

## ATHENS FACES ADVERSITY

THE EXCAVATION of the Athenian Agora has shed light on many periods and many aspects of the city's history. My intention on this occasion is to pull together the scattered evidence from the excavations bearing on one aspect of that history. I have chosen a rather grim theme: Athens in the face of adversity. By way of illustration I shall present a short selection of the major disasters that have struck Athens in the course of her long history. Disasters, after all, may be as historically significant as triumphs, and a people's reaction to disasters may be even more indicative of national character than their response to triumphs. But disasters tend to be less well documented by our literary sources. Poets and historians, Thucydides excepted, are more inclined to dwell on national triumphs. On the other hand, disasters are more likely to be recorded in the archaeological evidence. The archaeologist, as we all know, likes nothing better than a first-rate disaster: a sack, a fire, a volcanic eruption, an earthquake. Any such happening may provide him with a sealed capsule of valuable evidence, and a similar result may also come about in less spectacular ways, e.g. through the abandonment of wells and cisterns, of which we have explored some four hundred in the area of the Agora.

The archaeological evidence sometimes fills gaps in the written record. More often, as we shall see, it confirms, corrects, or enlivens.

Let us begin with a heaven-sent disaster that has come to our attention through careful research in the archaeological evidence from the Agora. My colleague, John Camp, while engaged in a systematic study of the water supply of the area, was struck by a concentration of household wells that had been abandoned in the second half of the 8th century.<sup>1</sup> Within the same period he found also an unusual concentration of burials. He infers that the water level in Athens had been lowered by a prolonged drought, and that this in turn brought on a famine, accompanied probably by a plague. Such circumstances, he argues, may account for the marked decline that has long been recognized in the Athenian production and export of fine pottery in the late 8th and early 7th centuries B.C. This could also explain the curious lack of Athenian participation in the great colonizing movement of the time.

<sup>1</sup>"A Drought in the Late Eighth Century," *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 397-411.

Special abbreviations used in this paper are as follows:

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| <i>Agora</i> III                     | = R. E. Wycherley, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , III, <i>Literary and Epigraphical Testimonia</i> , Princeton 1957   |
| <i>Agora</i> XIV                     | = H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, <i>The Athenian Agora</i> , XIV, <i>The Agora of Athens</i> , Princeton 1972 |
| <i>The Tholos of Athens</i>          | = H. A. Thompson, <i>Hesperia</i> , Suppl. IV, <i>The Tholos of Athens and its Predecessors</i> , Baltimore 1940   |
| Travlos, <i>Pictorial Dictionary</i> | = J. Travlos, <i>Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens</i> , London 1971  |



A natural disaster of this sort, occurring before writing was in common use, may well have become imbedded in folk memory to emerge much later in literature as a happening vaguely assigned to remote antiquity.

We move on to the most familiar of all the manmade disasters that were to befall ancient Athens, viz. the Persian sack of 480/79 B.C. The basic literary evidence consists of a few sentences in Herodotos and Thucydides.<sup>2</sup> These are so well known that I need remind you only of their substance. When the Persians finally withdrew from Athens they left behind a thoroughly ruinous city: the Acropolis looted and burned, the lower city also burned; the fortification walls, sanctuaries and houses demolished; there remained only a few short stretches of the city walls and some of the houses in which high-ranking Persians had been quartered. The devastation was completed by the returning citizens; in their frantic search for material to rebuild the city walls they did not spare either private or public buildings or even tombs, but stripped them all.

The literary record regarding the Acropolis and the city walls has been confirmed long since by other excavations.<sup>3</sup> It remains to consider what additional information about this episode can be drawn from the Agora excavation.

In the first place, we know from our excavations that the ancient historians' reports of the destruction were by no means exaggerated. The houses and modest shops that had bordered the north, south, and east sides of the square were demolished, and the associated wells were filled with rubbish in the subsequent cleanup.<sup>4</sup> Of the shrines that stood in or on the borders of the square in 480 B.C. we can name and locate several: the Altar of the Twelve Gods toward the northwest corner of the square;<sup>5</sup> a sanctuary of Zeus<sup>6</sup> and a small temple of Apollo on the west side.<sup>7</sup> At least one other Archaic temple is attested by scattered pieces of architecture and sculpture found in the northern part of the excavations.<sup>8</sup> All these shrines were destroyed, and all were subsequently stripped of stonework down to their lowest foundations.

<sup>2</sup>Herodotos, viii.51–53; 140; ix.13; Thucydides, i.89.3; 90.3; 93.1; Diodoros, xi.14; 28; 39; 40; C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum* I, Leipzig 1874, pp. 515–523; W. Judeich, *Topographie von Athen*, 2nd ed., Munich 1931, p. 70.

<sup>3</sup>Still basic for the Acropolis is P. Cavvadias and G. Kawerau, *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis vom Jahre 1885 bis zum Jahre 1890*, Athens 1906. For additional bibliography cf. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. 54–55. For the Kerameikos area cf. *ibid.*, pp. 299–321, with bibliography on the fortifications on p. 301.

