

THE SANCTUARY OF THE TWELVE GODS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: A REVISED VIEW

(PLATES 105–111)

THE SANCTUARY OF THE TWELVE GODS was once one of the more distinguished precincts in the Athenian Agora, the central marker for calculating distances from the city and an important place of refuge.¹ Today, very little meets the eye (Figs. 1, 2, Pl. 106:a). Nearly nine-tenths lies concealed beneath the Athens–Piraeus Electric Railway. The remaining portion, just south of the railway, is unprepossessing: no superstructure exists; the two sets of superimposed sill blocks from the enclosure wall and the few slabs of the interior paving which were once fully exposed by excavation have been judiciously reburied to a level reflecting the last building phase of the sanctuary, some 0.30 m. higher than the line recorded in Plate 106:a. The casual observer, accustomed to more substantial architecture, probably would be surprised to learn how much this sanctuary has enriched general knowledge of Athenian history, art, and topography. This article will review the evidence upon which current understanding of the sanctuary is based and suggest some revisions in the light of recent research, which has focused on the surrounding stratification.²

Two short sections of the enclosure were revealed in 1891 during construction of the railway, but the sanctuary remained unidentified and undated until the American School of Classical Studies at Athens began excavation to the south of this railway in 1931.³ During their fourth year of excavation, the Americans exposed the southwest corner of the enclosure, which preserved along the exterior of its west side a large statue base of Pentelic marble, presumably *in situ* (Pls. 105, 106:b). This base carried the following inscription across its front face:⁴

[Λ]έαγρος : ἀνέθεκεν : Γλαύκονος
δῶδεκα θεοῖσιν

Leagros, son of Glaukon, dedicated [this]
to the Twelve Gods

¹ For the literary and epigraphical testimonia regarding the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, see *Agora* III, nos. 203, 363–378, 698.

² Much of the research for this article was carried out between 1984 and 1987 for my dissertation, “Three Fifth Century B.C. Statue Bases from the Athenian Agora” (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University 1988). My debt to the staff of the Athenian Agora and to the many members of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens is considerable. I would especially like to thank John McK. Camp II, Frederick A. Cooper, Evelyn B. Harrison, James R. McCredie, James F. McGlew, T. Leslie Shear, Jr., and Homer A. Thompson for their valuable contributions to its final exegesis; Craig and Marie Mauzy for supervising the photographic requisition; and Richard C. Anderson for preparing some of the architectural drawings. A preliminary version of this article was read at the 87th General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America in Washington, D.C.; for the abstract, see *AJA* 90, 1986, p. 194.

³ Crosby 1949, pl. 11:1 reproduces a sketch of the blocks briefly exposed in 1891.

⁴ I 1597 (*IG* I³ 951; *Agora* III, no. 378).

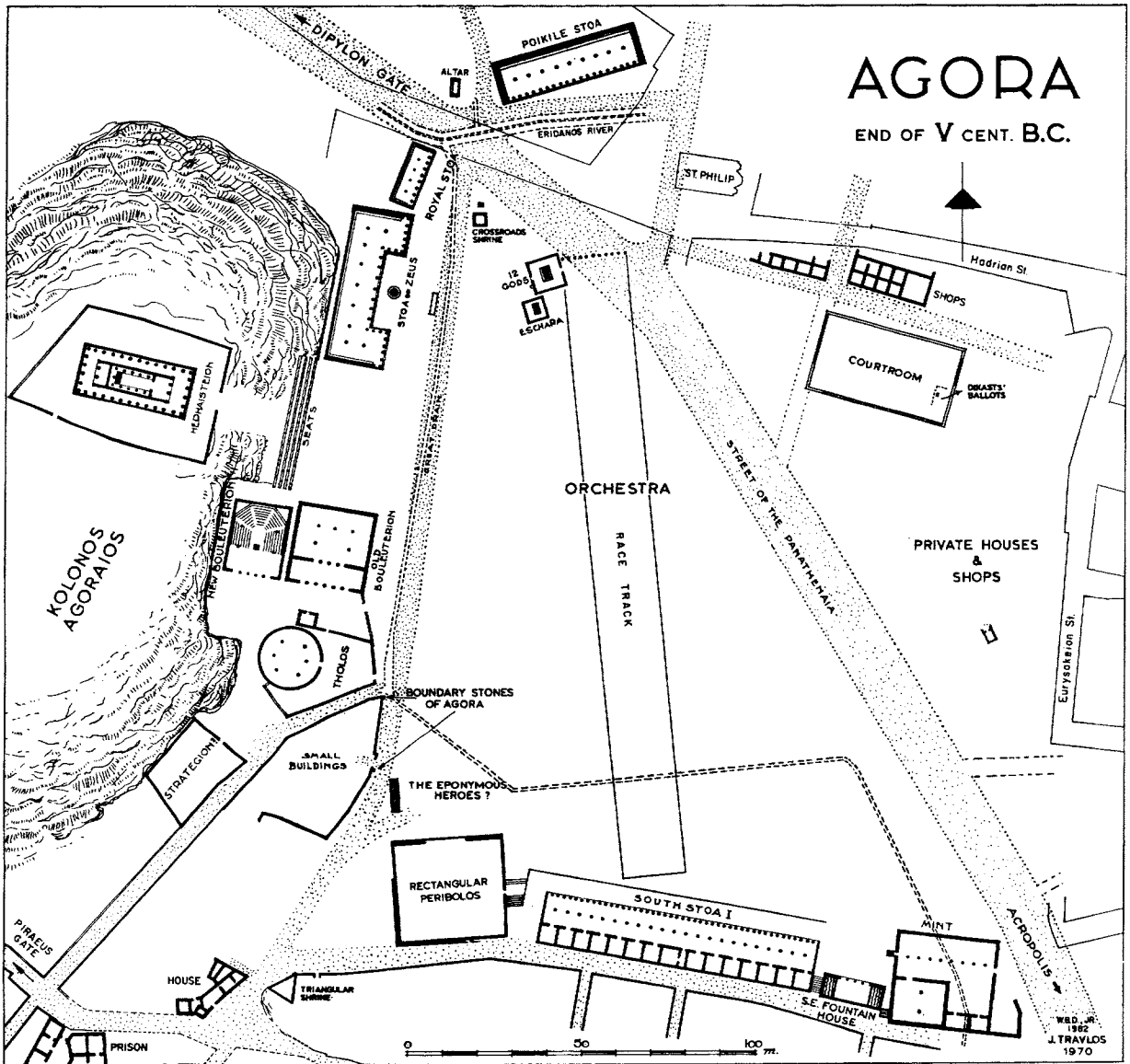


FIG. 1. Plan of the Athenian Agora at the end of the 5th century B.C.

The Leagros base thus identified the enclosure against which it stood as the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, about which much is known from the literary sources.

For the early history of the sanctuary, two passages are of primary importance. One mentions an incident which took place in 519 B.C.:

Λακεδαιμόνιοι μὲν νυν Πλαταιεῦσι τὰυτὰ συνεβούλευσαν, οἱ δὲ οὐκ ἠπίστησαν, ἀλλ' Ἀθηναίων ἰρὰ ποιούντων τοῖσι δυώδεκα θεοῖσι ἱκέται ἰζόμενοι ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἐδίδωσαν σφέας αὐτοῦς.

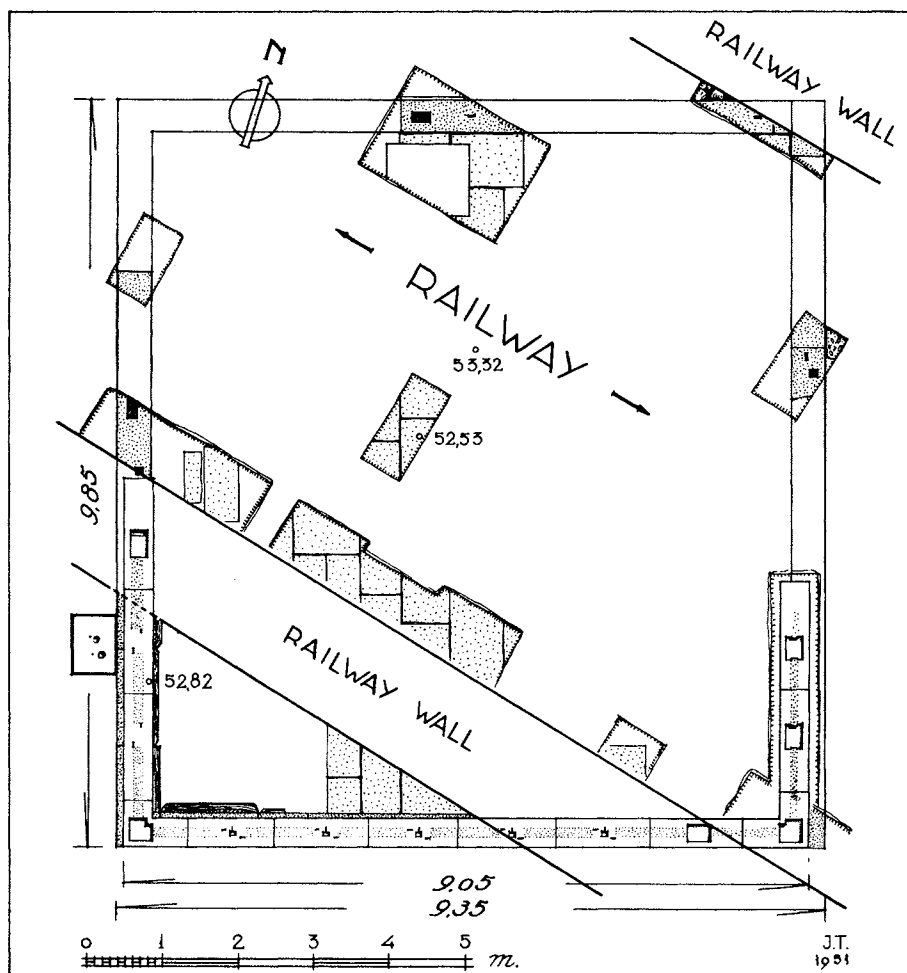


FIG. 2. Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, general plan of the excavations

The Lacedaemonians gave this advice to the Plataeans, and the Plataeans did not fail to take it; as the Athenians were sacrificing to the twelve gods they sat as suppliants on the altar, and placed themselves in the Athenians' hands.⁵

The other offers a precise and very welcome account of the foundation and subsequent alteration of the sanctuary:

... καὶ ἄλλοι τε αὐτῶν ἤρξαν τὴν ἐνιαύσιον Ἀθηναίοις ἀρχὴν καὶ Πεισίστρατος ὁ Ἰππίου τοῦ τυραννεύσαντος υἱός, τοῦ πάππου ἔχων τοῦνομα, ὃς τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἄρχων ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Πυθίῳ. καὶ τῷ μὲν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ προσοικοδομήσας ὕστερον ὁ δῆμος Ἀθηναίων μείζον μήκος τοῦ βωμοῦ ἠφάνισε τοῦ πύγγραμμα· τοῦ δ' ἐν Πυθίῳ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δῆλόν ἐστιν ἀμυδροῖς γράμμασι λέγον τάδε·
 μνημα τόδ' ἥς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστρατος Ἰππίου υἱός
 θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου ἐν τέμενει.

⁵ Herodotos 6.108.4, as translated in *Agora* III, no. 365.

Amongst those of the Peisistratidai who held the annual magistracy at Athens was Peisistratos son of Hippias the tyrant (named after his grandfather) who during his archonship set up the altar of the twelve gods in the agora and the altar of Apollo in the shrine of Apollo Pythios. On the altar in the agora the Athenian people later rendered the inscription invisible by adding to the length of the structure; but on the altar in the Pythian shrine the inscription is still visible in indistinct letters reading as follows: —“Peisistratos son of Hippias set this up as a memorial of his magistracy in the shrine of Pythios.”⁶

With these two passages in mind, the excavators drew a number of chronological conclusions, the majority discussed by Margaret Crosby in her 1949 article, which remains the most comprehensive study of the sanctuary.⁷ They dated the construction of the earlier parapet, as represented by the lower sill, to the year 522/1 B.C., the most likely date for the archonship of the younger Peisistratos,⁸ and linked the lengthening of the altar mentioned by Thucydides with the construction of the later parapet, as represented by the upper sill, which they placed in the last third of the 5th century B.C.⁹ By observing how the Leagros base related to these two sills, the excavators were able to establish certain sequential relationships. It was possible, for example, to assign a *terminus post quem* for the dedication of the statue by noting that the exterior face of the lower sill had been picked back to receive the base (Pl. 107:a); the earlier parapet, therefore, must already have been in place when Leagros' statue was set beside it. The excavators were also able to propose a *terminus ante quem* for the removal of the statue by arguing that it must have been gone before the later parapet was constructed, on the grounds that the top of the base was worn while the top of the upper sill, with which it was level, showed no trace of wear (Pls. 105, 106:b). The top of the lower sill, in contrast, showed some evidence of damage. Guided by historical probability, the excavators suggested the following chronological sequence: Leagros dedicated a bronze statue to the Twelve Gods between 490 and 480 B.C.; the Persians removed this statue and damaged the earlier parapet during their invasion of Athens in 480/79 B.C.;¹⁰ and people trod upon the base and lower sill until the parapet was rehabilitated in the last

⁶ Thucydides 6.54.6–7, as translated in *Agora* III, no. 368. See also Gomme, Andrewes, and Dover 1970, pp. 331–333.

⁷ Crosby 1949, pp. 94–95, 97–99, 101, 103; a summary appears in *Agora* XIV, pp. 129–136. Since a number of her arguments were formulated by other members of the Agora staff soon after the discovery of the sanctuary and since subsequent Agora publications have largely reiterated these same arguments, it is fair, I hope, to consider the views expressed in her article as those shared by the excavation staff. Specific scholars will therefore be cited only when they disagree with the received view or when they have contributed to an understanding of the sanctuary in other ways.

⁸ For the debate over the year of his archonship, see Davies 1971, pp. 450–451.

⁹ For the date of the later parapet, cf. Shear 1935, p. 357 (“not later than the fifth”); Crosby 1949, p. 99 (“clearly dates from the third quarter of the fifth century and probably from close to the end of the quarter, to judge from the few scraps of pottery which cannot be much if at all earlier than the decade 430–420 B.C.”); Thompson 1952, pp. 71–74, 82 (413–410 B.C., based on his attribution of the Three-figure Reliefs to the later parapet); *Agora* XIV, p. 134 (“the last quarter of the 5th century”); and Camp 1990, p. 96 (“The Sanctuary was destroyed by the Persians in 480/79 B.C. and rebuilt toward the end of the 5th century B.C., with additional repairs made in the 4th century”).

¹⁰ Antenor's statue group of the Tyrannicides was stolen by the Persians and not returned to Athens before the late 4th century B.C. The Persians also took, *inter alia*, a bronze statue of a water carrier dedicated by Themistokles when he was water commissioner at Athens (Plutarch, *Themistokles* 31.1). See also Pausanias 8.46.3.

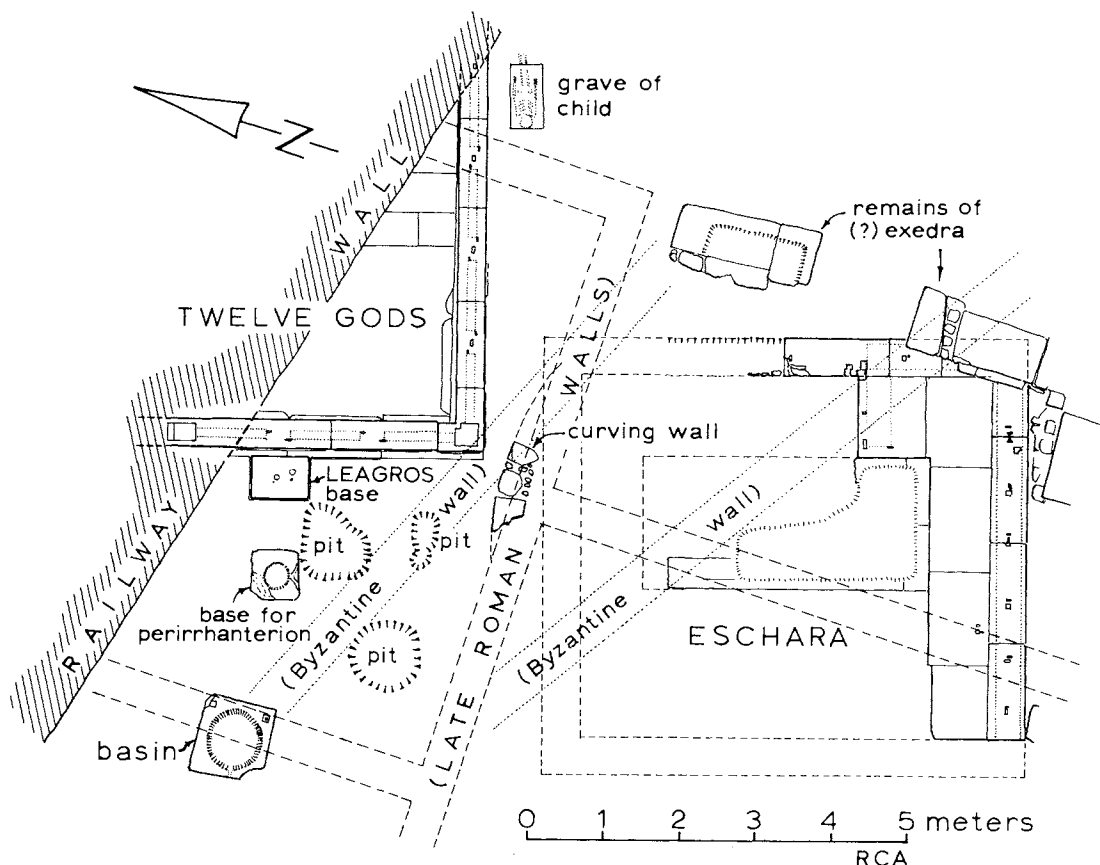


FIG. 3. Plan showing major features around the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods

third of the 5th century, at which time the later parapet was set directly on top of the lower sill and the interior was paved. The excavators theorized that the delay in rebuilding might have been due to the Oath of Plataia, which forbade at least until the 460's the repair of shrines damaged by the Persians.¹¹

In drawing these conclusions, the excavators realized that the ceramic evidence did not support their dating of either parapet but placed little stress on it, suggesting instead that the stratification had been disturbed in antiquity.¹² Such a conclusion needs no special pleading in an area as intensively used as the Agora, which witnessed much building activity throughout antiquity. Yet an alternative reconstruction of the history of the sanctuary, based on the stratification, accounts for the literary testimonia just as well as the one proposed by the excavators and has the added advantage that it makes sense of the ceramic evidence. This proposal argues that the earlier parapet, constructed by the younger Peisistratos in

¹¹ If the Peace of Kallias dates to the 460's as Walsh (1981) and Badian (1987) suggest, rather than to 449 B.C., as commonly believed at the time of Crosby's publication, then the delay in rebuilding becomes more considerable. Other factors, such as a lack of funds, might have postponed work around the sanctuary.

