

PNYX AND THESMOPHORION

PLATE I

I

WORK OF CONSERVATION IN THE ASSEMBLY PLACE¹

In the summers of 1932 and 1934, further work was carried on in the Assembly Place proper in order to assure the preservation of the existing remains and to make them as intelligible as possible to the interested visitor.

The auditorium of the first period has benefited most from these activities. From the upper, dressed-rock part of its cavea has been stripped the shallow coating of earth that remained from the filling of the Third Period and this rock-hewn part has been found to be, as conjectured, like a segment of a saucer, sloping gently inward from the sides and downward from back to front, following closely the natural contours of the hillside (Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable irregularities exist in its surface; some of them caused by natural depressions too deep to have been completely dressed away, others left by the cuttings of the ancient quarrymen. No trace has been found of seats whether of stone or of wood. Toward the front of the earliest auditorium, immediately behind the line of its retaining wall, a mass of earth has been left by us, suggesting the earth terrace which must once have formed a semicircular orchestra in the lower part of this auditorium.

The earth that was removed from the earliest seating floor has been utilized in building up a restoration section of the latest seating floor in either wing of the auditorium (Figs. 2 and 14). These sections start from close by the great bema, where they have the width of its side, *ca.* 6.00 m., and broaden to 12.00 m. at the periphery of the auditorium. Their gradient was determined from the two fixed points suggested in our original study, *viz.* the rock-cut steps of the southern entrance in the vertical scarp of the western wing (than which the seating floor could not be higher) and the mass of unquarried rock in the eastern wing (which had to be concealed by the earth filling). The surface of this rock has now been left exposed as one of the most instructive illustrations of ancient quarry work to be seen in Greece (Fig. 3). One may still trace the outlines of the great blocks that were

¹ For the report on the earlier exploration, see *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 90 ff.; *A.J.A.*, XXXVII, 1933, pp. 180 ff., 652 ff. As before, the work has been conducted under the joint auspices of the American School of Classical Studies and the Greek Archaeological Service. To the latter, and especially to Dr. K. Konrouniotes, best thanks are due for the privilege of sharing the exploration of a site in Athens and for the provision of every facility for conducting the excavation. The plans are by John Travlos, the photographs by Hermann Wagner. The discussion of the terracotta figurines and of the bronze plaque I owe to my wife.



Fig. 1. Central Pnyx Hill from Areopagus, July, 1934. Arrows indicate ends of Long Stoa



Fig. 2. Assembly Place, restored section of Third Period. July, 1934

laboriously chiselled around and then wedged free to be used in the building of the curved retaining wall of the latest auditorium.¹

No certain trace has been found of the bema of the Second Period and it may be supposed that that structure, in keeping with the shoddy character of the reconstruction to which it belonged, was of a nature too flimsy to survive the ages.



Fig. 3. Quarry cuttings in southeast corner of Assembly Place

Of the remains of the earlier periods that lie within the area of the latest auditorium, one may still see all that originally had been cleared of the bedding for the earliest retaining wall, *i. e.* about two-thirds of its length and both its extremities. One may trace, too, the curved retaining wall of the Second Period, for one will find exposed the dressed-rock beddings at its ends and all that remains of the eastern of the two stairs that were set

¹ The wedges used appear to have been of wood, not of metal as we suggested in our earlier report (*Hesperia*, I, 1932, p. 142), for in many cases the channels in which the wedges were set are too narrow to have permitted of the hammering necessary with metal wedges. The swelling of the wood when soaked provided the necessary pressure.

against its outer face. The top and outer face of the great retaining wall of the Third Period have been completely cleared and a deep pit has been left behind the wall to show a typical section of the associated filling where it is preserved to the greatest height. To the north of that wall the visitor may still make out the traces of the rock-cut approach of the Second Period, of the monumental stairway of the Third and the beginning of the broad avenue which in antiquity joined the Assembly Place and the Market Square.



Fig. 4. Votive plaques of Zeus Hysistos

II

SANCTUARY OF ZEUS HYSISTOS

The recent exploration brought to light more evidence of the little sanctuary of Zeus Hysistos that is best known from the niches cut in the scarp to the east of the bema and intended to receive the votive plaques which were offered to the deity.¹

¹ *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 193 ff.

