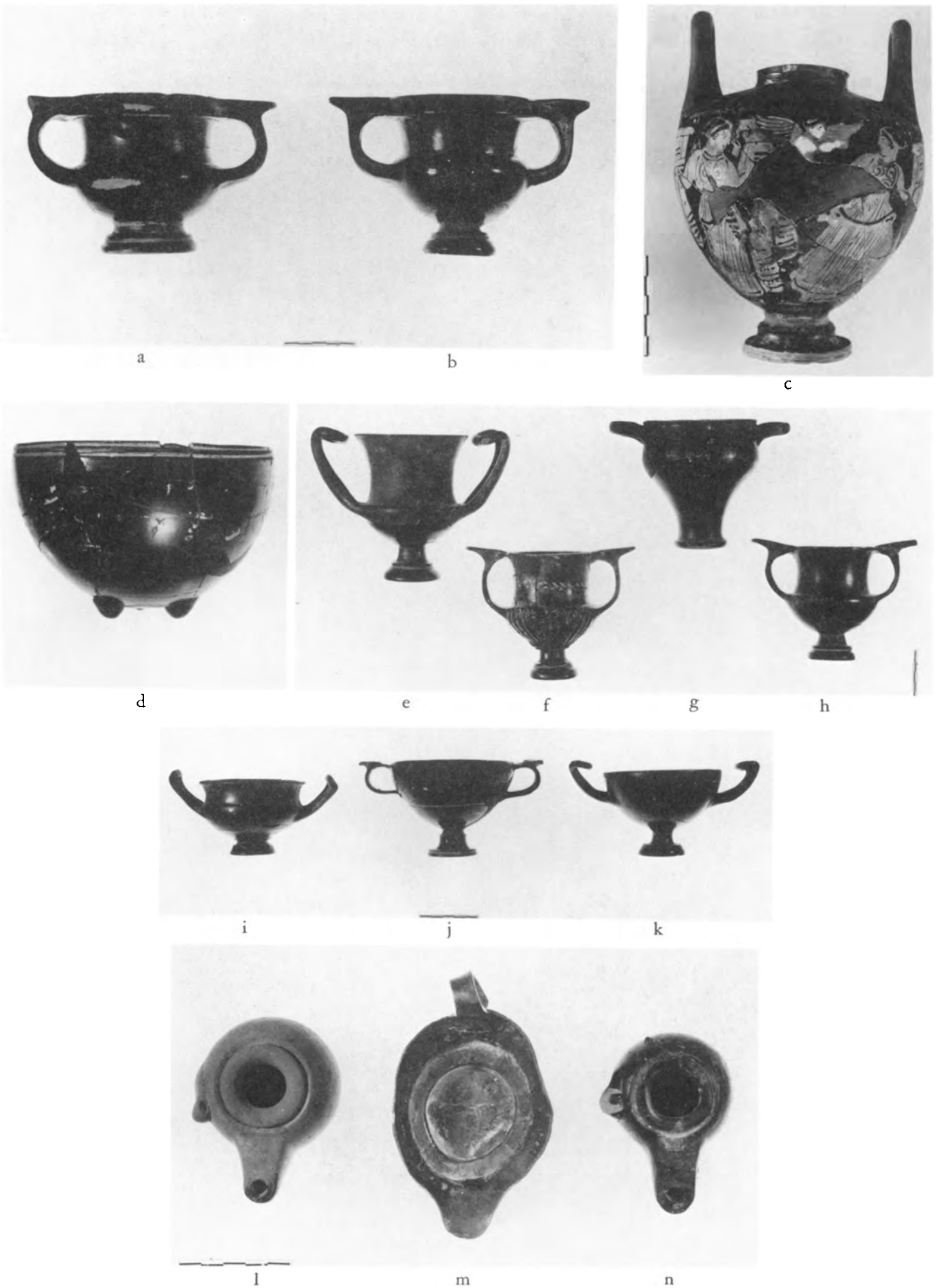
a. From Northwest. Level of mid 4th century B.C.

b. From North, showing Polygonal Socle and Conglomerate Orthostates (upper right)
Marble Worker's House

a. Rooms 2 and 3, from Southwest. A: Conglomerate Orthostates. B: Doorway. C: East Cistern

b. Inscribed Bone Tool (BI 819)

c. Inscribed Kantharos Bases
Marble Worker's House



a.-n. Vases and Lamps from East Cistern of Marble Worker's House

a. Jointed "Dolls"

b. Seated Lady

c. Figurines of Young Boys
East Cistern of Marble Worker's House

a. Circular Building of Phases A and B from North

b. Circular Building from South. A: Hellenistic Gateway, B: Mosaic Floor in Doorway Southwest Baths

a. West Hall, from South

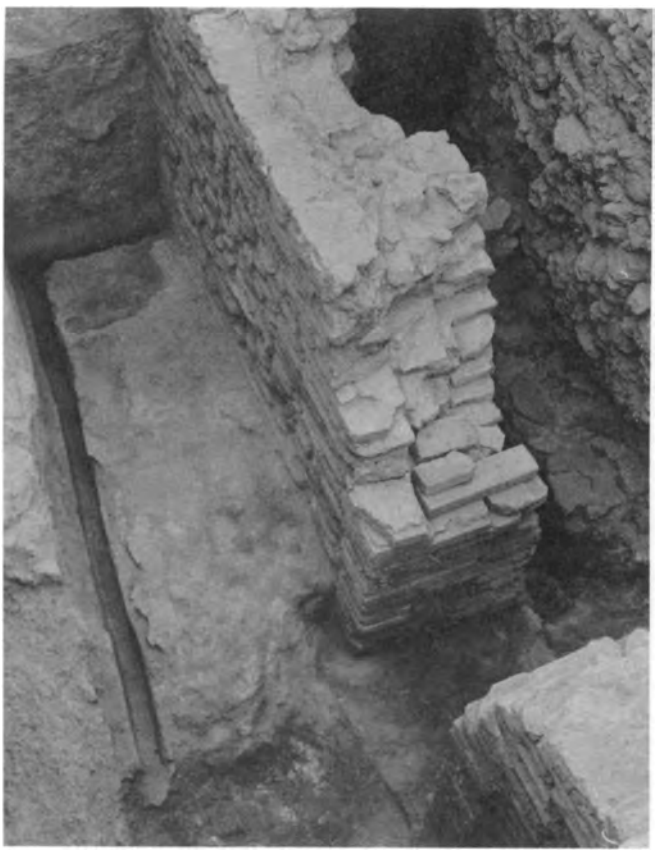
b. Area of Caldarium, from East. A: Cuttings for Foundations of Square Structure. B: Line of North Wall of Tepidarium

Southwest Baths

a. Latrine, from North

b. Apsidal Caldarium of Phase D, from East Southwest Baths

a. Hypocaust Columns in Tepidarium.
A: Impressions of Mammary Wall Tiles



b. East End of Tepidarium, from North, showing Wall of Phase D and Furnace

c.-d. Terracotta Ventilator from Service Area of Tepidarium (A 3671)

e. Marble Bathtub (ST 334) from Circular Bath of Phase A

Southwest Baths