<sup>4</sup>For a convenient summary cf. *Agora* XIV, pp. 173–185. For the results of more recent excavation cf. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 138–144 (north side of the Agora), 146–156 (north slope of the Areopagus). In the great majority of cases the only visible remains of pre-Persian habitation are the wells.

<sup>5</sup>*Agora* XIV, pp. 129–136; Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. 458–461.

<sup>6</sup>*Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 5–12; *Agora* XIV, p. 96.

<sup>7</sup>*Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 79–84; *Agora* XIV, pp. 136–137.

<sup>8</sup>Among such pieces may be mentioned the large poros lion's head (S 1222) found in a context of the 5th century B.C. to the west of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods: *Hesperia* 16, 1947, p. 207, pls. 43:4 and 45:1; *Hesperia* 20, 1951, p. 60, note 43; E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *The Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1965, no. 94, pp. 31–33, pl. 14. The small marble female head (S 2452) found in a context of the late 5th century B.C. in front of the Stoa Basileios may well be from an akroterion of a late Archaic temple: *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 400–401; *Agora Guide*, 3rd ed., Athens 1976, pp. 236, 322, fig. 123. The small fragment of an Archaic marble pedimental group (S 1449) found in a marble pile to the north of the Odeion may be a drifter from outside the Agora area: *Agora* XI, no. 96, pl. 17.

A number of samples of the material from the destruction level have been published. First a couple of lovely cups found in the first season of excavation near the shrine of Zeus under the later Stoa of Zeus. This was our first encounter with evidence of the Persian destruction in the Agora. One cup is red figured, the other white ground.<sup>9</sup> Both were very new in 480 B.C. Typical of many groups is a great mass of pottery recovered in 1952 from a single well that once served a pottery shop on the east side of the Agora; the well appears to have been closed as a result of the Persian sack.<sup>10</sup> In addition to pottery of the opening decades of the 5th century, the destruction levels have yielded ostraka cast in the 480's and an occasional bronze arrowhead, an assortment that we have come to regard as characteristic of *Perserschutt* in the Agora.<sup>11</sup>

As for pre-Persian civic buildings, the best attested is a rambling complex of the 6th century B.C. which stood at the southwest corner of the Agora in the place later occupied by the Tholos.<sup>12</sup> It appears that these early buildings, like the later Tholos, served the domestic needs of the Council (*Boule*). The early complex was left in ruins in 479 B.C., and an associated well was filled with rubbish.

Our excavations have also shed light on the tempo of recovery from the Persian sack. The houses and shops bordering the square appear to have been rebuilt soon, at any rate within the first half of the 5th century.<sup>13</sup> They were restored for the most part on much the same lines. Nor have we observed any significant shifts in the alignment of roads. Hence it is easy to understand why the traveler "Dikaiarchos", visiting Athens in the 3rd or 2nd century B.C., was surprised by the shabby houses and the poor street system, which he attributed to the great antiquity of the city.<sup>14</sup>

In the matter of public building we had known from Thucydides that first priority was given to the reconstruction of the city's fortifications.<sup>15</sup> But one civic building in the Agora was repaired almost immediately. Significantly, this was the old complex to which I have already referred at the southwest corner; the structure was patched up at once, evidently to meet the urgent daily needs of the Councillors.<sup>16</sup> But the first substantial new civic buildings all appear to come somewhat later: the Old Bouleuterion, then the Tholos which took the place of the Archaic complex, the Pnyx in its first period, prob-

<sup>9</sup>L. Talcott, "Two Attic Kylikes," *Hesperia* 2, 1933, pp. 216-230. For the red-figured cup (P 42) cf. now Beazley, *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, p. 415, no. 1, attributed to the Painter of Agora P 42. For the white-ground cup (P 43), cf. *ARV<sup>2</sup>*, pp. 1578-1579; H. Philippart, "Les coupes attiques à fond blanc," *AntCl* 5, 1936, pp. 18-19, pl. VI; Joan R. Mertons, *Attic White Ground, Its Development in Shapes other than Lekythoi*, New York and London 1977, p. 182, no. 70, pl. XXXIV; on p. 186 the pre-480 date is accepted.

<sup>10</sup>*Hesperia* 24, 1955, pp. 62-66; Deposit Q 12:3, a well beneath the southwest corner of the Stoa of Attalos. Cf. also *Agora* XIV, p. 171, pls. 86, 87. The well group is to be published by Professor Sally Roberts.

<sup>11</sup>*The Tholos of Athens*, p. 33.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 15-44; *Agora* XIV, pp. 25-29. Additional acquaintance with Archaic houses gained from further excavation elsewhere around the Agora has only strengthened the original impression that the early buildings preceding the Tholos were indeed for public rather than private use.

<sup>13</sup>Cf. above, footnote 4.

<sup>14</sup>F. Pfister, *Die Reisebilder des Herakleides*, Vienna 1951, p. 72; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece* I, London 1913, pp. XLII-XLIX (English translation).

<sup>15</sup>I.89.3; 90.3; 93.1. Cf. also Diodoros, x.1.39-40.

