

THE ATHENIAN AGORA: EXCAVATIONS OF 1973-1974

(PLATES 77-84)

THIS report covers the work of the past two seasons in the Athenian Agora,¹ although most of the material here presented was actually found during the more extensive campaign of 1973, which lasted for four and a half months from the beginning of April to the middle of August. Because of the unusual political circumstances which obtained in Greece in 1974, the excavations of that year were confined to a few weeks in June and July. Since, however, these more limited investigations contributed some important evidence for the interpretation of areas explored the previous year, the results of last year's work are also included here.

During this period the American School of Classical Studies conducted excavations once again in the two principal areas which have been explored in recent years: the block lying between the Stoa of Attalos and the Roman Agora, and the region about the northwest corner of the market square. In the first of these sectors some small areas remained in 1973 to be cleared from the modern surface, but the excavators concerned themselves chiefly with investigating the remains of the Classical period which were found to lie beneath the floors of the Roman buildings. The work of the last two years at the northwest corner of the Agora was concentrated in the vicinity of the Stoa Basileios. Heretofore it had proved impossible to test the stratigraphy beneath the floor of the building and in front of its steps and porches because of the high level of the natural water table. The gradual subsidence of water, however, since the initial clearing of the area made it possible to examine the deepest levels

¹ Once again it is a pleasure to acknowledge the unfailing co-operation and good will of our colleagues in the Greek Service of Antiquities and Restoration, and in particular we are indebted to Dr. George Dontas, ephor of the first archaeological district, in which the Agora falls.

The excavations of 1973 and 1974 were financed exclusively by the grant from the Ford Foundation which has supported the most recent phase of the excavations and for which grateful acknowledgment is once more recorded.

The archaeological staff of the Agora Excavations for the last two seasons and the particular responsibilities of each member may be listed as follows: John McK. Camp II (Assistant Field Director, excavator), Susan I. Rotroff, Ione M. Shear (excavators), William B. Dinsmoor, Jr. (architecture), Eugene Vanderpool, Jr. (photography), John H. Kroll (1973 numismatics), Fred S. Kleiner (numismatics), Barbara L. Johnson (Roman pottery), Effie Sakellarakis (Secretary of the Excavations, records) assisted by Lena Papachristodoulou, Helen Besi, Abigail Watrous (drafting). My debt to the work of all these colleagues will be apparent on every page of this report; without their archaeological and technical skills the results here presented would not have been possible.

for the first time, and this work brings virtually to completion the investigation in the field of this venerable monument.

STOA OF THE LIBRARY OF PANTAINOS

Along the south side of the marble-paved street connecting the Panathenaic Way with the gate to the Roman Agora, there lies a complex of buildings which has been gradually revealed in the excavations of the last four years. By the end of the 1972 season, it was possible to make out the general lines of a long colonnade with rooms behind, which forms an eastern wing of the Library of Pantainos and occupies all the ground between it and the monumental, stepped approach to the Roman market. Some account of the architecture and the long history of this building was made on the basis of the evidence available in 1972;² and although a considerable amount of excavation and study still remained to be completed in the following season, it is gratifying to be able to report that the most recent work has in general corroborated the findings of the previous year.

During 1973 the excavation of the Roman buildings was confined to the high southern terrace and to the eastern end of the colonnade, where two masses of fill had still to be cleared from the modern surface.³ As in the previous season the work was carried out under the supervision of John McK. Camp II in the western part of the area and of Ione Mylonas Shear in the eastern. It was these parts of the complex which were most extensively altered and reconstructed in the late Roman period so that our most recent investigations bear chiefly upon the later phases in the history of the building. Little can be added at this time to what has already been reported concerning the architecture of the stoa as it was originally built about A.D. 100. It may be noted that in the summer of 1974 it became possible to clear away the southernmost section of Brysakeiou Street which appears along the top of the photograph on Plate 77. This street has long impeded the exploration of the Library since it covers some of the principal rooms of the building. The short season last summer, however, prevented clearing of the area below the medieval levels, and a fuller discussion of the structure must accordingly be deferred until after the excavations of 1975.

Excavation of the southern terrace yielded sufficient evidence for the principal apartments of the late Roman building so that the plan could be satisfactorily restored even though the structure has suffered almost total obliteration as a result of later construction on the site in medieval and modern times. Indeed, so ruinous was the state of the remains that at the conclusion of the excavation the lines of the walls were reconstituted and the terrace refilled to a uniform level in order to make the

² *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, pp. 144-146, 385-398.

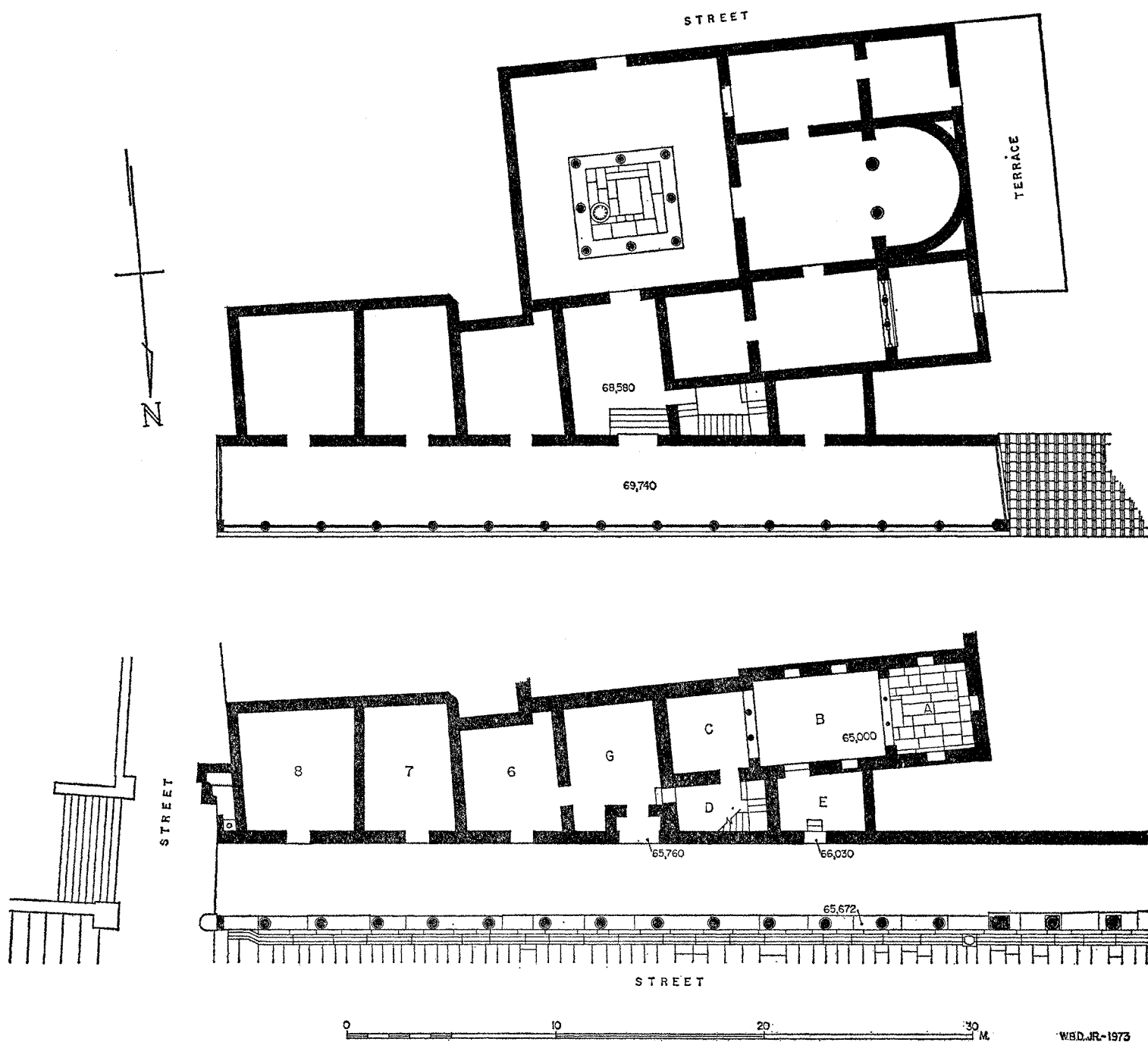
³ This area appears as it was at the beginning of the 1973 season, *ibid.*, pl. 70, a, the unexcavated masses of fill being at the upper left and right corners.

plan of the building more comprehensible (Pls. 77, 78, a). The main block of the building was laid out as nearly symmetrically as the old stoa, which formed its northern façade, would allow (Fig. 1). The eastern element of the plan is a square peristyle court, measuring 10 m. by 10.60 m. Within this space, disposed off center to the north, was set the rubble and concrete foundation for a square stylobate, measuring 5 m. on a side, and evidently designed to carry three columns on each side of the square. The open square within the peristyle was originally paved with marble slabs of which a few fragments still remain in place (Pl. 78, a), while the pattern of the missing floor slabs can be fully recovered from their imprints in the heavy mortar bedding which supported the pavement. A terracotta channel at the southeast corner carried off rain water from the floor of the peristyle and emptied into a drain running westward beneath the floors of several rooms. A source of fresh water was at hand in a tile-lined well at the east side of the court. Although this well was entirely cleaned out and re-used in the 10th century, it seems actually to be older than the peristyle and was evidently discovered and put to use by the late Roman builders. This is suggested by the fact that a brick relieving arch was constructed within the thickness of the foundation immediately adjacent to the well, apparently for the purpose of deflecting the weight of the central column from the top of the open shaft.

On the west side of the peristyle lay the main rooms of the upper floor which had been partially cleared in 1972. The central unit of the apartment is a large square hall, measuring 6.15 m. on a side, and terminating toward the west in an apse which was set off by a pair of columns between antae (Figs. 1, 2).⁴ To the north and south of the apsidal hall were two narrower suites consisting of one chamber equal in length to the square hall and a smaller room equal to the depth of the apse. Only the lowest rubble and mortar packing for the foundations has survived to give evidence of the apsidal hall. Since there is a continuous foundation for the south wall of the hall, but only isolated piers for one of the columns and the antae at the west, the restoration presented in Figure 1 seems most likely.

The rooms to the south have fared somewhat better, for here the exterior wall of the building stands to a height of 0.70 m. in a single course of limestone and conglomerate orthostates set on the concrete packing (Pl. 78, a). At the east end of the room half of the original marble threshold remains in place, thus indicating both the position of the door by which the room had access from the peristyle and the approximate level of the floor in the upper rooms. Beneath the surviving threshold runs the drain from the peristyle, and this proceeds westward in a curving course which can be traced to the edge of the terrace behind the building. On the analogy

⁴ Only the lowest mortar bedding indicates the arrangement of the antae, while a single isolated pier placed off axis between the antae gives evidence of the columns. The actual state of the remains appears on the plan, *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 392, fig. 7.



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FIG. 1. Stoa of the Library of Pantainos. Late Roman reconstruction, restored plan.

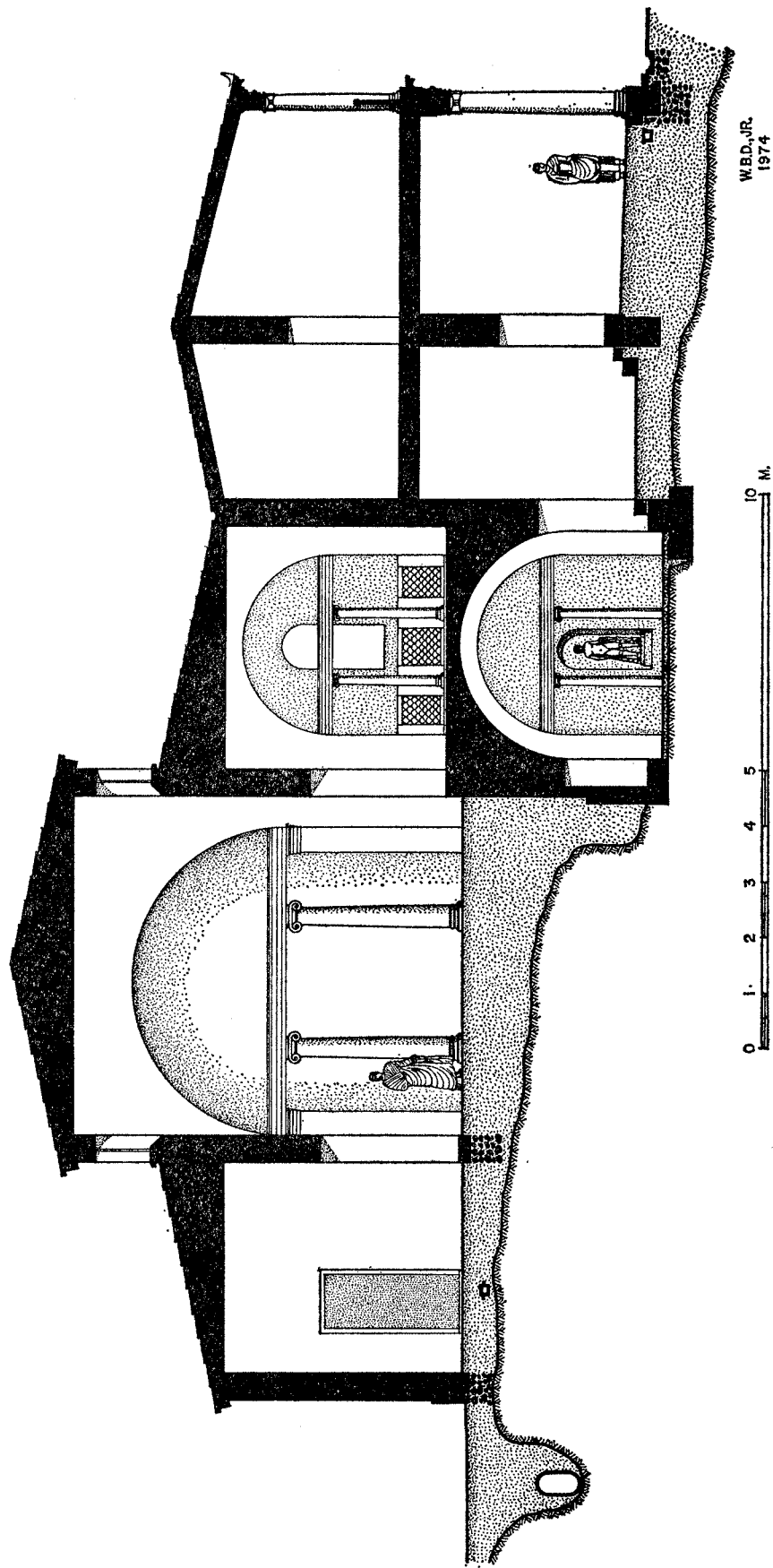


FIG. 2. Late Roman Building. North-South Section looking west, restored.

of the eastern door of the room, other doorways have been restored at the points where the drain passes through the foundations.

Flanking the apsidal hall to the north were the rooms which formed the second storey above Rooms A, B and C on the lower level. The interrelation of the upper and lower storeys makes the architectural restoration more complicated here than on the south side of the apsidal hall, but more evidence is also available because the lower rooms are so well preserved. As was noted when these were first cleared in 1972, the central chamber, Room B, was roofed with a barrel vault,⁵ the height of which could be restored as 3.60 m. above the floor because enough of the circular arc is preserved in the masonry of the south wall. When necessary allowance is made for the thickness of the vault, it is apparent that the floor of the room above must have been about 0.30 m., or just one step, higher than the apsidal hall and the southern rooms (Fig. 2).

In Room A, however, the masonry of the south wall stands even higher than in Room B, but there is no trace of the springing of a vault, and the ceiling of this room must have risen to a considerably higher level. A possible reason for this arrangement was to provide light through windows in the upper storey to the lower Rooms A, B and C as well as to the rooms above them, none of which would otherwise have had access to a direct source of light. In this case, we should think of Room A as rising through the full height of both storeys without an upper floor; and the room above Room B should be restored with a light colonnade and parapet forming a loggia at its western end. Evidence for the restoration of this upper colonnade (Fig. 2) is provided by a marble block⁶ found in the vicinity which can be assigned to its stylobate. The cuttings on top of the stylobate indicate the same spacing, 0.973 m., between anta and columns as is preserved for the lower pair of columns between Rooms A and B. The block carried an Ionic column of diminutive size, 0.288 m. being the greatest diameter of the base, a dimension closely analogous to the small Ionic bases preserved *in situ* between Rooms B and C. Since the stylobate also has cuttings for the insertion of a post-and-parapet slab, it was clearly designed for an upper loggia of just the kind restored here.

The question of communication between the lower and upper rooms of the building, and indeed of access to the principal apartments, can only be conjecturally resolved on the basis of the present evidence. We should expect to find a major

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 394, pl. 71.