To the eighteen or more plaques already known must now be added the three illustrated in Figure 4.

- a. Found in disturbed earth on the hilltop to the south of the Assembly Place. H. 0.195 m., W. 0.215 m., T. 0.09 m. Of Pentelic marble rough picked on edges and back. On the face, a woman's breast in high relief, the nipple broken away. Beneath it the inscription:

Ὑψίστω(ι) Γαμμική | ἐδοχῆν

- b. From the same place as the preceding. Preserved H. 0.12 m., W. 0.055 m., T. 0.048 m. Broken away to the left and below. In the upper right corner a hole for attachment. Of Pentelic marble roughly worked. On the face, a woman's breast in high relief; beneath it traces of the dedicatory inscription.

- c. Found on the surface of the Assembly Place. Preserved H. 0.065 m., W. 0.06 m., T. 0.016 m. Only the upper left corner remains. Pentelic marble. The field for the representation was cut back, leaving a raised border around the outside. Across the top the dedicatory inscription:

Ὑψ[ίστω] . . .

The removal of the earth filling of the Third Period revealed a small natural depression in the rock-cut floor of the First Period, 21 m. to the northwest of the great bema. In this pit, where apparently it had been deliberately buried, lay a small altar of Pentelic marble and of a familiar shape, much broken (Fig. 5). The sides, which incline slightly inwards, are finished above and below with a simple moulding. The fireplace proper, of which the top is broken away, was cylindrical and surrounded by four horns. The total preserved height is 0.59 m., the original width at the bottom



Fig. 5. Marble Altar

0.365 m., the diameter of the cylindrical fireplace, 0.21 m. Lying in the same pit were several scraps of marble inscribed in letters 0.02 m. high. They obviously come from one of the broken sides of the altar though they do not effect a join with it. They do, however, join with one another as illustrated in Figure 6, *a* and may be restored to read:

. . .] ια ἐδοχ[ῆν
Ὑψίστω]ι . θ[εῶι

The surviving traces in the second letter space of the first line clearly suggest *alpha*, i. e. a woman's name in the nominative. The formula, as thus restored, is familiar from the votive plaques dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos¹ and without doubt the altar, too, once stood in the same sanctuary. It was damaged, conceivably, when the sanctuary was disturbed during the final reconstruction of the Assembly Place and was carefully laid away.

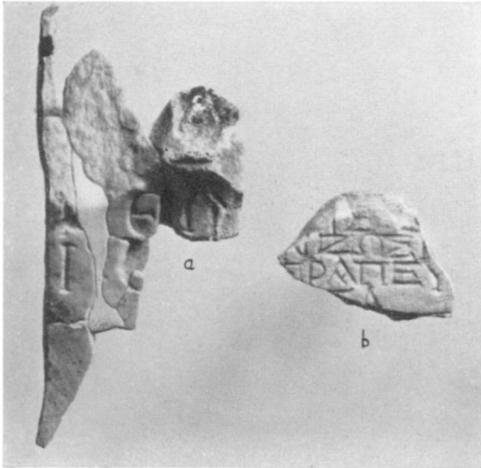


Fig. 6. Inscriptions from the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos

In the loose earth overlying the hilltop to the south of the sanctuary of Zeus was found another bit of an inscription that certainly comes from the same shrine (Fig. 6, *b*). The fragment is of Pentelic marble, broken all around and behind, 0.06 m. high, 0.077 m. wide, 0.019 m. thick, inscribed in letters 0.01 m. high. One might restore it thus:

Διὶ Ὑψίστω(ι)
 . . .]ν Ζωσί-
 μου θ]εραπευ-
 θεῖ]σα

III

THESMOPHORION

1. STRUCTURAL REMAINS

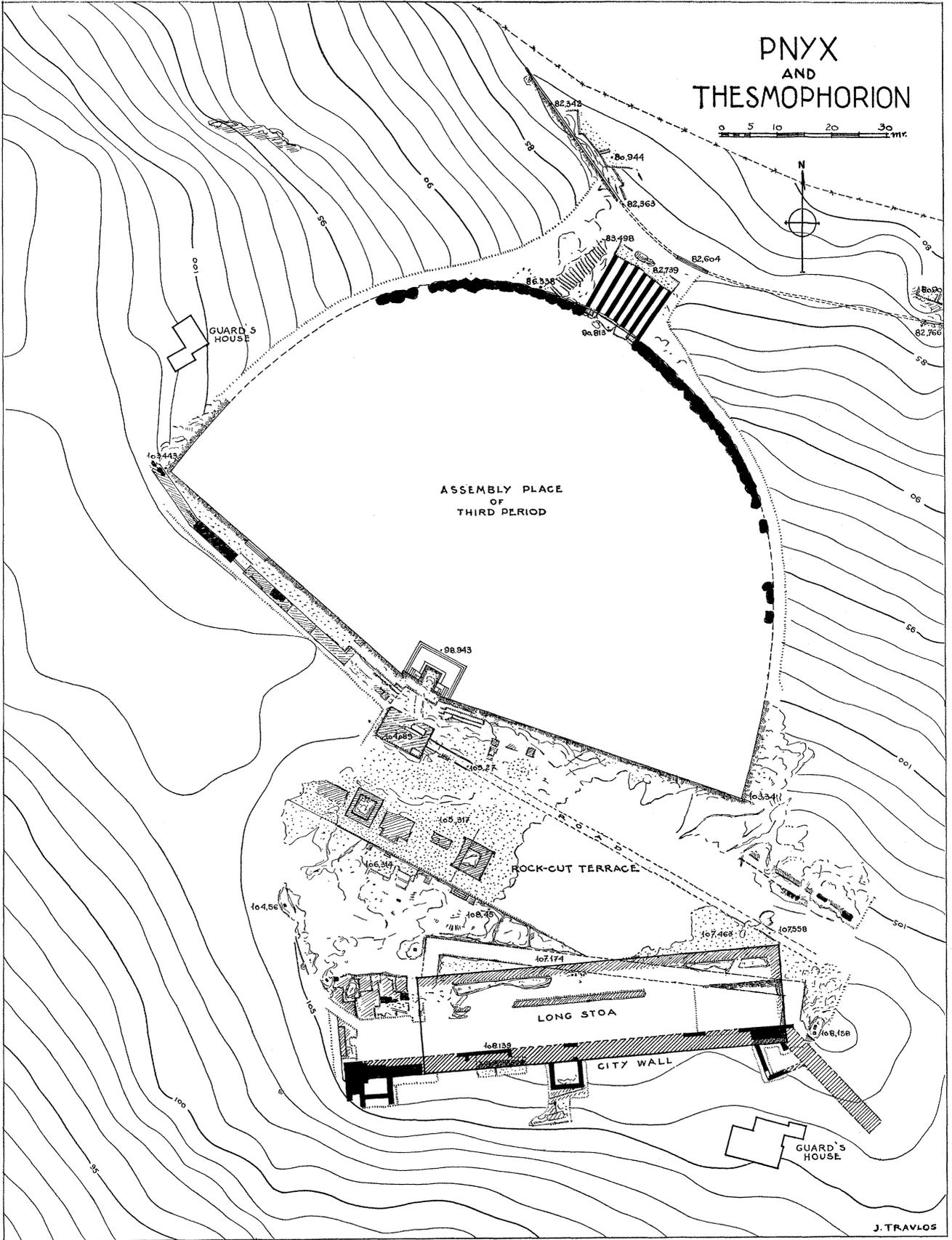
To the south of the ancient Assembly Place the central Pnyx Hill rises gently to a sickle-shaped crest that opens toward the northeast, its top fairly level but slightly higher toward the east end (Figs. 1, 7). The western end of the ridge is now crowned by the telescope of the Athens observatory. Its eastern end is covered by a shallow coating of soil with a maximum depth of *ca.* 1.50 m., sufficient to support a grove of young pine trees. Peeping out from the soil among the trees were traces of a city wall which had often been observed before and which appear on most plans of the ancient city. Then, while working in the Assembly Place in 1930–1931, we had noted and cleared the line of a short length of retaining wall along the northeastern shoulder of the hill.² Since this wall had no connection with the Assembly Place, its affinities were clearly to be sought behind, *i. e.* to the south. A little further digging in the summer of 1932 gave a hint of what might be expected, *viz.* the foundations for a large building underlying the city

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197. For a similar altar to the same deity on Delos see *B.C.H.*, LVIII, 1934, p. 447, fig. 52.