<sup>16</sup>*The Tholos of Athens*, pp. 33, 38, 153.

ably also the Heliiaia in its earliest monumental form, and the Stoa Basileios.<sup>17</sup> The employment of re-used Archaic material in these buildings is well illustrated by the front foundations of the Stoa Basileios which consist largely of Archaic column drums. All of these structures now appear to date from the second quarter of the 5th century, and some of them may well reflect the enhanced role of the Demos brought about by the democratic reforms of Ephialtes in 462 B.C.

The reconstruction of the sanctuaries in the area of the Agora came much later. Thus the Altar of the Twelve Gods was not refurbished until the late 5th century B.C.<sup>18</sup> At that time, a new sill and parapet were placed on top of the much battered original sill. On the west side of the Agora, industrial establishments, especially for the working of iron and the making of pottery, intruded into the area of the ancient shrine of Zeus.<sup>19</sup> Only in the last quarter of the 5th century were these intruders expelled. Then the shrine was rebuilt in a strikingly new form: a curious hybrid of stoa and temple which was to be called the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.<sup>20</sup> Apollo had to wait still longer. Only in the third quarter of the 4th century was a modest Ionic temple erected near the middle of the west side where the Archaic apsidal temple had once stood.<sup>21</sup> It dates from the time of Lykourgos (338–326 B.C.), well known as a *laudator temporis acti*.

To sum up: their triumphs in the Persian Wars undoubtedly stimulated the Athenians in some of their finest achievements in art, literature and international affairs. But the evidence of the excavations reminds us that the sack of 480/79 B.C. caused a long and distressed disruption of the domestic, civic, and religious life of the city.

In some ways the most awful disaster that ever befell Athens was the Great Plague that began in 430 B.C. According to Thucydides,<sup>22</sup> no previous scourge anywhere had

<sup>17</sup>The chronology of this group of civic buildings will be dealt with elsewhere in detail. A post-Persian dating of the Old Bouleuterion is indicated by the extensive employment of re-used Archaic blocks, a number of them fire-damaged before re-use, in the interior foundations, and by the lack of *Perserschutt*. Cf. *Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 130–135. The Stoa Basileios as we now have it consists largely of re-used Archaic material, and the pottery associated with its front foundations is as late as of the second quarter of the 5th century. Cf. *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 365–370. The date in the 6th century proposed for the Heliiaia (*Hesperia* 23, 1954, p. 36) refers to a very early phase in the history of the building. A more substantial phase followed in the 5th century; a clue to its date is given by the terracotta head of a warrior of ca. 460 B.C.: *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 61–62, pl. 14; *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 117–120, pls. 32–34 (R. V. Nicholls). The most specific evidence for the date of the earliest assembly place on the Pnyx is given by the *horos* (*IG* I<sup>2</sup>, 882), the letter forms of which are best paralleled about the middle of the 5th century: *Hesperia* 1, 1932, p. 108; *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and Topography*, Princeton 1981, p. 137.

<sup>18</sup>Margaret Crosby, "The Altar of the Twelve Gods in Athens," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, *Commemorative Studies in Honor of T. Leslie Shear*, Baltimore 1949, pp. 98–99; *Hesperia* 21, 1952, p. 52; *Agora* XIV, 1972, p. 134. It is to be noted, however, that the familiar round altar in the National Museum (N.M. 1731), which was found near by and undoubtedly comes from the sanctuary, dates probably from the third quarter of the 4th century: Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. 455, figs. 579–580; S. Karouzou, *National Archaeological Museum: Collection of Sculpture*, Athens 1968, p. 155.

<sup>19</sup>*Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 14–21. Industry was again quick to move into areas of the Agora left desolate by the sacks of 86 B.C. and A.D. 267. Cf. *Agora* XIV, pp. 185–191.

<sup>20</sup>*Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 21–56; *Agora* XIV, pp. 96–103; Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, pp. 527–533.

<sup>21</sup>*Hesperia* 6, 1937, pp. 90–115; *Agora* XIV, pp. 136–139.

<sup>22</sup>II.47–54; III.87; VI.12.1; 26.2. For the impact on the population in general cf. A. W. Gomme, *The Population of Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries B.C.*, Oxford 1933, pp. 6–7, 12–14. The Plague, to-

been so destructive of human life. The terrible loss of life and physical suffering as described in Thucydides' somber account are matched by the psychological impact of the disease. People were driven to panic and despair as their appeals to both human and divine agencies proved fruitless.

Curiously enough it is this last aspect of the Great Plague that comes out most clearly in the archaeological record. There can be little doubt that it was their experience of the Plague that induced a wave of religiosity among the Athenians in the immediately following years. The purification of Delos in 426 B.C. may be regarded as a major manifestation of this phenomenon.<sup>23</sup>

To this same upsurge of concern for the relations between men and the supernatural powers may be ascribed the refurbishing of several lesser shrines within the city at the time of the Plague. I shall confine my remarks to a couple of examples that have come to light in the Agora Excavations. Both these shrines occupied prominent positions, one just inside the northwest entrance to the square, the other just outside the southwest entrance; these were suitable locations for protective cults. Both were very modest unroofed shrines. Both were closely associated with cemeteries of the Early Iron Age (11th–9th centuries), and both probably originated in heroa, i.e. shrines in which continuing memorial rites were paid to the departed. Both shrines had been neglected for long before they were restored in the years soon after 430 B.C. In both cases the names of the actual persons honored by the shrines had probably faded from human memory.