¹² Crosby 1949, pp. 97–98.

522/1 B.C., was not completely replaced in the last third of the 5th century, as previously believed, but merely renovated, with many blocks of the lower sill shifted from their original position and reused. It likewise suggests that the Leagros base was moved to its present location in connection with this renovation and that the later parapet was not constructed until the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. The stratigraphic proof is not bountiful, as the area available for excavation was very limited and the finds quite meager, but it does seem convincing.¹³

The pottery discussed below all comes from Section H'.¹⁴ Seventy lots are accounted for, approximately three-fifths of the total retrieved from the area around the sanctuary, mostly from alongside the parapet. Lot numbers that begin with "1" were recovered in 1934, while those starting with "3" or "4" derive from the excavation of 1946.¹⁵ The stratigraphic arguments are presented in four sections (I–IV), each with a catalogue of lots at the end. These lots are arranged first by general location (Outside the Enclosure, Inside the Enclosure) and then by Schematic Section (A–A through F–F), with the uppermost lot entered first. All elevations are given in meters below the top of the upper sill (datum level).¹⁶ When lots

¹³ To facilitate the discussion, six schematic sections have been made, as well as a new actual-state plan upon which the lines of the sections are indicated (Figs. 4–10). These drawings have been created from a combination of sources: a fresh examination of the physical remains, the photographic record detailing the progress of excavation in 1934 and 1946, and the written accounts, sketched sections, and plans left by the excavators. If it were not for the careful records of the excavation staff, this restudy would not have been possible.

I am indebted to Konstantinos Tsakos of the Greek Archaeological Service for expeditiously approving my request to clean the southwest corner of the enclosure, which had been excavated to levels below the bottom of the lower sill and then partially reburied, and to remove temporarily the three blocks of the upper sill which had been lifted in 1947. This provided an excellent opportunity to reassess some of the arguments presented in my dissertation.

¹⁴ Lots 171–430, although most lots within this sequence are not relevant to the present study.

¹⁵ In 1934, when American excavators first exposed the parapet, they were investigating the remains of Late Roman and Byzantine architecture (Fig. 3, Pl. 105). The walls of these later structures were left in place, limiting further exploration of the sanctuary. The trenches were small and irregularly shaped. Three of them were laid out alongside the outside of the enclosure: the first ran parallel to the southern railway wall and roughly perpendicular to the west side of the enclosure; the second was located just south of the first; and the third was placed perpendicular to the south side of the enclosure, just east of the southwest corner. Fill from within the enclosure was removed separately. In order to determine more fully the plan of the sanctuary, the excavators then dug a series of small pits within the railway (Fig. 2). For the preliminary results of this work, which was supervised by Homer A. Thompson, see Shear 1935, pp. 355–358.

In 1946, some of the Late Roman and Byzantine walls were dismantled to allow excavation on a larger scale. Of the many lots retrieved from this phase of activity, only those from alongside the parapet are discussed in their entirety. A secure reconstruction of the stratification elsewhere could not be had, as the excavators did not often measure the horizontal extent of the strata that they encountered and only occasionally recorded their relative sequence. For a summary of this work, which was supervised by Crosby, see Thompson 1947, pp. 198–199. Some additional work was performed around the sanctuary in 1947 and 1951, primarily to secure details of the plan; no sherds were retrieved. See Thompson 1952, p. 54, note 23.

¹⁶ Absolute elevations are as follows:

Upper sill. Top: + 52.82 m. Bottom: + 52.525 m.

Bottom of stippled panel, exterior face: + 52.68/52.65 m.

Lower sill. Top: + 52.525 m. Bottom: + 52.19/52.14 m.

Lower edge of smooth dressing, interior face: + 52.39/52.34 m.

Top of crude rectangular cuttings, exterior face: + 52.41/52.375 m., except for corner cutting on south: + 52.44 m.

Top of crude rectangular cuttings, interior face: + 52.44/52.375 m.

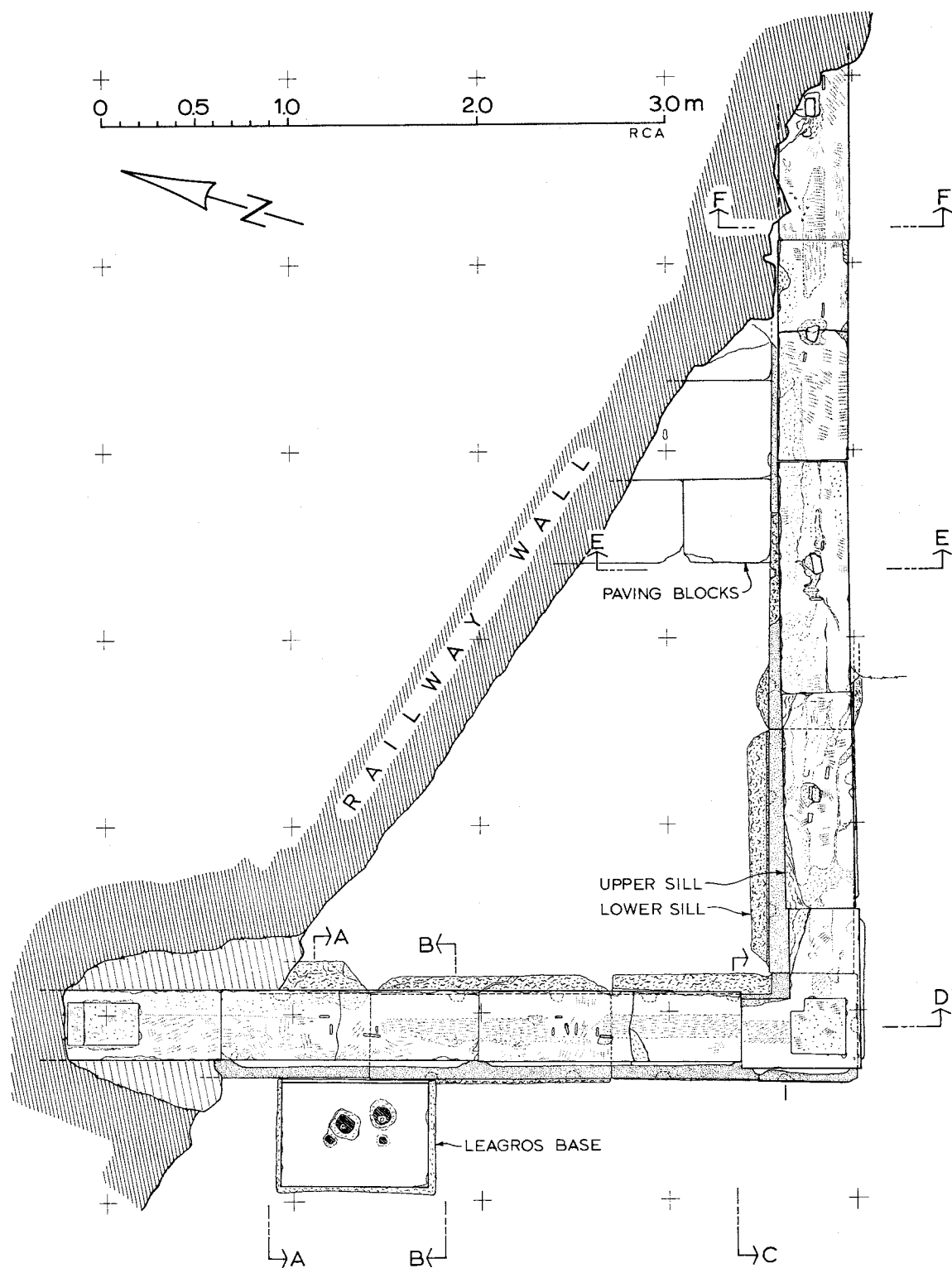


FIG. 4. Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, plan of southwest corner, with lines of Schematic Sections A-A through F-F

derive from strata that do not cross the lines of the Schematic Sections, they have been recorded as close as possible to the lots near which they lay.

All the pottery has been restudied and checked for previously unrecognized joins.¹⁷ Occasionally, the number of sherds in a particular lot was too small to pinpoint the date of deposit with any degree of precision. In most cases, the date provided below does not differ from the one proposed by the excavators at the time of Crosby's publication; when it does, the discrepancy is noted in the discussion so that the excavators' interpretation of the stratification can be understood.

I. ACTIVITY PRIOR TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE EARLIER PARAPET

The excavators did not have an opportunity to investigate the stratification immediately beneath the lower sill, for only two blocks of this sill were missing, from areas within the railway cutting that did not allow further excavation (Fig. 2, the more northern pit along the west side of the enclosure and the more western pit along the north side). Of the five stratigraphic sequences recovered from levels below the bottom of the lower sill, just one supports the excavators' dating of the earlier parapet to the year 522/1. This sequence, which is represented by Lots 390 and 391 (Schematic Section B-B, Fig. 6), consists of Archaic sherds too coarse and small for precise dating. It has little to do with the construction of the earlier parapet and is useful only as a *terminus post quem*, owing to the fact that the lower sill was set into the stratum of Lot 390.

The other stratigraphic sequences are considerably later. Lot 190 (Schematic Section A-A, Fig. 5), coming from what appears to be a disturbed trench, contains one fragment of a rouletted plate made in the second half of the 4th century B.C.; its pottery is otherwise nondiagnostic.¹⁸ Lot 383 (Schematic Section B-B, Fig. 6) includes pottery as late as the first quarter of the 5th century B.C.; its probable association with Lot 385 (Schematic Section C-C, Fig. 7) removes both strata as support for a Peisistratid dating of the earlier parapet.¹⁹ Lot 402 (Schematic Section B-B), once assigned a possible date in the 6th century, has now

Interior paving. Top: + 52.53 m.

Leagros base. Top: ca. level with top of upper sill. Bottom: + 52.255/52.248 m.

Perirrhanterion base west of sanctuary. Top: + 52.52 m. Bottom: + 52.07 m.

¹⁷ A number of people generously helped with the dating of the pottery: Julie Bentz, Virginia R. Grace, Barbara Johnson, John Oakley, Ian McPhee, Susan I. Rotroff, and most especially John McK. Camp II. Most of, if not all, the newly discovered joins seem to be significant, even though it was sometimes difficult to decide if lots sharing new joins actually came from the same stratum or if these joins were better explained in another way, perhaps as rare but understandable errors in excavation, processing, or storing. The notebooks on file at the Agora Excavations occasionally provided a clue, either by equating the strata from which the lots came or by clearly distinguishing between their fills.

¹⁸ See Part II (p. 464 below) for additional evidence that the trench from which Lot 190 came is disturbed.

¹⁹ The excavators believed that the following lots were part of the same fill: 383, 385, 407 (from a stratum west of the curving wall [Fig. 3], which contains nondescript Archaic or Classical sherds), and 408 (from a stratum directly below 407, which also includes nondescript Archaic or Classical sherds). The fact that a sherd from Lot 385 joins with one from 377 might indicate that the excavators dug somewhat below the bottom of 377 to ensure that it had been completely removed or that the stratum represented by 385 was cut into when the lower sill was laid, with the result that a sherd originally from 385 ended up in 377. It is unlikely that the two lots comprise the same stratum, for the fill of 385 was described by the excavators as clayey and that of 377 as soft dirt.

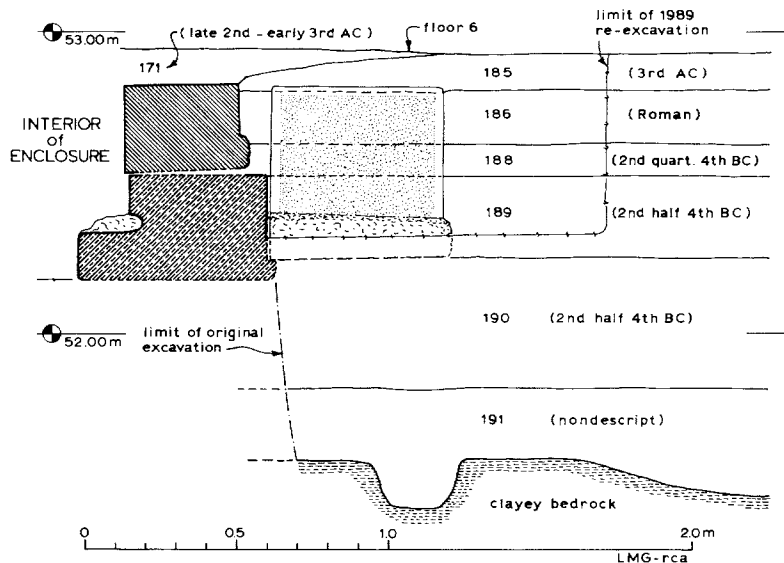


FIG. 5. Schematic Section A-A, looking south

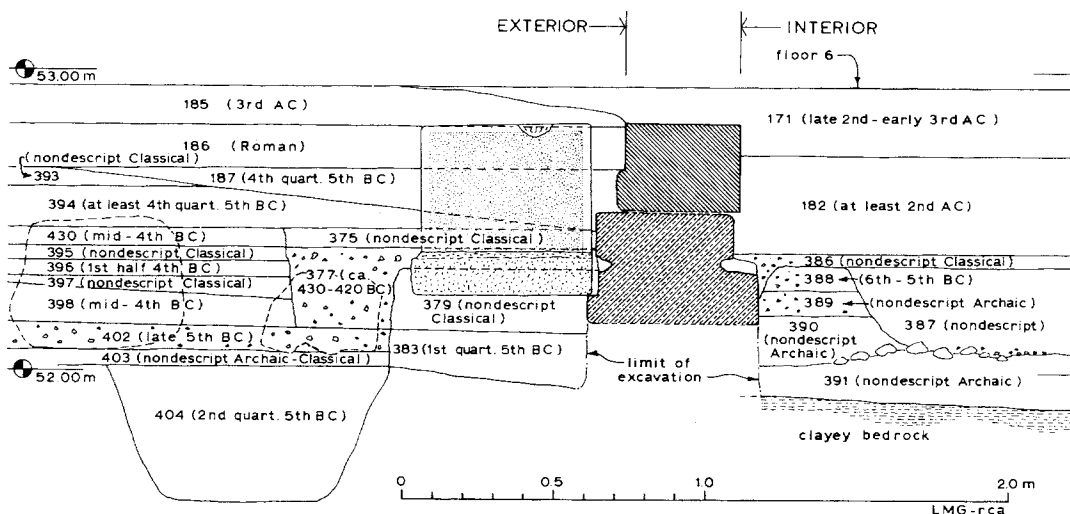


FIG. 6. Schematic Section B-B, looking north

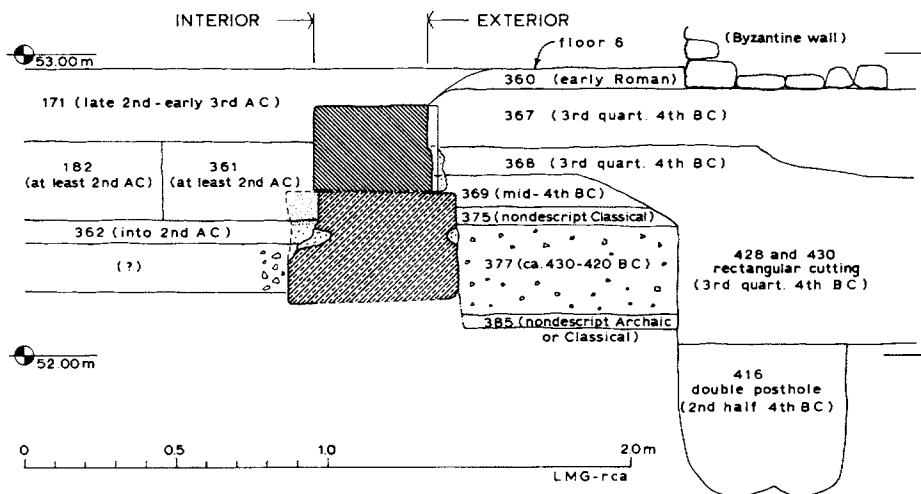


FIG. 7. Schematic Section C-C, looking south

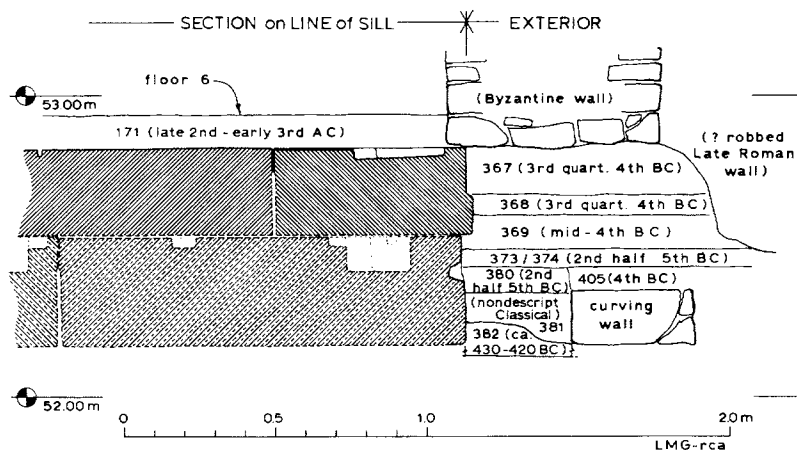


FIG. 8. Schematic Section D-D, looking east

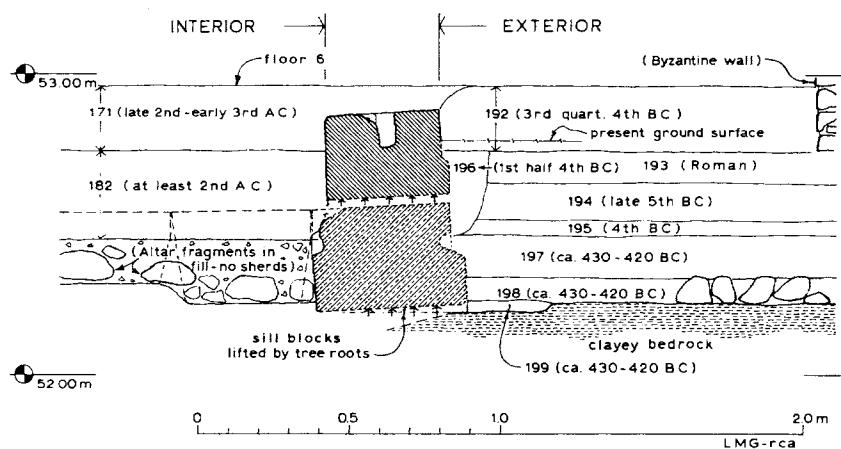


FIG. 9. Schematic Section E-E, looking east

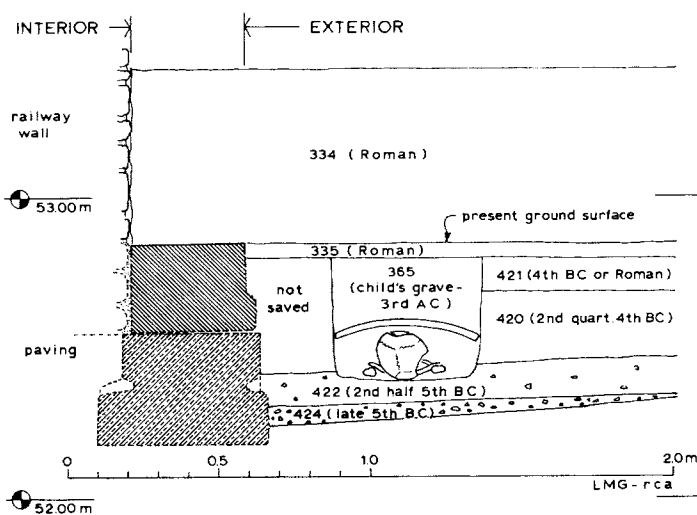


FIG. 10. Schematic Section F-F, looking east

been lowered to the late 5th century; one of its sherds joins with another in 404, thus offering a tenuous connection between the three strata in this sequence. Since 402 is the only lot from a level below the bottom of the lower sill to yield yellow poros chips, this entire sequence might have been deposited during the construction of the earlier parapet, which consisted, at least in part, of yellow poros.²⁰

LOTS FROM LEVELS BELOW THE BOTTOM OF THE LOWER SILL
(below $-0.63/0.68$ m.)²¹

OUTSIDE THE ENCLOSURE

Schematic Section A-A (Fig. 5)

- 190 Largely coarse ware; includes small fragment of rouletted plate from second half of 4th century B.C. From $-0.56/0.60$ to -1.00 m. (water table).
 191 Eight nondescript sherds. From -1.00 to -1.24 m. (bedrock, the surface of which was unworked except for a shallow round pit, 0.30 m. in diameter).