⁶ A 4316: H. 0.378 m.; L. 1.027 m.; W. 0.550 m. Wall block re-used as stylobate, showing original anathyrosis at ends. Molding (0.20 m. high) along upper edge of one side: cyma reversa surmounted by two half-rounds, set off by fillets, with scotia between. At one end of upper surface, circular imprint for column base with square empolion cutting set with center 0.054 m. from edge. Adjacent to column, cutting for square post (0.20 m. wide), slot for parapet slab (0.071 m. wide, 0.025 m. deep) running full length of block. Back cut to receive floor 0.108 m. from top. White Pentelic marble.

entrance from the lower level on the north where the colonnade of the earlier stoa was re-erected to form a façade for the late Roman building. Here, to be sure, some rooms of the old stoa, such as Rooms 7 and 8, apparently continued to function independently of the new building, but the other rooms were redesigned as an intercommunicating suite. Among these the most imposing entrance is that into Room G (Pl. 78, a), which is set apart from the others both by its unusual width, 1.95 m., and by its recessed vestibule. A doorway in the west wall of Room G gives access to Room D, a small compartment at a slightly lower level which could also be entered from Room C to the south. The location of the two doors and the small size of Room D make it the most likely place for a stairway to the second storey. A flight of 17 steps would fit neatly about the three sides of the room giving access to a chamber above Room G, and thence to the peristyle, at a level equal to the floor in the apsidal hall. Such a stairway has been restored in Figure 1, but it must be thought to have been entirely of wooden construction since it has perished without leaving the slightest trace. Subsidiary doorways in Rooms E and 6 also communicated with the other rooms of the lower level, but neither has the monumental character of the entrance to Room G.

It is altogether likely that still another entrance gave directly into the peristyle from a higher street running along the south side of the building. This street has been found further west beside the Library of Pantainos, and its course in this area is indicated by a deep drain constructed here in the early 2nd century after Christ.⁷ In the 5th century, the street terminated to the west of our building against the late Roman fortification wall, through which there was no passage at this point. Nevertheless, a 5th century repair of the drain⁸ suggests that the street remained in use even though it was no longer a thoroughfare, and it may well have provided access to the upper level of our building.

From the initial excavation of the area, it was abundantly clear that the Ionic colonnade along the marble-paved street, built originally about A.D. 100 and damaged in the Herulian sack, was subsequently re-erected throughout its length as a part of the 5th century program of reconstruction. The eastern end of the colonnade has now been fully cleared, together with a narrow portion of the adjacent street, and as a result of this a good deal more evidence is now available for the architectural restoration of the building. Most of the gray marble stylobate has survived in place

⁷ The drain is constructed of double U-shaped tiles and runs eastward along the south wall of the building. Cf. the plan, *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 392, fig. 7. It is equipped with a tile-lined manhole at the east end of the exposed section. The date of its construction is provided by a lamp found outside the first row of tiles of the manhole: L 5785, closely similar to L 2848, J. Perlzweig, *Athenian Agora*, VII, *Lamps of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1961, p. 86, pl. 6, no. 164.

⁸ One of the upper tiles was removed and replaced by an amphora of the "spatheia" type, P 29939, cf. V. Grace, *Amphoras and the Ancient Wine Trade*, Picture Book No. 6, Princeton, 1961, figs. 67-68.

as well as long sections of the marble step and water channel in front of it. The easternmost column still stands to a height of 2.14 m. and a shorter stump of the anta which terminated the colonnade also remains on its base (Pl. 77). As in the case of the columns and their bases, white Pentelic marble was used for the molded anta base, but the shaft of the anta and the great rounded base beside it are fashioned of gray marble like the krepidoma. The dimensions of the anta, 0.39 m. in width and 0.20 m. in thickness, suggest that the shaft was far too slender to support the weight of the superstructure at the corner. Moreover, its back is only very roughly worked and was obviously not intended to be visible. These considerations suggest that the structural element at the end of the stoa actually rested on the rounded marble base beside the anta. This no doubt carried a high pier in which the epistyle of the colonnade could be anchored; and on the analogy of the similar arrangement at the western end, we may suppose that here also the stoa terminated at a marble arch, in this case one which crossed the street to the east where the answering pier is perfectly aligned.⁹ In its present position, the anta shaft seems to have been replaced in the late reconstruction, for the apophyge is broken away all around the bottom and it stands 0.05 m. too far forward on its base; but there is no reason to think that this is not the original block which has merely been set back on its base with a certain want of precision.

A distinctive feature of the original stoa, noted already in the previous report,¹⁰ is the special treatment of the colonnade in front of Room 3, where two Ionic bases, of slightly larger diameters than the others and raised upon square plinths, are placed symmetrically with relation to the room behind and have an exceptionally wide inter-axial spacing. This unusual interruption in the normal order and spacing of the colonnade appears to have affected the design of the late Roman building, as we shall see shortly. The stylobate is entirely preserved for the ten easternmost columns of the stoa, and it shows for each column a clear circular imprint. The traces on the stylobate are quite different, however, in the first column space on either side of the two larger bases. Here are preserved the imprint and setting marks for rectangular bases of exceptional size, and there is no evidence to suggest that a round Ionic base ever stood in these two positions. A large base of Pentelic marble, found in this area, corresponds perfectly with the traces on the stylobate and may be assigned to one of these positions. This is the molded Ionic base for a square pier with an engaged half-column on one side.¹¹ Like the larger Ionic bases, it is cut in one piece with a

⁹ For the arrangement of the arch at the west end of the stoa, see J. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, London, 1971, p. 433, figs. 549-550; H. A. Thompson and R. E. Wycherley, *Athenian Agora*, XIV, *The Agora of Athens*, Princeton, 1972, pl. 62, a.

¹⁰ *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 386, fig. 6, and p. 388. The part of the stoa here in question appears at the extreme right end on the restored plan, Figure 1.

¹¹ A 4214: H. overall 0.440 m.; H. of plinth 0.239 m.; H. of molded base 0.201 m.; L. 0.918 m.;

high plinth so that it is well suited to stand beside them, where the framing piers would have articulated still further the special architectural embellishment of the colonnade which was evidently here conceived as di-style in antis.

When the stoa was rebuilt in the 5th century after Christ, it was the eastern half, beginning with the engaged column and pier, which was remodeled to form the façade of the new building on the high terrace to the south. In this connection, it should be noted that the west wall of the late building aligns perfectly with the pier (Fig. 1). The plan seems to have been arranged in this way because the eastern half of the colonnade now rose in two storeys, and the solid square pier provided better support at the corner for the added weight of the superstructure above. The pier and engaged column also, of course, formed the logical visual terminus for the remodeled façade. That the colonnade was restored in two storeys in the 5th century is now beyond doubt, for 14 complete or nearly complete blocks and several dozen fragments have come to light all of which belong to a small Ionic order specifically designed for a second-storey colonnade. Many of the blocks have been found lying at the edge of the street along the stylobate, obviously in the places where they fell from the building. Indeed, it has not yet been possible to remove some of the pieces which are buried deep in the scarp at the edge of the excavation. One of the epistyles may be seen in Plate 79, a, still embedded in the layers of silt and debris which gathered over the marble-paved street in the late 7th century. Another large group of fragments, some joining into complete blocks, came to be re-used as cover slabs for a late drain which runs beneath the cross street at the east end of the building; but it is significant that no blocks from the upper order have been found further west than the point on the stylobate where the pier base is to be restored.

All parts of the order are represented among the newly found blocks except for the stylobate and cornice of the second storey. It is thus possible to reconstruct the elevation of the colonnade with considerable precision (Fig. 3), and the evidence for the second storey becomes abundantly clear. Both surviving fragments from the cornice of the lower order¹² are worked flat on top to receive the stylobate of the

W. at pier 0.678 m.; W. at half-column 0.540 m. On upper surface, square dowel hole and pour channel for leading joint with pier shaft. The dimension of the base, the profile of the molding, and the workmanship of the marble correspond closely with the Ionic anta base, preserved *in situ* at the south end of the west colonnade of the Library of Pantainos, cf. Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary*, p. 434, fig. 551.

¹² A 4504: H. 0.233 m.; P. L. 0.545 m.; D. 0.249 m. At front, 8 dentils and viae, lowest fascia of moldings preserved, upper moldings broken away. Cutting for hook clamp at end of the block, second clamp cutting at right angles to repair ancient break of upper moldings. Cornice recut from early Doric mutule of which 2 rows of 3 guttae (0.055 m. wide) are preserved at back; width of via 0.176 m. Pentelic marble.

A 4503: H. 0.238 m.; P. L. 1.333 m.; P. D. 0.220 m. Preserved at front, 19 dentils and viae surmounted by fascia (0.017 m. high) and cyma reversa (0.040 m. high); upper moldings broken

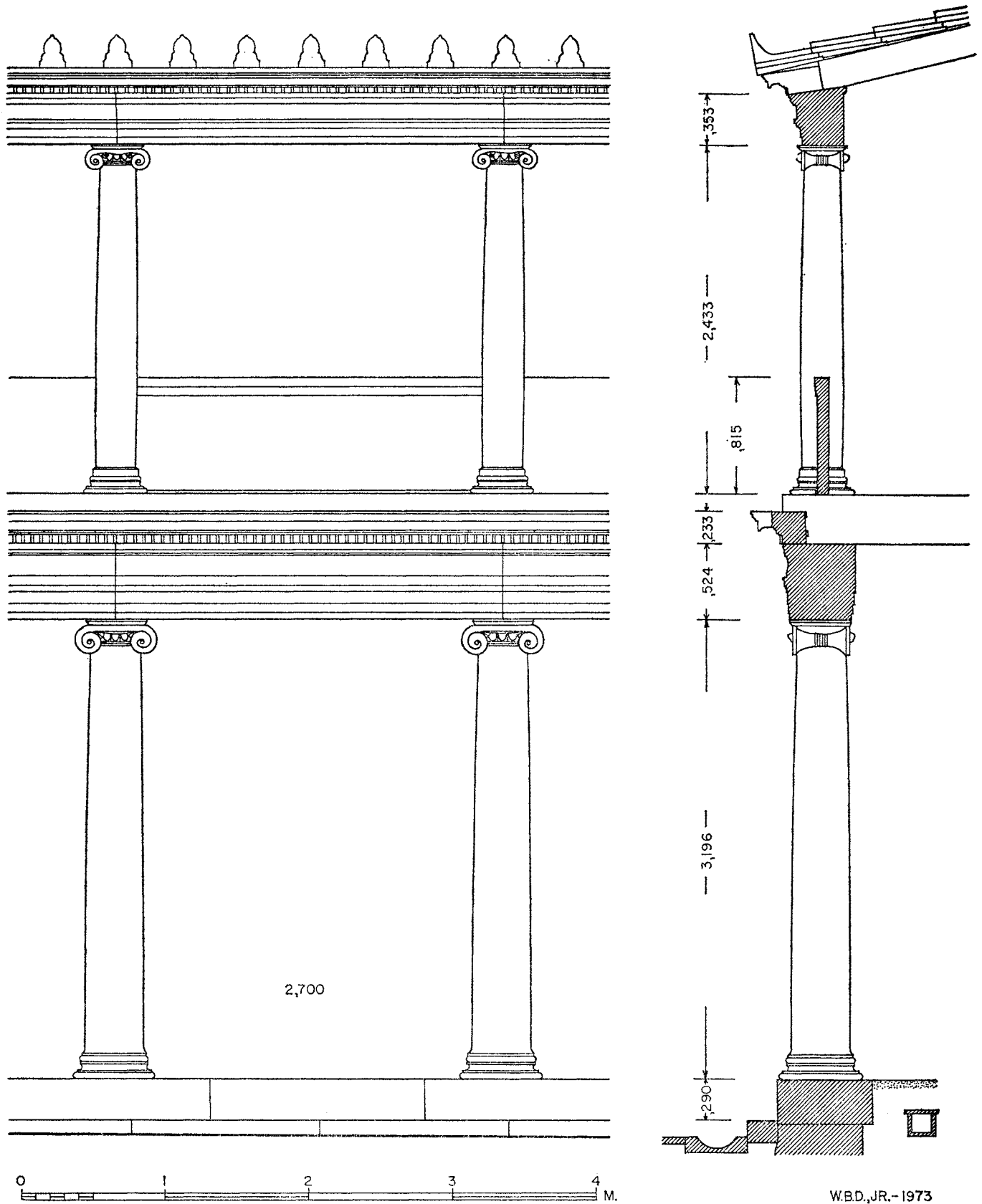


FIG. 3. Stoa of the Library of Pantainos. Late Roman reconstruction, restored elevation of orders.

upper colonnade. The smaller Ionic bases have narrow slots in each side, as does the single complete column shaft, for the insertion of a parapet, 0.815 m. high, between the columns.¹³ The peculiar treatment of the epistyle blocks of the smaller series¹⁴ no doubt also derives from their position at the top of the second-storey order. The front of the block inclines outward 0.10 m. from the vertical (including the projection of the moldings) in a height of 0.353 m., while the top slopes upward toward the back, which is 0.061 m. higher than the front, so as to carry the sloping rafters of the roof.

It should be emphasized that while all these blocks were certainly incorporated in the restored colonnade of the late Roman period, it is not easy to be sure which of them belonged also to the original stoa; for they display rather considerable discrepancy in dimensions and variety in the quality of workmanship. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the Ionic bases. Among the nine which certainly belong, four having been found *in situ*, no two are precisely the same. Although all probably date to the 2nd century, a few may have been borrowed from elsewhere for use in the reconstructed building since they bear single letters of the alphabet carved on them as mason's marks. The three surviving column shafts of the lower order vary in lower diameter by more than 0.03 m. The two complete parapet slabs of the second storey share in common only the necessary length but are otherwise quite different, one being finished with a molded band at the top, the other being plain and quite roughly worked. A set of small Ionic capitals for the upper order was evidently brought in and re-used, for two of the capitals¹⁵ are identical in style and dimensions and have mason's marks carved prominently in the volute cushions presumably to facilitate re-erection. A third capital¹⁶ of the series, though close in

away; broken at back. Top flat, roughly picked; at end of block, cutting for hook clamp, second clamp cutting at right angles for ancient repair. Pentelic marble.

¹³ The best preserved Ionic base is A 4505: H. 0.119 m.; Diam. (lower) 0.44 m.; Diam. (upper) 0.349 m. Complete except for chips. Moldings cut away for slots (0.065 m. wide) on opposite sides. On top, circular dowel and pour channel. Pentelic marble.

The column shaft, A 4501: H. 2.200 m.; Diam. (lower) 0.319 m.; Diam. (upper) 0.277 m. Intact. Apophyge and half-round molding at top; rough band without apophyge at bottom. Slight entasis. Roughly cut slot (0.092 m. wide; 0.696 m. high) on opposite sides; two small square dowel holes in slots for anchoring parapet slab. Pale gray marble.

¹⁴ E. g. A 4502: H. (front) 0.353 m.; H. (back) 0.414 m.; P. L. 1.015 m.; D. (top) 0.415 m.; D. (bottom) 0.292 m. One end and one third of block preserved. Moldings on front from bottom: 2 fasciae, ovolo, fillet, fascia, cyma reversa, fillet. Back heavily picked, ovolo at top. On end, two bands of anathyrosis at front and back, cutting for hook clamp in upper surface. Pentelic marble.

¹⁵ A 4434: H. 0.121 m.; Diam. 0.323 m.; W. of abacus 0.360 m. Complete but badly chipped about abacus. H carved on volute cushion at front. Pentelic marble.

A 4435: H. 0.118 m.; Diam. 0.323 m.; W. of abacus 0.359 m. One corner of abacus, half of one volute broken. Θ carved on volute cushion at front. Pentelic marble.

¹⁶ A 4438: H. 0.102 m.; Diam. 0.320 m.; W. of abacus 0.335 m. Front half of capital preserved; both volutes broken at bottom. Pentelic marble.

dimensions to the others, is so crudely carved as to suggest that it was made in the 5th century in order to fill out the necessary number. Similarly the one complete column shaft from the upper colonnade may be of late workmanship, and in place of the normal apophyge at the bottom it has a rather roughly cut collar.

The surviving blocks of the colonnade make it possible to determine within very close limits the level of the floor in the upper storey. Since the only estimated dimension in the elevation is the height of the upper stylobate the floor level can be placed very nearly 4.07 m. above the lower stylobate. Consequently, it will be observed (Fig. 2) that the floor of the upper colonnade was higher by 1.16 m. than the floors of the principal rooms to the south, as determined by the existing pavement of the peristyle and the threshold in its southwest corner. Communication between the upper colonnade and the southern rooms must, therefore, have been effected by means of a short flight of steps, which should most likely be restored descending into the room above Room G where we have supposed that the floor was level with the peristyle and the southern rooms. Indeed, the heavy concrete foundation forming the recessed entrance into Room G (Fig. 1) may have been designed specifically to provide support for steps on the upper floor.

With regard to the chronology and history of the late Roman building and of its predecessor, the Library of Pantainos, not much can be added to the conclusions already presented in the report for the previous season. Excavation of the deeper levels beneath the Roman rooms did, however, enable the excavators to examine the stratigraphy of the Roman floors in numerous places, with the result that more evidence is now available to support the proposed dating of the building in both its major periods of construction. It is only natural that the earth floor of the colonnade should have been more frequently disturbed than the floors in the rooms behind. The stratigraphy here was consequently confused both by the laying of drains and water pipes which laced the stoa in later times and by the excavation of numerous pits in the 7th century. Furthermore, the necessity of maintaining the floor at the level of the stylobate kept it from rising in neat superimposed layers as happened in the rooms behind. Nevertheless, midway along the colonnade in front of Rooms E, D, and G, a fairly thick layer of fill attested the renewal of the floor by the 5th century builders. Here, too, the builders dug down fairly deeply along the early foundations for the south wall, doubtless in connection with its reconstruction.¹⁷

The best evidence for the date of construction of the late Roman building has come from the narrow footing trenches on both sides of the partition between Rooms

¹⁷ Although these layers of fill are certainly to be associated with the building operations of the 5th century, they produced very fragmentary pottery which was not capable of yielding precise chronology; from the area outside Room D: Lots PP 197, 199-201, 205; from outside Room G: Lots PP 226, 227, 244, 246.