Let us consider first the southwest shrine.<sup>24</sup> In the late 5th century a sacred plot was enclosed by a stone peribolos triangular in plan, with no trace of entrance, hence an *abaton*. A boundary stone (*horos*) still stands in place at the northeast corner inscribed "Of the Sanctuary" (τοῦ ἱεροῦ). The letter forms and the associated pottery point to a date soon after 430 B.C. But within the triangular plot the excavators came on remnants of a much earlier structure and on a few terracotta votive animals of a sort commonly found in the shrines of heroes. We may assume that the Athenians in their hour of need decided to pay some attention to this long neglected shrine of ancestors whose graves lay round about at one of the principal crossroads in the city.

The other shrine, excavated in the early 1970's in the northwest corner of the Agora, had a similar history.<sup>25</sup> An early phase is represented by an outcropping of the natural rock. This must have looked like the rustic altars which appear commonly in Athenian nymph reliefs. Again in the years soon after 430 B.C. this sacred spot was enclosed with a stone parapet. In this instance the enclosure was square in plan, and in its north side was originally an opening which gave access to a well. The well is contem-

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gether with other aspects of the Peloponnesian War, probably contributed to the decline of the Athenian pottery industry in the closing decades of the 5th century. Cf. B. R. MacDonald, "The Emigration of Pottery from Athens in the Late Fifth Century B.C. and Its Effect on the Attic Pottery Industry," *AJA* 85, 1981, pp. 159–168.

<sup>23</sup>Thucydides, III.104; Diodoros, XII.58. Cf. W. Laidlaw, *A History of Delos*, Oxford 1933, pp. 67–68.

<sup>24</sup>G. V. Lalonde, "A Fifth Century Hieron Southwest of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 37, 1968, pp. 123–133; *Agora* XIV, pp. 120–121.

<sup>25</sup>T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 126–134, 360–369.

porary with the enclosure and is undoubtedly to be thought of as an essential part of the little sanctuary. Here we are fortunate in having a great mass of votive offerings. The earliest had been deposited on the primitive altar within the enclosure, the later, dating from the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., were thrown into the well.

The votive offerings give a clear indication of the nature of the divinity or divinities who were thought to inhabit the shrine at the time of its rehabilitation. Numerous loomweights, perfume bottles, and pieces of jewelry proclaim them female, while the presence of many knuckle bones (*astragaloi*) and a couple of feeding bottles marks them as youthful or even younger. A dozen white-ground lekythoi introduce a somber note, for they point clearly to the grave.

The evidence of the votives harmonizes with the literary tradition regarding the Leokorion, the shrine of the daughters of Leos.<sup>26</sup> According to Athenian tradition, which illustrates a common *topos* in Greek mythology, the three unmarried girls were sacrificed on the recommendation of the oracle of Apollo to save the city from a famine or plague. When the scourge abated the grateful citizens established a shrine and worshipped the girls as divinities. When the city was again assailed by a disastrous scourge in 430 B.C., one can readily visualize the citizens turning again to the girls for help. In view of the repeated reference to oracles in Thucydides' account of the Plague,<sup>27</sup> it may well be that Apollo was again consulted. Prominent among the few pieces of red figure from the votive deposit is a stemless cup on which appears the youthful Apollo, lyre in hand, the instrument that is associated with the giving of oracles.<sup>28</sup>

The prominence of the well in the tiny sanctuary may provide another link with Thucydides' account of the Plague. The historian, in emphasizing the terrible fever and thirst induced by the Plague, tells of how desperately the victims sought wells and fountains.<sup>29</sup> By making a source of cool water available in a very accessible location the shrine assured the sufferers at least some measure of relief.

From the devastating calamity caused by the Great Plague we proceed to one of the saddest episodes in early Athenian history, *viz.* the bitter civil strife between oligarchs and democrats that developed in Athens in the final years of the 5th century, reaching its climax under the Thirty Tyrants in 404/3 B.C.<sup>30</sup> Perhaps the most interesting contribution made by the Agora Excavations to the history of this year is provided by two inscriptions recording decrees passed by the Boule and the Demos, both probably in the following year: 403/2 B.C.

One of the decrees provided for honors to "the heroes of Phyle", *i.e.* to Thrasyboulos and his band of followers who took their stand at Phyle and initiated the move-

<sup>26</sup>For the literary testimonia cf. *Agora* III, nos. 317-338; *Agora* XIV, pp. 121-123. Cf. also H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle*, Oxford 1956, I, pp. 295-296, 307; II, pp. 86-87, no. 209.

<sup>27</sup>II.47.4; 54.2, 4, 5. Cf. also III.104.1 for the oracle in response to which the Athenians completed the purification of Delos.

<sup>28</sup>P 29372: *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 129, pl. 27:a. On the significance of the lyre cf. E. Simon, *Opfernde Götter*, Berlin 1953, pp. 23-26.

<sup>29</sup>II.49.5; 52.2.