Schematic Section B-B (Fig. 6)

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| 383 First quarter of 5th century B.C. From -0.70 to $-0.74/0.88$ m. just south of Leagros base. | 402 | Late 5th century B.C. From $-0.66/0.70$ to -0.75 m. Inventoried finds: medicine pot (P 31694) and obsidian blade (ST 360). The perirrhanterion base and broken block of yellow poros rested on the bottom of this stratum. Three fragments of yellow and white poros preserved in lot. |
| | 403 | Nondescript Archaic or Classical. From -0.75 to -0.80 m. Contained no yellow poros chips. |
| | 404 | Second quarter of 5th century B.C. From -0.80 to -1.26 m. |

Schematic Section C-C (Fig. 7)

- 385 Nondescript Archaic or Classical. From -0.71 to -0.74 m.

Schematic Sections D-D, E-E, and F-F (Figs. 8-10)

Unexcavated.

INSIDE THE ENCLOSURE

Schematic Section B-B (Fig. 6)

- 390 Nine sherds, nondescript Archaic. From -0.64 to -0.80 (at sill)/0.75 m. (farther east, where stratum rested on fieldstones).
 391 Nondescript Archaic, almost all coarse ware. From -0.80 (at sill)/0.75 (farther east) to $-0.90/0.95$ m. (bedrock).

²⁰ These chips might alternatively have derived from the perirrhanterion base or the broken block of yellow poros that rested in the fill (Figs. 3, 6, Pl. 109:b). For further discussion of Lot 404, see below, pp. 478-479. The term "poros" is used to describe a porous, fairly nonresistant limestone, which ranges from white to gray to yellow and darkens upon exposure. See Herz 1952 and Wycherley 1974.

²¹ Lots 190 and 390 have been included in Part I although the strata from which they came do not lie entirely below the bottom of the lower sill. Lot 416 is listed in Part III, owing to its connection with the 4th-century sandy fill.

II. CONSTRUCTION AND RENOVATION OF THE EARLIER PARAPET

Quite a bit can be learned about the appearance of the earlier parapet that enclosed the Altar of the Twelve Gods, despite the fact that none of its superstructure has been identified.²² The numerous sill blocks which remain take the form of a rectangle measuring 9.35 m. east–west and 9.85 m. north–south, with a central opening at the west, perhaps also at the east, as indicated on Figure 11. These blocks preserve rectangular sockets, for the insertion of posts, and numerous dowel holes with which to fasten intermediary slabs (Pl. 107:b, c); the parapet was probably secured by a coping course. Regularity does not seem to have been a principal concern, for the blocks vary in height from 0.33 to 0.40 m., in length from 1.30 to *ca.* 1.80 m., and in width from 0.45 to 0.465 m. (upper surface).²³

The excavators were correct to conclude from the tooling on the interior face of the lower sill that the earlier parapet initially had been provided with a dirt floor and then was altered to accommodate paving.²⁴ The upper portion, which is carefully dressed, was surely meant to be seen. The lower portion, in contrast, is so indifferently tooled that it must have been hidden from view. Originally, it took the form of a projecting ledge. On the first two blocks south of the railway wall, the ledge projects between 0.08 and 0.175 m. from the smoothed, upper portion and is characterized by shallow, vertical channels; on both blocks, the horizontal surface was picked to create a slope (Pl. 108:a). On the corner block, the ledge is 0.12 m. deep, with its vertical face quite roughly worked; a line of deep pick marks on the horizontal surface testifies to a careless trimming of the original surface. On the westernmost block of the south side (Pl. 107:d), the ledge is 0.10/0.12 m. deep, with its vertical face showing shallow diagonal grooves and its horizontal surface marred by deep pick marks like those on the corner block, while on the easternmost block (Pl. 108:b), it has been almost entirely cut back.²⁵ Curiously, in one section now buried beneath the railway, this ledge seems well suited for the support of paving in its original state. It carries at least two paving slabs that fit snugly against the upper portion of the sill, their joint surfaces tooled in the same fashion as the fair face of the sill, that is, with horizontal strokes of a broad, flat chisel (Fig. 2, center of the north wall).²⁶

The excavators placed the original dirt floor of the interior at a level approximately ten centimeters below the top of the lower sill and concluded that it had been removed in the last third of the 5th century during construction of the later parapet, to allow room for the

²² A considerable number of marble chips were found in the construction fill, but they were of varied sorts and not plentiful enough to infer that the superstructure was of marble.

²³ Crosby 1949, p. 86, note 10.

²⁴ Crosby 1949, p. 91. The paving slabs vary greatly in their dimensions and show evidence of differing workmanship.

²⁵ Although one might guess that this ledge had been trimmed to receive a particularly deep paving slab, photographs taken at the time of excavation show that this area was filled with yellow poros chips and fragments of the Peisistratid altar up to *ca.* 0.10 m. For further discussion of this altar, see pp. 461–462 below.

²⁶ This correspondence led the excavators, albeit temporarily, to regard the paving as contemporary with the earlier parapet. If not for this highly important observation, the kind of tooling on the upper portion of the upper sill might be viewed as decorative, appropriate only for visible surfaces. Instead, the joint surface of the paving slab demonstrates that it can also be functional.

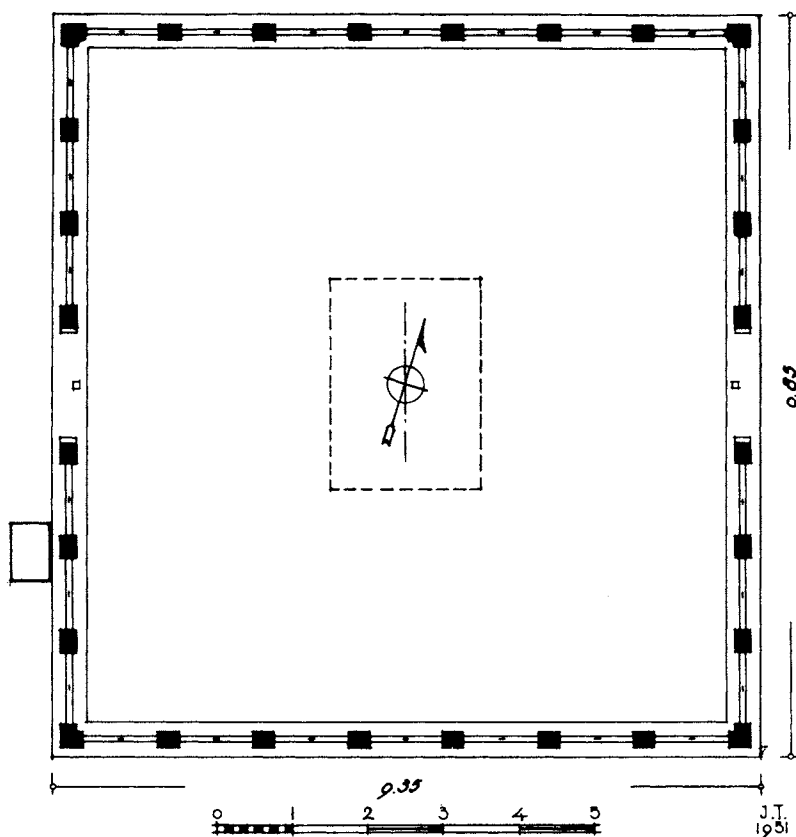


FIG. 11. Plan of the earlier parapet

interior paving.²⁷ In this way, they were able to explain the lack of relevant pottery within the enclosure at levels below the original floor.

The ceramic evidence retrieved from within the enclosure was extremely meager, in terms of quantity and quality. No stratified pottery was found in the series of pits within the railway cutting, where excavation rarely proceeded below the level of the lower sill, and none seems to have been recovered from the small trench within the enclosure, which was laid out in 1934 just south of the railway (Pl. 105).²⁸ The trench opposite the Leagros base (Schematic Section B-B, Fig. 6) is therefore crucial for dating the pavement. Lot 386 came from the stratum immediately beneath this pavement. It contains three small sherds which were placed at the time of Crosby's publication within the 6th or 5th century B.C.; one black-glazed fragment is almost surely Classical. The other three lots in this sequence, 387–389, seem to have been deposited at the same time. Like 386, they contained many poros chips, as one would expect beneath paving slabs. The excavators themselves considered 387 and 388

²⁷ Crosby 1949, p. 98.

²⁸ The trench just south of the railway extended from -0.45 to *ca.* -1.00 m. (bedrock) and lay between Schematic Sections E-E and F-F.

probable components of the same stratum and noted a firm strosis separating the poros packing of 388 and 389 from the clean, soft dirt of 390. They also indicated, by means of a notebook sketch, that 388 stopped just short of the lower sill, leaving a sloping edge which continued down into 389, giving both lots the appearance of having been cut back (the actual configuration is reproduced on Section B–B, Fig. 6). Although it is conceivable that the pre-parapet stratification was particularly high in this area and that 388 and 389 were trimmed to receive the lower sill,²⁹ it is more consistent to conclude that 387–389 were casually dumped against the lower sill just after it had been set into place and not tamped down before 386 was deposited on top. The fact that these strata did not yield pottery precisely datable to the last third of the 5th century should not be surprising, since the area excavated was extremely limited and very few sherds were retrieved. Similar fill to the east of Section B–B contained many poros chips but no sherds whatsoever (Schematic Section E–E, Fig. 9).

Two pieces of evidence challenge the excavators' view that the pavement was laid in connection with the later parapet and raise doubts about their conclusions regarding the building history of the sanctuary. Not only do the paving slabs fit tightly against the interior face of the lower sill and thus closely obey the plan of the earlier parapet, which differs slightly from the later parapet in both orientation and size,³⁰ but all these slabs, with the possible exception of one block in the northeast corner, consist of yellow poros similar to that used for the lower sill.³¹ A harder, light-gray poros was used for the upper sill. An archaeological dilemma is thus presented: choosing between the ceramic evidence, which favors, albeit weakly, a post-Persian date for the laying of this pavement, and the architectural evidence, which suggests a connection between the interior pavement and the earlier parapet, which traditionally has been dated to the archonship of the younger Peisistratos. The incompatibility disappears if another phase is added to the architectural history of the sanctuary and it is argued that the Peisistratid parapet was not replaced in the last third of the 5th century by the later parapet, as heretofore supposed, but its blocks simply shifted and reused, with the interior paving laid at the time of this renovation. Given the repercussions that this chronological revision has on the interpretation of the sanctuary, it should be tested against the three pieces of evidence brought forth by the excavators to forge their link between the interior paving and the later parapet.

It has no effect on their first piece of supporting evidence: the sequential relationship between the destruction of the Peisistratid altar and the laying of the pavement. The three fragments of this altar that were found in the poros packing beneath the paving must necessarily have been placed there before the paving blocks were laid (Fig. 12, Pl. 108:b, d).³²

²⁹ If true, these two strata would be valuable for establishing the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the earlier parapet.

³⁰ Earlier parapet, 9.85 by 9.35 m.; later parapet, *ca.* 9.86 by 9.05 m.

³¹ This one block, described as limestone in the notebooks, was only briefly exposed. Its upper surface lay *ca.* 0.01 m. below the top of the lower sill blocks to the east and north, with which it does not form a tight join.

³² For altar fragments A 1198 and A 1199 a, b, see Crosby 1949, p. 98, pl. 14:2. The burial of these fragments beneath the paving favors their association with the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, even though their material and form are strikingly different from the marble molding that crowned the Altar of Pythian Apollo in Athens (*IG* I² 761). According to Thucydides (6.54.6–7), the latter was also established during the archonship of the younger Peisistratos. It is not possible to draw any conclusions from this dissimilarity, given the

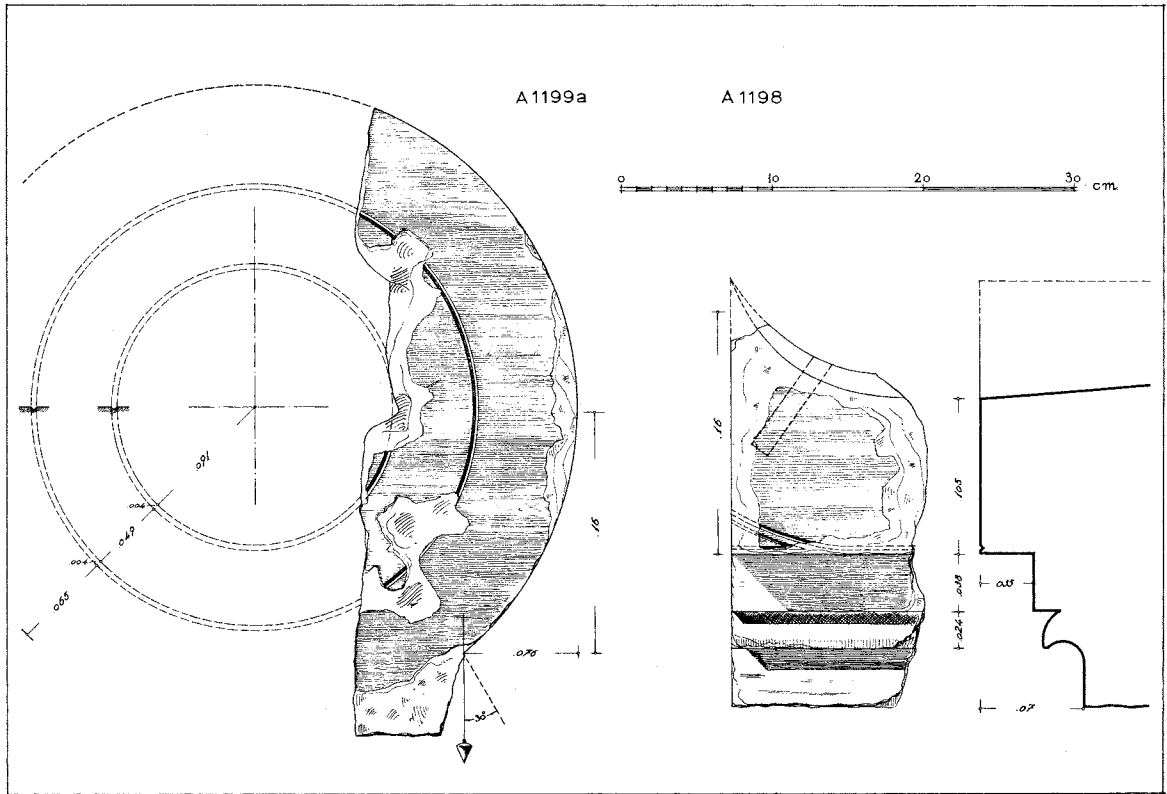


FIG. 12. Altar fragments, A 1199 a and A 1198

This relationship is not altered if it is proposed that these fragments were buried when the earlier parapet was renovated, since the date of this activity remains the same.

Their second piece of evidence is more problematic. In her 1949 article, Crosby noted that gray poros chips were observed “in the packing along the west side where the floor slabs were missing” and that these chips matched the stone used for the upper sill.³³ The 1934 notebooks contain a similar, though more detailed, observation, namely, that some chips of gray poros were found mixed together with those of yellow poros inside the enclosure, overlying the earth filling on the west side. The 1946 notebooks record the presence of many

controversy surrounding the Pythian molding. Epigraphers, for instance, have often been unable to reconcile the rather advanced letter forms of the Pythian inscription with the generally accepted date of the younger Peisistratos’ archonship in the year 522/1 B.C. See, *inter aliud*, Jeffery 1990, p. 75. According to Crosby (1949, p. 94, pl. 14:3), five or six fragments of soft poros found near the sanctuary may be orthostates from this same altar. The two largest are A 1266 and A 1267. See *Agora XIV*, pp. 131–132 for the possibility that they derive from the parapet surrounding the Eschara. All but one of them were reused in the curving wall near the southwest corner of the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, which can date no earlier than the decade 430–420 B.C. (see Figure 3 and Plate 109:b, foreground, for a segment of this wall). According to the notebooks, Lot 381 equals Lot 406, which derived from the north face of the curving wall, just to the west of 381. Lot 406 has been dated to the late 5th century B.C.