² *Ibid.*, p. 96, note 1.

PNYX AND THE SMOPHORION

0 5 10 20 30
METERS



J. TRAVLOS

Fig. 7

wall. A few weeks' work in the summer of 1934 sufficed to clear the remains enough for drafting.

The foundations of the building (the only part of it, as we shall see, to have been completed) lie in an almost east-west line crowning the hilltop (Pl. I). They enclose one long continuous room measuring outside 66 m. in length and 11.50 m. in width. Along its



Fig. 8. East end of Long Stoa and City Wall, from the east

front or north side was to be erected a colonnade that would have increased the overall width of the building to 17.50 m. For lack of a better name we shall refer to the building as the "Long Stoa."

The euthynteria beneath the colonnade was to be laid for most of its length on a bedding dressed from the hard gray limestone. Toward its eastern end, where alone the bedding is delimited by the rising rock on both sides, it measures 1.90 m. to 2.00 m. in width. Toward the western end, the bedrock is dressed down smooth and level for a width of several metres in front of the line of the foundation. For a distance of some 14 m. in its

midpart the bedding consisted of a filling of fine quarry chips mixed with the red soil of the hilltop, a measure necessitated by the depression left by an earlier foundation bedding that cut diagonally across the front line of the later building. Such a filling provided a satisfactory bedding, for it packed extremely hard, so hard, indeed, that it could only with difficulty be broken with the pick.



Fig. 9. East end of Long Stoa and City Wall from north

The same diagonal cutting caused the later builders more trouble at the eastern end of the new structure (Figs. 8, 9). For the bedding of the eastern end wall of the building and for the eastern 14 m. of its northern wall they felt obliged to fill in the old depression with stone slabs. Many of these slabs were re-used material, doubtless removed from a small older building lying within the limits of the new, towards its eastern end (see p. 163). The blocks agree in dimensions and workmanship with the surviving traces of that earlier building from the euthynteria of which they probably came. They are of the local gray or reddish-gray limestone, of random length (0.90–1.72 m.) and of irregular width

(0.50–0.80 m.). For their original use their tops were dressed only over the bearing surface, the remaining part of the top surface being left quite rough. When first laid, the blocks had been jointed to one another by means of hook clamps, 0.24 m. long, the sides of the cuttings of which are quite parallel. From their second usage they show no trace of dowels, clamps, or even pry-holes. Two rows of blocks, big and little, make up a mean width of 1.20 m. The front wall of the building over the greater part of its remaining length was to have rested on the dressed bedrock. A bedding was prepared with an average width of 1.00 m., although at one point an irregularity in the cutting reduces the possible thickness of the first wall course to *ca.* 0.75 m. The wall in the upper part might



Fig. 10. South foundation of Long Stoa and inner face of City Wall

indeed have been considerably thinner. The dressed-rock bedding for the front wall of the building is lacking for a distance of *ca.* 9.00 m. in the middle part of the building, leaving an interval over which the wall must have been carried on an earth filling, unless, to be sure, with the completion of the building the rock dressing was to have been continued. The same is true of much of the western end of the building.

The back or south wall of the structure was well founded throughout its length. We exposed it in trial cuts at several points and found that it rested invariably on the dressed bedrock. In each of these trial trenches one course of limestone blocks was found in position. Farther west, where the hill falls away more sharply to the south, the sub-foundation was originally deeper and is still preserved to a greater height. We exposed its southern face to bottom for a length of 6.00 m. and found the wall standing in one place to a height of 2.50 m. (Fig. 10). Here too it was well bedded on dressed rock and built of

the same local gray limestone in blocks of quite irregular size.¹ The joints are for the most part horizontal and vertical but the coursing is quite irregular, following as it does the contour of the ground, the natural ruggedness of which was further aggravated by earlier cuttings. Since here, in its lower preserved part, the foundation served as a retaining wall, its blocks are jointed only along their outer edges and here with a roughly worked anathyrosis. The bulging faces of the blocks give a heavily rusticated effect. Behind the single row of outer blocks other, re-used, blocks were set at irregular intervals to assist in supporting the upper wall. The foundation continued in the same style to the southwestern corner of the building, which has also been exposed (Fig. 11). The corner was finished



Fig. 11. Southwest corner of Long Stoa overlaid by City Wall

with drafting 0.05 m. wide on either face. The face of the western wall shows a marked batter.