<sup>30</sup>J. B. Bury and R. Meiggs, *A History of Greece*, 4th ed., London 1975, pp. 314-322.

ment for the restoration of the democracy.<sup>31</sup> The stele is preserved in a number of fragments which began to be found in the first year of the excavations (1931). They came to light in front of the Metroon, the place where the stele was said to have stood by Aischines in a speech of 330 B.C. (III.187). The monument was thus set up in direct relation to the administrative center where the restored democracy was to function. The spacious layout and the beautiful lettering of the inscription are worthy of the theme.

The second decree also expresses in its generous format as well as in its text the gratitude of the Athenian people to those who helped in the restoration of the democracy.<sup>32</sup> The decree provided for public support at the rate of one obol per day for the orphaned sons of "those Athenians who had suffered violent death during the oligarchy while coming to the aid of the democracy." The names are listed. This splendid stele was found in 1970 near the northwest corner of the Agora. It had been re-used as a cover slab on the Great Drain at a point just in front of the north wing of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, a place that was to become the normal location for recording honors to those who had contributed to the safety or freedom of the city.<sup>33</sup>

The excavations have produced other evidence of a more prosaic sort that may also be related to the events of the year 404/3 B.C. The excavators of the Tholos in the 1930's came down on a layer of destruction debris which overlay the original ground level of the building to a depth of a foot or more.<sup>34</sup> In addition to ash and charcoal, the layer contained many fragments of roof tiles. Evidently the building had suffered severely from fire. The pottery associated with the destruction dates from the final decades of the 5th century. Since the Tholos, as the headquarters of the prytaneis, was at the very center of political life, there can be little doubt that the incident occurred during the violent ructions of the year 404/3 B.C. Xenophon's account of the brutal way in which Theramenes was treated in the Bouleuterion before his execution illustrates the open violence in public life at this time.<sup>35</sup>

For the consequences of the rule of the Thirty the wells once again contribute useful evidence. The excavators have long been aware that a remarkably large number of wells were closed at the very end of the 5th century.<sup>36</sup> These wells had served private houses and shops on the borders of the Agora. They were found filled with household rubbish, presumably from cleaning up after a period of desolation. There was little to suggest actual destruction. The widespread abandonment of property attested by the closing of the many wells is understandable in view of the great number of executions (put at 1400

<sup>31</sup>A. E. Raubitschek, "The Heroes of Phyle," *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 284-295.

<sup>32</sup>Agora inv. I 7169: R. S. Stroud, "Theozotides and the Athenian Orphans," *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 284-295.

<sup>33</sup>For the literary and epigraphic testimonia cf. *Agora* III, pp. 25-30; *Agora* XIV, p. 102.

<sup>34</sup>*The Tholos of Athens*, pp. 48, 77, 128-132, 154.

<sup>35</sup>*Hellenica* II.3.50-60.

<sup>36</sup>B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery of the 6th, 5th and 4th Centuries B.C.*, Princeton 1970, p. 45. For typical well groups of this period cf. P. E. Corbett, "Attic Pottery of the Later Fifth Century from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 18, 1949, pp. 298-351 (Deposit B 15:1) and H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 24, 1955, pp. 69-70 (Deposit Q 15:2).

by Diogenes Laertius, vii.1.5) and confiscations carried out by the Thirty. We are also told that more than five thousand citizens who were not included in the group of Three Thousand established by the Thirty were forced to leave the city and to find living space in the Peiraieus.<sup>37</sup> The abandoned wells may be taken as evidence for the suffering of innumerable Athenian families as a result of the political convulsions of the time.

Athens, as we all know, made a remarkably rapid recovery from the debacle at the end of the 5th century. From the ancient authors, however, we are well aware that great disasters befell the city in the second half of the 4th century. I am thinking, of course, of Chaironeia in 338 B.C. and of the Macedonian occupation of Athens beginning in 322 B.C. Both these tragic events are echoed by the discovery in 1952 of a well-preserved marble stele bearing a decree of 336 B.C.<sup>38</sup>

The stele came to light in the ruins of a large, square, cloister-like building, a peristyle, deep beneath the Stoa of Attalos at the northeast corner of the Agora. The inscription had been deliberately buried in the construction fill of the building. The peristyle was probably intended for the use of the lawcourts. The ceramic and numismatic evidence indicates that its construction did not begin much if at all before the last decade of the 4th century. Work was soon abandoned and was never resumed; only parts of the building were finished to the point where they could be used. We surmise that the stoppage was due to the terrible tension, political and military, that developed in the closing years of the century between the two powerful Macedonians, Cassander and Demetrios Poliorketes, a situation from which Athens suffered greatly. To the same cause we may attribute the dismantling of the stele and its concealment in the construction fill of the new building.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Xenophon, *Memorabilia* ii.7.2; Isokrates, vii.67; Diodoros, xiv.32; Justin, v.9.12.

<sup>38</sup> Agora inv. I 6524. *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 355–359, pls. 89–90; B. D. Meritt, "The Entrance to the Areopagus," *Hesperia* 22, 1953, p. 129; *SEG* XII, 1955, no. 187; M. Lang, *Agora Picture Book*, No. 4, *The Athenian Citizen*, Princeton 1960, fig. 29; *Agora* XIV, p. 102, pl. 53:a; M. Ostwald, "The Athenian Legislation Against Tyranny and Subversion," *TAPA* 86, 1955, pp. 103–128.