³³ Crosby 1949, p. 98.

poros chips within the stratigraphic sequence represented by Lots 386–391 (Schematic Section B–B, Fig. 6), which were retrieved just south of the railway wall, although the notebooks do not specifically mention any that were gray: 386 is said to have consisted almost entirely of yellow chips and chunks, while 387 contained yellow chips; 388 and 389 yielded many chips of unspecified color. It can only be assumed that Crosby was referring to the westernmost pit dug along the north face of the southern railway wall in 1934 (Fig. 2), even though no gray chips were recorded there nor any mention made of poros chips in levels above the earth filling, only within it.³⁴ Moreover, the evidence presented by this pit is unusual.³⁵ Since no ceramic evidence exists upon which to date the paving slabs found within this pit, and since yellow poros chips are sometimes difficult to distinguish from gray poros chips, not much weight should be placed on the possibility of gray poros chips in the packing beneath the pavement.

Nor does the excavators' third piece of evidence jeopardize the proposed link between the renovation of the earlier parapet and the laying of the pavement in the last third of the 5th century:

This indication that the paving is to be associated with the second sill course is supported by the fact that its top is flush with the top of the first sill course blocks and about ten centimeters higher than the earlier floor.³⁶

This argument has now been weakened by the excavation of the Eschara, a small precinct just south of the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, which has interior paving set flush with the top of the surrounding sill course, exactly as in the enclosure of the Twelve Gods (Fig. 3, Pl. 109:a).³⁷

The stratification alongside the exterior of the enclosure also offers evidence that the earlier parapet, as it now exists, is Classical. The exterior face of the lower sill carries the same careful tooling on its upper part as does the interior face; it is similarly pierced by crude rectangular cuttings that fall at the junction between this fair face and the lower portion, which is more roughly worked (Pl. 107:a, c). This lower portion projects only slightly. It is logical to suppose, as the excavators did,³⁸ that the exterior ground line for the earlier

³⁴ The only other candidate is a small trench perpendicular to the railway wall, which contained a layer of dug bedrock or firm gray clay extending from -0.45 to *ca.* -0.90 m. (Pl. 105). The notebooks do not mention any poros chips within this stratum, which apparently yielded no pottery.

³⁵ See Crosby 1949, pp. 88, 91, 92. The earth filling, showing no signs of tramping, extended about halfway up the carefully dressed portion of the lower sill and around the northern face of a smaller block of yellow poros to the east, leaving space for a floor slab no more than 0.03 m. thick, far thinner than the evidence elsewhere leads one to expect. According to Crosby (1949, p. 91, note 22), all the paving slabs were between 0.18 and 0.32 m. thick, except for some missing slabs near the southwest corner, which could not have been more than 0.095 m. thick. This smaller slab just north of the railway wall was found slightly tipped. To the west, its top was level with the filling of earth, which contained many chips of yellow poros and sloped down toward the lower sill. Its east edge lay somewhat higher, approximately 0.03 m. below the top of the paving slab next to it, at a level where the smoothly dressed margin on the face of this paving slab ends and the roughened, projecting portion begins. This unusually shallow bedding possibly received a specially designed slab, perhaps of marble, to mark an entrance into the sanctuary, for the small rectangular cutting just to the north of the railway wall lay at the exact center of the west wall and is considerably deeper than other small cuttings visible on the lower sill.

³⁶ Crosby 1949, p. 98.

³⁷ For further discussion of the Eschara, see below, p. 467.

³⁸ Crosby 1949, pp. 91, 94.

parapet rose at least as high as -0.38 m., the top of the highest crude rectangular cutting. Particularly firm stroses existed at $-0.33/0.34$ and $-0.38/0.40$ m. Although either would be suitable, the lower, and thus more conservative, strosis has been chosen to represent the exterior ground line for the earlier parapet.

As the excavators pointed out, some sherds from levels between the presumed ground line for the earlier parapet and the bottom of the lower sill date within the second half of the 6th century B.C.³⁹ None of the lots from which these sherds came, however, was securely dated by the excavators in the 6th century. Lot 384, which was retrieved from an unspecified location on the west side, contains two nondescript sherds of Archaic or Classical date. And yet it cannot be used to support a construction date for the earlier parapet in the year 522/1, since the excavators equated it with 377, a much larger lot which has been dated to the decade 430–420 (e.g., Pl. 110:a; see Schematic Sections B–B, C–C, Figs. 6, 7).⁴⁰ The other sequences from alongside the exterior of the enclosure are Classical, with the majority of lots dating in the last third of the 5th century. Lot 382, for example, contains pottery dated *ca.* 430–420 (e.g., Pl. 110:b; see Schematic Section D–D, Fig. 8).⁴¹ Lots 197 and 198 each contain a small bolsal fragment, probably from the same vessel; these lots have also been placed in the decade 430–420 (e.g., Pl. 110:c; see Schematic Section E–E, Fig. 9).⁴² The same date is provided by Lot 199, which came from the stratum immediately beneath 198.

Two rouletted sherds were found along the exterior of the sanctuary, in levels associated with the construction of the earlier parapet. It would be rash to suggest that the enclosure was built no earlier than the date of these sherds, which belong in the second half of the 4th century.⁴³ One came from a hole to the east of Schematic Section F–F that was recognized by the excavators as a disturbance within an otherwise clean stratum. It is now in Lot 425. The other sherd, now in Lot 189 (Schematic Section A–A, Fig. 5), came from the west side. Since a sherd with rouletting was also found in Lot 190 directly beneath 189, it is reasonable to suppose that there was some sort of local disturbance near or directly against the parapet at this time, perhaps a resetting of the lower sill, the digging of a small pit, or the removal of an adjacent dedication.⁴⁴

³⁹ Crosby 1949, p. 97: "External evidence for dating [the earlier parapet] is slight, for excavation of the lower levels in the vicinity has not been completed and very little undisturbed earth was found against the peribolos walls. The few scraps of pottery that can be associated with the construction of the first period are consistent with a date in the second half of the sixth century."

⁴⁰ Representative pottery illustrated on Plate 110:a: stemless cup, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 459 (P 15041); skyphos of Corinthian type, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 321 (P 10093).

⁴¹ For the skyphos of Corinthian type illustrated in Plate 110:b, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 321 (P 10093). Lot 381 testifies to the construction of the curving wall, which could not have taken place before the decade 430–420 B.C. (see Figure 3 and Plate 109:b, foreground, for a segment of this wall).

⁴² Representative pottery from Lot 197 illustrated in Plate 110:c: skyphos of Corinthian type, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 321 (P 10093); Pheidias mug, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 202 (P 15040); bolsal, cf. *Agora* XII, no. 541 (P 423). Lot 197 also has a join with 194, which came from a stratum extending from -0.20 to -0.33 m. and dates to the late 5th century. This link is difficult to explain.

⁴³ If a few more 4th-century sherds had been found in these strata, the suggestion would be more reasonable. Shear, Jr. (1970, pp. 190–196) redated the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes in the Athenian Agora shortly after the mid-4th century B.C. on the basis of two or three sherds found in test trenches, even though most of the pottery from about the level of the bottom belonged to the fourth quarter of the 5th century.

⁴⁴ It is even possible that the excavators missed a small disturbance, possibly a pit or posthole. Possible remains of dedicatory monuments to the Twelve Gods exist in three places along the exterior of the sanctuary.

One further point can be made regarding the rouletted sherd in Lot 189, which was taken from the north face of the Leagros base and alongside the parapet. It should not be used to argue that the base was moved to its present position in the second half of the 4th century. Several factors deny a relationship between the setting of the Leagros base and the construction of the later parapet, despite the fact that its upper surface is virtually level with the top of the upper sill (Pl. 105).⁴⁵ First, the lower stratification of the trench from which this rouletted sherd came does not agree with that to the south of the Leagros base, in either date or elevation (cf. Lot 189 with 377 and 379, Schematic Sections A–A through C–C, Figs. 5–7).⁴⁶ Second, it makes more sense to assume that the face of the lower sill opposite the Leagros base was picked back to allow a tight join between the Leagros base and the earlier parapet than to propose that this adjustment took place when the later parapet was constructed. For if the Athenians had wished to have the Leagros base abut the later parapet, presumably they would have placed the edge of this base on top of the lower sill, so as to provide it with a good resting surface and to display it as originally intended, instead of intentionally burying approximately seventy percent of it.⁴⁷ Third, as Plate 107:a indicates, the top of the projecting band along the bottom of the Leagros base corresponds almost exactly with the top of the crude rectangular cutting on the exterior face of the lower sill. The Leagros base and the earlier parapet thus share the same presumed ground line.⁴⁸

This review of the archaeological evidence from both inside and outside the sanctuary leads to one of the following conclusions:

1. The stratification is entirely disturbed at levels below the intended ground line of the earlier parapet, which was built by the younger Peisistratos.
2. The stratification is disturbed at levels below the bottom of the earlier parapet, which is Peisistratid in date, but not above, since the lower sill sat above ground and the fill excavated against it accumulated subsequent to its construction.

The best preserved, known as the curving wall, could not have been founded before the decade 430–420 (Fig. 3 and Schematic Section D–D, Fig. 8, for its relationship to the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods). The other two are even more exiguous: a large, rough block of conglomerate along the east side, at a level slightly higher than the top of the lower sill (Fig. 2, near the center of the east side); and a smaller, more irregular block of conglomerate along the north side, at an elevation 0.03 m. above the top of the lower sill (Fig. 2, at the northeast corner of the parapet). The full dimensions of these blocks are not recorded; they appear to be *in situ*. There is no ceramic evidence to secure the date of these two monuments, but the late 5th or 4th century may be suggested on the basis of their material, which seems not to have been used by Athenian builders before the last third of the 5th century. Conglomerate appears, for instance, in the retaining wall behind the Stoa of Zeus in the Agora (*Agora* XIV, p. 97, note 83).

⁴⁵ A mass of roots has wended its way between the two sills, raising the upper sill just opposite the Leagros base and causing it to tilt. This has been reproduced on Schematic Section A–A (Fig. 5).

⁴⁶ There is also no need to associate Lots 377, which contains sherds dated *ca.* 430–420, and 379, which consists of nondescript Classical pottery, with the 4th-century sandy fill south of the perirrhanterion base (Lots 395–398). For further discussion of the 4th-century sandy fill, see Part III (pp. 479–481 below).

⁴⁷ The distance between the east face of the Leagros base and the west face of the upper sill is now 0.11 m. Much more of the lower sill was trimmed than necessary for the placement of the Leagros base. This reworked area extends some 0.15 m. to the south of the Leagros base and at least 0.35 m. to the north, where the sill disappears beneath the southern retaining wall for the railway.

⁴⁸ Crosby 1949, p. 92, fig. 6 contradicts the text, by showing the ground line of the earlier parapet considerably lower than the crude rectangular cuttings on the exterior face of the lower sill, about level with the bottom of the Leagros base.

3. The excavators were unable to distinguish disturbed pockets and so inadvertently contaminated the clean strata with later material. Like options (1) and (2), this allows one to maintain the traditional dating of the earlier parapet.

4. The Altar was first enclosed by a parapet in the last third of the 5th century and provided with a dirt floor. Leagros' statue, previously dedicated, was moved to its present location at the same time.

5. The Peisistratid enclosure was renovated, probably enlarged, in the last third of the 5th century, with the blocks of the lower sill reused by shifting them into their present position and then dumping large quantities of fill against them. The sanctuary received interior paving at the time of this renovation, and Leagros' statue, previously dedicated, was set alongside the exterior of the enclosure.

The first possibility, the one chosen by Crosby in her 1949 article and the one accepted by all subsequent researchers, needs no further elaboration.

Difficulties arise with the second. It is certainly true that the lower sill did not require partial burial, since the posts and slabs which it once supported would have been relatively light. It is also clear that the excavators looked for, but did not find, a footing trench alongside the lower sill or around the Leagros base. This conclusion was initially drawn in the notebooks to explain the stratification along the south side of the parapet, after one stretch of the lower sill was found to be worn and rubbed along the lower part of its exterior face.⁴⁹ But Crosby did not repeat this view in her 1949 article, perhaps because she recognized that it could not also apply to the west side of the enclosure. For the Leagros base could not have been placed beside the parapet prior to the Persian invasion of Athens, as the excavators wished, if the strata upon which it rested were deposited no earlier than the last third of the 5th century B.C.

The third possibility seems unlikely, considering the care with which the excavations were carried out, particularly in 1946, when nearly one hundred lots were retrieved from the area surrounding the sanctuary. This possibility would presume that the ground line did not change between 522/1, when the parapet was erected, and the dedication of Leagros' statue, traditionally dated in the decade 490–480.

The fourth possibility is tempting, since much building activity took place in the Athenian Agora during the last third of the 5th century. In addition to major construction projects that were initiated at this time in and around the Athenian Agora, such as the Stoa of Zeus and the New Bouleuterion, there existed a distinct interest in the formal demarcation of *temenoi*.⁵⁰ An Athenian decree concerning the Sanctuary of Neleus, Kodros, and Basile (*IG I³ 84*), which was passed in the year 418/7, not only instructs the *horistai* to mark the boundaries of this sanctuary, probably with *horoi*, but also authorizes the *poletai* to arrange a contract for the construction of an enclosure.⁵¹ Another Athenian decree from the last third of the 5th century (*IG I³ 78*) includes a rider directing the Basileus to mark out the

⁴⁹ This rubbing is not now recognizable.

⁵⁰ See Miles 1989, pp. 227–233 for a discussion of the religious climate in Attica following the outbreak of the Plague in 430 B.C. and for the view that the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous was constructed *ca.* 430–420 B.C., somewhat later than previously believed.

⁵¹ For the significance of this inscription, see Wycherley 1960; Travlos, p. 332; and *Agora XIX*, pp. 64–65 and note 43.

boundary of sanctuaries in the Pelargikon.⁵² At both the Triangular Shrine, southwest of the Athenian Agora, and the Crossroads Shrine in the northwest corner, this demarcation took the form of a low parapet (Fig. 1).⁵³ As *abata*, these two shrines had no need for interior paving.

It is also true that the two parallels that were offered by the excavators to corroborate their dating of the earlier parapet were subsequently downdated.⁵⁴ The first, a step block of Kara limestone that preserves evidence of a blind dowel, is still thought to belong to the "Peisistratid" Fountain House in the Athenian Agora, but the entire building, now known as the Southwest Fountain House, has since been redated to the 4th century B.C., probably to the third quarter.⁵⁵ The second, a parapet block with tongue-and-groove jointing, was perhaps intended as a parallel for the later parapet, which utilized this technique along the east side, rather than for the earlier parapet (Fig. 2).⁵⁶ Evidence for its use is not so clear on the lower sill. In any event, this block has now been reassigned to the Water Clock and redated to at least the second half of the 4th century, which corresponds nicely with the date for the later parapet that is proposed here.⁵⁷

The closest parallel to the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in its earlier phase is the Eschara, previously mentioned with respect to its interior paving (Fig. 3, Pl. 109:a).⁵⁸ Originally, it consisted of a low, rectangular hearth, *ca.* 1.76 by 3.77 m., bordered on all sides by blocks of yellow poros and filled with fieldstones. The ceramic evidence retrieved from the excavation was very scanty, the most diagnostic vessel being a fragmentary skyphos of Corinthian type which offers a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the hearth around the end of the 6th century.⁵⁹ Homer Thompson first pointed out the remarkable similarity between this hearth and the earlier parapet surrounding the Altar of the Twelve Gods with respect to orientation, elevation, material, and style.⁶⁰ Each of these four criteria will be examined to determine how securely it indicates a construction date for both monuments in the pre-Persian period rather than the last third of the 5th century, when the stratification tempts one to date the initial construction of the earlier parapet.

⁵² Meiggs and Lewis (1969, pp. 217–223) place this inscription regulating the offering of first-fruits at Eleusis "ca. 422 B.C."

⁵³ For the Triangular Shrine, see Lalonde 1968; *Agora* XIV, pp. 120, 121. For the Crossroads Shrine, which preserves no clear signs of earlier cult activity, see Shear, Jr. 1973a, pp. 126–134; and Shear, Jr. 1973b, pp. 360–369. The comparison is not exact, since the parapets surrounding the Triangular and Crossroads Shrines differ from the post-and-slab construction used for the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods. The Triangular Shrine is enclosed by a wall consisting of large blocks with small stones interspersed between them, while the Crossroads Shrine is defined by a parapet consisting of thick orthostates set on a sill, which were probably crowned by a coping course. See also Lalonde 1980 for details concerning another small hero shrine in the Athenian Agora, which is possibly Classical in date and enclosed by a parapet.

⁵⁴ For her discussion of these parallels, see Crosby 1949, p. 97.

⁵⁵ A 1270. For its redating, see Camp 1977, pp. 127–128; Camp 1986, p. 156; and Camp 1990, pp. 181–184.

⁵⁶ For photographs of these cuttings, see Thompson 1952, pl. 15:c.

⁵⁷ A 1269. For the restudy of this block, see Armstrong and Camp 1977, p. 157 and Camp 1990, p. 181.

⁵⁸ See above, p. 463; Thompson 1953, pp. 43–46; and *Agora* XIV, pp. 121, 132.

⁵⁹ *Agora* XIV, p. 132. Fragmentary black-glazed skyphos (P 22266), which might in fact date as late as the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. (personal communication, Julie Bentz).

⁶⁰ Thompson 1953, p. 45.

The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods and the Eschara lie along parallel axes, separated only by a narrow passageway some 0.80 m. wide (Figs. 1, 3). The Eschara, the smaller of the two precincts, is slightly to the southwest. Their orientation was once considered a sign of Archaic date,⁶¹ although now that the plan of the Agora has been more fully revealed, it can be demonstrated that none of the major Archaic structures closely follows this axis. The Rectangular Peribolos (Fig. 1), built sometime between the mid-6th century and the second quarter of the 5th century, and the recently discovered Altar of Aphrodite Ourania (Fig. 1, west of "Poikile Stoa"), originally constructed around 500 B.C., are good parallels, in that they follow a line that is less than twenty degrees off this axis.⁶² And yet a far better parallel is the Stoa Poikile, an Early Classical structure erected in the second quarter of the 5th century.⁶³ Since factors other than date must have influenced the orientation of these structures, no chronological conclusions can be drawn regarding the physical alignment of the Eschara with the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, other than that they once coexisted.

The ground level of the Eschara, in its initial phase, matches almost exactly that of the earlier parapet enclosing the Altar of the Twelve Gods (52.45/52.46 m. and 52.39/52.445 m. above sea level, respectively).⁶⁴ These elevations may be distinguished from the higher levels associated with the later parapet surrounding the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the second phase of the Eschara, which included a stone parapet and paving (+ 52.66 m. and + 52.55/52.56 m., respectively). The fact that the ground level around the Eschara had risen only *ca.* 0.10 m. between the time of its founding and its later enclosure led to the conclusion that these alterations were carried out shortly after the founding of the hearth.⁶⁵ It can no longer be assumed that the hearth and the earlier parapet were built in the Archaic period on the basis of their material, a rather soft, yellow poros.⁶⁶ When the southwest corner of the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods was reopened in 1989, it became clear that the character of yellow poros varies from block to block, even within a single block. The corner block and the one to its east have a pinkish cast and are somewhat friable, while the two to the north and the one farthest east are considerably more yellow and more friable. Moreover, the yellow poros chips preserved in Lot 377, as well as the lower sill

⁶¹ Crosby 1949, p. 97.