G and 6. A date about A.D. 420 was suggested on the basis of a coin of Theodosius I or his colleague, belonging to the period A.D. 383-395, the wear on which indicated that it had circulated for about a generation.¹⁸ By good fortune, a group of 18 coins came to be buried in the footing of this wall. Five of these are identical to the one already cited; and together with them were found another coin of Theodosius I datable to year 5 of the reign (A.D. 383) and a coin of Arcadius struck in the same year.¹⁹ Further support for this date comes from the stratigraphy in Rooms G and 7, and particularly in the latter where the superimposed floor levels chanced to survive without disturbance, thus preserving evidence for all phases of the building's history. The fill beneath the third earth floor (Fig. 4, layer 3) produced fragmentary pottery of the late 4th and early 5th centuries after Christ.²⁰ Together with this were found 18 coins, half of which could be assigned to the 4th century. The three latest pieces are of Constantius II, or his colleague,²¹ and belong to the period A.D. 351-361. Thus the layer clearly represents the re-laying of the floor by the 5th century builders, although it may be noted that the threshold of Room 7, in its present position (Fig. 4, Pl. 79, b), was subsequently raised in the 6th century to correspond with the next higher floor.

It is likewise to the stratified floors of Room 7 that we owe the most conclusive archaeological evidence, fully confirming the epigraphical date *ca.* A.D. 100, which has long been accepted for the original building dedicated by T. Flavius Pantainos. When the builders of that period came to lay the earth floor in Room 7, only a thin layer (Fig. 4, layer 5) needed to be spread over the earlier accumulation of debris in order to bring the floor to the proper level. From this layer the excavator extracted broken pottery dating to the end of the 1st century after Christ.²² More important, a group of 35 coins, perhaps the contents of a dropped purse, chanced to have been deposited in the earth filling beneath the floor. The great majority (27) was Athenian bronze coins of the 1st century B.C., which had circulated so long that most of them were worn almost smooth and could only be recognized by comparing the flan and fabric with the few identifiable pieces. A more precise date for the deposit of the group, and hence the laying of the floor, comes from a single plated denarius of Titus

¹⁸ Coin PP-612, cf. *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 395.

¹⁹ From the footing trench in Room 6: Coins PP'-953-957, Theodosius I, or colleague, A.D. 383-395; PP'-952, Theodosius I, A.D. 383; from the footing trench in Room G: PP-617, Arcadius, A.D. 383.

²⁰ Pottery from Room 7, layer 3: Lot PP' 43. In the same layer was found L 5834, lamp with rosette disc and herringbone pattern on rim, similar to *Agora*, VII, p. 154, pl. 32, no. 1918, but unsigned; datable to the second half of the 4th century after Christ. In Room G the original Roman floor was not raised in the 5th century, but 27 coins became imbedded in the floor during the early years of its use after the reconstruction. The latest of these are coins PP-596, -674, Theodosius II, A.D. 425-450.

²¹ Coins PP'-458, -459, -510.

²² Pottery from Room 7, layer 5, Lots PP' 172-173.

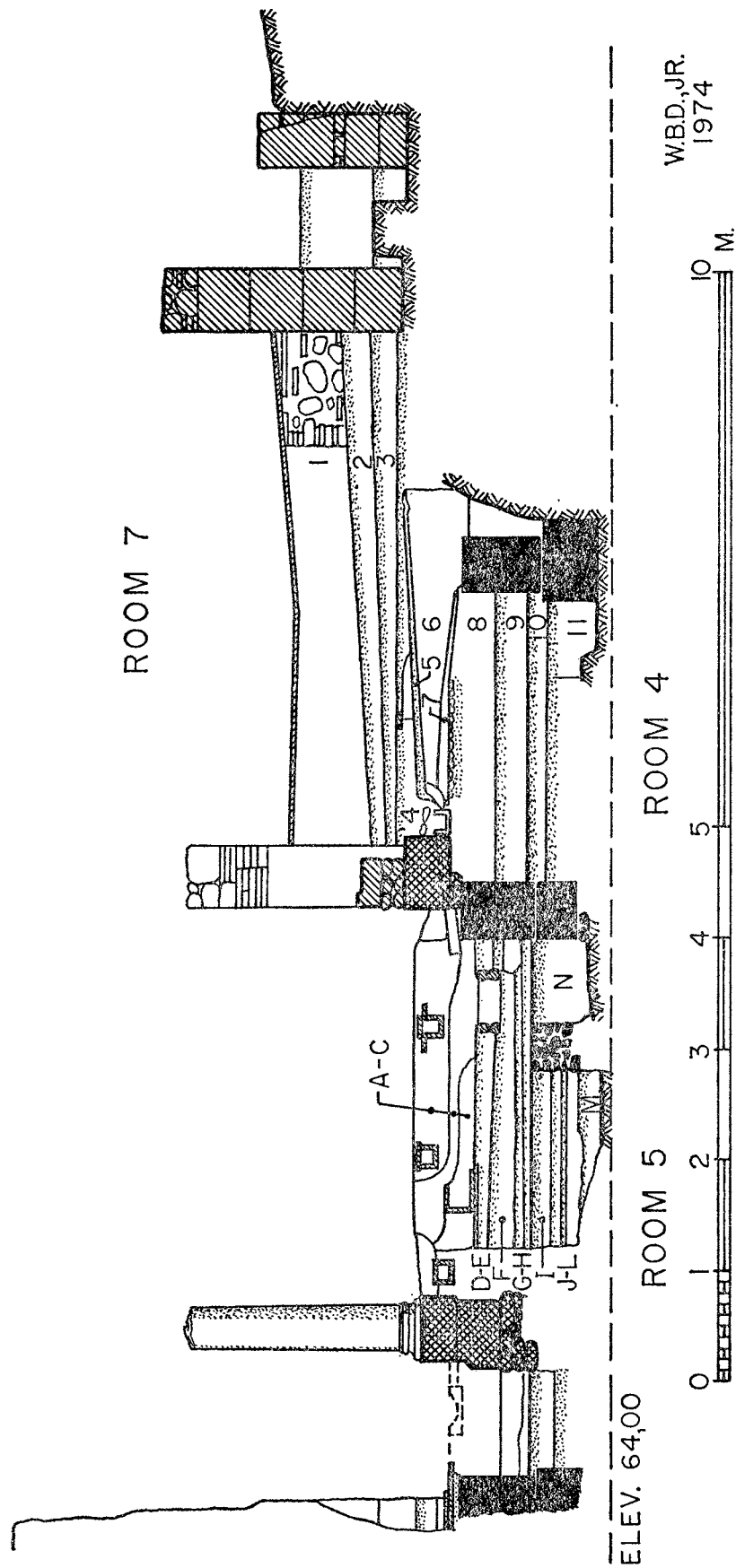


FIG. 4. Stoa and Classical Shops. North-South Section looking east through Roman Room 7.

struck in A.D. 79, of which the somewhat worn condition is consistent with about two decades of circulation and a date of deposit about the turn of the century.²³

Similar earth fillings to level the original floors of the stoa were encountered in Rooms G and 8;²⁴ but although these both yielded fragmentary pottery of the 1st century after Christ, the evidence was not so precise as that provided by the coins from Room 7. The most useful ceramic material bearing upon the date of construction was extracted from the stone packing for the stylobate of the colonnade. A section of the packing was removed at the western end of the stoa where the stylobate itself did not survive. From this test there came a fragmentary bowl of western Sigillata ware²⁵ bearing the stamped signature *L(ucius) R(asinius) Pi(sanus)*, a potter known to have been active in the second half of the 1st century after Christ and especially during the reigns of Nero and the Flavians. The archaeological evidence is thus entirely consistent with the date between A.D. 99 and 102 required by the imperial nomenclature in Pantainos' dedicatory inscription.²⁶ The newly explored northern stoa of the complex, like the library at its western end, is then clearly to be assigned to Pantainos' building program in those years.

²³ Coin PP'-1003, Titus, A.D. 79; PP'-1004-1022, -1031-1038, Athenian bronzes, 1st century B.C. In addition to these, 16 more coins, mostly of the latter type (PP'-1070-1085), were found in the same area of the room but imbedded in the top of the next lower layer. It is most likely, however, that these form part of the same group. The first period of use of the room falls chronologically between the deposit of these coins, ca. A.D. 100, and the deposit of another group early in the reign of Hadrian. Shortly after the original construction, a low platform edged with tiles was arranged in Room 7, probably to support a piece of furniture. This appears protruding into layer 4 (Fig. 4). The associated pottery dated to the beginning of the 2nd century after Christ, Lots PP' 170-171. Lying on the hard earth of the platform were 16 coins of which the four latest offer fairly precise chronological indications, coins PP'-473, Trajan, A.D. 99/100 (moderate wear); PP'-474, Trajan, A.D. 98/117 (heavy wear); PP'-475, -476, Athens imperial (no wear). A date of deposit between A.D. 125 and 130 would be consistent with the evidence. For mention of the group in its numismatic context, J. H. Kroll, *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 329.

²⁴ Pottery from the construction filling in Room G: Lot PP 262; in Room 8: Lots PP' 60, 61, 189-191.

²⁵ P 30309: hemispherical bowl, flanged rim. Frag. a: P. H. 0.022 m.; Diam. of foot 0.065 m.; Frag. b: P. H. 0.048 m. Two non-joining fragments. Ring foot; incised grooves above flange, inside and outside plain rim. Rouletting on flange and two bands around vertical rim. Within, two incised circles around stamp at center: *L·R·PI in planta pedis*. Brick-red clay, lustrous red glaze. For the shape, cf. F. Oswald and T. D. Pryce, *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, pl. XL, and cf. J. W. Hayes, *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 431, pl. 84, no. 64 in Arretine ware; for discussion of the manufacturer and other pieces bearing the same signature, H. Comfort, *M.A.A.R.*, VII, 1929, pp. 208-209; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, pp. 437-451, especially pp. 448-449; for the chronology, Hayes, *op. cit.*, pp. 446 ff. Other instances of the same signature in the eastern Mediterranean are listed by Comfort, *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, LVIII, 1938, pp. 55-56; J. H. Iliffe, *Quart. Dept. Ant. Pal.*, IX, 1939, p. 63.

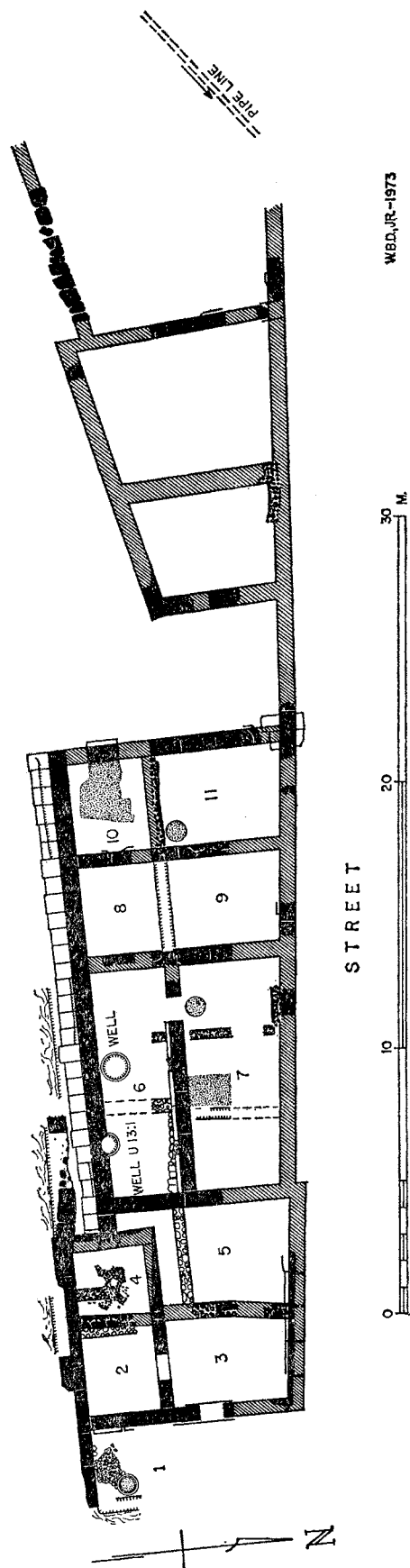
²⁶ I 848, B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 233, no. 64; A. W. Parsons, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 268-272.

CLASSICAL SHOPS BENEATH THE ROMAN STOA

Although the area lying to the east of the Classical market square came first to be occupied by monumental public buildings in the Roman period, the site is now known to have had a long and complex earlier history; and it is of particular interest to observe that the commercial character which in later times was given to this district by the Market of Caesar and Augustus stems from ancient traditions extending back to the 5th century B.C. One of the most welcome results of the last two seasons' work was the discovery that extensive remains of Classical buildings lay preserved beneath the floors of the Roman Stoa, where the excavators encountered in all parts of the building the walls and floors of the earlier structures (Figs. 4, 5, Pls. 78, 79). Altogether the plans were recovered of some 14 rooms belonging to at least three separate buildings. These shared among them a common front wall and evidently lined the south side of an early street which followed closely the course of the later marble-paved street of the Roman period. Underlying the eastern half of the Roman Stoa are two structures which both in architecture and in history are almost inextricably intertwined with each other, while further to the west lie the less substantial remains of three other rooms, about which nothing more can be said except that they once existed.

The two contiguous buildings, composed respectively of Rooms 1 to 5 and Rooms 6 to 11 on the plan (Fig. 5), have chanced to survive in a considerably better state so that their history can be reconstructed in some detail. As is almost inevitably the case with small private structures, there is evidence of innumerable alterations: rooms have been removed from one building and added to the other; rooms have been thrown together or subdivided; and over the years the interior partitions have been shifted in position and alignment. As a result it has been difficult to recover with certainty the original disposition of the plan, and the reconstruction presented here shows the buildings at their fullest development about the middle of the 4th century B.C., together with modifications of both earlier and later date. At that period the two buildings had between them a frontage on the street of 25.80 m., while the depth of the rooms measured 9.50 m. at the west end and 8.50 m. at the east end. The essential feature of the plan appears to have been a series of pairs of rooms, and in all its phases a long median wall bisected the building longitudinally to create these double compartments.²⁷ In one or two instances there is evidence that the front and back rooms communicated through doors in the median wall, and this is likely

²⁷ A general similarity of plan is to be noted between these structures and the shops at the northeast corner of the Agora beneath the Hadrianic basilica (*Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, pp. 138 ff., fig. 3). The latter, however, although similar in construction, are of more regular design and underwent less drastic reconstruction in later times. Although their original construction is of earlier date, it is interesting to observe that here also a major rebuilding occurred in the late 5th century B.C. at about the same time as in the building here in question, cf. below, pp. 349-350.



WBD, JR-1973

FIG. 5. Classical Shops beneath Stoa. Restored Plan as of mid-4th Century B.C.
with earlier and later alterations.

to have been generally the case. Most of the front rooms undoubtedly had access directly from the street, although it has not been possible to verify this at any point, because the remains of the north wall lie immediately beneath the marble pavement of the Roman street and could only be investigated where the pavement chanced not to be preserved.

Throughout both buildings what has survived is the stone socles for their mud-brick walls. In fact, some of the fill within the rooms was composed of masses of disintegrated mud brick from the collapse of the walls themselves. The socle for the southern wall is preserved along its entire length, and in its construction the interrelation of the two buildings is most graphically represented. In order to erect their building on this site, the builders found it necessary to quarry away the soft bedrock which rises sharply and irregularly toward the south. This dressing of the rock left a vertical scarp (visible in Plate 78, a beneath Roman Rooms 6 and G) against which the south wall of the early building was set. A glance at the plan (Fig. 5) will show that the south wall and the bedrock scarp behind it follow two different alignments, one for Rooms 1, 2 and 4, the other for Rooms 6, 8 and 10. It is equally apparent that the eastern building (Rooms 1-5) was the first structure on the site and that it originally extended 5.00 m. further west, where the foundation packing for its south wall and the corner block of its socle are preserved behind the later south wall of Room 6. Likewise the eastern limit of the original building is indicated by the trench in Room 1 from which the wall was later removed when the present east wall was established 3.20 m. further west.

The original south wall consists of a row of poros orthostates, 0.70 m. high (Pls. 77, 78, b), which stand on a toichobate, 0.50 m. high, founded on the dressed surface of the bedrock. Where the bedrock was found to be unusually soft beneath the toichobate, a stone packing was laid first which is best seen to the west where the toichobate no longer survives. The socle for the north wall is of similar construction, consisting of a single row of orthostates resting upon a toichobate, both of which are preserved intact under the Roman street (Pl. 79, a). In the case of the north wall, however, the orthostates are made of the reddish conglomerate characteristic of later construction in the building. Moreover, their line diverges slightly from that of the toichobate beneath them, and it seems clear that the orthostates were installed later to raise the level of the socle, as the floors crept gradually higher with the passage of time.²⁸ The interior partitions in the first period were set on light socles of rubble construction with small stones laid in clay. A section of the median

²⁸ This structural pattern finds parallels in other private commercial buildings of the Agora, which likewise show the installation of conglomerate orthostates to raise the level of earlier socles, cf. the house at the southwest corner of the Agora (*Hesperia*, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 387, fig. 2, pl. 101). In the shops at the northeast corner the Archaic poros orthostates were surmounted by another row of blocks in the Hellenistic period (*Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, pp. 140-141, pl. 29, b).

wall is preserved beneath its successor between Rooms 6 and 7, and extending eastwards across Room 5 (Pl. 78, b), while another bit of wall in Room 6, although belonging to a somewhat later phase as preserved, undoubtedly follows the line of the original west wall.