<sup>39</sup> *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 320–324; *Hesperia* 21, 1952, pp. 99–100; *Agora* XIV, pp. 60–61. The inception of work on the building has been dated previously to ca. 325 B.C. largely on the evidence of the pottery from the construction fill. The downdating of the pottery of the late 4th and early 3rd centuries necessitated by the finds in the Ptolemaic encampment of the time of the Chremonidean War (268/7–263/2 B.C.) at Koroni in east Attica necessitates an adjustment in this date. Cf. E. Vanderpool, J. R. McCredie and A. Steinberg, "Koroni: A Ptolemaic Camp on the East Coast of Attica," *Hesperia* 31, 1962, pp. 26–61; *idem.*, "Koroni: The Date of the Camp and the Pottery," *Hesperia* 33, 1964, p. 69; J. R. McCredie, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XI, *Fortified Military Camps in Attica*, Baltimore 1966, pp. 1–6; Stella G. Miller, "Menon's Cistern," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 209–210. The lower chronology is supported also by recent refinements in the dating of the series of Athenian bronze coins represented in the building fill. Cf. J. H. Kroll, "A Chronology of Early Athenian Bronze Coinage, ca. 350–250 B.C.," *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson*, O. Mørkholm and N. M. Waggoner, edd., Wetteren 1979, pp. 139–154. Professor Kroll informs me that he would now lower the beginning of the "owl-left variety" (*op. cit.*, pp. 146–147) from 322 to 307/6 B.C.

I have profited from discussion of the dating of the Square Peristyle with various colleagues: J. H. Kroll (coins), Susan Rotroff (pottery), R. Townsend (architecture). Any more precise interpretation of the intertwined histories of the Square Peristyle and the anti-tyranny decree must depend on the results of a detailed collation of these various types of evidence. This collation is now proceeding.



So much may be inferred from the content of the inscription. The decree of 336 B.C. was directed against any potential tyrant and was clearly intended to forestall any attempt to overthrow the democracy. This measure was evidently motivated by the fear of a pro-Macedonian coup that might have been engineered by Philip of Macedon after his great military victory two years earlier. As such the document would have been repugnant to Macedonians, or pro-Macedonian Athenians, of the following generation. The text was illustrated by a group of Demos and Demokratia. Demos looks old and weary. He seems only slightly interested in the crown which Demokratia is placing on his head.

The Athenian workman who was ordered to carry out the humiliating task of dismantling the stele must have suffered a pang. The furrow in the face of the stele indicates that he made an attempt to sever the relief from the lower part. Did he hope that his new masters would be satisfied with the burial of the obnoxious text, allowing him to retain Demos and Demokratia? But no; he was ordered to desist, and the whole stele was consigned to oblivion that lasted until May 3rd, 1952.

The next hundred years, down to 229 B.C., was a difficult period for Athens.<sup>40</sup> The political situation was almost always unsettled, at times stormy. The most important contribution made so far by the Agora Excavations to our knowledge of what went on in Athens in the first half of the century is provided by an honorary decree passed in 270/69 B.C. to record the gratitude of the people of Athens toward their fellow citizen Kallias, son of Thymochares, of the deme Sphettos. The document has been published in a masterly way by Leslie Shear.<sup>41</sup> From this inscription, and from another long-known decree in praise of Kallias' brother Phaidros,<sup>42</sup> Shear has reconstructed in absorbing detail an account of the city's foreign relations, especially with Macedonia and Egypt, of efforts made to protect the Attic countryside against devastation, of valiant Athenian struggles against Macedonian forces of occupation within the city. The decree honoring Kallias was found, re-used, in front of the north end of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Like the earlier decree regarding the orphans, this stele also, together with the statue of Kallias provided for in the decree, probably stood in front of that stoa along with many other memorials of those who had contributed to the safety and freedom of the city.

The troubles in the first half of the 3rd century are reflected also in other ways: by the evidence of shocking behavior in the Tholos, by the closing of wells and cisterns, and by the abandonment of many marble-working shops outside the southwest corner of the Agora. But this evidence needs further study and greater refinement in the dating of Hellenistic pottery.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup>W. S. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, London 1911, chaps. IV and V, although in need of revision at many points, still provides a useful historical background. For a recent examination of many of the historical and chronological problems of the period cf. C. Habicht, *Untersuchungen zur politischen Geschichte Athens im 3. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (*Vestigia* 30), Munich 1979. A continuation of this study is now in press.

<sup>41</sup>*Hesperia*, Suppl. XVII, *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.*, Princeton 1978.

<sup>42</sup>*IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 682.