⁶² For the Rectangular Peribolos, previously identified as the Heliaia, see *Agora XIV*, p. 63 ("on the evidence of associated pottery and the profile of its cornice moulding, the enclosure wall may be dated at the beginning of the 5th century B.C."); Thompson 1981, pp. 345, 346 ("appear[s] to date from the second quarter of the 5th century"); and Camp 1986, p. 46 ("6th century, perhaps around the middle of the century, to judge from the ceramic evidence"). For the Altar of Aphrodite Ourania, see Shear, Jr. 1984, pp. 24–33 and Camp 1986, pp. 56–57.

⁶³ Shear, Jr. 1984, pp. 5–19 and Camp 1986, pp. 66, 69–72.

⁶⁴ Eschara, ground level of hearth: 52.45/52.46 m. above sea level. Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, ground level of earlier parapet:

- + 52.39 m. (when placed at top of projecting band on the Leagros base)
- + 52.38 m. (when placed at top of lowest cutting on west, opposite the Leagros base)
- + 52.415 m. (when placed at top of highest cutting on west)
- + 52.445 m. (when placed at top of highest cutting on south)
- + 52.445/52.425 m. (when placed at top of firm strosis).

⁶⁵ *Agora XIV*, p. 132. No ceramic support for this conclusion was found within the limited area of excavation.

⁶⁶ It is often assumed that soft, yellow poros is characteristically Archaic and that soft, creamy poros was only quarried during later periods.

itself, are comparable in hardness and color to some of the poros used in the Stoa Poikile, which was built during the second quarter of the 5th century, and in several monuments constructed during the last third of the 5th century: the New Bouleuterion, where a similar poros appears in the foundations, the retaining wall behind the Stoa of Zeus, and the foundations of a narrow base near the Eleusinion.⁶⁷ Yellow poros, in fact, continued to be employed in Attic architecture at least as late as the 4th century B.C.⁶⁸

The blocks of the hearth lack the interior ledge that exists on the lower sill, perhaps because they did not need to stabilize a superstructure.⁶⁹ These blocks, however, share one specific stylistic feature. Their exterior face was tooled in the same distinctive manner as both faces of the lower sill, with the lower portion roughly worked, often with a gouge, and the upper portion meticulously smoothed with fine, horizontal strokes of a broad, flat chisel (cf. Pls. 107:a, 108:a, 111:a).⁷⁰ The latter style of tooling appears on a number of limestone fragments from the Square Peristyle, which was constructed at the end of the 4th century B.C.,⁷¹ but it more typically is found on Archaic stelai, on monuments such as the Altar of Pythian Apollo in Athens dedicated by the younger Peisistratos (*IG I² 761*),⁷² on the Stoa Basileios, where it even appears on architectural elements that were originally stuccoed,⁷³ on several poros blocks assigned to the Rectangular Peribolos, which has been dated between the 6th century B.C. (possibly around the middle) and the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.,⁷⁴ and on a number of architectural fragments found in the vicinity of the

⁶⁷ Shear, Jr. 1984, pp. 5, 7 (Stoa Poikile); *Agora XIV*, p. 32 (New Bouleuterion foundations), p. 97, note 83 (retaining wall behind the Stoa of Zeus), p. 153 (foundations of narrow base near the Eleusinion). The poros used for the Crossroads Shrine is somewhat more granular and a little more tan, perhaps not significantly so. Thirty-two Doric column drums of yellow poros were found just north of the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in the late 19th century; they are not now visible, and their date of manufacture is not known (see Shear, Jr. 1984, p. 7, note 5). The excavators concluded that the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods was paved with yellow poros in the last third of the 5th century but did not note whether they considered these blocks soft or hard. The paving now appears somewhat harder than the lower sill, although this might be owing to the fact that the former has been exposed to the elements since its initial uncovering, while the lower sill has mostly been covered.

⁶⁸ Townsend 1982, p. 295.

⁶⁹ It is not known if the joints of the hearth are beveled below the fair face, as are the blocks of the lower sill. Hodge has convincingly demonstrated that the location of these beveled joints on euthynteria usually corresponds to the order in which the blocks were laid, although this is not the case for the bevels on the lower sill: see Hodge 1975. Their function here is unclear.

⁷⁰ This broad, flat chisel was mistakenly called a drove by Richter (1943). The top of the sill was not finished with a broad, flat chisel, as were the fair faces on the exterior and interior, but preserves in some places the marks of a fat claw chisel.

⁷¹ R. F. Townsend will propose this new date for the Square Peristyle in *The Athenian Agora*, XXVII, *The East Side of the Agora: The Remains beneath the Stoa of Attalos*, forthcoming. Examples include a mutule fragment with guttae (A 2210 = Arch44) and a fragment of a geison drip molding (A 2919).

⁷² See note 32 above.

⁷³ E.g., A 4591. See Shear, Jr. 1975, pp. 369–370. Shear now places more emphasis on the stratification of the Stoa Basileios, which suggests a *terminus post quem* of ca. 500 B.C. for the first phase of construction, than on the style of its architectural members, which he once believed were cut around the middle of the 6th century. He now thinks that the architecture of the Stoa is compatible with a date of construction at the end of the 6th century. The presence of reused material in the foundations of the Stoa led Thompson (1981, pp. 345–346) to conclude that the Stoa was not constructed until after the Persian sack of 480/79 B.C. The pottery from the Stoa, however, does not support this conclusion.

⁷⁴ E.g., fragments of the wall crown associated with the Rectangular Peribolos: A 3312 and A 3347. For the dating of the Rectangular Peribolos, see above, p. 468.

sanctuary.⁷⁵ The style of the lower sill and of the hearth thus argues against an initial date of construction in the Classical period. I am hesitant, therefore, to accept the fourth interpretation of the archaeological evidence (p. 466 above).⁷⁶

With the fifth possibility, nothing is compromised. It not only accounts for the architectural remains but also reconciles the literary testimonia with the stratification. As I will argue in Part III (pp. 476–485 below), the date of the later parapet can easily be shifted from the last third of the 5th century to the third quarter of the 4th. The character of the fill below the original ground line of the earlier parapet agrees with this view of the stratification. The excavators noted the presence of yellow poros chips and small chunks in several lots taken from strata outside the sanctuary: in Lots 377 and 402 on the west side (Schematic Sections B–B and C–C, Figs. 6, 7), and in Lots 422, 424, and 425 on the south side (Schematic Section F–F, Fig. 10).⁷⁷ Comparatively few chips of this color, which might have derived from the working or reworking of the lower sill, were found in higher levels.⁷⁸ The stratum represented by Lot 377, moreover, was described by the excavators as clean, thrown-in dirt, that is, it had a consistency appropriate to artificial fill. Its probable connection with Lots 378, 379, and 384 unifies much of the west side.⁷⁹

For *proof* that the earlier parapet was initially constructed by the younger Peisistratos in 522/1 B.C. and then reset in the last third of the 5th century, one would like to find architectural evidence of reuse. This is a difficult task, considering the state of the remains. The best evidence is a series of crude rectangular cuttings. Two of these exist on the front and back faces of each block in the lower sill, almost always near the ends and in approximate opposition to one another, perhaps also on one end or both, if the block at the southwest corner is typical.⁸⁰ They are not remnants of much deeper holes that testify to the preliminary form of the block but were instead used “as is”, since all of them, inside and out, are

⁷⁵ Among them A 1266 and A 1267, where it appears on the front face. See above, note 32.

⁷⁶ One example of surface tooling with a broad, flat chisel from the second half of the 5th century might be enough to sway the argument and place the initial construction of the earlier parapet in the Classical period, as the stratification indicates.

⁷⁷ As discussed above, Lot 425 comes from a disturbed hole.

⁷⁸ Two lots from below the presumed ground line for the later parapet contain a small piece of yellowish white poros: 393, from a stratum which lay between -0.17 and -0.22 m., and 420, from a stratum which extended from -0.16 to $-0.40/0.50$ m. (Schematic Sections B–B and F–F, Figs. 7, 10). The only other stratum associated with the construction of the later parapet that yielded yellow poros chips is 187, where some fine chips were noted around a small chunk of yellow poros to the west of the Leagros base. Yellow poros chips were also found in two lots above the presumed ground line for the later parapet. A small worked fragment is preserved in Lot 429, which came from a stratum to the west of the enclosure, between -0.08 and -0.17 m.; even though this lot includes one Early Roman plain-ware jug, it was considered by the excavators as part of the 4th-century sandy fill. Other chips of yellow poros were noted in an unnumbered stratum that extended from 0.00 to $-0.16/0.17$ m.; this stratum is apparently associated with Lot 367, which seems, in turn, to belong to the sandy fill. It is not clear if the excavators were referring to Lots 429 and 367 when they reported in the notebooks that the 4th-century sandy fill contained a small amount of yellow poros.

⁷⁹ In 1946, the excavators raised the possibility that Lot 377 was the same as 379, noted that 377 was probably the same as 384, and stated that 377 was definitely the same as 378. The fact that 378 contains pottery consistent with a date in the late 5th or 4th century might be used to argue for a date of deposit in the 4th century; it does not, however, demand it.

The records for the south side do not provide much information regarding the probable connection of lots.

⁸⁰ The notebooks do not say if any cuttings were noticed on the blocks uncovered in the railway pits.

approximately the same depth from the fair face, despite the fact that the interior ledge of the sill nearly always projects more from this face than does its exterior counterpart.⁸¹ They are considerably deeper than the common pry cutting, which was made on top of one course of blocks in order to shift the next course into its final position.⁸² Nor do they resemble the usual form of lifting hole, being shallower and less well cut, made with a large point. Since the center of gravity of the block was not the primary consideration in the placement of these cuttings, it is unlikely that they were made for metal grapples or tongs.⁸³ Heavy pries were probably inserted in these cuttings, not to lift the blocks high into the air, as that would have been unnecessary, but to position them on the ground, perhaps using wedges where the purchase was not good. Certainly, the cuttings were made in the lower sill after the blocks had been given their final dressing, which seems to have been done before they were set in place.⁸⁴ Moreover, the two interior cuttings on the corner block imply knowledge of the design of the parapet, in that they accommodate the first block on the south side and thus show that this block was laid after its neighbor. But there is no evidence, other than the strong contrast between the crudeness of the cuttings and the general refinement of the tooling elsewhere, to indicate that these blocks were reused.

Parallels for these crude rectangular cuttings are rare. To my knowledge, only two structures in the Athenian Agora display comparable cuttings. A somewhat similar example appears on the interior face of the sill surrounding the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, which was constructed in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., while one or two appear on the inner face of each poros block forming the sill of a hero shrine beneath the terrace of the Middle Stoa, which might have been built as early as the 5th century B.C.⁸⁵ Excavation did not continue below the supposed ground level of this shrine, and so it is not now known if these cuttings have counterparts on the outer face.

The Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods may well have been damaged during the Persian sack of Athens, and some of its parapet may have fallen. But the large pick marks on one fragment of the Peisistratid altar do not necessarily signify wanton destruction, since the altar could easily have been broken up to facilitate its burial beneath the paving. In fact, the relative freshness of all three fragments speaks against a long period of desolation.

One can only speculate why the Athenians might have moved the blocks of the earlier parapet in the last third of the 5th century B.C., when they rehabilitated the sanctuary. They

⁸¹ If they *were* remnants of deeper cuttings, the sill blocks would more likely be Classical in date, rather than Archaic, and thus would corroborate the stratification. Deep cuttings were used on a number of Classical temples on the mainland, among them the Temple of Zeus at Nemea. For a photograph demonstrating the use of such cuttings by modern workers, see Cooper and Smith 1983, p. 53, ill. 40.

⁸² According to Crosby (1949, p. 86), the cuttings measure 0.06–0.09 m. wide, 0.05–0.06 m. high, and 0.035 m. deep.

⁸³ The first four interior cuttings on the south side, starting from the corner, are almost exactly the same distance apart, even though the blocks themselves are not the same length. The cuttings on the lower sill, as preserved, are probably deep enough to be hoisted with chocks of wood, although they are shallower than other examples from the mainland.

⁸⁴ Since the tooling on the two faces is similar, there is no reason to suspect that the sill blocks were dressed back at different times.

⁸⁵ See Shear, Jr. 1970, pl. 47:b for the cutting immediately beneath the central post of the restored fence. For the hero shrine beneath the terrace of the Middle Stoa, see Lalonde 1980, pl. 16:a and *Agora* XIV, p. 120. No ceramic evidence exists to support this early date for the shrine.

may have had problems with drainage in this low-lying area of the Agora. Instead of building a completely new parapet, at a higher setting, they may have chosen the more economical solution: to salvage any blocks of the lower sill which survived in relatively good condition and to reset them on higher ground. The lengthening of the Peisistratid altar, so briefly noted by Thucydides (pp. 449–450 above),⁸⁶ may well have required a larger enclosure, especially if the length was not added symmetrically or if the Panathenaic Way forbade or restricted its northeastward expansion. To keep the enclosure roughly square, as other temenoi in the Agora tended to be,⁸⁷ the Athenians would have had to dismantle the superstructure of the parapet on at least two adjacent sides and shift the appropriate sill blocks outward, before inserting new blocks into at least three sides. This probably would have required the deposit of artificial fill to raise the existing ground level at the north and west and thus compensate for the general lay of the land, which slopes from southeast to northwest. If the parapet was moved, then so too the Leagros base, since it now literally rests on a narrow ledge cut into the exterior face of the lower sill. This, as well as the fact that the Leagros base and the earlier parapet share the same ground line, argues that Leagros' statue survived at least as late as the last third of the 5th century. Why would the Athenians have gone to the trouble to move the base unless the statue still existed? The block of yellow poros identified as a perirrhanterion base, lying 0.65 m. west of the Leagros base, was probably installed at the same time (Fig. 3, Pls. 106:a, 109:b, and Schematic Section B–B, Fig. 7).⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Thucydides employs the aorist of ἀφανίζειν to describe what the Athenians did to the inscription. He uses the same verb for the destruction of Hagnon's edifices by the Amphipolitans (5.11.1). The Athenians would have hesitated to move the altar far from its original location, for this would have meant moving the zero point of the city. Literary testimonia occasionally document the moving of statuary. See, for example, the partially preserved base commemorating the Athenian victory over the Boiotians and Chalkidians (*IG* I² 394, col. 1; Raubitschek 1949, no. 173); Herodotos (5.77) saw it outside the Propylaia on the Athenian Akropolis, while Pausanias (1.28.2) remarked that it was near the statue of Athena Promachos and thus inside the walls of the Akropolis. Most scholars have considered its move a natural outcome of the Mnesiklean building program. One notable exception is Mattingly (1982, pp. 383–384), who offered the difficult argument that the base was not cut until after 431 B.C., when the Propylaia was virtually complete. The monument of the Eponymous Heroes, originally dedicated in the 5th century, was moved to its present position in the Athenian Agora during the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. See note 43 above. By the Roman period, transplanted altars and temples were relatively commonplace in the Athenian Agora.

⁸⁷ Compare the dimensions of the earlier enclosure surrounding the Altar of the Twelve Gods (9.85 by 9.35 m.) with those of the Eschara (ca. 5.85 by 6.40 m.), the Crossroads Shrine (3.95 by 3.65 m.), and the Rectangular Peribolos, formerly known as the Heliaia (26.5 by 31 m.).

⁸⁸ The alignment of this perirrhanterion base with the Leagros base and the fact that its upper surface lay approximately 0.10 m. above the presumed ground line for the earlier parapet together argue that its life is linked to that of the earlier parapet. For the perirrhanterion base, see Thompson 1953, pp. 46, 47 and Crosby 1949, p. 95, note 31, where a parallel is drawn with a similar base from beneath the Stoa of Zeus. Both are of yellow poros and rather roughly worked, with the following dimensions:

	<i>Base west of Twelve Gods</i>	<i>Base beneath Stoa of Zeus</i>
Height:	0.45 m.	0.50 m.
Width:	0.65 m.	0.64 m.
Thickness:	0.65 m.	0.64 m.
Diam. of Cutting:	0.40 m.	0.355 m.
Depth of Cutting:	0.05 m.	0.06 m.

See also Raubitschek 1949, no. 58, for a base, dated ca. 500 B.C., which might have carried a column with a sculptural dedication on top. A second block of yellow poros, badly broken, lay between the Leagros base and

One other matter remains to be considered: the excavators' observations regarding the condition of the two sills, which played a crucial role in their dating of the Leagros base:

Wear on the top of the marble base and on the lower sill course of the south side shows that after the statue was removed and the parapet damaged, a considerable interval elapsed before the rebuilding. This state of affairs, a sanctuary in the Agora damaged and then not rebuilt for some time, clearly suggests the Persians' visit in 479 B.C.⁸⁹

The notebooks record the presence of battering or pitting in only two places: near the center of the east side and at the southwest corner, where three blocks of the upper sill were briefly removed to inspect the cuttings on top of the lower sill.⁹⁰ Clearly, none of the pits within the railway could be reopened to assess the condition of the lower sill. Nor could the upper sill block opposite the Leagros base be lifted, owing to its partial encasement in the southern railway wall. It was possible, however, to arrange for the three blocks of the upper sill to be re-lifted and for some of the backfill around the southwest corner of the sanctuary to be removed in the summer of 1989 (Pl. 107). The results were illuminating. The poor quality of the yellow poros was immediately apparent, with small pits and fissures marring nearly every block. Occasionally, the top of the sill is weathered, with a few shiny patches of seemingly more resistant stone outside the line of the orthostates. Nowhere, in places which would have been protected by an intact parapet, does it show distinct evidence of foot traffic.⁹¹

The Leagros base, on the other hand, preserves some trace of wear (Pls. 106:b, 108:c). Most of its upper surface is weathered, with many small, shallow pits. There is chipping along the edges, which are worn approximately one-half centimeter, and some polish around the cuttings gouged out for the removal of the statue. Even so, it is illogical to argue that the wear on top of the Leagros base was acquired in the short period between 480/79 and *ca.* 430–420 B.C. when this base was exposed for at least six hundred years.⁹² It need not have been the result of heavy traffic across a dilapidated enclosure, as the excavators envisioned.⁹³ The perimeter of the cuttings could have become polished and the upper edges of the base rounded after the statue was removed. It is also unlikely that suppliants would have gone to the trouble to hop from the existing ground level to the top of the Leagros base, a distance of approximately forty centimeters, and then back down again to land on top of the

the perirrhanterion base. Since none of this block lay above the presumed ground line of the earlier parapet, it could well have been part of the fill that was deposited during the renovation of this parapet.