A major reconstruction brought into being the plan of the western building (Rooms 6-11) as it has been restored here. Again the principal surviving feature is the foundation for the south wall composed of 29 blocks of hard yellowish poros laid side by side as headers. This foundation carried along its northern edge a row of orthostates of the same material, of which a single block, measuring 0.50 m. in height and 0.65 m. in depth, now remains in place at the eastern end. A peculiar aspect of this south wall is the fact that its blocks were cut away about the top of a pre-existing well in Room 6, to which we shall return shortly. The existence of this well and of another later well near by in the same room may suggest that Room 6 was an open courtyard to which the surrounding rooms had common access.

It was possible to examine the northern wall of the building in only three places, but this was sufficient to show that its construction and history were similar to the north wall of Rooms 3 and 5: a poros socle which was later raised by the addition of conglomerate orthostates. The two phases of construction were even more clearly differentiated here, for in one place a thin layer of earth separated the socle and orthostate. Moreover, for a brief time before the installation of the orthostates, but after the floor of Room 7 had been raised well above the top of the original socle, the north wall stood on a light rubble foundation forming a corner with an interior partition at the west end of that room. At this time Rooms 6 and 7 were evidently subdivided into three small compartments, for the existence of another contemporary partition further east is indicated by the trench from which it was removed in Room 7 and by a bit of rubble socle which survives in Room 6 (Fig. 5). All other internal walls of the western building stood on socles of conglomerate blocks which belong to another major structural remodeling. In some cases, such as the long median wall, the conglomerate blocks were placed on an earlier socle composed of field stones set in clay. The rubble socle is all that survives of the wall between Rooms 10 and 11, while between Rooms 8 and 9 the excavator was able to recover only the trench left by the subsequent removal of the wall.

Enough information is available to piece together the history and chronology of this building with a fair degree of accuracy because the earth floors of the rooms were repeatedly raised and renewed in each period. Most of the rooms produced three or four superimposed floors, while in Room 5 and in the eastern parts of Rooms 6 and 7 the excavator was able to distinguish as many as nine stratified floors. The lowest floors in Rooms 5, 6 and 7, which were found just a few centimeters above the dressed surface of bedrock, produced from beneath them broken pottery of the

third and fourth quarters of the 5th century B.C.²⁹ This evidence suggests a date for the original construction of the eastern building sometime in the period 430-420 B.C. It is apparent from the stratigraphy that the major architectural phases have all to be compressed within the first half century of the building's life. Indication of many remodelings during this period may be seen in the frequent resurfacing of the floors. In Room 5 three distinct floor levels are datable to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. (Fig. 4, layers J-M), while at least two floors were laid in Room 6 during the same quarter century.

The initial construction of the western building, incorporating the western part of the earlier structure in Rooms 6 and 7, likewise took place before the end of the 5th century B.C.; for both the stone packing behind the new south wall and the floor in Room 6 associated with its construction are to be dated to that period. Furthermore, floors corresponding to that in date and elevation were uncovered in Rooms 7, 8, 9 and 11.³⁰ The two buildings were evidently a single complex at this period since the floors of the late 5th century in Rooms 4 and 5 (Fig. 4, layers 11 and J) lie at almost precisely the same level as the contemporary floors in the west building. It should be noted, however, that the reconstruction which removed the western part of Room 4 evidently disturbed earlier floor levels in the room, for the lowest floor discovered there corresponds to the third and highest floor of the 5th century in Room 5 (Fig. 4, layer J).

The entire complex underwent another extensive reconstruction in the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. For reasons which are not entirely clear, but had possibly to do with the seepage of ground water (a problem still afflicting the area today), the floors throughout the building were uniformly raised 0.20 to 0.30 m. Clearly the intention was to raise the level and not simply to renew the surface of the floors, and for this purpose masses of fill were brought in from a nearby rubbish dump and spread thickly over the whole area. The source of the earth is evident from the fact that it contained unusually large quantities of badly broken pottery, which also provided a date for the building activities in the early 4th century.³¹ An important

²⁹ Pottery from beneath the lowest floors of Room 5: Lot PP' 348; Room 6: Lots PP' 368, 376; Room 7: Lot PP' 355.

³⁰ The stone packing behind the new orthostates of the south wall yielded a few fragments of pottery (Lots PP' 370-371) and P 30769, base of a one-handler similar to P 15107: B. A. Sparkes and L. Talcott, *The Athenian Agora*, XII, *Black and Plain Pottery*, Princeton, 1970, p. 289, no. 749, dated 450-425 B.C. The toichobate for the south wall was laid in a shallow trench dug in the second lowest floor of Room 6; the next higher floor was then leveled against the toichobate at the time of construction of the western building. Pottery found beneath this floor (Lots PP' 364, 365, 374) could be dated in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. Pottery from corresponding floors in Room 7: Lots PP 234, PP' 354; Room 8: Lot PP 176; Room 9: Lots PP 220, 221; Room 11: Lot PP 187.

³¹ Pottery from the dumped filling in Room 6: Lots PP 251, 271, PP' 360, 361, 372; Room 7: Lots PP 232, PP' 351; Room 9: Lots PP 214, 215; Room 11: Lots PP 184, 185. The bulk of the

part of the reconstruction was a general raising of the wall socles which naturally accompanied so considerable a rise in the floor levels. It was at this time that the conglomerate orthostates, the most characteristic feature of the building's structure (Pl. 78, b), came to be installed for all the principal north-south partitions. The excavators were able to isolate footing trenches along the east and west walls of Room 9, and along the east wall of Room 7, where the conglomerate blocks were set down through the latest 5th century floors and the new floors were leveled against them.³² To this period also belongs the subdivision of Rooms 6 and 7 mentioned above, for the two light partitions were not installed until the first quarter of the 4th century and they had been removed and covered over barely a generation later.

The eastern and western buildings were apparently considered distinct units at this time and the history of their remodeling in the early 4th century clearly diverges. A major reconstruction of the eastern building (Rooms 1-5) took place a few years earlier than the work on the neighboring structure which has just been described. Here, however, the evidence for rebuilding is even clearer, for at this time the median wall was moved 0.75 m. further to the south. In Room 5 the builders dug away earlier stratigraphy between the new wall and its predecessor (Fig. 4, layer N) in order to set their foundations on bedrock, and they then raised the floors in both rooms to a level which just covered the earlier socle (Fig. 4, layers I, 10).³³ Another part of this program was the installation of the conglomerate orthostates in the north wall of Rooms 3 and 5 (Pl. 79, a), as is suggested by the fact that the newly established floor of Room 5 rose slightly higher than the original socle of the north wall. Evidence for other interior partitions of this period is very slight and only a light rubble foundation in Room 4 (Pl. 79, b) is to be associated with the remodeling of the early 4th century. That the complex underwent reconstruction in two separate phases for the eastern and western buildings is evident from the stratigraphy in

material dated to the late 5th century B.C., the latest pieces descending through the first quarter of the 4th century. Fragments of fish-plates and the thickened rims of cup-skyphoi were noted among the latest pieces. The total absence of rouletted decoration and fragments of kantharoi suggests a lower limit about 380 B.C.

³² Pottery datable to the first quarter of the 4th century B.C. was recovered from the footing trenches along the walls of Room 9: Lots PP 186, 219. Construction of the east wall of Room 7 disturbed a floor laid at the beginning of the 4th century in Room 5: Lot PP' 342 (Fig. 4, layer I).

³³ A date in the early 4th century B.C. for these operations is provided by the pottery from these layers beneath the new floor, Lots PP' 182, 183, 342, 343. In Room 4, layer 10 was found also P 30270, one-handler similar to *Agora*, XII, p. 291, nos. 772-774, dated 425-400 B.C.; L 5835, lamp of type 24 C', cf. R. H. Howland, *The Athenian Agora*, IV, *Greek Lamps and Their Survivals*, Princeton, 1958, p. 67, nos. 261, 265, dated from the late years of the 5th century into the second quarter of the 4th century. From the corresponding layer along the north wall of Room 5, L 5847, lamp of type 21 C, cf. *ibid.*, p. 48, nos. 171-173, dated from late 5th century into early 4th century B.C.

Rooms 5, 6, and 7. We have seen that the remodeling of the east building was attended by a rise in the floor level of Rooms 4 and 5 (Fig. 4, layers I, 10). The excavator also encountered a floor at exactly the same elevation and of exactly the same date in Rooms 6 and 7, but this floor lay beneath 0.18 m. of fill which was dumped in to raise its level during the reconstruction of the west building.³⁴ Similarly the latter reconstruction is reflected in the stratigraphy of Room 5, where another renewal of the floor (Fig. 4, layer G) corresponds precisely with the raised floors of the reconstructed west building. Although both phases of rebuilding fall within the first quarter of the 4th century B.C., the interval between them is measured by an intervening floor in Room 5 (Fig. 4, layer H) which had to be laid and used after the remodeling of the eastern rooms and before work began in the western.³⁵

Whatever the reason for raising the floor levels so considerably in the early 4th century, that solution seems not altogether to have alleviated the problem, for less than a quarter century passed before the same expedient was adopted once again. This time the floors in the western rooms were raised as much as 0.40 m., although the corresponding floors in the eastern rooms rose less markedly (Fig. 4, layers F, 9). As in the previous phase, earth was brought in from a nearby dump and spread throughout the building. That the fill came from the same dump is indicated not only by the great quantities of broken pottery and the close similarity of the material to that found in the next lower layer, but more especially by the fact that joining fragments of the same object came from both layers.³⁶ Also as in the past, the rise in the floor level was accompanied by some architectural changes. It was at this time that the conglomerate blocks were placed along the earlier rubble socle of the median wall, and the partitions which in the early 4th century had divided Rooms 6 and 7 into three separate suites were now dismantled so that the rooms were restored to their original size. The easternmost of the three walls dividing Rooms 2 and 4 (Pl. 79, b) can also be assigned to the renovations of this period. The latest pieces of pottery from the dumped filling suggest a date for these alterations around 350 B.C.³⁷

About a century later the last modifications to the fabric of the building were carried out in the middle years of the 3rd century B.C. The principal building opera-

³⁴ Pottery of the early 4th century B.C. found beneath this floor in Room 6: Lots PP' 362, 363, 373; Room 7: Lot PP' 353; for the dumped fill raising this floor, see above, note 31.

³⁵ Pottery from Room 5, layers G and H: Lots PP' 340, 341.

³⁶ L 5843: sanctuary lamp with multiple nozzles, fragmentary, cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 128, no. 524.

³⁷ The dumped fill produced quantities of pottery, mostly datable to the late 5th and early 4th centuries, in various parts of the building. Room 4: Lot PP' 181 (Fig. 4, layer 9); Room 5: Lot PP' 339 (Fig. 4, layer F); Room 6: Lots PP 231, PP' 359; Room 7: Lots PP 229, 230, 248-250, PP' 349, 350; Room 9: Lot PP 213. Most useful for dating the context are a few of the latest pieces, from Room 4: P 30269, one-handled kantharos, cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 286, no. 705, dated 375-350 B.C.; from Room 7: P 30207, bowl close in shape and decoration to *ibid.*, p. 295, no. 830, ca. 350 B.C.; P 30451, echinus bowl, cf. *ibid.*, p. 299, no. 886, ca. 350 B.C.; P 30742, saltcellar, cf. *ibid.*, p. 303, no. 949, 350-325 B.C.

tions of this period concerned the eastern rooms which now assumed the arrangement that exists today. The east wall of the building was shifted 3.20 m. to the west and the area of Room 1 seems now to have lain outside the structure.³⁸ Various adjustments to the internal partitions also occurred at this time: new walls divided Rooms 2 and 3 from 4 and 5; another course of masonry was added to raise the socles in the western rooms; and Rooms 8 and 9 were thrown together by the removal of the median wall.³⁹ Once again new floors were laid in several of the rooms, those in Rooms 1, 2 and 4 being raised as much as 0.42 m. while in Room 5 the level increased by only 0.08 m. (Fig. 4, layers E, 8).⁴⁰ In some rooms, the simple floors of hard-tamped clay now gave way to the amenities of a more elegant age. Pavements composed of smooth river pebbles set in hard lime mortar were laid in Rooms 4, 7 and 10, and in the latter two the Hellenistic pavement rested directly on the old earth floor of the 4th century without any increase in level.

Although no subsequent repairs can be detected in the surviving architectural remains of the complex, there is some evidence to suggest that the structure, as refurbished in the 3rd century B.C., continued to be used for more than a century and a half. In none of the rooms, however, did the excavators come upon renewed floors of the later Hellenistic period, and we must suppose that the hard pebble floors of the 3rd century were simply swept clean and kept in use throughout the remainder of the building's life. Once again the well-preserved stratigraphy in Room 4 provides the only clue to the next episode, for here lying on the Hellenistic pebble floor was a thin layer of burnt debris (Fig. 4, layer 7), the unmistakable remains of a fire which evidently caused serious damage, if not total destruction, to the building. Since the pottery found among the destruction debris is datable to the late Hellenistic period, the latest pieces belonging in the 1st century B.C., the fire can be assigned to

³⁸ Evidence for this alteration was provided by the stratigraphy of Room 1. Along the east side of the room was a trench, 0.55 m. wide and 1.00 m. deep, from which the original east wall had been removed. The neatly cut bedrock which forms the east side and floor of this trench suggests that the original wall was constructed of poros orthostates like the south wall of the building. Installation of the conglomerate blocks of the new east wall (Fig. 5, Pl. 78, b) disturbed all the earlier floors of Room 1 along the west side since the new toichobate was founded on bedrock. After its construction, the trench left by the removal of the earlier wall was filled and the ground level in Room 1 was raised to about the level of the contemporary floor in Room 4 (Fig. 4, layer 8). The earth used in these filling operations produced pottery most of which is of much earlier date, but a few early Hellenistic fragments suggest the true date of the fill (Lots PP' 63, 194-197, 200).

³⁹ The latest partitions in the eastern rooms are shown in solid black on the plan (Fig. 5). The series of three walls which successively divided Rooms 2 and 4 appear in Plate 79, b. The removal of the median wall between Rooms 8 and 9 is indicated by a trench (Fig. 5).

⁴⁰ The clearest evidence for the date of the Hellenistic remodeling came from beneath the raised floors in Rooms 4 and 5. The latest pottery was datable to the mid-3rd century B.C. (Lots PP' 180, 335, 336), and beneath the pebble floor in Room 4 (Fig. 4, layer 8; Pl. 79, b) were found two Athenian bronze coins (PP' -1117, -1118) datable to the first third of the 3rd century B.C.

that time.⁴¹ The date suggests, however, that it was no isolated accident but should rather be brought into association with the many contemporary signs of violent destruction in all parts of the Agora, one more legacy from Sulla's legions who captured Athens by storm in 86 B.C. and proceeded to ravage large areas of the city.

While the eastern building, and Room 4 in particular, clearly cannot have been used after the sack of Sulla, there is not enough evidence from the western rooms to exclude the possibility that some of them continued to be occupied for a short time, for the structure remained standing on the site, no doubt at least partly in ruinous condition, for more than half a century thereafter. About the final disposition of our building, however, there can be no doubt whatever. In every room where the later stratification chanced to survive, the excavators encountered deep layers of debris from the demolition of the old Classical walls. It was not now a question of another destruction by fire or violence, but rather the mud-brick walls were simply pushed down and the entire site was leveled. In some places the wreckers salvaged the stone blocks from the wall socles for possible re-use in later construction; thus all but one of the original poros orthostates were removed from the south wall of the west building, and earth from the collapsed walls was found lying on the blocks of the foundation. In most rooms, however, the wreckers were content to leave the masonry socles buried beneath the layer of debris which they spread over the whole site.

The date of these events is of particular interest in that it provides by inference unexpected insight into both Athenian city planning and the state of Athens' public resources in the early Roman period. A considerable amount of ceramic material was recovered from the layers of demolition debris in various rooms, and in all cases the latest pieces of pottery can be dated well into the second half of the 1st century B.C.⁴² In addition, a number of Athenian bronze coins from the same layers serve to corroborate the ceramic evidence. The latest of these date to the 30's and 20's B.C.,⁴³ and in a few cases they show sufficient wear to indicate that they may have circulated for some time before being dropped by workmen in the wrecking crew of our building. A date for the demolition in the last decade of the 1st century B.C. agrees well with all the evidence. It may now be well to recall also that in these very years the great

⁴¹ Pottery, Lot PP' 179.

⁴² The layer of demolition debris in Room 4 (Fig. 4, layer 6) provides the best evidence: pottery, Lots PP' 174, 175; P 30266, Pergamene plate, cf. H. S. Robinson, *The Athenian Agora*, V, *Pottery of the Roman Period*, Princeton, 1959, p. 11, F1, F2; L 5832, L 5833, lamps of type 52 C, cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 184, no. 718, dated from ca. 50 B.C. to ca. A.D. 25. Similar layers of debris were found in various rooms, pottery from Rooms 1-2: Lots PP' 62, 192; Room 6: Lots PP 259, 266, 267, 269; Room 7: Lot PP 247; Room 9: Lots PP 203, 204; Room 11: Lot PP 181.