<sup>43</sup>For an illustration of the nature of the evidence and how it may be used cf. Miller, *op. cit.* (footnote 39 above), pp. 194–245. Steady progress in the more precise dating of Hellenistic deposits is being made

I shall close my grim catalogue with an incident that occurred at the very end of the 3rd century B.C., viz. the devastation of Attica by the army of Philip V of Macedon.<sup>44</sup> Philip's invasion of Attica was the opening scene in the Second Macedonian War. We need not here concern ourselves with the general historical setting except to observe that in the moment of crisis Athens enjoyed the support of Pergamon and of Rome against the Macedonians. We may concentrate on episodes of the campaign which occurred in the autumn of 200 B.C.

Frustrated in a first assault on the city, Philip laid waste the suburbs including the old gymnasia, the Lyceum and Kynosarges; nor did he spare even the tombs.<sup>45</sup> Still more embittered by a second repulse Philip this time vented his rage on the Attic countryside. Let me quote Livy, whose account is based on Polybios: "he (Philip) set out to devastate the rural area lest anything should remain intact . . . he ordered the temples of the gods which the Athenians had dedicated in the demes to be demolished and burned, and the land of Attica, marvellously adorned with works of that type through the abundance of local marble and the talents of its artists, offered material for his rage, for, not satisfied with the demolition of the temples and the overturning of the cult images, he even ordered the stones to be broken up lest complete building blocks should appear above the ruins."<sup>46</sup>

By a strange chance it is this barbaric destruction of the temples of Attica that can now, it seems, be documented archaeologically from the Agora Excavations. The excavators have long been aware of the existence in the Agora of elements of at least three fine temples of the 5th century B.C. which are shown by masons' marks of the Roman period to have been transplanted at that time.<sup>47</sup> We do not have time for a full analysis of the involved evidence bearing on this startling phenomenon, but let me state very briefly the facts relevant to our present theme.

The imported elements were incorporated in three temples erected in the Roman period in the Agora, one in the northwest part of the square, one at the southeast and one at the southwest corner. The most fully documented example is the one in the northwest area which was mentioned by Pausanias as the Temple of Ares.<sup>48</sup> The foun-

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through the work of Virginia R. Grace on stamped amphora handles, of Susan Rotroff on ceramics, and of John H. Kroll on coins.

<sup>44</sup>Ferguson, *op. cit.* (footnote 40 above), pp. 275-276; F. W. Walbank, *Philip V of Macedon*, Cambridge 1940, pp. 138-141; Judeich, *Topographie*, 2nd ed., pp. 93-94; J. Briscoe, *A Commentary on Livy Books XXXI-XXXIII*, Oxford 1973, pp. 118-125. I have profited from discussion of the incident with Professors F. W. Walbank and T. R. S. Broughton.

<sup>45</sup>Livy, xxxi.24.18 (after Polybios): *Sed et Cynosarges et Lycium et quidquid sancti amoenive circa urbem erat incensum est: dirutaque non tecta solum, sed etiam sepulcra nec divini humanique iuris quicquam prae inpotenti ira est servatum.*

<sup>46</sup>xxx.26.9-12: *ad agros vastandos profectus . . . ne quid inviolatum relinqueret, templa deum, quae pagatini sacrata habebant, dirui atque incendi iussit; et ornata eo genere operum eximie terra Attica et copia domestici marmoris et ingeniis artificum praebuit huic furori materiam. Neque enim diruere modo ipsa templa ac simulacra evertere satis habuit sed lapides quoque, ne integri cumularent ruinas, frangi iussit.*

<sup>47</sup>Agora XIV, pp. 160-168.

<sup>48</sup>1.8.4. Cf. *Agora* III, no. 117, pp. 54-55.

dations and scattered blocks of the superstructure have been found by the excavators.<sup>49</sup> A sister of the more familiar Temple of Hephaistos, the Ares temple appears to have stood originally in the deme of Acharnai at the foot of Mt. Parnes. This has been inferred from a combination of literary and epigraphic evidence. The temple, together with its altar and cult image, was transplanted to the Agora in the time of Augustus. At this time the cult of Gaius Caesar was apparently added to the original cult, and it may well be that Augustus himself was involved in the undertaking.<sup>50</sup>

From a short section of the post-Herulian fortification wall to the south of the Stoa of Attalos have been extracted a number of marble columns and a few other elements from two fine buildings of the 5th century B.C. which originally stood on the east coast of Attica: the temple of Athena at Sounion, and a curious structure, probably a temple or telesterium of Demeter, at Thorikos.<sup>51</sup> The pieces found in the Agora correspond in their characteristic material and in dimensions to pieces found on the original sites. We cannot be absolutely sure where the imported material was used in the Agora. It is highly probable, however, that it was incorporated in the porches of the two temples which I have mentioned in the southern corners of the square. William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. has just completed a thorough study which indicates that the Sounion material, of the Ionic order, would fit very well on the existing foundations of the Southeast Temple to form an octastyle porch. The date of the Southeast Temple is about the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. The four Doric columns from Thorikos could be made to fit equally comfortably on the foundations for the porch of the Southwest Temple, to be dated probably in the 1st century after Christ. In neither of these cases can we be sure of the cult housed in the new temple.