⁸⁹ Crosby 1949, p. 98.

⁹⁰ See Crosby 1949, pls. 12:2, 3. The excavators made no mention of wear, battering, or pitting when they recorded the excavation of other pits within the railway in 1934. In fact, they stated that the small piece of lower sill exposed just south of the northwest corner showed no trace of wear (Fig. 2).

⁹¹ Other causes for this deterioration are possible. The lower sill, for example, might have been bruised during construction of the later parapet, perhaps intentionally, to achieve a more even setting of the upper sill.

⁹² The top of the Leagros base was covered by a stratum containing sherds at least as late as the 2nd century after Christ, perhaps as late as the 3rd (Lot 185). This degree of wear is surprisingly small considering the amount of time that the top of the base remained above ground level and the fact that slightly rounded edges are present on many bases for which there exists no evidence of trampling. One might also consider that some fifty-eight years have passed since its excavation and reexposure to the elements.

⁹³ In a letter dated 8 December 1986, Homer A. Thompson kindly informed me that he continues to believe that the lower sill was exposed to heavy and extended foot traffic following the removal of its superstructure and that this must have occurred at the same time as the wear on the east edge of the base.

lower sill, when it would have been much easier for them to avoid the Leagros base entirely by entering the sanctuary from the south, where pitting on top of the lower sill offers the clearest evidence of damage.

If these observations are correct, the long-held association between the wear on top of the Leagros base and the pitting and battering on top of the lower sill can be dropped, along with the chronological link between the removal of the statue and the damage inflicted on the earlier parapet. In like manner, the statue need not have been removed before the later parapet was constructed.⁹⁴ Without these associations, we are free to drop the *terminus ante quem* of 480/79 B.C. traditionally assigned to the Leagros base. Indeed, a dedication date in the Early Classical period better accords with the cuttings on top of the base, which indicate the pose of the statue, and the stylistic features presented by the base itself, such as its general form, surface treatment, and the style of the lettering.⁹⁵ The latest possible date for its dedication would be 465/4, at which time Leagros fought in the Battle of Drabeskos; he is generally assumed to have died shortly thereafter, at the Nine Ways.⁹⁶ A reasonable guess would be the decade 480–470. It would be rash, however, to speculate where the statue might originally have stood, before it was moved to its present position against the parapet.

Considering the comparatively slight traces of wear on top of the Leagros base, it seems likely that the statue stood on it for a long time, perhaps until the Late Hellenistic or Early Roman period, when foreign demand for authentic Greek originals was high. As the excavators noted, the statue was carefully pried from its base (Pl. 108:c).⁹⁷

LOTS FROM LEVELS BETWEEN THE BOTTOM OF THE LOWER SILL AND THE PRESUMED GROUND LINE FOR THE EARLIER PARAPET

(from $-0.38/0.40$ m. [line of firm strosis just above the crude rectangular cuttings] to $-0.63/0.68$ m. [bottom of lower sill])⁹⁸

OUTSIDE THE ENCLOSURE

Schematic Section A–A (Fig. 5)

- 189 Second half of 5th century B.C. except for rouletted sherd from second half of 4th century B.C. From *ca.* -0.30 to $-0.56/0.60$ m. The Leagros base rests on the bottom.

Schematic Section B–B (Fig. 6)

- 379 Nondescript Classical. From -0.48 to -0.70 m.

⁹⁴ See p. 450 above for the grounds on which the excavators based this conclusion. Other factors can account for the freshness of the upper sill, including the exterior edge, which is generally in better condition than the interior edge. The edge of the Leagros base opposite the upper sill might have become rounded after the later parapet was built, if people had stood on the empty base close to the parapet, in order to get a better look at the Altar.

⁹⁵ I am preparing a new study of the Leagros base and the development of the weight-leg/free-leg pose, based in part on a chapter of my dissertation.

⁹⁶ Francis and Vickers 1981, *passim*, offer a controversial view of Leagros' life. For a redating of the Battle of Drabeskos to 453/2 B.C., see Badian 1988, pp. 298–300, 320. I would like to thank Clayton Lehmann for calling this last article to my attention.

⁹⁷ Meritt 1936, p. 359.

⁹⁸ Lot 189 is included in Part II, although the stratum from which it came rose as high as *ca.* -0.30 m. Lots 395–398, 428, and 430 are discussed in Part III, owing to their association with the 4th-century sandy fill; Lot 405 can also be found in Part III, as it testifies to the destruction of the curving wall, which took place at least as late as the 4th century B.C.

Schematic Sections B-B and C-C

- 377 *Ca.* 430–420 B.C. Inventoried finds: fragments of bronze shield (B 767), which compare with bronze shield taken at Pylos in 425 B.C. (B 262). From $-0.40/0.43$ to -0.70 m. Except where Lots 378 and 379 were located, this stratum ran from the south side of the Leagros base to the southwest corner. Numerous fragments of grayish white marble, two pieces of large-grained marble, four fragments of yellow poros (including one worked piece), and four other varieties of stone preserved in lot.

Unspecified Location on the West Side

- 384 Two sherds, nondescript Archaic or Classical. Found while cleaning face of lower sill, near bottom.

To the South of Schematic Section C-C

- 378 Late 5th or 4th century B.C. From $-0.40/0.45$ to -0.55 m. Four chips of grayish white marble preserved in lot.

Schematic Section D-D (Fig. 8)

- 380 Second half of 5th century B.C. From -0.40 to -0.48 m. From baulk between north face of curving wall and sill.
- 381 Nondescript Classical. From -0.48 to -0.58 (at sill)/ 0.65 m. (at curving wall, which was founded on bottom of stratum). White marble chip preserved in lot. From baulk between north face of curving wall and sill.
- 382 *Ca.* 430–420 B.C. From -0.58 (at sill)/ 0.65 (at curving wall) to -0.69 m. From baulk left between north face of curving wall and sill. Cut back for construction of this wall.

Schematic Section E-E (Fig. 9)

- 197 *Ca.* 430–420 B.C. From -0.38 to -0.52 m.
- 198 *Ca.* 430–420 B.C. From -0.52 to -0.60 m.
- 199 *Ca.* 430–420 B.C. From -0.60 to -0.65 m. Strip along face of lower sill in eastern part of trench (*ca.* 0.25 m. wide, 0.80 m. long).

Schematic Section F-F (Fig. 10)

- 422 Second half of 5th century B.C. From $-0.40/0.44$ to -0.54 m. Included a few yellow poros chips, cinders, and small fragments of reddish stucco.
- 424 Late 5th century B.C. From -0.54 to -0.60 m. The bottom slopes sharply down to north and up to east. Included more cinders and yellow poros chips than Lot 422 and fragment of crystalline poros at bottom of stratum.

To the East of Schematic Section F-F

- 425 Includes one rouletted sherd from 4th century B.C. Disturbed hole within stratum represented by 424. From -0.60 to -0.68 m. (bedrock). One fragment of worked yellow poros, two pieces of white marble (including one worked piece), and one piece of stucco preserved in lot.

INSIDE THE ENCLOSURE

Schematic Section B-B (Fig. 6)

- 386 Three sherds, nondescript Classical. From -0.43 to -0.46 m.
- 387 Six nondescript sherds. From -0.50 to $-0.75/0.80$ m.
- 388 Two sherds, nondescript 6th–5th century B.C. From -0.46 to -0.56 m.
- 389 Four sherds, nondescript Archaic. From -0.56 to -0.64 m.

Schematic Section C-C (Fig. 7)

Evidently no pottery found. Continuation of poros-chip packing to south wall but less satisfactory straight line and poor bedding at $-0.62/0.64$ m.

Schematic Section E-E (Fig. 9)

Packing of poros chips. Inventoried finds: altar fragments (A 1198, A 1199 a, b). From -0.395 to $-0.55/0.62$ m. Contained no sherds.

III. CONSTRUCTION OF THE LATER PARAPET

The later parapet was conveniently placed on top of the lower sill, which now acted as a foundation. The plan differs only slightly, measuring 9.05 m. east–west and 9.86 m. north–south, with openings assumed at the centers of the east and west sides. The individual blocks were carefully cut and laid except for the one at the southwest corner, which was so poorly trimmed that its exterior faces project beyond the line of the enclosure (Fig. 4, Pl. 105). These blocks vary in length, from 1.16 to 1.50 m., although all are about 0.295 m. high and 0.38 m. wide.⁹⁹ They preserve rectangular cuttings of various forms, for the countersinking of posts, and numerous dowel holes, for the attachment of intervening slabs (Fig. 13).¹⁰⁰ No architectural elements have been securely assigned to the superstructure, which would have included a coping course.

The stylistic comparisons employed by the excavators to support their 5th-century dating of the later parapet merit examination. The analogy drawn with the parapet surrounding the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes is still apt.¹⁰¹ The sill of this monument consists of a similar hard, gray poros. The fence posts from its first phase, moreover, have almost precisely the same dimensions as the cuttings for the posts of the later parapet surrounding the Altar of the Twelve Gods, with some of them stippled in the same manner as the exterior and interior faces of the upper sill (cf. Pl. 111:b, c).¹⁰² These posts were also similarly secured, with a dowel placed on either side, and given approximately the same interaxial spacing. The poros fence caps from the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes are also close in style to the one piece of superstructure that possibly belongs to the later parapet, a fragmentary coping stone of hard poros which was incorporated into the Stoa Basileios in the Late Roman period.¹⁰³ And yet the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes is no longer dated in the late 5th century, as it was when the excavators formulated their views on the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, but in the third quarter of the 4th century B.C.¹⁰⁴

The excavators initially compared the finish on the exterior and interior faces of the upper sill, which consists of stippled panels surrounded by margins smoothed with a toothed chisel, to 5th-century Athenian monuments such as the Hephaisteion/Theseion in the Agora and the Nike Bastion on the Akropolis.¹⁰⁵ Years later, Homer Thompson allowed for the possibility that the later parapet was built in the third quarter of the 4th century. David Francis and Michael Vickers reported Thompson's reassessment of the evidence in 1981:

[Thompson] now believes it possible that the parapet was restored at the time of Lycurgus on the basis of the comparanda of "the euthynteria of the Temple of Apollo Patroos, the sill of the Eponymoi and the stylobate of the south porch of the Stoa Basileios . . ." Such a restoration "would

⁹⁹ Crosby 1949, p. 88.

¹⁰⁰ Two of the posts on the west side were secured only by dowels.

¹⁰¹ Crosby 1949, p. 91, note 21 and Thompson 1952, pp. 58–60.

¹⁰² A few, such as A 38, even preserve toothed chiseling on their borders, as does the upper sill.

¹⁰³ A 3880, tentatively assigned to the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods by T. Leslie Shear, Jr., who does not now wish to place much weight on it (see Shear, Jr. 1971, pp. 277–278; followed by Long 1987, p. 160, note 85).

¹⁰⁴ Shear, Jr. 1970, *passim*, esp. pp. 190–196, and Rotroff 1978, p. 208 (*ca.* 330 B.C.).

¹⁰⁵ Crosby 1949, pp. 98, 99.

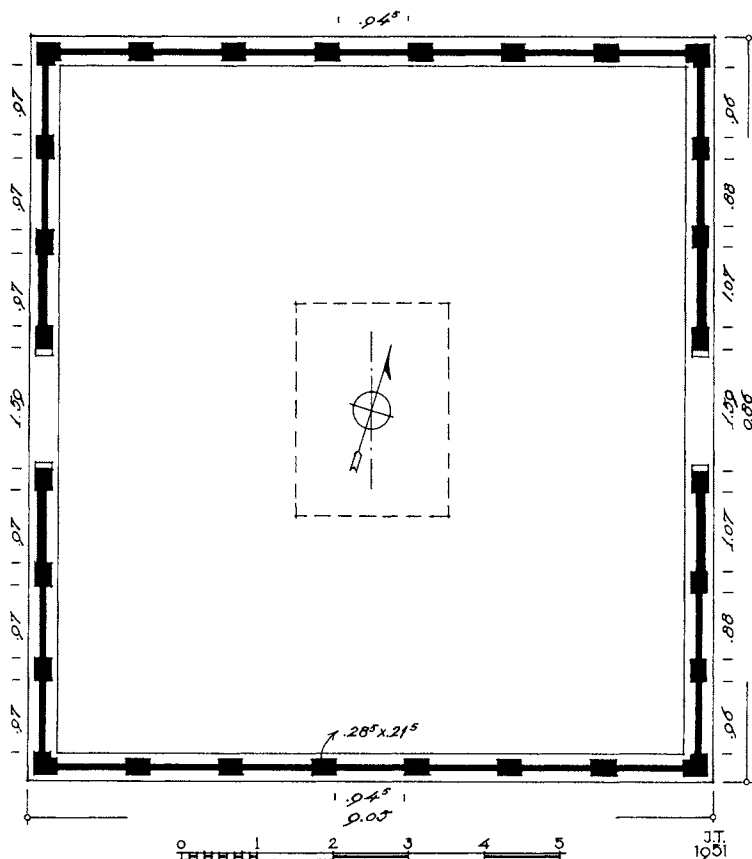


FIG. 13. Plan of the later parapet

be an enterprise congenial to Lykourgos himself and closely analogous to the rehabilitation of the old shrine of Apollo Patroos.¹⁰⁶

Despite the fact that Thompson has since leaned again toward the more traditional dating of the later parapet, which he helped formulate, these later parallels remain valid.¹⁰⁷ Other 4th-century examples in Athens include the poros podium of the Lysikrates Monument, erected in 334 B.C., and a votive relief of Hymettian marble from the Amyneion (*IG II*² 4365), dedicated before the middle of the century.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Francis and Vickers 1981, pp. 117–118 (based on a letter written by Thompson to the authors). Note, however, that Thompson's dating of the south porch of the Stoa Basileios differs from that proposed by the excavators on the basis of the stratification (Shear, Jr. 1971, p. 250: "the very end of the 5th century B.C.").

¹⁰⁷ In 1986, when Thompson kindly discussed with me his views on the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, he preferred to date the later parapet in the last third of the 5th century. His opinion carries considerable weight, since he supervised the first phase of excavation around the sanctuary in 1934 and served as Acting Field Director in 1946, when work in this area was resumed under Crosby's supervision. He does not agree with some of the arguments presented here, particularly those regarding the condition of the Leagros base and the lower sill (*per. ep.* 26 November 1986 and 8 December 1986).

¹⁰⁸ For the Amyneion relief, see Travlos, p. 78, fig. 99.

The stratification surrounding the upper sill offers solid evidence for the date of the later parapet. The exterior ground level should be located approximately midway down the upper sill, where the stippled portion ends and the more roughly worked portion begins. This line was accepted by the excavators, despite the great amount of 4th-century material below it, which they considered intrusive.¹⁰⁹ Their view of the stratification is most clearly stated in the notebooks, where they conceived a program of construction that involved cutting a footing trench along the south side of the enclosure and clearing the accumulated strata down to the bottom of the lower sill on the west side.¹¹⁰ In this way, they were able to explain the presence of late 5th-century pottery in levels that would otherwise be associated with the construction of the lower sill and to support their view that the earlier parapet had been built during the archonship of the younger Peisistratos.

While arguing that the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods became known in the Roman period as the Altar of Pity, Thompson furthered the idea of disturbance to the west of the enclosure by suggesting that trees or shrubs were planted in the three pits revealed by excavation in 1946:

To the south and to the west of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods the stratification had been disturbed in antiquity by the digging of several irregular pits measuring about one metre in diameter and the same in depth. These pits were found by the excavator full of loose earth clearly distinct from the hard packed gravel of the square.¹¹¹

Thompson dated these pits as early as the 4th century.¹¹² This notion of a sacred grove was encouraged by Statius' description of the Altar of Pity (*Thebaid* 12.491–492) and strengthened by the existence of a poros settling basin several meters to the west of the enclosure, in a 4th-century or Early Hellenistic context, which could have been part of an irrigation system (Fig. 3, Pl. 106:a, foreground).¹¹³ As appealing as this view may be, it must be withdrawn in the light of more recent research, which has convincingly placed the Altar of Pity farther east, in the Roman Agora.¹¹⁴ The stratification can also be interpreted differently, especially the date and nature of the northernmost pit and the character of the fill within the remaining two pits.

The northernmost pit, from which came Lot 404, lay at a level below the bottom of the lower sill, between -0.80 and -1.26 m. (Fig. 3, Pl. 109:b, and Schematic Section B–B,

¹⁰⁹ Crosby 1949, p. 92. Cf. Crosby 1949, p. 98: "The small amount of undisturbed earth that could be associated definitely with the addition of the second sill produced no figured pottery. The few scraps of black-glazed ware susceptible of dating seem to find their closest parallels in the period between 430 and 420 B.C."

¹¹⁰ Cf. Crosby 1949, p. 92: "By the time the second sill course and paving were added, the ground level outside had risen at the west to about the level of the top of the first sill course, and at the south some twenty centimeters higher [i.e., at approximately -0.10 m.]. The finish on the outside of the second sill course is designed for a ground level at about the middle of the blocks."

¹¹¹ Thompson 1952, p. 50.

¹¹² *Agora* XIV, p. 135.

¹¹³ As translated in *Agora* III, no. 186: "In the middle of the city was an altar dedicated to none of the powerful gods; gentle Clementia fixed her abode here. . . . The cult is frugal; no flame of incense, no deep-flowing blood is received; the altar is drenched with tears. . . . Around is a pleasant grove, and the distinctive mark for the venerable cult consists of laurels draped with fillets and the bush of the suppliant's olive." For the poros settling basin, see *Agora* XIV, p. 135.

¹¹⁴ Vanderpool (1974) has pointed out that Pausanias (1.17.1) placed the Altar of Pity in the "Agora", rather than in the "Kerameikos", his customary term for the old civic center of Athens.

Fig. 6).¹¹⁵ Although 404 appears pitlike in section and in photographs taken during the course of excavation, the notebooks do not classify it as one. Indeed, they state that the same clayey fill seemed to continue to the southwest, between -0.80 and -0.90 m., from which was retrieved Lot 411. It might therefore be more appropriate to characterize these two lots as having come from a stratum rather than from a pit. In any event, there are no compelling reasons for dating this stratum in the 4th century. Lot 411 contains nondescript Classical sherds. The pottery in Lot 404 has been placed in the second quarter of the 5th century and includes a join with 402, from a stratum lying between $-0.66/0.70$ and -0.75 m., which dates to the late 5th century and seems to have been deposited before or during the renovation of the earlier parapet.