⁴³ From Room 4 (Fig. 4, layer 6): coins PP' -1090, Athens, 30's B.C.; PP' -1091, Athens, early 20's B.C. (worn); PP' -1067, Athens, ca. 25 B.C. (worn); from Room 2: PP' -1217, Athens, ca. 25 B.C. (worn). For the dating of these pieces I am indebted to J. H. Kroll.

colonnaded square of the Roman Agora, the nearest public building to the east of our site, was completed and dedicated to be the commercial center of Athens. An inscription on the architrave of the Doric propylon dedicates it to Athena Archegetis in the archonship of Nikias, son of Sarapion of Athmonon (11/10 or 10/9 B.C.), while the acroterion crowning the pediment of the propylon was a statue of Lucius Caesar and must have been erected between 16 B.C., when he probably received that title from Augustus, and his death in A.D. 2.⁴⁴ In this light it is tempting to view the demolition of our building as part of the same overall program for refurbishing the commercial district of the city. If any of its rooms were still occupied at the time of its demolition, the tenants would have found more commodious quarters in the new market to the east, and the ramshackle remains of what was at best a half-ruined structure can only have detracted from the elegant Doric gateway down the street. We may recall, too, that the building which came subsequently to stand on this site was an Ionic stoa with shops behind, an appropriate adjunct to the market district and the perfect architectural approach to the Roman Agora. Since the site was cleared and made ready for construction at this time, it is possible that the colonnaded street was conceived as part of the original plan; but it is no less interesting a commentary on the low estate of Athenian public finance that the area lay vacant for a full century and attained its final architectural development only in the time of Trajan, about A.D. 100.

By good fortune, the old Classical buildings whose history we have just been tracing chanced to preserve not only a record of their many chronological phases but also an extraordinarily graphic picture of the small commercial establishments which occupied the premises in the Classical period. Reference has already been made to the well in Room 6, above which the south wall of the building was actually hewn away so that the well might continue to function. In the five stratified layers of the well is charted much of the early history of the building which has been reconstructed above from the stratified floors of the rooms themselves. But the well is of greater interest in that its filling contained many hundreds of objects⁴⁵ which had been used and discarded by the occupants of the surrounding rooms. Many of these objects can be associated with specific domestic and commercial activities, and taken together this material provides a unique opportunity to observe the small tradesman of Classical Athens in his natural habitat. The well was sunk to a depth of 17.42 m. in the

⁴⁴ For the dedicatory inscription, *I.G.*, II², 3175. The inscribed base of the acroterion (*I.G.*, II², 3251), now missing, is shown in place by J. Stuart and N. Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens*, I, London, 1762, chap. I, pp. 1 ff., pl. III. On the chronology, see P. Graindor, *Chronologie des archontes Athéniens sous l'empire*, 1922, pp. 48-49, no. 15; *Athènes sous Auguste*, Cairo, 1927, p. 32 and note 3; W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 50 and note 114; H. S. Robinson, *A.J.A.*, XLVII, 1943, pp. 299 f.

⁴⁵ Deposit U 13: 1.

soft, wet clay which forms the bedrock of this area. In the lower part of the shaft, to a depth of 1.42 m., there accumulated the debris from its original period of use, among which the most characteristic objects are the plain jars of various sorts, dropped by accident as they were being used to raise water from the well. The three table amphoras, illustrated on Plate 80, h-j,⁴⁶ are representative examples found near the very bottom, and their date in the last quarter of the 5th century B.C. shows that the well was in use already in the first period of our building. A deep layer composed of disintegrated mud brick probably reflects the construction work which brought the west building into existence and incorporated in it parts of the older structure to the east. The stratification suggests that the well continued to be used, but only for a short time, before the shaft was blocked by a mass of bedrock which collapsed from its unlined sides and evidently caused it to be abandoned as a source of fresh water. The upper part of the shaft, to a depth of 13.50 m., remained open after the collapse and was used henceforth as a convenient place for dumping refuse. Over a brief span of years, which can in fact be measured by the floors of the early 4th century in Rooms 5, 6, and 7 (Fig. 4, layers H, I), the old well was gradually filled with the accumulated jetsam of the surrounding shops. Then, about 380 B.C., it was finally sealed beneath the layer of fill which was spread throughout the building to raise the level of the floors (Fig. 4, layer G).

The massive dump from the upper part of the shaft produced no less than 716 boxes of broken pottery and 455 catalogued objects. That this enormous quantity of material was a homogeneous dump is evident because fragments of the same pots were found scattered from top to bottom of the deposit. This also suggests the rapid accumulation of the dump over a short period of time. It is clear, however, that the well was not entirely filled at one moment with its final closing, for the dumped fill which raised the floor levels, although of the same date, was quite different in character and produced very few joining fragments and virtually no complete pots. The material from the well proves to be an unusually rich source of information about the activities which occupied the tenants of our building, and debris from several distinctive commercial operations can be identified in the deposit. A

⁴⁶ (h) P 30457: H. 0.225 m.; Diam. 0.165 m. Mended and restored. Projecting rim, sharp edged, flat on top; broad strap handles; ring foot. Dilute glaze inside, top of rim, top of handle, and foot; two glazed bands around shoulder. Coarse orange fabric; dull black glaze. Probably from the same shop as *Agora*, XII, p. 337, nos. 1452, 1454; cf. p. 188 and note 5.

(i) P 30477: H. 0.184 m.; Diam. 0.14 m. Restored: one handle, parts of neck and rim. Outturned rim, strap handles, ring foot; ridges at top and bottom of neck. Unglazed; coarse buff fabric; interior coated with resin. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 338, no. 1458, ca. 425-400 B.C.

(j) P 30473: H. 0.26 m.; Diam. 0.19 m. Mended and restored. Projecting rim, straight sides, flat on top; strap handles; ring foot. Dilute surfacing outside; glazed inside, rim, and foot; glazed bands on shoulder. Coarse orange fabric; dull glaze, dark red to black. Probably from the same shop as P 30457, see above (h).

large proportion of the pottery is clearly refuse cast out from a neighboring kitchen. Many of the familiar utensils of Classical cooking ware are represented: the lopas, or lidded casserole (Pl. 81, d),⁴⁷ the eschara for broiling spitted meat (Pl. 81, j),⁴⁸ mortars for grinding and chopping (Pl. 81, g),⁴⁹ lekanai, the mixing bowls of the ancient kitchen (Pl. 81, i),⁵⁰ a cooking bell, chytrai, and assorted jugs. But the quantity in which the cooking vessels were found excludes the possibility that they came from the kitchen of a private house. In addition to the four restored lopades and 11 lids there were fragments of at least 100 more casseroles of this type; 11 complete mortars and parts of 16 others were also found. Fragments of no less than 400 lekanai were counted among the deposit and 27 of these were nearly complete, while pieces of at least 76 different escharas were also recognized. All of this suggests cooking on a large scale and we may readily suppose that a part of our building functioned as a prosperous tavern. Other articles of Athenian table ware, likewise found in abundance, were plates, small bowls, saltcellars, and askoi; and these too can be presumed to have come from the same source. Even some hint of the specialties on the menu may be gleaned from the presence in quantity of fish bones and the remains of shellfish. Oysters, mussels, murex shells, the vertebrae and bony fins of large fish, all serve to conjure up images of the familiar savory fare of many a Greek sea food restaurant.

Nearby too, perhaps in association with the tavern, perhaps under separate management, was a wine shop which also made heavy use of the well in Room 6 to dispose of its empty and broken amphoras. As many as 79 wine jars were mended and catalogued and the fragments of at least 280 others were counted. If we may judge from the types of amphoras, the proprietor kept a good cellar which specialized in imported wines such as Mendeian, Chian, Corinthian, Samian, and Lesbian, in addition to the local Attic vintage. The wine shop will also have been the source of the many drinking cups of various types which predominated among the fine ware

⁴⁷ P 30455: H. 0.093 m.; Diam. 0.235 m. Restored: parts of rim, body, and both handles. Vertical rim, flanged inside for lid. Two rolled horizontal handles rising above rim. Unpierced spout. Coarse orange fabric. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 374, no. 1966, dated ca. 425-400 B.C.

⁴⁸ P 30452: H. to rim 0.17 m.; Diam. at rim 0.46 m.; Diam. at base 0.247 m. Restored: parts of body, rim, and one spit-rest; handles missing. Hollow circular stand, flaring at foot, two square openings opposite each other. Shallow bowl, flat rim projecting slightly inward. On rim, low spit-rest, slightly concave on top. Coarse gray, granular fabric. Cf. P 21956: *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, p. 96, no. 121; *Agora*, XII, p. 378, no. 2030.

⁴⁹ P 30458: H. 0.082 m.; Diam. 0.40 m. Flat base; heavy round-topped rim; shallow spout; molded lugs with triple ovolo ornament. Coarse, gritty yellow fabric. Corinthian moldmade. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 370, no. 1914, dated ca. 425-400 B.C.

⁵⁰ P 30361: H. 0.16 m.; Diam. 0.31 m. Ring foot; shallow outcurved rim, nearly flat on top. Glazed inside and on rim; on exterior, glazed bands below handles and at junction of foot and wall. Coarse buff fabric. Cf. especially for the rim profile, *Agora*, XII, p. 363, no. 1808, dated ca. 425-400 B.C.

from the well. The matched pair of red-figured skyphoi (Pl. 80, b, c),⁵¹ the stemless cups (Pl. 80, d, e),⁵² and the cup-skyphoi (Pl. 80, f, g)⁵³ represent the best service in the house; and although these are not outstanding pieces, they suggest that the establishment catered to a clientele of some quality. The serving vessels, the kraters and oinochoai, of the finer wares have unfortunately survived only in many hundreds of small fragments. But it is of interest to note the unusual preponderance of the curious mushroom jugs (Pl. 81, h),⁵⁴ of which 27 were preserved in whole or in part in addition to many small fragments. In these we may fancy the ordinary table wine was served up to customers; and some indication of the power of that wine and the popularity of the shop is possibly to be inferred from the extraordinary breakage of which our well preserves the record.

Evidence of still other commercial activities is provided by a different class of

⁵¹ (b) P 30401: H. 0.102 m.; Diam. 0.124 m. Torus ring foot; triangular handles. Reserved: resting surface, underside with two glazed circles. A. Satyr at left, seated to right on large rock, playing a double flute. Facing him, a standing draped maenad with thyrsos in right hand. B. Facing each other, two standing draped male figures, one holding staff. Beneath handles, a large palmette framed by two tendrils. For the shape, cf. contemporary examples in black glaze, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 341, no. 138; XX, 1951, p. 244, no. 2; *Agora*, XII, p. 260, no. 349, dated 400-375 B.C.

(c) P 30402: H. 0.102 m.; Diam. 0.125 m. Torus ring foot, outturned rim, triangular handles. Reserved: resting surface, underside with two glazed circles. A. Nude youth at left approaching to right a standing draped male who holds a staff in his right hand. B. Two standing draped males, one holding staff, face each other to right and left. Beneath handles, a large palmette framed by high tendrils. Upper half badly misfired to red. Probably by the same hand as P 30401, see above (b).

⁵² (d) P 30423: H. 0.053 m.; Diam. 0.148 m. Restored: both handles, much of rim. Molded ring foot, ribbed wall, concave rim. Reserved: two narrow bands on underside and central circle with two glazed circles and dot; scraped groove at junction of foot and wall. Decoration within: central cross of four ovules, circle of enclosed ovules, zone of linked palmettes, circle of enclosed ovules, zone of linked palmettes, circle of enclosed ovules. For the shape, cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 270, no. 493, dated ca. 430 B.C.; for the decoration, *ibid.*, p. 277, pl. 54, no. 580.

(e) P 30417: H. 0.05 m.; Diam. 0.15 m. Restored: parts of rim, body, and handles. Shape and decoration as P 30423 (above). Black glaze much peeled; clay fired gray beneath.

⁵³ (f) P 30416: H. 0.07 m.; Diam. 0.156 m. Restored: one handle, parts of wall. Molded ring foot; rim slightly outturned, offset inside; groove and reserved groove above junction of foot and wall. Reserved: underside with glazed band, four circles and dot. Decoration within: incised central circle, zone of linked palmettes, circle of enclosed ovules. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 278, no. 593, dated ca. 410 B.C.

(g) P 30420: Est. H. 0.082 m.; Diam. 0.136 m. Restored: molded foot, parts of rim and one handle. Heavy wall; thickened lip projecting outward, offset inside. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 280, no. 621, dated early 4th century B.C.

⁵⁴ P 30454: H. 0.18 m.; Diam. 0.20 m. Ring foot; short concave neck; two high double handles. Concave lower wall meeting deep convex upper wall at sharp angle. Thin glaze unevenly applied inside and out, black to dull orange in color. Resting surface and underside reserved. Cf. *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 334, no. 92; *Agora*, XII, pp. 247-248, nos. 165, 166, dated 425-400 B.C.; for discussion of the shape and its use, *ibid.*, pp. 66-67.

material, the skeletal remains of a variety of animals, which were found together in pockets throughout the upper fill. Altogether 11 large tins of bones were collected by the excavator, and preliminary analysis of this material has yielded interesting results.⁵⁵ Large numbers of bones from cattle, pigs, sheep, and goats show signs of butchering, either in connection with the preparation of food for the eating establishment already discussed, or perhaps more likely in a separate shop, which provided meat for the tavern and contributed its refuse to the communal well. Pigs are represented almost exclusively by skulls, mandibles, and scapulae, the presence of the latter being an indication that shoulder of pork was boned before sale, while the rest of the animal was sold with the bones. It is interesting to observe that the skulls were regularly cut for extraction of the brain. As might be expected, the larger cattle were more fully butchered before sale, and a greater variety of cattle bones was thus found in our deposit; but the comparative scarcity of ribs and vertebrae bespeaks the age-old popularity of rib roast. Many fewer bones survive to indicate the butchering of sheep and goats, no doubt because the smaller animals were sold in complete carcasses just as they are in Greece today. The few surviving skulls, like those of the pigs and cows, show clear signs that the brain was extracted and sold separately.

The presence in our complex of two other forms of light industry can also be deduced from the animal bones. Many leg bones from cattle and mules or small horses indicate that their presence here is exclusively from bone-working. The metapodia of cattle have been carefully sawn as close as possible to the distal end of the bone, apparently in an attempt to produce long, straight shafts of solid bone, suitable for fashioning bone implements. Even clearer evidence comes from the horse and mule bones, for unlike the cattle, these animals are represented only by the bones of their lower legs which would produce the most useful shafts, and again these have been sawn close to the ends. Akin to the bone workers was a company of horn workers whose existence is betrayed by large numbers of sheep and goat horns, far out of proportion to the other parts of the animals which show signs of butchering. What has survived in all cases is the inner core of the horn, but cores show the marks of careful incision at the base indicating that the horn was deliberately removed and did not merely disintegrate. Many of the cattle horns, though not disproportionate in number to other parts of the anatomy, were also cut for removal of the horn. Both the numbers and the cutting of the horns point to their use for industrial purposes. Finally we cannot fail to note the presence in the vicinity of one other craftsman whose characteristic discards identify him at once. That is a coroplast who specialized in the manufacture of small terracotta figurines of which 35 were found in the well together with the fragmentary molds for 59 others.

⁵⁵ I am indebted to Sebastian Payne for examining the skeletal remains from the well, and it is upon his observations and conclusions that the following brief account is based. The animal bones are stored as Lots PP' 321-331.

If the material from the well does not greatly mislead us, it creates the picture of a district which teemed with the diverse occupations of small tradesmen. Craftsmen, eating establishments, and shopkeepers crowded together in the cramped rooms of rambling buildings which were freely altered and remodeled to accommodate the needs of a new tenant. It is precisely the picture of the market district which we should expect to find, and which has been so conspicuous by its absence from the main square of the Classical Agora to the west. There is, of course, no means of associating the material from specific commercial activities with specific rooms of our building, and it is sufficient to note that the excavator found considerable quantities of broken cooking ware scattered on successive floors of the eastern rooms. In all this there is, however, one slightly disparate note struck by the red-figured lekanis lid ⁵⁶ illustrated on Plate 80, a. This belongs to a class of vases which became popular, probably as bridal gifts, at the end of the 5th century B.C. and was produced in large numbers, with increasingly careless execution and conventionalized scenes, during the first half of the 4th century. Some of the characteristic elements of the convention appear already here: the winged Erotes bearing gifts, one of whom kneels before a seated woman, and the draped maid, who so frequently rushes to the right carrying a chest and sashes. The scene may well allude to the decking out of the bride at the Epaulia and forms an appropriate subject for an actual bridal gift.⁵⁷ In this case the lid is to be related to several large fragments of red-figured stands for nuptial lebetes, likewise found in the well;⁵⁸ and we may wish to see in these pieces, which seem

⁵⁶ P 30350: H. 0.069 m.; Diam. 0.257 m. Lid slightly convex. Knob sits on tall stem; disc top with raised edge around it and small depression at center. Reserved: resting surface, top edge of knob, band around disc, and central depression. Figured scene from left: seated nude youth leans to right, grasps two spears in left hand, drapery over left arm, petasos behind shoulder. Woman in Ionic chiton runs right looking back, wearing lampadion hair style and earring; she carries chest and sash in outstretched right hand, another sash in left. Winged Eros kneeling to right, with volute tendril behind and beneath, extends crown in left hand to woman (bride?) seated to left who wears Ionic chiton, sphendone in hair, and earring. Below, a crouching panther to right, and ivy branch (top of thyrsos?) in field. Winged Eros flies right carrying chest and sash in left hand. Added white dots above chests, in sphendone of bride, and in ivy branch; dilute glaze on body of panther and wings of Erotes; slight relief contour. Bands of egg-and-dot pattern around rim and stem of knob; rosette of tongues on disc.