To explain this extraordinary migration of temples I would suggest that all three buildings represented by the finds in the Agora were among the victims of King Philip's rage in 200 B.C. In their original locations all must have been very conspicuous, and at least two of them, those at Sounion and Thorikos, stood outside the fortifications. After standing for long in a more or less ruinous condition, elements that could be re-used were salvaged and incorporated in new temples then under construction in the Agora. This would have represented some economy; it would also have been in keeping with the spirit of an age when respect for the art and literature of the high Classical period

<sup>49</sup>W. B. Dinsmoor, "The Temple of Ares at Athens," *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 1-52; M. H. McAllister, "The Temple of Ares at Athens. A Review of the Evidence," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 1-64.

W.B. Dinsmoor, Jr. has shown good reason to believe that a marble sima with carved ornament, which was made for the Temple of Poseidon at Sounion but of which numerous fragments have been found in the Agora Excavations, was re-used on the Temple of Ares: "The Temple of Poseidon: A Missing Sima and Other Matters," *AJA* 78, 1974, pp. 211-238.

<sup>50</sup>Evidence of damage to the temple before its transplanting appears to be confined to the marble ceilings, parts of which had to be replaced on the temple in its new location: Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 42; McAllister, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

<sup>51</sup>*Agora* XIV, pp. 165-168. A detailed study of the Southeast and Southwest Temples and the incorporation in them of material from Sounion and Thorikos respectively is being completed by W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr. For an up-to-date account of the Temple of Athena at Sounion based on the material found both on the original site and in the Agora, cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., *Guide to Sounion*, Athens 1970.

was fashionable.<sup>52</sup> After the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 the material was salvaged to be re-used once again in the new fortifications designated as the Post-Herulian Wall.

Livy records the Athenian reaction to Philip's barbarity: "they (the Athenians) immediately proposed and passed a motion ordaining that all the statues and representations of Philip, together with their inscriptions, should be removed and destroyed, and the same should apply to Philip's ancestors both male and female; and the feast days, the rites, and the priesthoods established in honor of him and of his ancestors should all be abolished."<sup>53</sup>

This is strong language. It must reflect great bitterness on the part of the Athenians. No doubt they were especially outraged by Philip's systematic desecration of sanctuaries and tombs. This was unhellenic behavior; it must have reminded men of what the Persians had done long before.<sup>54</sup>

Examples of the *damnatio memoriae* called for in the decree have long been recognized in inscriptions from which have been erased the names of kings of Macedonia. But the most dramatic illustration of the consequences of the Athenian retaliatory action came to light in 1971. From the well belonging to the little shrine near the north-west corner of the Agora were then recovered fragments of a life-sized equestrian statue of gilded bronze.<sup>55</sup> A left leg, a sword, and bits of a cloak survive. The modeling as well as details of the sandal and sword point to a date in the late 4th or early 3rd century. The fragments were found in the well in a context of *ca.* 200 B.C. There can be little doubt, as Leslie Shear pointed out at the time of discovery, that we have here remnants of a splendid monument set up in or near the Agora in honor of some Macedonian king at a time when those kings were in favor. Nor need we hesitate at all to believe that the destruction of the group took place in 200 B.C. in compliance with the decree which Livy recorded.

That, I'm sure, will be enough for one day. One might go on through the later Hellenistic and Roman periods where disasters also abound. But I hope that the few

<sup>52</sup> Another temple in eastern Attica that probably suffered in 200 B.C. is that of Nemesis at Rhamnous. It has long been known that the building required extensive repairs in the early Roman period, and that thereafter it was re-dedicated to the deified Livia. Cf. O. Broneer, "Some Greek Inscriptions of Roman Date from Attica," *AJA* 36, 1932, pp. 397-400. The recent intensive clearance of the temenos by the Greek Archaeological Service and a study by Margaret M. Miles (diss. Princeton University, 1979; "The 'Theseum' Architect," abstract of paper delivered at the 82nd General Meeting of the AIA, *AJA* 85, 1981, p. 207) have shown that the damage and the subsequent repairs were more extensive than previously supposed. Here, as in the case of the Temple of Ares, it was the uppermost parts of the building that suffered. Philip's soldiers presumably climbed up on ladders and worked havoc with crowbars.

<sup>53</sup> xxxi.44.4: *rogationem extemplo tulerunt plebesque scivit, ut Philippi statuæ imaginesque omnes nominaque earum item maiorum eius virile ac muliebre secus omnium tollerentur deleterenturque, diesque festi sacra sacerdotes quæ ipsius maiorumque eius honoris causa instituta essent omnia profanerentur.*

<sup>54</sup> F. W. Walbank, "ΦΙΛΙΠΠΙΟΣ ΤΡΑΓΩΙΔΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ, A Polybian Experiment," *JHS* 58, 1938, pp. 55-68; *idem*, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius I*, Oxford 1957, pp. 516-517; J. Briscoe, *op. cit.* (footnote 44 above), p. 120.

<sup>55</sup> T. L. Shear, Jr., *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 165-168, pl. 36. A detailed study of the equestrian group is being prepared by Dr. Caroline Hauser.

examples I have adduced will illustrate how the evidence from the Agora Excavations has supplemented the literary record of Athenian history. In particular I hope it has given you a more concrete picture of how the Athenians suffered at certain tragic moments in their history, and of how they reacted to adversity.

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