The excavators connected the second pit, which lay immediately south of Lot 404, with a sandy, gravelly fill between $+0.08$ and -0.30 m. at the southwest corner of the enclosure and between 0.00 and -0.15 m. at the extreme west, next to the Late Roman wall. It was centered on the double posthole and the rectangular cutting just above it and covered an area *ca.* 1.50 m. in diameter (Fig. 3, Pl. 109:b, and Schematic Section C–C, Fig. 7). In the notebooks, they dated this fill to the third quarter of the 4th century (Pl. 110:e).¹¹⁶ In her 1949 article, Crosby dated this fill somewhat later and summarized it as follows:

West of the peribolos, however, lay a mass of filling, characterized by many animal bones, metal waste, and much broken pottery. The latter dates from about the end of the fourth century B.C. and is very like the pottery associated with the construction of the porch and propylon of the Bouleuterion. Scattered pieces of similar pottery were found in several disturbed spots beside the bottom of the lower course, which suggests that some changes were made not only west of the peribolos, but also along the wall itself at this time.¹¹⁷

It is difficult to determine the lots that belong to this sandy fill, which also included a few pieces of white stucco, a small amount of yellow poros, and some marble chips, mostly Pentelic. Of the lots alongside the parapet, only 368 and 369 were explicitly assigned to it. Both have been dated to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. Lot 367 (Schematic Sections C–C and D–D, Figs. 7, 8) should also be included, even though it rose higher than the bottom of the stippled panel at the southwest corner and consequently higher than the presumed ground line for the later parapet.¹¹⁸ Lot 187 (Schematic Section B–B, Fig. 6) might

¹¹⁵ Because of its elevation, Lot 404 has been listed with the pottery lots in Part I.

¹¹⁶ Representative finds illustrated in Plate 110:e: (*Upper left*) two joining fragments of red-figured pelike, from Lot 367 and unspecified lot within the sandy fill (P 17279), attributed by Ian McPhee to Group G; cf. *ARV*², p. 1466, 89–94; (*upper right*) three joining fragments of black-glazed bowl (P 17280); cf. *Agora* XII, no. 806 (P 24087); (*lower left*) fragmentary black-glazed kantharos (P 17284); cf. *Agora* XII, nos. 661 (P 12690) and 707 (P 351); (*lower right*) Howland Type 25B lamp (L 4130); see *Agora* IV, no. 302, p. 73, pls. 10, 23, and 38.

Other inventoried objects from the sandy fill: terracotta head (T 2315); black-glazed plate fragment (P 17281); kantharos rim fragment (P 17282); black-glazed plate fragment (P 17283); unglazed sherd with graffito (P 17285); a public-pot fragment (P 17286); a clay ring fragment (P 17287); and a clay ring stand (P 17288).

¹¹⁷ Crosby 1949, p. 99. Susan I. Rotroff kindly looked at the pottery from Lots 367, 368, and 428. Except for a fragment of a small bowl with a broad base, which is possibly as late as 315 B.C. (cf. *Agora* XII, no. 887, although the example from Lot 428 has an unglazed resting surface), she found no evidence to support Crosby's dating of this material at the end of the 4th century.

¹¹⁸ Because of its elevation, Lot 367 has been listed in Part IV, with pottery associated with the later use and abandonment of the sanctuary. This lot contains pottery from the third quarter of the 4th century and includes

also belong to the sandy fill, despite the fact that its pottery is no later than the fourth quarter of the 5th century. This lot came from a strip of soft and sandy fill, *ca.* 0.30 m. to the south of the Leagros base and across its front, which contained gray poros chips. The excavators considered it similar enough to Lot 188 (Schematic Section B–B), which contains sherds dating to the first quarter of the 4th century, to be part of the same stratum. Unfortunately, a secure link between 187/188 and 368/369 is impossible to forge.¹¹⁹

The excavators listed a number of other lots as having come from the sandy fill: 392, from alongside the Late Roman wall several meters west of the enclosure;¹²⁰ 416 (Schematic Section C–C, Fig. 7), which was classified as a double posthole; 428, the fill immediately above 416, which was connected with a rectangular cutting (Schematic Section C–C); 429, which lay between -0.08 and -0.17 m.;¹²¹ 430 (Schematic Sections B–B and C–C), which extended from -0.34 to -0.50 m.; and 431, which ranged from -0.22 to -0.28 m. The form and extent of the rectangular cutting, which was first recognized at -0.17 m., were so little understood at the time of excavation that there was some doubt of its existence.¹²² Now, with the discoveries of a join between 428 and 369 and numerous joins between 428 and lots not explicitly connected with either the rectangular cutting or the sandy fill, the possibility can be raised that this fill was part of a terracing operation associated with the construction of the later parapet in the third quarter of the 4th century. Similar fill from this period has been encountered in the northwest corner of the Athenian Agora, from behind the Stoa Basileios eastwards to the Crossroads Shrine and northwards as far as the street beside the Stoa Poikile (Fig. 1).¹²³ The huge quantity of pottery contained in these lots supports this possibility, as does the loose consistency of its fill, the difficulty the excavators had in distinguishing strata, and the fact that no footing trenches were found along the west side of the sanctuary.¹²⁴ Nearly all the lots recovered along the southern edge of the perirrhanterion base can be linked to the sandy fill through joins: 394, which exposed the top of the perirrhanterion base (joins with 369 and 428); 396 (join with 428); 397 (three joins with 396);

a Howland Type 25B lamp listed in the notebooks as belonging to Lot 428, which definitely constitutes part of the sandy fill, and a red-figured pelike fragment attributed to Group G that joins with another definitely from the sandy fill (Pl. 110:e [upper left]). This pottery came from an area well within the bounds described in the notebooks as sandy and gravelly.

¹¹⁹ The notebooks equate 187/188 with 372, the fill separating 187/188 from 368/369, but the scrappy pottery contained in 372 is no later than the first half of the 5th century, unexpectedly early even for a conventional dating of the later parapet in the last third of the 5th century.

¹²⁰ The master pottery list for this area of the Agora proves that 392 is the only candidate for this lot, which was described in the notebooks as lying next to the Late Roman wall, at a level even with the top of the upper sill. See Figure 3 for the location of this wall.

¹²¹ Lot 429 contains one Early Roman plain-ware jug that stands out as the only sherd from the sandy fill later than the third quarter of the 4th century. It is most likely an intrusion. The notebooks also say that 429 is likely to be from the same stratum as 186.

¹²² When the rectangular cutting was first picked up at -0.17 m., the excavators noted that its northwest corner was absolutely distinct but that its east and south sides were as yet completely undetermined. A few days later, this cutting seemed to them less like a good cutting.

¹²³ T. L. Shear, Jr. (personal communication, August 1990). For the Crossroads Shrine, see also Shear, Jr. 1973b, p. 364, note 6.

¹²⁴ Only a selected amount of the coarse ware found in the sandy fill was saved, as Lot 429.

and 398 (join with 428).¹²⁵ In like manner, a join connects Lot 416 (Schematic Section C–C), which came from within the double posthole, and 418, from a stratum located between -0.80 and $-0.85/0.90$ m. that lay to its north and east.¹²⁶ Lot 418, which contains sherds belonging in the mid-4th century, can in turn be connected via joins to a series of small lots taken from the perimeter of the double posthole.¹²⁷

The third pit, which lay to the southwest, was first picked up at -0.34 m. and excavated as a well, then reinterpreted as a circular cutting that ended at -0.70 m., with a line of stones along its east side (Fig. 3, Pl. 109:b, and Schematic Section C–C, Fig. 7). The fact that the excavators stopped 0.10 m. lower, at -0.80 m., might explain why 410, the lot that was retrieved from within it, includes two joins with 403 and 411, both of which came from levels below the bottom of the lower sill.¹²⁸ Lot 410 is not demonstrably later in date than the 5th century. It may nonetheless testify to the removal of a circular monument in the third quarter of the 4th century, for the excavators described the fill that was deposited in it as sandy and later found similar fill to the east, between the circular and rectangular cuttings. The levels of 410 suit this conjecture. Whether or not this circular cutting is connected with the 4th-century sandy fill, it is certain that none of the relevant sequences from against the parapet, either along the west side or at the southwest corner, is as early as the last third of the 5th century B.C.

The stratification along the south side of the sanctuary, while much less consistent, also argues for the construction of the later parapet in the 4th century, whether the ground level for the later parapet is placed at -0.16 m., as defined by the pottery list above, or higher so as to include Lots 192, 193, and 196 (Schematic Section E–E, Fig. 9), 367 (Schematic Sections C–C and D–D, Figs. 7, 8), 371 (between Schematic Sections D–D and E–E), and 421 (Schematic Section F–F, Fig. 10). Lot 370, which is not shown on any of the Schematic Sections, contains no pottery later than the first half of the 5th century. Its place in the stratigraphic sequence above 373/374 (Schematic Section D–D), however, proves that it must have been deposited considerably later than its seven sherds indicate. The fact that the excavators equated 370 with 194 (Schematic Section E–E) pushes its probable date even farther forward than the second half of the 5th century, since the deposition of 194 must have taken place in the 4th century by virtue of its own stratigraphic position above 195,

¹²⁵ Additional support for the inclusion of Lots 394 and 395 can be found in the fact that the strata from which they came were separated by Lot 430, which the excavators expressly connected with the sandy fill. The fact that 428 also contains joins with pottery lots of Roman date is discussed in Part IV (p. 485 below).

¹²⁶ Despite its elevation, Lot 416 is placed with the lots in Part III, through its connection with 428 and the sandy fill.

¹²⁷ There is one join between 418 and 413, a lot dating to the mid-4th century that lay not only southwest of the double posthole but also north, at a level between -0.80 and $-0.85/0.90$ m. Two joins exist between 413 and 414, a lot dating to the second half of the 4th century that came from below 413 to the west and north of the double posthole. One join also connects 418 to 419, a lot dating to the mid-4th century that lay south of the double posthole. Finally, the notebooks record a join between 416 and 413.

¹²⁸ Schematic Section C–C does not extend as far west as the circular cutting. See Part I (p. 458 above) for a listing of 403, a stratum indicated on Schematic Section B–B (Fig. 6) that is nondescript Archaic or Classical in date. Lot 411 came from a stratum directly beneath 410 and extended from -0.80 to -0.90 m.; the sherds within it are nondescript Classical in date.

which was deposited in the 4th century. Lot 195, in turn, was equated by the excavators with Lots 373–375 (Schematic Sections B–B through D–D) and 376 (from a stratum between $-0.33/0.34$ and -0.40 m. in the area between Schematic Sections E–E and F–F, though not directly against the parapet), which contains nondescript Classical sherds.

Schematic Section E–E is less reliable than the other Schematic Sections for secure chronological information. Although the excavators believed that Lot 196 was from a footing trench associated with the construction of the later parapet, which they placed in the last third of the 5th century, a restudy of the pottery calls for some chronological revision. Virginia R. Grace believes that the fragmentary amphora lip from this trench can be dated within the first half of the 4th century (Pl. 110:d).¹²⁹ Moreover, a 4th-century lamp (Howland Type 25A or 26A) has been identified in Lot 193, the uppermost stratum cut by the footing trench, and a 4th-century pelike fragment has been recognized in Lot 195, the lowermost stratum cut by this same trench. One, potentially two, issues therefore merit examination: whether the footing trench is contemporary with the construction of the later parapet or subsequent to it; and, if subsequent, whether the Roman lamp of Broneer Type XXVII is an original component of Lot 193 or intrusive, perhaps caused by an accidental nick into strata deposited during the construction of the Byzantine wall just to the south of the sanctuary. Only if this footing trench postdates the construction of the later parapet is there any chance of maintaining the orthodox dating, and then with difficulty, for Lot 195 must also be regarded as disturbed. The stratigraphic evidence is equivocal and the arguments circular.¹³⁰ The only other evidence for a footing trench is the short extension immediately to the west of 196, which yielded one nondescript sherd from the Classical period (Lot 371). The slightly damaged state of the lower sill favors the idea that the ground level prior to the construction of the later parapet was lower than the excavators believed. For if the strata along the south side had built up to -0.10 m. by the time the upper sill was laid, as they suggested, the lower sill would have been covered and thus protected from weathering and wear.

Schematic Section F–F (Fig. 10) offers welcome support for the proposed redating of the later parapet, despite the fact that a child's grave was dug into existing strata in the 3rd century after Christ. Lot 420, from a stratum just to the south of this grave, has been dated in the second quarter of the 4th century B.C.

¹²⁹ Grace briefly discussed this type of amphora in Boulter 1953, no. 147, p. 102.

¹³⁰ If a stratum of Roman date is sought at a relatively low elevation in order to legitimize the Type XXVII lamp, there is Lot 186, which is depicted on Schematic Sections A–A and B–B (Figs. 5, 6). To argue to the contrary that Lot 193 does indeed date within the 4th century B.C., there is 192, the stratum directly above 193, which is consistent with the elevation and date of 367 next to it. This supports the view that the Type XXVII lamp in 193 is intrusive. Unfortunately, the composition of the fill from which 193 came is unknown.

If it is said that the footing trench coincides with the construction of the later parapet, there follows one of two conclusions: that the ground level prior to construction was higher at the southwest corner than elsewhere, making the need for a small footing trench necessary, or that strata had rapidly accumulated all along the south side of the parapet in the years prior to the construction of the later parapet but was trimmed so neatly for the insertion of the upper sill that no other trace of the cutback was noticed. If, alternatively, it is proposed that the footing trench is subsequent to the construction of the later parapet, and it is decided that the Broneer Type XXVII lamp is intrusive, then it must be concluded that this activity took place by the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., the date of the stratum which sealed the footing trench. This makes the date of the trench very close to the one proposed here for the initial construction of the later parapet.

If the later parapet was constructed in the third quarter of the 4th century, as I have argued, the well-known series of four Three-figure Reliefs must be dissociated from this later parapet, since their style demands a date for the originals in the late 5th century.¹³¹ They ought not be transferred to the renovated version of the earlier parapet, despite the fact that very few blocks of the lower sill have been revealed, since the chief arguments favoring their attribution to the sanctuary were the irregular spacing of the post cuttings on the upper sill and the correspondence of those cuttings to the average dimensions of the figural reliefs (cf. Figs. 11, 13). Preliminary study of the other blocks from this lower sill suggests that the slabs of the earlier parapet were more regularly sized than those belonging to the later parapet.

Several factors may have contributed to the desire for a new parapet in the third quarter of the 4th century: a wish to bestow greater honor on the Twelve Gods, who seem to have been especially popular in Athens during the decade following the Battle of Mantinea in 362 B.C.;¹³² the need to raise the ground level in order to alleviate problems caused by the high water table in this region of the Agora; and the need to counter structural deterioration. Damage, if there was any, could not have been extensive, since literary and epigraphical testimonia support the use of the sanctuary through the first half of the 4th century B.C.¹³³

LOTS FROM LEVELS BETWEEN THE PRESUMED GROUND LINES FOR THE EARLIER AND LATER PARAPETS

(from *ca.* - 0.16 [bottom of stippling: - 0.14/0.17 m.] to - 0.38/0.40 m. [ground level of earlier parapet])¹³⁴

OUTSIDE THE ENCLOSURE

Schematic Sections A-A and B-B (Figs. 5, 6)

187/8 Fourth quarter of 5th century except for one sherd with primitive rouletting in 188 that is dated second quarter of 4th century. Inventoried finds: bronze arrow tip (B 155). From - 0.17 (south)/0.19 (north) to - 0.30 (north)/0.35 m. (south). Contained a large fragment of yellow poros. 187 represents fill found in the southern trench that was markedly soft and sandy over a strip of *ca.* 0.30 m. along the south side of the Leagros base and all across its west front. This fill, which yielded chips of gray and yellow poros, was not found in the northern trench and so is not shown on Schematic Section A-A. 188, which represents the firmer fill containing broken chunks of crystalline poros, only appears on Schematic Section A-A. Reddish stucco preserved in 188.

¹³¹ Thompson 1952, *passim*, pl. 17:a-d and Harrison 1964. For a lower dating of the Three-figure Reliefs from the decade 420-410 B.C. to a stylistic phase contemporary with the Erechtheion frieze, see Harrison 1977, p. 421, note 67. The connection between the Altar of the Twelve Gods and the Three-figure Reliefs has not been accepted unanimously. See, for instance, Langlotz 1977 and Zuntz 1953. Cf. Shapiro 1989, p. 141.

¹³² Long 1987, pp. 174-175, 331. The Twelve Gods, for instance, were depicted in the mid-4th century painting by Euphranor that decorated the Stoa of Zeus in the Athenian Agora. They were also represented on a large circular base (or altar?) that was found just north of the Athenian Agora in 1877, near St. Philip's Church (Athens, N.M. 1731). It is generally assumed that this base stood within the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods. Although it is often dated in the 4th century (i.e., in the decade 350-340 by O. Palagia, *LIMC* II, 1984, pp. 289-290, no. 867, *s.v.* Apollon; between the years 350 and 300 by Long 1987, pp. 6-7, 190-192), convincing arguments have been offered in favor of the Late Hellenistic period. For the latter view, see Roccas 1986, pp. 311-314, 354-355.

¹³³ *Agora* III, nos. 366, 372, 375, 376.

¹³⁴ Lot 416 is included here, despite the fact that it came from a level below the bottom of the lower sill, as well as four lots from levels below the original ground line for the earlier parapet (395-398). All can be associated with the 4th-century sandy fill.

Schematic Section B-B (Fig. 6)

- 393 Nondescript Classical. From -0.16 to -0.21 m., where there rested a layer of marble chips (several chips of marble and one piece of yellow poros preserved in lot).
- 394 At least as late as fourth quarter of 5th century. From -0.21 to -0.34 m. Exposed the perirrhanterion base. One chip of grayish white marble preserved in lot.
- 430 Mid-4th century. From -0.34 to $-0.40/0.50$ m. farther to south (east of circular cutting). See also Schematic Section C-C. Considered by the excavators part of the 4th-century sandy fill.
- 395 Nondescript Classical. From -0.40 to -0.45 m. Includes join with Lot 399, from stratum at western limit of excavation (near Late Roman wall) that extended from -0.34 to -0.40 m. and is dated to 4th century. One stone (neither marble nor poros) preserved in lot.
- 396 First half of 4th century. From -0.45 to $-0.47/0.50$ m. Inventoried finds: Athenian coin (H'-3859) dated 403-359 B.C. Three pieces of grayish white marble preserved in lot.
- 397 Nondescript Classical. From $-0.50/0.51$ to $-0.53/0.58$ m. Two large chips of grayish white marble preserved in lot.
- 398 Mid-4th century. From $-0.53/0.58$ to -0.66 m. According to the notebooks, this lot came from the edge of a disturbance and looked like 377. One chip of grayish white marble preserved in lot.