Contemporary and very close in style is Brussels, A 1015: *C.V.A.*, Brussels 1[1], III, I, d, pl. 4[40], 3. Somewhat later and showing more conventionalized elements of the scene is London, F 138: L. Talcott and B. Philippaki in *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, pl. 34.

⁵⁷ On the elements of the scene and later development of lidded lekanides with bridal scenes during the second quarter of the 4th century, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. X, 1956, pp. 10 f.; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters*, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1963, pp. 1496-1498. For their use as bridal gifts, Deubner, *Jahrb.*, XV, 1900, pp. 151-152; G. M. A. Richter and M. J. Milne, *Shapes and Names of Athenian Vases*, New York, 1935, p. 23.

⁵⁸ The deposit included substantial fragments of two other red-figured lekanis lids (P 30351, P 30352) which are contemporary and very similar in style and subject to that illustrated here.

intrusive in a context of commercial waste, the wedding presents of a single bride who made her home in the back rooms behind her husband's shop.

The chronological range of the well deposit is of some interest and corresponds closely to the early history of the building itself. The pottery was manufactured, used, and discarded over a period of no more than 50 years, some of the earliest and latest pieces being illustrated here on Plates 80 and 81. Although the ribbed stemless cups (Pl. 80, d, e) go back to about 430 B.C.,⁵⁹ the bulk of the material falls in the last quarter of the 5th century and the first years of the 4th. The red-figured skyphoi (Pl. 80, b, c) both by the style of their painting and the shape of their profiles should be assigned to the first quarter of the 4th century. Among the latest pieces may be cited the small black-glazed bowl and the olpe (Pl. 81, a, b),⁶⁰ both of which find their closest parallels in Athenian contexts of about 380 B.C. This date is strengthened by the lamps of types 23 C and 24 C' (Pl. 81, e, f)⁶¹ of which the former type especially was manufactured in greatest numbers during the first half of the 4th century. Although less capable of precise dating, special notice should be given to the curious torch or taper stand (Pl. 81, c).⁶² Three of these rare objects, pierced at the top for insertion of a thick taper of some sort, were found in the well, and it is of interest that the only other examples from the Agora belong to deposits of the same date. Finally it is important to emphasize that the closing date of the well can hardly descend much beyond 380 B.C. In all the thousands of black-glazed fragments from the deposit, the excavator noted not a single scrap of rouletted decoration, nor any pieces of the fully developed kantharos, both of which are such characteristic ceramic inventions of the second quarter of the century.

Also contemporary but less carefully executed are three stands for nuptial lebetes (P 30544, P 30545, P 30548).

⁵⁹ See above, note 52.

⁶⁰ (a) P 30268: H. 0.027 m.; Diam. 0.093 m. Ring foot; slightly thickened rim, rounded on top, incurving. Glazed inside and out. Reserved: resting surface, junction of foot and wall, and underside with two glazed circles and dot. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 298, no. 876, dated *ca.* 380 B.C.

(b) P 30407: H. 0.15 m.; Diam. 0.07 m. Flat bottom; slightly projecting; rising strap handle. Dipped. The development of the profile falls midway between P 10083: *Agora*, XII, p. 255, no. 273, dated *ca.* 400 B.C. and P 19562: *ibid.*, no. 274, dated 375-350 B.C.

⁶¹ (e) L 5849: H. 0.03 m.; Diam. 0.072 m. Handle, tip of nozzle missing. Concave disc foot; downward curving rim, offset by ridge. Unglazed outside; peeling black glaze within. Cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 67, nos. 261, 263, dated first half of the 4th century B.C.

(f) L 5850: H. 0.03 m.; Diam. 0.072 m. Handle missing. Concave disc foot; flat rim, downward sloping. Glaze misfired in places. Cf. *Agora*, IV, p. 60, nos. 228-230, dated second quarter of the 4th century B.C. The smaller fill holes make these somewhat later than ours.

⁶² P 30453: H. 0.16 m.; Diam. at top 0.076 m.; Diam. at base 0.13 m. Base partly restored in plaster. Flaring base and rim, flat on top with small central hole; vertical strap handle. Gritty orange fabric. Cf. *Agora*, XII, p. 377, nos. 2014, 2015; for discussion of the use of the object, *ibid.*, pp. 231-232.

THE PANATHENAIC WAY

The work of the past two seasons has virtually completed the exploration of the area about the northwest corner of the Agora, where the broad avenue of the Panathenaic Way enters the market square. In the course of the general clearing of this area, the stratified gravel of the great road had been brought down everywhere to the general level of the late Hellenistic period, but the earlier history of the street had been investigated only in a few small test trenches. In 1973 and 1974 more extensive tests of the early stratigraphy of the Panathenaic Way were carried out under the supervision of Susan I. Rotroff. Of these by far the most informative was a trench excavated near the eastern extremity of the sector, which can be located with reference to published plans of the Agora as lying about 10 m. east of the northeast corner of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods.⁶³ Here the excavator was able to examine 16 superimposed layers of the road, which provided documentation for its history from the second quarter of the 5th century B.C. until the end of the 1st century B.C. The earlier stratigraphy of the processional way was not found here, as it had been in a test made in 1971,⁶⁴ because under the lowest metaled surface of the street the excavator came upon a great pit of debris which is to be associated with the reconstruction of Athens after the Persian sack of 480 B.C.

Examination of the successive road surfaces revealed a fact of some interest about the access from the north to the market square. In the ten upper layers, the hard, compacted gravel of the road metal was regularly scored by the passage of wheeled vehicles which traversed the area from northwest to southeast along the familiar diagonal route of the Panathenaic Way. The lowest six layers, on the other hand, although they exhibited the same hard-packed surface, showed no trace of wheel ruts. From this it is clear that throughout the 5th century B.C., to which the six lowest layers can be dated, wheeled traffic was debarred from entry into the Agora at this point, and only from the 4th century B.C. onward did the old processional way become the important thoroughfare which it continued to be until the end of antiquity.⁶⁵ In keeping with this, it should be noted that the road surfaces of the mid-5th century were pierced by dozens of post holes of different sizes and shapes. While these did not seem to be arranged in any discernible order, their presence suggests that the edge of the square may occasionally have been closed by a light

⁶³ Cf. *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pl. 45.

⁶⁴ *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 122.

⁶⁵ The chronology is based on small amounts of worn and very fragmentary pottery gathered from the successive layers of road metal. In most cases such sherds are not susceptible of precise dating, but the general sequence is reliable. Layers 1-10, end of the 1st century B.C. to 4th century B.C.: Lots BF 663-672. Layers 11-16 represent successive resurfacing of the area within the last three quarters of the 5th century B.C. with little accumulation of fill: Lots BF 673-678.

fence, or that temporary structures such as tents and booths may at times have been erected here.

About the middle of the 5th century B.C., a more formal barrier came to be installed in this area.⁶⁶ This consisted of a row of square limestone bases, of which five were found in place (Pl. 82, d), spaced at equal intervals across the line of the street. The bases measure about 0.47 m. square by 0.38 m. deep and were evidently placed so that their tops rose slightly above the road surface. In the center of each block is a square socket, measuring 0.12 m. on a side and 0.12 m. deep, in which an upright post could be anchored. These were spaced regularly at a distance of about 1.85 m. from center to center, thus leaving a space of 1.38 m. between the bases. At the west end of the row, the excavator cleared a perfectly circular pit, 1.20 m. in diameter, from which a round base, evidently somewhat larger than the others, had obviously been removed.⁶⁷ Several considerations indicate that this, too, should be associated with the preserved post supports: the pit is aligned with them and conforms accurately to their spacing; it was furthermore covered by the same layer which covered the other bases. It is likely that simple wooden posts stood on these bases and were intended to be removable; for while they barred the way to carts and wagons, as we have seen from the absence of wheel ruts in the contemporary road surfaces, the heavy foot wear on all the bases bespeaks the free passage of pedestrians. There is also no trace of leading in any of the sockets as we should expect if the posts had been a more permanent installation of stone.

In attempting to interpret these remains, we may observe first that the bases appear to have been spaced with relation to the neighboring Altar of the Twelve Gods. For if their line be projected westwards in modules of 1.85 m., there is just space for five more bases between the circular pit and the altar, and the edge of the last base, so restored, would fall less than half a meter from the sill of the peribolos. On the other hand, testing of the area further to the east did not reveal any continuation of the line beyond the easternmost surviving base, and although there can be no absolute proof, the possibility is virtually excluded that the bases returned to north or south so as to form a fenced enclosure. We have to do, then, with a single line of bases supporting a temporary barrier which extended for about 20 m. across the Panathenaic Way. It is a line, too, which is oriented almost exactly east-west and is not placed at right angles to the diagonal course of the processional road, as would seem natural if its purpose was simply to close that street to traffic.

The arrangement calls to mind also the starting line of a race track with its

⁶⁶ The bases, described below, were probably set down in layer 14: Lot BF 677, remained in use through two resurfacings of the street, and were covered and out of use by layer 11, late 5th century B.C.: Lot BF 673.

⁶⁷ The pit is visible in the upper left corner of Plate 82, d. Part of the circle was disturbed by the retaining wall for the railway cut.

characteristic sockets for insertion of the light wooden apparatus of the starting gate. Indeed, our installation finds an exact parallel in the earlier of the two starting lines in the stadium at Priene, which likewise consists of a row of isolated square bases for wooden posts.⁶⁸ Moreover, the spacing of our posts (*ca.* 1.85 m. on centers) coincides precisely with the spacing of similar posts for the starting gate at Epidauros, which varies between 1.85 m. and 1.90 m., although to be sure the starting line itself there conforms to the more familiar later type with a continuous sill and two grooves for the runners' toes.⁶⁹ That the starting line of a racecourse should be discovered in the Athenian Agora ought not to be cause for great surprise, for a closely analogous situation is to be found at Corinth, where the Agora was clearly the site of races and games in association with religious festivals, and where two successive starting lines of the early Hellenistic period have come to light.⁷⁰ We should recall that our monument lies in the middle of the great processional way of the Panathenaia, and that greatest of all Athenian festivals was closely associated with the Agora in other respects as well. This was especially true in the 5th century B.C., for it is likely that the Agora was the scene of most of the gymnastic competitions of the festival before the construction of the Panathenaic stadium in the time of Lykourgos (338-326 B.C.).⁷¹

It may not be rash to suppose that in the second half of the 5th century B.C. the running events of the Panathenaic festival began at this line and continued south across the very center of the market square. Indeed, some contemporary scenes in vase painting may be thought to lend support to this suggestion. A red-figured skyphos, formerly in Naples,⁷² depicts a contestant in the armed race in a crouching position awaiting the signal to start. Beside him is the wooden post of the starting gate clearly mounted in an isolated square base which reflects a starting line of precisely the type here in question. An oinochoe in Berlin shows the finish of a torch race by satyrs. The finish line is indicated by an altar within a fenced peribolos which conforms in every detail to the Altar of the Twelve Gods.⁷³ Since the satyr who judges

⁶⁸ See T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, Berlin, 1904, pp. 261-262, figs. 262, 264; cf. H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome*, London, 1972, pp. 28-29, pl. 21.

⁶⁹ See P. Kabbadias, *Πρακτικά*, 1902, p. 88, pl. II.

⁷⁰ See O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, XI, 1942, pp. 145-150; C. H. Morgan, *A.J.A.*, XLI, 1937, pp. 549-551.

⁷¹ Cf. H. A. Thompson, *Jahrb.*, LXXVI, 1961, *Arch. Anz.*, cols. 224-231.

⁷² See E. N. Gardiner, *Athletics of the Ancient World*, Oxford, 1930, p. 142, fig. 97; *idem*, *J.H.S.*, XXIII, 1903, p. 283. Cf. also the armed race on a Panathenaic amphora, dated to the archonship of Lykiskos (344/3 B.C.), *Δελτ.*, XXV, 1970, *Χρὸν.*, pl. 62, a; J. Frel, *Rev. Arch.*, 1972, p. 288, note 3.

⁷³ Berlin, S. M. 1962.33: A. Greifenhagen, *Antike Kunstwerke*², Berlin, 1966, p. 22, figs. 54-55. Particularly striking correspondences between the vase and the architecture of the altar may be noted: the fence posts articulated with vertical tapering grooves, the sill beneath them, the capping stone above, and the altar with volute bolsters. Cf. M. Crosby, *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, 1949, pp. 86-94; H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 52-67; *Agora*, XIV, pp. 129 ff. The restoration

the finish of the race stands on the fence of the peribolos to blow his trumpet for the victor, we may wonder whether the artist does not here allude to the actual fact that one of the termini of the racecourse lay beside the Altar of the Twelve Gods. If the row of post supports originally continued westward to the altar, as proposed above, the monument would then be perfectly symmetrical with the larger circular base in the center, perhaps to be thought of as a turning post in the longer races, and five square bases on either side. The starting line would then accommodate ten contestants, a number which in 5th century Athens at once suggests a representative from each of the ten Attic tribes.

THE STOA BASILEIOS

Further to the northwest in the area of the Stoa Basileios, it proved possible during the season of 1973 to complete the exploration of the lower levels in and about this important monument. At the time of its initial discovery in 1970, the high level of the natural water table and the building's unfortunate proximity to the Eridanos River on the north and the Great Drain of the Agora on the east had conspired to prevent proper investigation of the Classical stratigraphy. As a result, except for a few test trenches, the stoa was not excavated below the level of its original floor, and the enclosed temenos before the building was left at the ground level of the late 4th century B.C.⁷⁴ Three years of exposure, together with the continuous pumping of water from the Great Drain, had caused the ground water to subside just enough so that the area could be properly excavated without confounding the stratified layers. Even so the lowest levels were still wet, and the excavator, Susan I. Rotroff, found it impossible to dig to bedrock at the northern end of the building because of the steady seepage of water from the Great Drain. Nevertheless most of the foundation packing within the stoa and the entire area of the temenos in front have now been systematically examined.

This work brought to light a number of architectural details of some interest. The foundations of the krepidoma were fully exposed wherever possible outside the building (Pl. 82, b), and to a depth below the bottom of the step course along the inside. The foundations on the outside were found to consist of a single course of poros blocks, averaging 0.45 m. in depth below the step. On the inside a course 0.35 m. high served as backing blocks for the step, and these rested simply on a rough packing of large stones. At the south end of the stoa the builders laid their foundations on the natural bedrock, but toward the north, where the bedrock drops

of the peribolos is based on the analogy of the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, *Hesperia*, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 148-161. Unlike the altar, the vase shows the peribolos as an open fence instead of a solid parapet, no doubt in order to give a better view of the altar itself within.

⁷⁴ For preliminary accounts of the building's excavation, see *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 243-260; *A.A.A.*, III, 1970, pp. 297-301; *Agora*, XIV, pp. 83-90.

sharply, they seem to have built directly on the hard graveled surface of a pre-existing road which had evidently crossed the area from northwest to southeast from early times. Along the entire front of the building and at the two ends, where it was possible to examine the foundations, the stonework consists of the same soft, yellow poros which was used for the walls, columns, and superstructure, but which contrasts so strikingly with the polygonal masonry of Acropolis limestone used for the foundations of the back wall.⁷⁵ The most outstanding characteristic of the poros foundations for the krepidoma is the large amount of material salvaged from other buildings and re-used here at second hand. Particularly noteworthy are six Doric column drums, measuring about 0.55 m. in diameter, and finished originally with 18 flutes (Pl. 82, b). In addition a block from a poros water channel, and several other blocks with smooth-finished surfaces, are certainly re-used as well.

It had been apparent from the initial clearing of the Royal Stoa that the line of its south wall lay directly beneath the modern retaining wall for the railway cut, but at a level somewhat lower than the roadbed. For this reason, a section of the modern wall was dismantled in the hope that some part of the ancient structure might have survived in place, incorporated in the modern masonry. By good fortune this proved to be the case; for although most of the south wall and the southwest corner of the building were found to have been completely pillaged, probably in late antiquity, removal of the modern wall revealed the south anta of the colonnade, preserved in two courses and standing to a height of 0.78 m. above the stylobate (Pl. 82, a).⁷⁶ As was to be expected, the anta agrees perfectly with its mate at the north end, for both antae measure 0.59 m. in width and exhibit the normal return of the Doric anta on their adjacent faces in projecting bands 0.165 m. wide. In the case of the newly exposed south anta, however, its south face has been smoothed only to a point 0.67 m. above the stylobate, below which a projecting panel of rough stone indicates that the lower part of the wall was concealed by the abrupt rise in the ground level toward the south.

The upward slope in the terrain probably also accounts for another architectural feature which came to light at the south end of the stoa. This is a stepped retaining wall extending eastward from the southeast corner of the building and laid out at right angles to the Royal Stoa itself. The wall could be traced for a distance of 11 m.

⁷⁵ See the actual state plan, *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, p. 245, fig. 1 and cf. pls. 47, 48, a for the polygonal foundations.

⁷⁶ The railway retaining wall, 18 m. of which were removed in the excavations of 1973, had to be reconstructed at the conclusion of the season. The southeast corner of the stoa (Pl. 82, a) and a section of the stepped retaining wall further east (Pl. 82, c) were, however, left open to view. The wall of squared ashlar blocks, visible in the upper right corner of Plate 82, a, restores the south wall of the stoa along its original line. The section of reconstructed rubble retaining wall in the upper left corner (Pl. 82, a) stands on the original lowest step of the south precinct wall and maintains the line of the second step, as described below.

to the east and thus clearly formed the original southern limit of the open precinct in front of the stoa. In two places the wall survives to a height of three courses of poros blocks, each of which is set back from that below it (Pl. 82, a, c). The lowest course ranges with the step of the stoa and is aligned with the north edge of the anta, while the second course is level with the stylobate and abuts against it. Although this course is only preserved at the corner of the stoa and at the eastern edge of the area, a weathered line on the first course shows that the setback was maintained all along the wall. The third course was again set back so as to align with the south edge of the anta, but it is clear from the position of a pry hole in its top surface that the next higher course, now missing, was set on the same line as the third step and rose as a low retaining wall flush against the anta. This upper course, however, cannot have extended as far east as did the three steps below it since at the eastern end of the exposed section (Pl. 82, c) the edges of the steps are heavily worn in a manner which suggests the passage of pedestrians walking along the west side of the Agora.

The discovery of the stepped retaining wall suggested at once that the Stoa Basileios may have been set in an enclosed precinct from an early point in its history, if not from its original construction, just as it was in later times. With a view to gaining more evidence for the early disposition of such a precinct, the excavator turned her attention to the opposite end of the building. Investigation of the north-east corner had been impeded by various installations associated with the northern annex of the stoa, and in particular by the pair of poros thrones which occupy a prominent position along the north side of that later porch. At the time of their discovery these thrones were surmounted by the concrete masonry of a late Roman wall, which was removed in 1973 so that it might be possible to probe behind and around them.⁷⁷ This revealed the existence beneath the thrones of a line of poros blocks, *ca.* 0.62 m. wide, which is laid to abut at a right angle against the step of the stoa and aligns with the northern edge of the anta. Its position thus corresponds closely with that of the stepped retaining wall at the south end of the building. That this represents the lowest course of an answering stepped wall is indicated by the northwest column of the later annex.⁷⁸ The preserved stump of the shaft stands on a poros block level with the stylobate; and although the block has been partly hacked away to south and east, it was originally set back *ca.* 0.28 m. from the next lower course, a dimension which likewise corresponds with the first step of the southern wall. When the north annex was added to the older stoa, its northwest column was merely placed on the pre-existing second step of a northern precinct wall.

The architectural remains just described are probably to be interpreted as forming

⁷⁷ For the condition of the north annex at the time of its initial clearing, see *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pl. 49, a. The late Roman masonry is visible at the right side of the photograph.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 245, fig. 1.

part of an early precinct in front of the Royal Stoa, analogous to that which surrounded the Tholos.⁷⁹ If so, however, it has to be noted that the eastern arm of the enclosing wall, parallel to the front of the stoa, must have been removed at an early date without leaving any trace; for excavation of the entire temenos and trenches on both sides of the Great Drain to the east have yielded no sign of the stepped wall. It should be recalled, however, that the Great Drain passes only 10 meters east of the Royal Stoa and that at the north end the blocks of the later precinct wall actually rest on the cover slabs of the drain.⁸⁰ This section of the drain probably took its present course no earlier than the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., for excavation along its walls has revealed considerable disturbance of the earlier stratigraphy at that time.⁸¹ It is entirely possible that an early temenos wall in this area was removed by the builders of the drain, and its disappearance may simply have been concealed by their building operations.

Excavation within the area of the stoa precinct has yielded valuable information bearing on the early history of the building itself. In the southern half of the area, where the early fill was less disturbed, the excavator was able to distinguish nine stratified floors, which document a gradual rise in the ground level outside the stoa of *ca.* 0.70 m. during the course of the 5th century B.C. These floors were hard, smooth, and even, sloping down very gently toward the north and east, and superimposed upon each other with no more than a few centimeters between. There can be no doubt that they represent the deliberate resurfacing of the temenos every few years. Only the uppermost of these floors, dating to the end of the 5th century, had any accumulation of fill beneath it, and this was the level established when the southern annex was added to the building.⁸² Beneath this level, three layers of fill had brought the floor of the temenos nearly to the top of the stylobate by the third quarter of the 5th century, while the step of the stoa was already covered with earth before 450 B.C.⁸³ As was to be expected, the lowest floor outside the building lay level

⁷⁹ For the precinct walls of the Tholos, H. A. Thompson, *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, 1940, pp. 85-88, figs. 62-63. These, however, were constructed of polygonal masonry rather than of poros blocks.

⁸⁰ The relation of the Royal Stoa, its later precinct wall, the Great Drain appears on the plan, *Hesperia*, XLII, 1973, p. 123, fig. 1.

⁸¹ Footing trenches on either side of the drain cut through the earlier stratigraphy. The latest pottery from these dated *ca.* 430-425 B.C., Lots BF 610, 655-661. In the third quarter of the 4th century B.C., the walls of the drain were raised one course higher, and extensive grading operations raised the level of the whole area by some 0.50 m. In connection with this activity there was even more disturbance of the early layers about the drain: pottery, Lots BF 555, 559, 604, 644, 645.

⁸² Pottery of the late 5th century was found in layers to the east and north of the south annex: Lots BF 56, 57, 613. This floor, lying against the preserved stylobate of the annex, is visible at the bottom of Plate 82, a.

⁸³ Pottery of the mid-5th century from layers covering the step: Lots BF 89-91, 108, 109, 581, 582; pottery from three layers of the third quarter of the 5th century: Lots BF 616, 619, 621.

with the smooth band at the top of the step, which is worked like the euthynteria course of larger buildings (Pl. 82, b), and plainly the ground level was established to conform with the architecture.

Beneath the hard surface of this floor, the excavator encountered masses of chipped stone from the trimmings of poros blocks. In a few places the stone masons' debris formed a layer 0.30 m. thick, but over most of the area it was a thin film covering another hard, pebbled surface of road metal immediately beneath. Excavation of this lowest layer revealed a deep, probably artificial, filling which descended some 0.70 m. to bedrock without further stratigraphic subdivision. The bulk of the ceramic material recovered from that fill dated to the Middle Helladic and Protogeometric periods; but at the top of the layer and imbedded in the road surface itself was a scattering of Archaic sherds, the latest of which can be dated to the first quarter of the 5th century B.C.⁸⁴ Similarly the pottery found in association with the layer of poros working chips ranged in date from about 500 to 470 B.C.⁸⁵

At the time of construction of the stoa, the builders dumped great masses of fill behind the foundations in order to bring the interior floor up to the level of the stylobate. Much of this original packing has now been tested and it appears to give evidence which agrees with the stratigraphy outside the building. The foundation filling produced large amounts of very fine Geometric, Protogeometric, and Middle Helladic pottery which probably resulted from the disturbance of early graves in the area where the earth was dug. At about the level of the floor, there was a layer of poros chips like that found in front of the stoa. The few fragments of Archaic pottery found mostly in the upper part of the packing ranged in date through the 6th century, the latest pieces being datable to the years about 500 B.C.; but the lower parts of the foundation fill yielded virtually no Archaic pottery at all.⁸⁶

Preliminary analysis of the evidence would seem to suggest extensive stoneworking and building activities in the area of the Royal Stoa during the first quarter of the 5th century B.C. On the other hand, the architecture of the stoa points to a date for its original construction at least half a century earlier. The date in the middle years of the 6th century B.C., proposed at the time of its excavation,⁸⁷ now

⁸⁴ The upper part of the artificial filling reached the rough projecting panel along the step of the stoa and it extended eastward across the temenos to the Great Drain. Pottery, Lots BF 567, 589, 641, 642. Immediately in front of the building, between the two later annexes, this layer was greatly disturbed and in part dug up in the early 5th century, Lots BF 572, 573.

⁸⁵ The layer of poros working chips was found to extend over much of the precinct and was encountered under both annexes. The layer was deepest at the north and was not found in the southernmost part of the area except along the stepped retaining wall. Pottery from the stoa precinct: Lots BF 566, 571, 637; from the annexes: Lots BF 541, 543, 544, 548, 549, 586.

⁸⁶ Pottery from the upper foundation packing: Lots BF 519, 520; from the lower packing: Lots BF 521-523, 525, 531-533.

⁸⁷ *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 249-250.

receives further support from the discovery in 1974 of a complete block of the Doric frieze,⁸⁸ which was extracted from a Byzantine wall just 10 m. east of the stoa. The block belongs to the same series of Archaic architectural members, including a fragmentary triglyph and two Doric capitals,⁸⁹ which had been previously attributed to the building and whose Archaic style had suggested the early date. Since the new frieze block agrees perfectly in thickness with the north wall of the stoa, and since its length is precisely half of the interaxial spacing indicated by the setting lines on the stylobate, it seems difficult to escape the conclusion that it ought to be assigned to the building, and with it both the other Archaic fragments of the superstructure and the date in the mid-6th century B.C. which they imply. If this be correct, some explanation should be offered for the apparent chronological contradiction between the early style of the architecture and the pottery from the layers of poros chips which suggests construction work in the early 5th century. In the present state of the evidence, it seems best to suppose that the layers of builder's debris represent not the original construction of the Royal Stoa, but rather its reconstruction and the repair of extensive damage caused by the Persian sack of 480 B.C.⁹⁰ It is important to emphasize that these conclusions are tentative; and a more decisive statement concerning the building's early history must await the more detailed presentation of the ceramic evidence and the definitive study of the architectural remains which is now in progress.

EARLY BURIALS

It has already been noted that the foundation packing of the Stoa Basileios contained quantities of early pottery which probably came from the disturbance of graves somewhere in the district. This impression was strengthened by the presence of fragmentary human bones scattered here and there in the filling. In fact, the very site on which the stoa came to stand proved to have been used as a cemetery in early times; and wherever the excavator was able to expose any considerable area of the natural bedrock, the presence of graves came at once to light. Beneath the southern end of the stoa, its south annex, and the southwestern corner of the temenos, nine graves were located, three of which could not be excavated because they lay almost entirely under the foundations of either the stoa or the annex. The builders of one of the graves (I 5:2) disturbed and emptied an earlier burial on the same spot

⁸⁸ A 4536: H. 0.627 m.; L. 0.962 m.; Th. 0.497 m.; W. of triglyph 0.382 m. At sides of triglyph, slots for insertion of metope slabs; tops of glyphs rounded and deeply undercut. On top surface, two swallow-tail clamp cuttings. Soft yellow poros.

⁸⁹ Belonging to the same series are A 3845, A 4024: triglyphs; A 485, A 3846: Doric capitals; see *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, pp. 248-249, fig. 4.

⁹⁰ The alternative, put forward tentatively in 1973 (*A.J.A.*, LXXVIII, 1974, p. 178), that the original construction of the stoa be dated to the end of the 6th century or early in the 5th century B.C., now seems a less attractive interpretation in view of the new architectural evidence.

beneath the south annex, so that in the end a total of five graves, all of the Submycenaean period, was cleared and found intact in 1973. All but one were cist graves, oriented northeast-southwest, and placed roughly in a row, probably along the side of an early road passing into the area of the later Agora from the northwest. The cist graves were cut into the bedrock and the dressed surface of the rock served as the floor. They were lined and covered with thin slabs of limestone, schist, and sandstone.

The best appointed of the graves (I 5:2) lay beneath the south annex and extended partly under the stepped retaining wall to the south (Pl. 83, a). The cist, measuring 1.43 m. by 0.45 m., and 0.44 m. in depth, contained a well-preserved skeleton, which had been laid out in extended position with the head toward the southwest and the forearms placed side by side over the lower abdomen at the time of burial. The skeletal remains proved upon examination to be those of a young woman of short stature, about 20 years of age at the time of death.⁹¹ When the grave was opened, it was found to have no accumulation of earth, but rather was partly filled with standing water. The seepage of water had dislodged some of the bones so that the skull, except for the lower jaw, was found upside down beside the feet and the bones of the left forearm had fallen down beside the hip. Two small amphoriskoi (Pl. 84, e, f) were placed with the burial,⁹² one beside the left knee and the other above the right shoulder in the corner of the cist. One of the pots was found to have a few scraps of bronze in it as if a piece of jewelry had corroded there. The rest of the funeral offerings consisted entirely of the woman's personal jewelry. A long bronze pin (Pl. 84, a)⁹³ lay over the right shoulder, and there were in addition four fibulae (Pl. 84, b)⁹⁴ as well as a total of 13 finger rings of various types. Eight of the latter were plain bronze bands, found beside the left thigh and among the finger bones in the location of the chest.⁹⁵ The most elaborate of the rings

⁹¹ For preliminary anthropological analysis of the skeletal material, I am indebted to Peter E. Burns, and the information included here and for the other graves below is based upon his observations.

⁹² (e) P 30212; H. 0.092 m.; Diam. 0.091 m.; Diam. of rim 0.062 m.; Diam. of foot 0.043 m.

(f) P 30213: H. 0.093 m.; Diam. 0.085 m.; Diam. of rim 0.055 m.; Diam. of foot 0.042 m. Disc foot, concave beneath; globular body; flaring rim; horizontal handles. Thin brown glaze on outside and inside of rim. Reserved: inside handles, underside, and lower part of foot.

⁹³ B 1617: P. L. 0.245 m. Badly corroded, mended from three pieces. Straight pin with one or two lenticid swellings near one end.

⁹⁴ B 1566: L. 0.063 m.; H. 0.05 m. Highly arched bow and single coil spring, made of twisted bronze wire. For the type, cf. the fibulae from Kerameikos Grave S 108: W. Kraiker and K. Kübler, *Kerameikos*, I, Berlin, 1939, pl. 28. The coiled wire springs of three other fibulae were removed from the grave, but after cleaning these were too fragmentary and too badly corroded to catalogue separately.

⁹⁵ B 1567: Diam. 0.017-0.019 m.; W. of band 0.0065 m. B 7568: Diam. 0.019 m.; W. of band 0.007 m. Fragments of six other similar rings in bad condition were noted by the excavator.

were a bone shield ring (Pl. 84, c)⁹⁶ on the left hand and another bronze ring with an iron bezel (Pl. 84, d).⁹⁷ Fragments of three other bronze shield rings were found scattered among the bones.⁹⁸ Comparison of the amphoriskoi with similar examples from the Kerameikos Cemetery suggests a date for our grave in the middle of the Submycenaean period, about 1050 B.C. The plentiful amount of jewelry makes this a burial of some wealth and places it among the richer contemporary tombs from the Kerameikos.⁹⁹

Three other cist graves were uncovered further to the west beneath the floor of the Royal Stoa itself, I 5:3 (Pl. 83, c), I 5:4 (Pl. 83, b), and I 5:5 (Pl. 83, d). In construction they were closely similar to the first, their sides and covers formed of thin slabs of stone and their floors simply of smoothed bedrock.¹⁰⁰ In each case the deceased had been placed with the head toward the southwest, the first two being in extended, supine position; but by exception the third skeleton (I 5:5), despite the ample length of the cist, lay on its back with the knees drawn up in the contracted pose more common to the Mycenaean period than to the early Iron Age. The right arm was bent with the lower arm across the body; the left was flexed so that the hand rested on the shoulder. One of the burials (I 5:4) was of a child between the ages of eight and twelve, and as can be seen in Plate 83, b, the skeleton was badly preserved. Many of the smaller bones had disintegrated, while those that survived were in considerable disorder, probably as a result of the seepage of water. Both the other graves contained the skeletons of adult females, one being about 28 years of age (I 5:3) and the other about 50 (I 5:5) at the time of death. Anthropological examination of the latter skeleton revealed in vivid terms the vicissitudes of human life in the darkest period of Greek history. During her half century of life, no doubt an advanced age for the period, the woman had suffered two separate fractured vertebrae, three fractured ribs, which had healed well, and a serious frac-

⁹⁶ BI 919; L. of bezel 0.042 m.; W. of bezel 0.022 m. Ring band mostly missing. Bezel diamond shaped; incised decoration: five concentric diamonds with hatching between, cross at center. Plain band 0.006 m. wide.

⁹⁷ B 1618: W. of band 0.006 m.; P. L. of bezel 0.025 m.; P. W. of bezel 0.02 m. Badly corroded; band broken. Bezel originally of truncated diamond shape.

⁹⁸ B 1619, B 1620. Both very fragmentary and badly corroded. Part of a third was not catalogued.

⁹⁹ The amphoriskoi are closely similar to Kerameikos Inv. no. 448 (Grave S 42): *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 19; C.-G. Styrenius, *Submycenaean Studies*, Lund, 1967, fig. 11. The contents of the Agora grave may be compared in general with Kerameikos Graves S 27, S 52, and S 70. It is not so rich as S 108.

¹⁰⁰ Grave I 5:3 measured 1.64 m. long, 0.43 m. wide, and 0.44 m. deep inside the cist. The cover slabs had collapsed but the burial was not disturbed. Grave I 5:4 measured 0.98 m. long, 0.25-0.32 m. wide, and 0.25-0.30 m. deep, interior dimensions. By exception it had two layers of cover slabs separated by some 0.10 m. of earth. Grave I 5:5 measured 1.79 m. long, 0.39-0.49 m. wide, and 0.30 m. deep within the cist. Its lining slabs were entirely of sandstone.

ture of the left wrist, which did not apparently prevent use of the hand. In addition, she had lost 19 teeth during life and showed signs of widespread arthritis.