Schematic Sections B-B and C-C (Figs. 6, 7)

- 375 Nondescript Classical. From $-0.33/0.34$ to -0.40 m. One stone chip (neither marble nor poros) preserved in lot.

Between Schematic Sections B-B and C-C

- 372 Four sherds, first half of 5th century. From -0.22 to -0.34 m. One dark gray stone preserved in lot.

Schematic Section C-C (Fig. 7)

- 428 Third quarter of 4th century. From -0.16 to -0.80 m. Equals fill of the rectangular cutting. For discussion of 428 and the inventoried finds that came from the sandy fill, see the commentary above (p. 480). Lot 429 is tin of selected coarse ware from this fill.
- 430 See listing under Schematic Section B-B.
- 416 Second half of 4th century. From -0.80 to -1.32 m. (equals fill of the double posthole). Contained large hunk of iron, cinders, burned stones, and some bone. Three chips of marble, one other stone (neither marble nor poros), and small bits of charcoal preserved in lot. For more information regarding 416, see the commentary above (p. 480).

Schematic Sections C-C and D-D (Figs. 7, 8)

- 368 Pottery dates to second quarter of 4th century except for Athenian coin (H'-3858) from third quarter of 4th century. From -0.16 (at parapet)/ 0.08 m. (farther south) to -0.24 m. One stone (neither marble nor poros) preserved in lot.
- 369 Ca. 350 B.C. From -0.25 to $-0.30/0.34$ m.

Schematic Section D-D (Fig. 8)

- 373 Second half of 5th century B.C. From -0.34 to -0.40 m. One piece of grayish white marble preserved in lot.
- 374 Nondescript Classical. From -0.34 to -0.40 m. (softer spots within 373). One piece of white marble preserved in lot.
- 405 4th century B.C. From -0.40 to -0.45 m. Exposed easternmost blocks of curving wall. Two chips of grayish white marble preserved in lot.

To the East of Schematic Section D-D

- 370 Seven sherds, nothing need be after first half of 5th century B.C. From -0.16 to $-0.30/0.34$ m. Cut by footing trench (Lot 371) against second block from corner to -0.30 m., but no trace of this footing trench found alongside the corner block. Lot 367 lay above, 373/374 below.

Schematic Section E-E (Fig. 9)

- 194 Late 5th century B.C. From -0.20 to -0.33 m. Cut by footing trench (Lot 196). Yielded two chunks of rough-picked Pentelic marble.
- 195 4th century B.C. From -0.33 to -0.38 m. Cut by footing trench (Lot 196).

Between Schematic Sections E-E and F-F

- 384a One sherd, nondescript Classical. From rectangular cutting on top of lower sill, *ca.* 2.70 m. east of southwest corner.

Schematic Section F-F (Fig. 10)

- 420 Second quarter of 4th century B.C. Includes loomweight (MC 767). From -0.16 to -0.40 (west)/ 0.50 m. (center and east). Envelope gives a general ending level of -0.55 m. Chunk of white poros preserved in lot.

IV. LATER USE OF THE SANCTUARY AND ITS ABANDONMENT

All the strata above the presumed ground level for the later parapet are Roman in date, except for Lots 367 and 192 at the southwest corner, possibly also 421 farther to the east (Schematic Sections C-C through F-F, Figs. 7-10).¹³⁵ The excavators linked Lot 171 (Schematic Sections A-A through E-E, Figs. 5-9) with 355 and 356 (between Schematic Sections E-E and F-F), and 182 with 361 and 362 (Schematic Sections B-B, C-C, and E-E). They had considerable difficulty distinguishing strata around Schematic Section F-F, but it should be noted that they equated Lots 365, 334, and 335. The fact that three sherds of a black-glazed cup found in Lot 428, the main component of the 4th-century B.C. sandy fill, join with others from Early Roman strata represented by lots such as 360 (Schematic Section C-C), 184, and 185 (Schematic Sections A-A and B-B), need not imply that all this fill is Roman.¹³⁶

There are very few literary or epigraphic references to the Twelve Gods after the mid-4th century B.C. An inscribed seat in the Theater of Dionysos (*IG II² 5065*) indicates that the Twelve were still being worshipped in Athens during the 2nd century after Christ. It is intriguing that Pausanias does not mention the sanctuary in his tour of the Athenian Agora, since he liked structures that were venerable. It may mean that the cult was defunct by the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. Almost certainly the sanctuary was in a ruinous state before the Herulian invasion of A.D. 267,¹³⁷ for Lot 171 offers a *terminus ante quem* for the dismantling of the parapet and the removal of some paving within the interior by the early 3rd century after Christ. Sometime during the 3rd century, a child's grave was placed along the south side of the parapet. Floor 6, as indicated on Schematic Sections A-A through E-E

¹³⁵ Other strata dating to the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. were found farther west at a comparably high elevation: Lot 359, for example, which extended from $+0.15$ to $+0.10$ m. and does not necessarily contain any Roman material; and Lot 392, which ranged from 0.00 to -0.15 m. and was considered part of the 4th-century sandy fill.

¹³⁶ The lack of Hellenistic and Early Roman strata in the area of the Twelve Gods suggests that the pre-existing stratification was disturbed in the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ, perhaps by some grading operation or during the removal of damaged monuments.

¹³⁷ Crosby (1949, p. 99) proposed that the Herulians damaged the sanctuary.

(Figs. 5–9), seals the remains. The next major activity in the area was the construction of a large building on top of the sanctuary at the beginning of the 5th century after Christ (Fig. 3).

LOTS ABOVE THE GROUND LINE FOR THE LATER PARAPET

(from +0.58 m. to ca. –0.16 m. [ground level of later parapet])

OUTSIDE THE ENCLOSURE

Schematic Sections A–A and B–B (Figs. 5, 6)

- 185 2nd century after Christ except for one sherd from gouged pot of 3rd century after Christ. From +0.03 to 0.00 (south)/–0.02 m. (north). Exposed Leagros base. Lot 184 (2nd century after Christ) belongs to this same stratum, although the notebooks state that it might have been disturbed by material from a Late Roman pit in the northwest corner of the northern trench. The notebooks also warn that 185 may be disturbed. One piece of stucco preserved in lot.
- 186 Definitely Roman, one possibly Early Roman sherd. Inventoried finds: coin (H'-3750) dated to third quarter of 4th century B.C. From 0.00 (south)/–0.02 (north) to –0.16 (south)/0.19 m. (north). Yielded broken poros blocks of unspecified color toward east.

Schematic Section C–C (Fig. 7)

- 360 Early Roman. From +0.12/0.10 to +0.05 m. Includes a join with 429, a lot containing selected coarse ware from the 4th-century B.C. sandy fill.

Schematic Sections C–C and D–D (Figs. 7, 8)

- 367 No Roman. Inventoried finds: Howland Type 25B lamp (L 4130) dated to third quarter of 4th century B.C., red-figured pelike fragment attributed to Group G by Ian McPhee (P 17279, with join from the 4th-century B.C. sandy fill). From +0.05/0.00 to –0.16/0.17 m. Contained a few bits of slag, chips of Hymettian marble and yellow poros, and other stones. Several pieces of yellow poros and many pieces of grayish white marble (including two worked pieces) preserved in lot.

Between Schematic Sections D–D and E–E

- 371 One nondescript Classical sherd. Footing trench against second block from corner that cuts through Lot 370 to –0.30 m. The notebooks do not mention whether 371 also cut through 368/369, which correspond in elevation to 370.

Schematic Section E–E (Fig. 9)

- 192 Third quarter of 4th century B.C. Inventoried finds: black-glazed cup-kantharos (P 31695). From +0.15 maximum (sloping down to east) to –0.10 m. Did not cover upper sill. Included a few chips of Pentelic marble and a little dust from the working of Pentelic marble.
- 193 Pottery largely late 5th century B.C. except for 4th-century B.C. lamp (Type 25A or 26A, both of which date to the second quarter or later) and Roman lamp of Broneer Type XXVII. Cut by a footing trench (Lot 196). From –0.10 to –0.20 m.
- 196 Probably first half of 4th century B.C., on basis of Attic(?) amphora lip. Footing trench that cuts through 193, 194, and 195. Ca. 1.80 m. long. Yielded gray poros working chips.

Schematic Section F–F (Fig. 10)

- 334 Roman. From +0.58 to 0.00 m. Exposed upper sill. Inventoried finds: two inscriptions (I 5921, I 5922). Yielded much stucco.
- 335 Roman. From 0.00 to –0.05 m.
- 365 3rd century after Christ. From –0.05 to –0.43 m. Grave containing skeleton of child covered by large curved roof tile (A 1136). Yielded stucco fragments.
- 421 4th century B.C., with one sherd perhaps Roman. Inventoried finds: bronze finger or hook (B 768). From –0.05/0.10 to –0.16 m.

To the East of Schematic Section F-F

- 336 Roman. From +0.10 to -0.40 m. Notebooks refer to it as pothole of sand, ca. 0.50 m. wide, which continued under Lot 334 at the east. One piece of thin white stucco now in lot.

INSIDE THE ENCLOSURE

Schematic Sections A-A, B-B, C-C, D-D, and E-E (Figs. 5-9)

- 171 Late 2nd to early 3rd century after Christ. From ca. +0.12 (inside parapet)/0.03 (outside parapet, rising to west) to -0.10/0.12 m. Exposed upper sill on both west and east sides. Yielded many small bits of stucco.

Schematic Sections B-B, C-C, and E-E (Figs. 6, 7, 9)

- 182 At least 2nd century after Christ. From -0.10 to -0.40/0.45 m. Contained no stucco.

Schematic Section C-C (Fig. 7)

- 361 At least 2nd century after Christ. From -0.12 to -0.36/0.40 m. Two chips of grayish white marble preserved in lot.
362 Into 2nd century after Christ. From -0.36/0.40 m. to -0.46 m. One pebble preserved in lot.

Between Schematic Sections E-E and F-F

- 355 2nd to 3rd century after Christ. From +0.12 to -0.11 m.
356 2nd to 3rd century after Christ. From -0.11 to -0.30 m. (top of paving). One piece of stucco preserved in lot.

This review of the archaeological evidence concerning the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods carries with it chronological repercussions for the study of Greek architecture and sculpture. It suggests that the earlier parapet, originally erected by the younger Peisistratos in 522/1 B.C., was renovated in the last third of the 5th century B.C., using the same blocks of the lower sill, and that the later parapet, previously thought to have been constructed at this time, was not built until the third quarter of the 4th century B.C. It likewise dissociates the Three-figure Reliefs from the sanctuary and frees the Leagros base from the *terminus ante quem* of 480/79 B.C. assigned to it by the excavators, which has been an important fixed point in Late Archaic chronology for more than a half-century.¹³⁸ It thus places in jeopardy the belief that the weight-leg/free-leg pose was developed before the Persian invasion of Athens. Preliminary study of this base suggests that it has stronger links with dedications made just after the Persian invasion, sometime during the decade 480-470 B.C. If this proves to be the case, Leagros' status as the dedicator of an innovative artistic creation will be undermined, but, by the same token, the line dividing Late Archaic from Early Classical sculpture will be sharpened.

¹³⁸ For vases with *kalos* inscriptions naming Leagros, see *ABV*, p. 669; *ARV²*, pp. 1591-1594, 1699, 1704; *Paralipomena*, pp. 507, 523; *Beazley Addenda²*, pp. 389, 396-397; Frel 1983; and *Greek Vases*, no. 5. Leagros has long been a key figure in chronological studies but never so much as in the past decade, when the conventional chronological scheme for Greek art began to come under sustained attack. See particularly Francis and Vickers 1981, *passim*; Tölle-Kastenbein 1983, pp. 574-581; Hurwit 1989, pp. 69-73; Francis and Vickers 1988, p. 143; and Cook 1989, p. 167. While the available evidence supports a dedication date for Leagros' statue in the years just after 480/79, it is difficult to follow Francis and Vickers (1981, pp. 98-99, 118-122), who accept Raubitschek's connection between the Leagros base and the Kiss Painter's cup (*ARV²*, p. 177, 3. See now *Goddess and Polis: The Panathenaic Festival in Ancient Athens* [Exhibition catalogue, Hood Museum of Art], J. Neils, ed., Princeton 1992, no. 28, pp. 162-163). Francis' and Vickers' attempt (1981, *passim*) to lower the date of Leagros' birth and revise the prevailing chronological scheme for the Archaic and Early Classical periods loses considerable force without this specific link between sculpture and vase painting.

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The Leagros base and the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods during the excavations of 1934, from northwest



a. Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods in 1952 after partial backfilling, from west



b. The Leagros base from west



a. Detail of the Leagros base as it relates to the lower sill, from southwest



b. Top of lower sill at southwest corner, from north



c. Lower sill with three blocks of the upper sill removed, from west



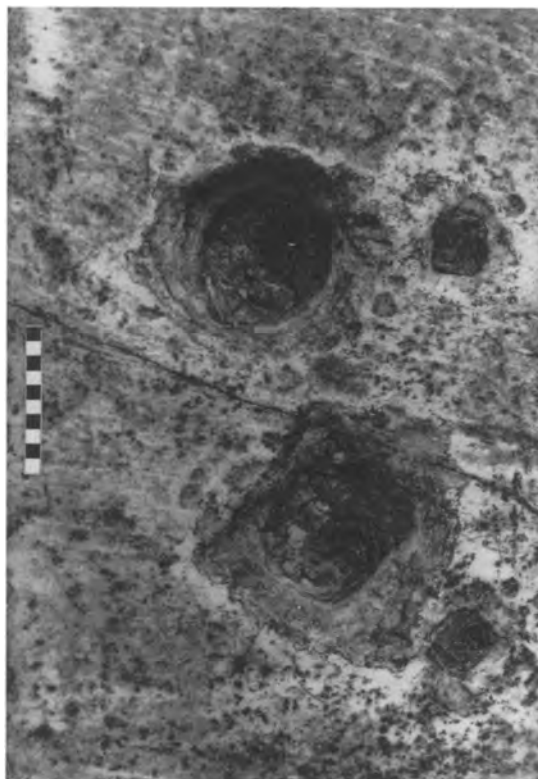
d. Detail of lower sill: first block east of southwest corner, from north



a. Detail of the southwest corner from east



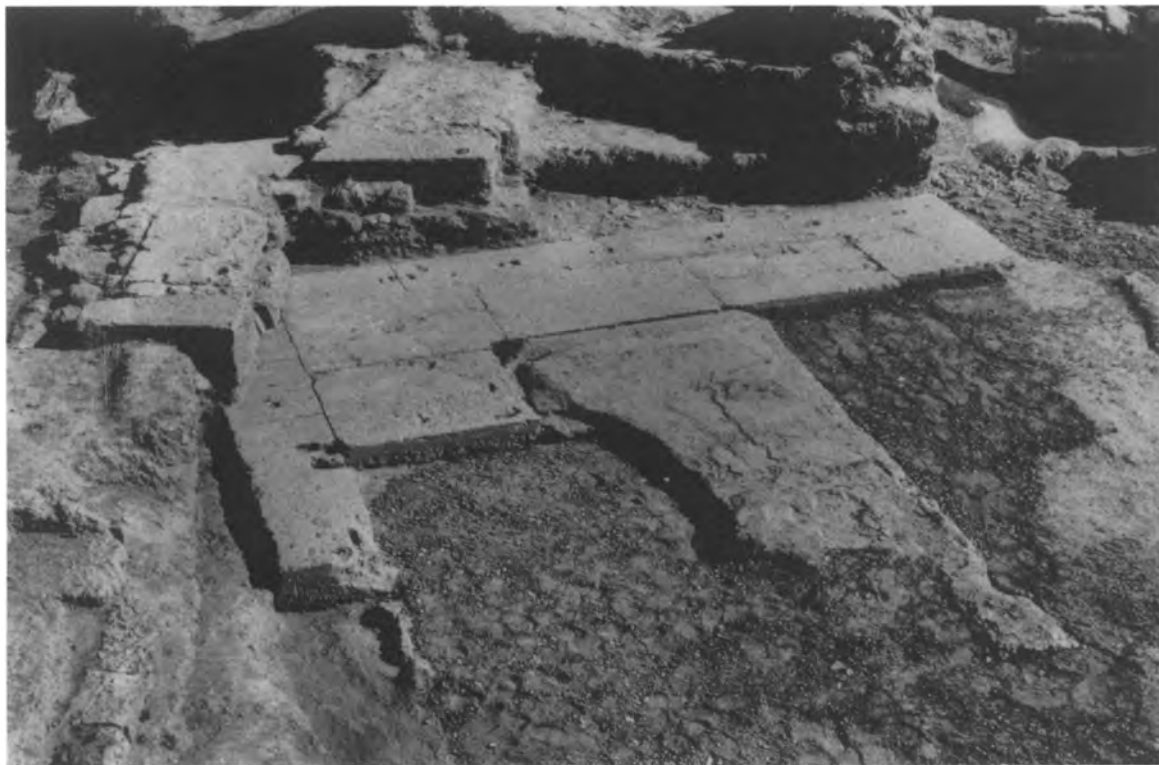
b. View of the interior of the sanctuary with paving and altar fragment A 1199 a *in situ*, from west



c. The Leagros base, detail of cuttings on top from west



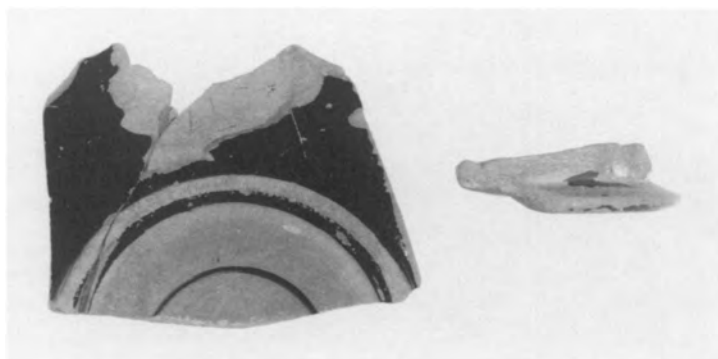
d. Altar fragment A 1199 a



a. The Eschara, partially backfilled, from north



b. The Leagros base and the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods near the end of excavation in 1946, from southwest



a. Lot 377, selected sherds



b. Lot 382, fragment of skyphos, Corinthian type



c. Lot 197, selected sherds



d. Lot 196, amphora lip



e. Selected finds from the sandy fill



a. Detail of the Eschara: blocks of the hearth and the surrounding pavement, from northwest



b. Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods, detail of upper sill



c. Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, restored section of poros fence, from northwest