As is not infrequently the case in the Submycenaean cemeteries of Athens, the three graves contained only the most meager offerings for the dead, a single pot for each burial. About contemporary with Grave I 5:2, and dating to the middle decades of the 11th century B.C., are the small neck-handled amphora¹⁰¹ from Grave I 5:5 (Pl. 84, g) and the amphoriskos¹⁰² from the child's burial I 5:4 (Pl. 84, h). The small belly-handled amphora¹⁰³ from Grave I 5:3 (Pl. 84, i) appears to be somewhat more advanced with its band of concentric semicircles, and it should be placed in the later stages of the Submycenaean period. The latest and perhaps the most interesting piece in the group is the large neck-handled amphora illustrated on Plate 84, j. The pot had been broken in antiquity into several large pieces and used to cover the burial of another young child (I 5:1), which had been simply laid out on its back in a shallow, irregular pit in the earth. Unlike the other graves in the area, this burial was placed with the head toward the east, and it was accompanied by no funerary offerings except for the broken amphora which covered it. The amphora,¹⁰⁴ with its distinctive decoration of linked spirals on the shoulders, finds parallels in the cemeteries of both Athens and the Argolid, and these help to place

¹⁰¹ P 30307: H. 0.24 m.; Diam. 0.195 m. Parts of body and rim restored in plaster. Flat bottom; high shoulder; strap handles from shoulder to neck; flaring rim. At shoulder, a broad band, two narrow bands above and below; on shoulder, an S placed horizontally. Band at base of neck; neck and rim glazed above handles. Handles glazed at edges, wavy line down centers. Red to brown glaze, orange clay. Cf. Kerameikos Inv. no. 421 (Grave S 67): *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 26; Styrenius, *Submyc. Stud.*, fig. 25.

¹⁰² P 30306: H. 0.163 m.; Diam. 0.137 m. Ring foot with nipple on underside; ovoid body; flaring rim. Decoration: at belly within reserved band, wavy line between two straight lines; two reserved bands at neck. Glaze around inside of rim. Brown glaze, pale yellow clay. For the shape, cf. Kerameikos Inv. no. 460 (Grave S 47): *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 16; Styrenius, *op. cit.*, fig. 10. The decoration is closer to Inv. no. 424 (Grave S 2) and Inv. no. 442 (Grave S 24): *Kerameikos*, I, pls. 17, 19.

¹⁰³ P 30305: H. 0.23 m.; Diam. 0.198 m. Disc foot; ovoid body; short vertical neck; plain rim. Glazed all over except handles and reserved band at belly. Decorated band (from top): row of dots, four bands, row of dots, concentric semicircles (hand drawn) alternately hanging and resting on line, three bands. Stripe on handles and on outside of handle attachments. Brown glaze; yellow-gray clay. For the shape, cf. Kerameikos Inv. no. 420 (Grave S 33): *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 21; Inv. no. 920 (Grave PG 24): Kübler, *Kerameikos*, IV, Berlin, 1943, pl. 9; Styrenius, *op. cit.*, fig. 26.

¹⁰⁴ P 30196: H. 0.665 m.; Diam. 0.43 m. Parts of body and rim restored. Disc foot, flat beneath; ovoid body; strap handles; projecting rim. At shoulder, three glazed bands; above, between handles, two linked spirals on each side; two bands on lower body; rim glazed inside and out; on handles a cross. Brown glaze; pale yellow clay. Cf. the closely similar amphora from Argos, DV 98 (Deiras Tomb XXIV): J. Deshayes, *Argos, les fouilles de la Deiras*, Paris, 1966, p. 66, pl. LXVII, 3-4. For Attic parallels, Kerameikos Inv. no. 522 (Grave PG A): *Kerameikos*, I, pl. 29; S. Wide, *Jahrb.*, XV, 1900, pp. 49-50, fig. 103; an example with more simplified spirals, *Δελτ.*, XXII, 1967, *Xpov.*, pl. 85 (Tomb LXX). I am indebted to V. R. d'A. Desborough for examining this piece shortly after its discovery.

it chronologically in the period of transition between Submycenaean and Proto-geometric, during the latter part of the 11th century B.C.

Taken as a group, the new graves beneath the Royal Stoa serve to illustrate further the early use for private purposes of the district which was later to become the civic center of Classical Athens. As in nearly all other parts of the Agora, the earliest remains are the graves, clustered together in groups which are best interpreted as small family cemeteries. The new burials conform to this same pattern; and in this respect it is particularly interesting to note that pronounced skeletal similarities, observed among them, offer additional evidence for family relationship. Finally, one cannot fail to remark once again the degree to which the paltry offerings of these graves must reflect contemporary conditions in Athens. They are a vivid reminder of the low ebb of material prosperity and civilized life at the threshold of the Iron Age, when the new metal is still so rare a novelty and its technology still so little understood that it is valued more for jewelry and trinkets than for weapons and tools.

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Stoa of the Library of Pantainos from east, before removal of Dark Age walls, showing late reconstruction and Greek shops beneath

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a. Late Roman Building from northeast, showing rooms A-G, 6. Arrows indicate Greek foundations



b. Stoa from northeast, after removal of Dark Age walls, showing Greek Rooms 1, 3, 5-7



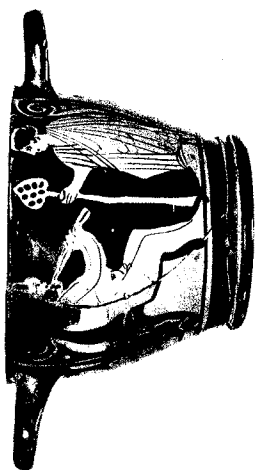
a. North wall of Greek shops from south, showing orthostates under Roman street pavement



b. Greek remains under Roman Room 7 from south. A= south wall; B, C, D= successive east walls, Room 4; E= Hellenistic pebble floor, Room 4



a



b



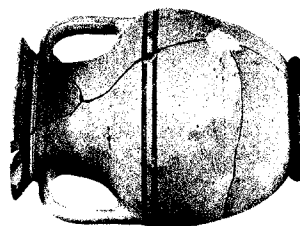
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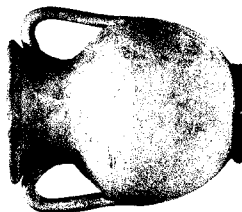
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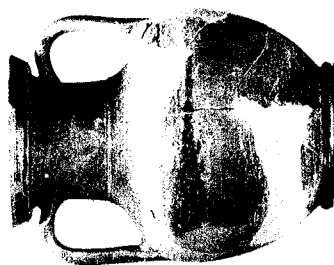
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h

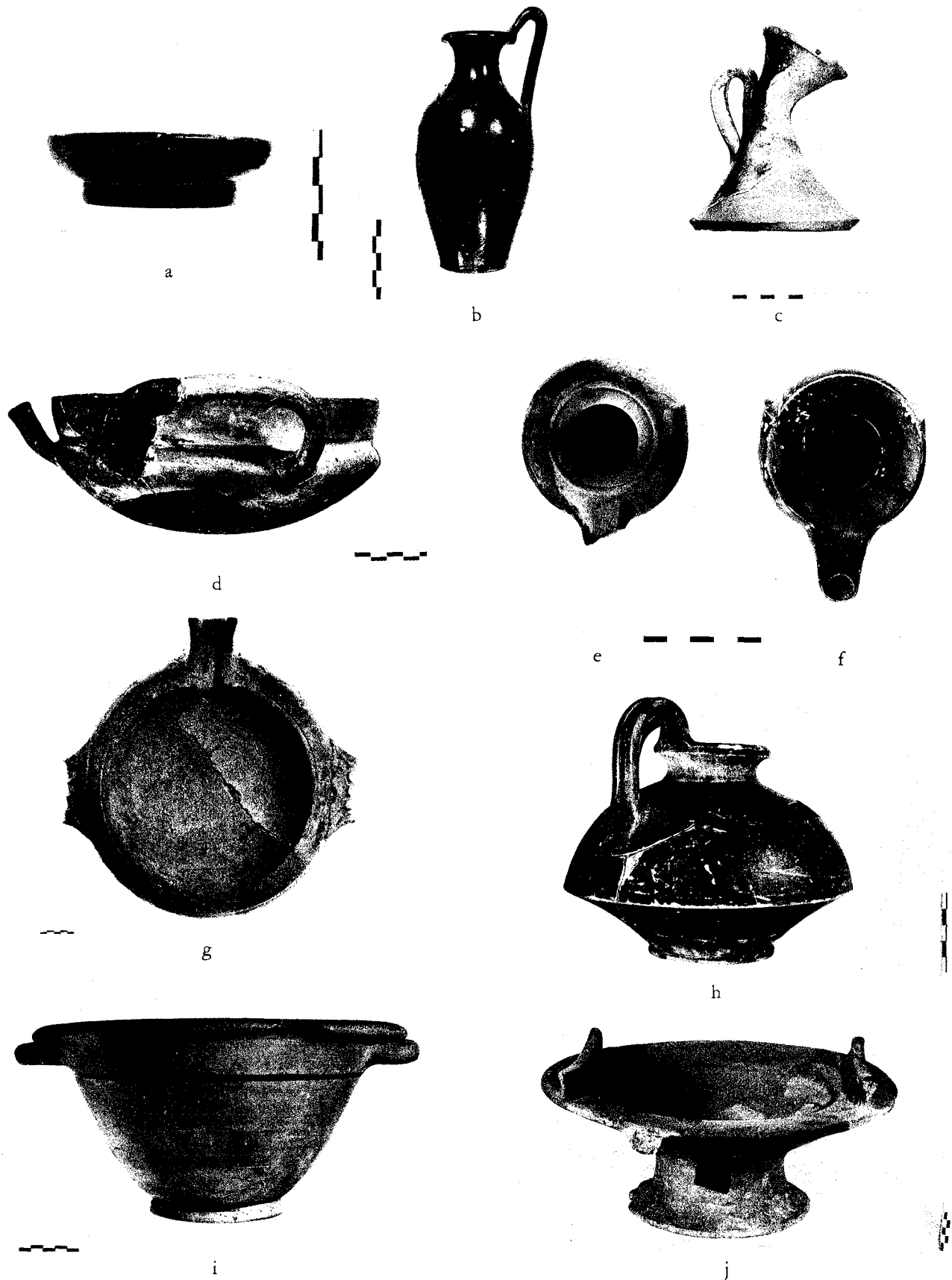


i

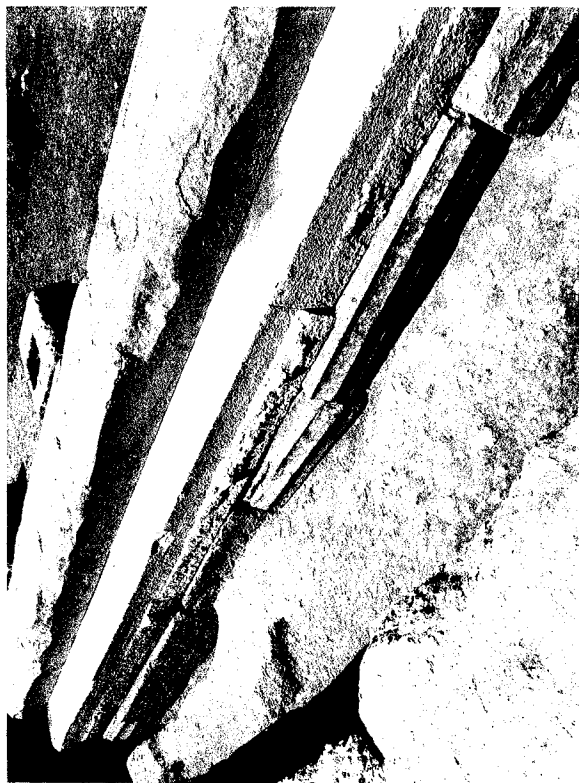


j

Pottery from well in Room 6



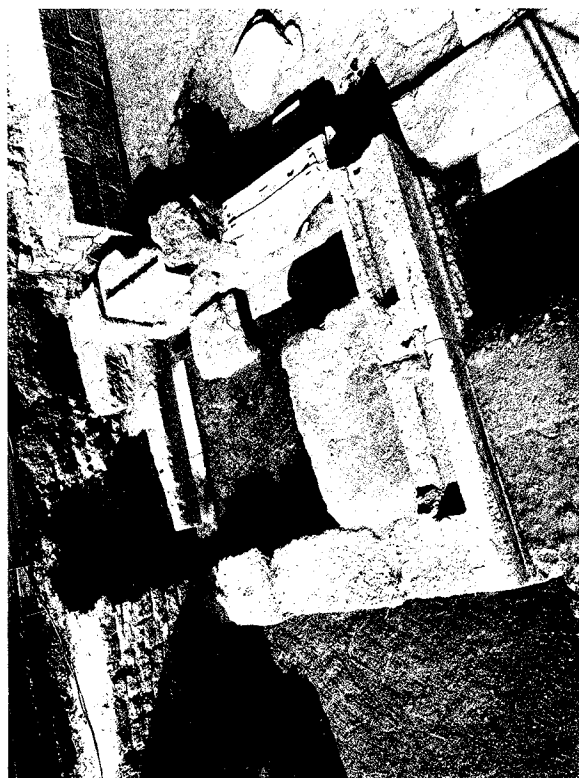
Pottery from well in Room 6



b. Stoa Basileios, krepidoma and foundations from northeast



d. Poros bases in Panathenaic Way from east



a. Stoa Basileios, South Annex from north



c. East end of stepped precinct wall from west



a. Grave I 5:2 from north, as found



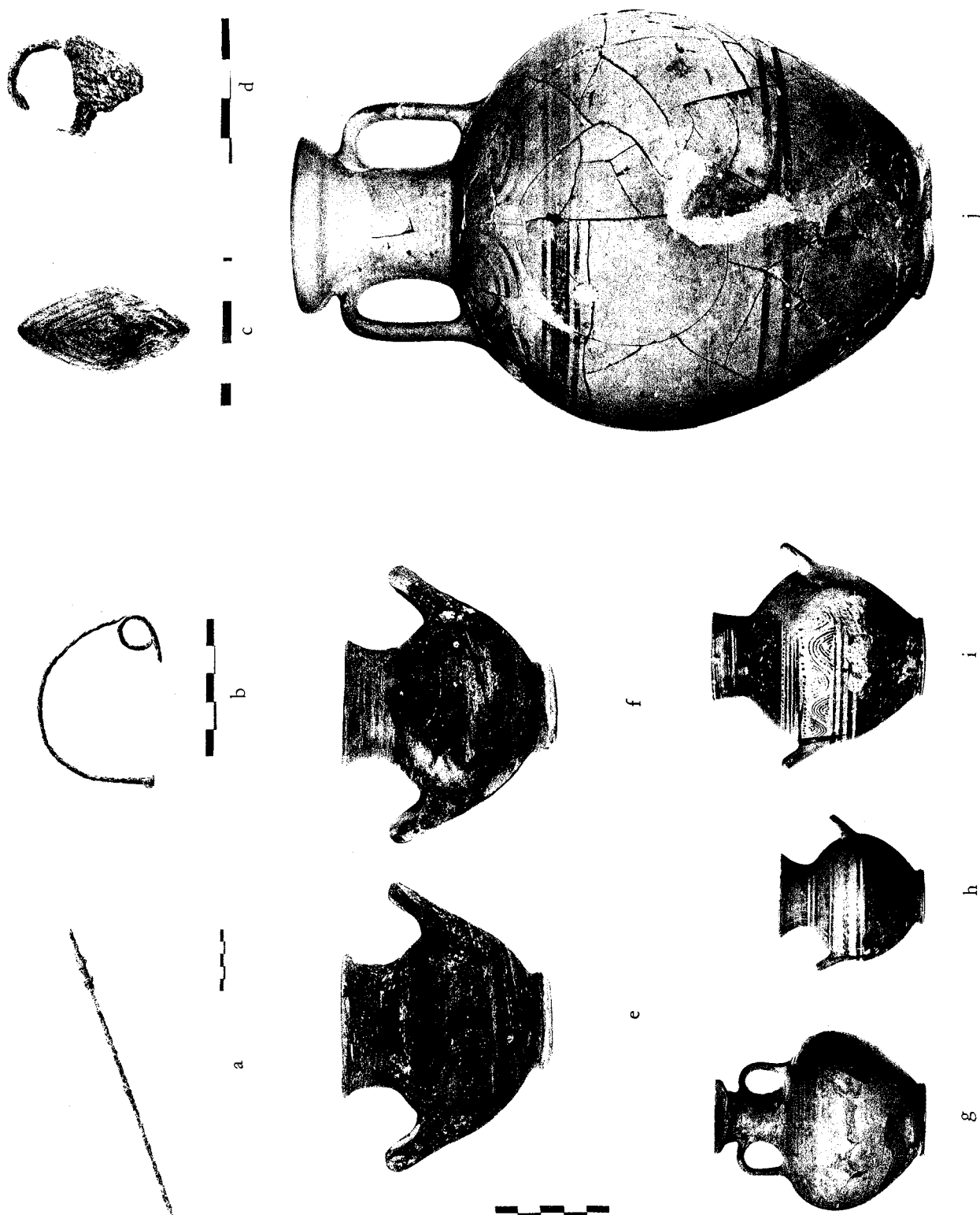
b. Grave I 5:4 from north, as found



c. Grave I 5:3 from north, as found



d. Grave I 5:5 from north, as found



Burial offerings from Submycenaean graves

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