Not a single block has been found that can be assigned to the superstructure of the building and it is doubtful whether even the euthynteria was ever laid.

A considerable mass of filling was required at the eastern end of the Stoa to raise the floor level to the height that would be indicated by the restoration of an euthynteria and three steps along the front (Fig. 12). These might have had a combined height of *ca.* 1.15 m. Actually there remains a depth of 0.80 m. of artificial filling above the level of the foundation bedding in the eastern part of the building and such a quantity of filling on the otherwise

¹ One of them measures 0.80 × 1.00 × 2.00 m., another 0.90 × 1.10 × 1.60 m., a third only 0.30 × 0.60 m. on the exposed face.

bare hilltop can be accounted for only by supposing that it was brought there by the builders of the Long Stoa. It consists of the working chips from the cutting of the foundation beddings and from the dressing of the blocks, supplemented with earth.

Several considerations taken together indicate that the building never was finished. Thus the bedrock in the line of the western wall of the building seems impossibly rough and irregular considering the pains that were taken with the foundation bedding for the corresponding eastern wall. We may best suppose that at the western end not even the bedding had been completely prepared. In the second place, some fifteen metres of the eastern end of the Stoa have been cleared and yet no trace has been found of interior supports, neither blocks in position nor beddings for column bases. The width of the

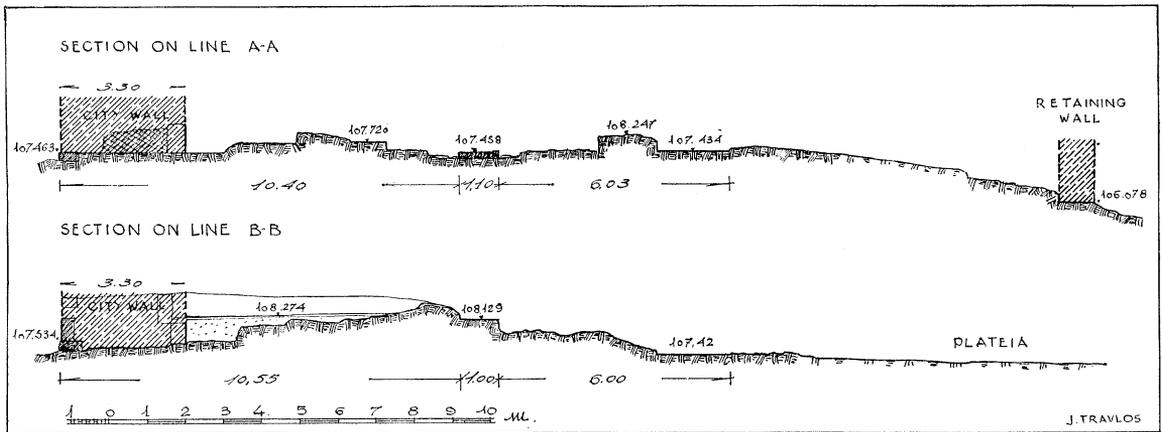
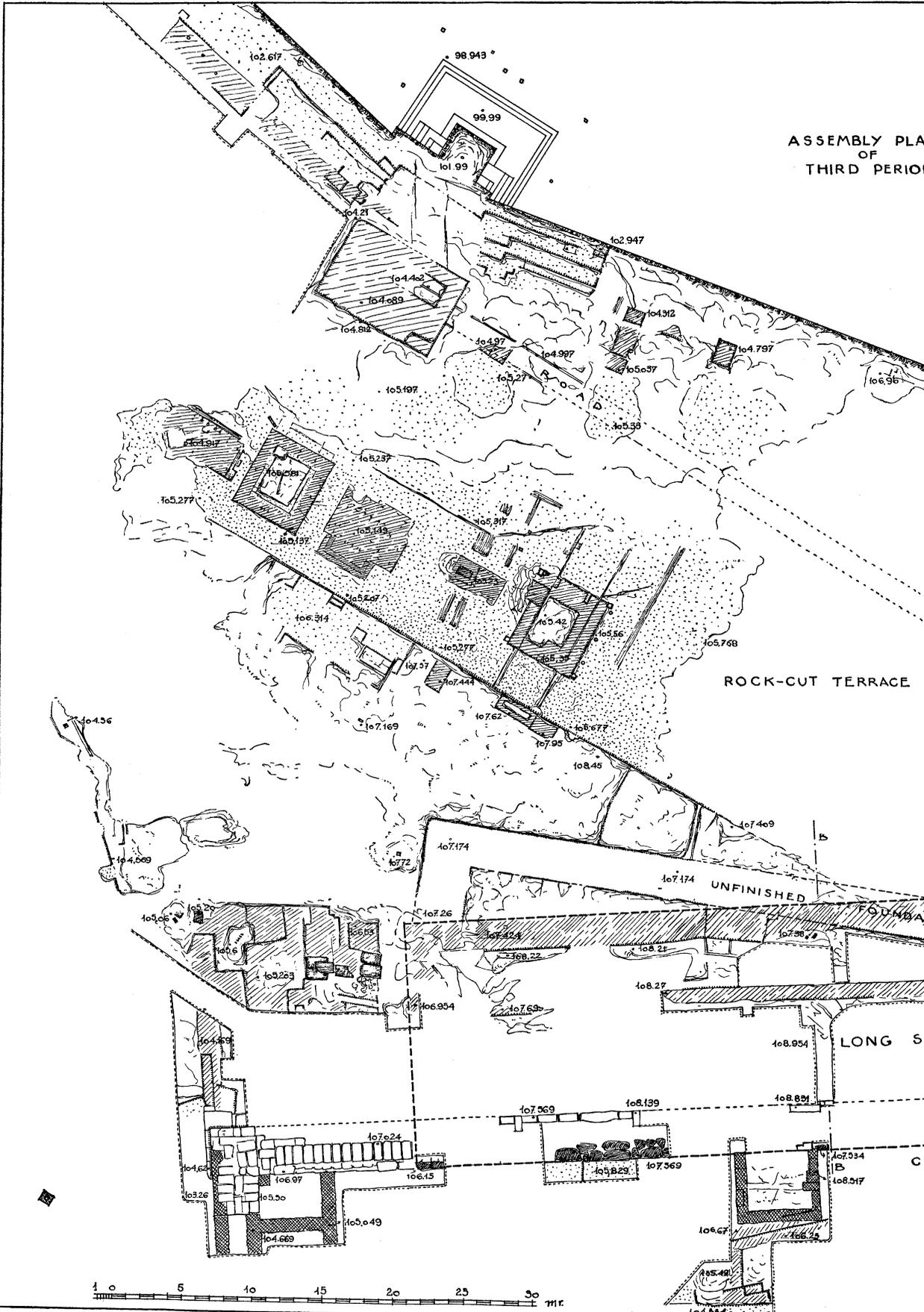


Fig. 12. East-west cross-sections through Long Stoa

building clearly calls for a row of columns down the middle of the long room. Had such actually been placed they must have left some trace. We shall find, moreover, that a line of city wall was subsequently carried above the southern foundations of the Long Stoa, an operation which would certainly have involved the demolition of any building then standing on the site. The material of the earlier building must, then, naturally have been re-used in the fortification wall. Much of this wall remains, and yet it includes not a single piece which could be associated with the superstructure of the Long Stoa. We must suppose either that the Long Stoa was never carried above its foundations or that some time before the construction of the city wall the Stoa was razed and its material completely removed. But the interval of time between the construction of the Stoa and of the city wall was not great and in that period there would seem to be no satisfactory historical occasion for the destruction of the earlier building. We are left with the first alternative, *viz.* that the Long Stoa was never completed.

We have already had occasion to refer to traces of earlier construction within the area of the Long Stoa. The plan (Pl. I) shows the full extent of the great cutting in bedrock

ASSEMBLY PLAN
OF
THIRD PERIOD

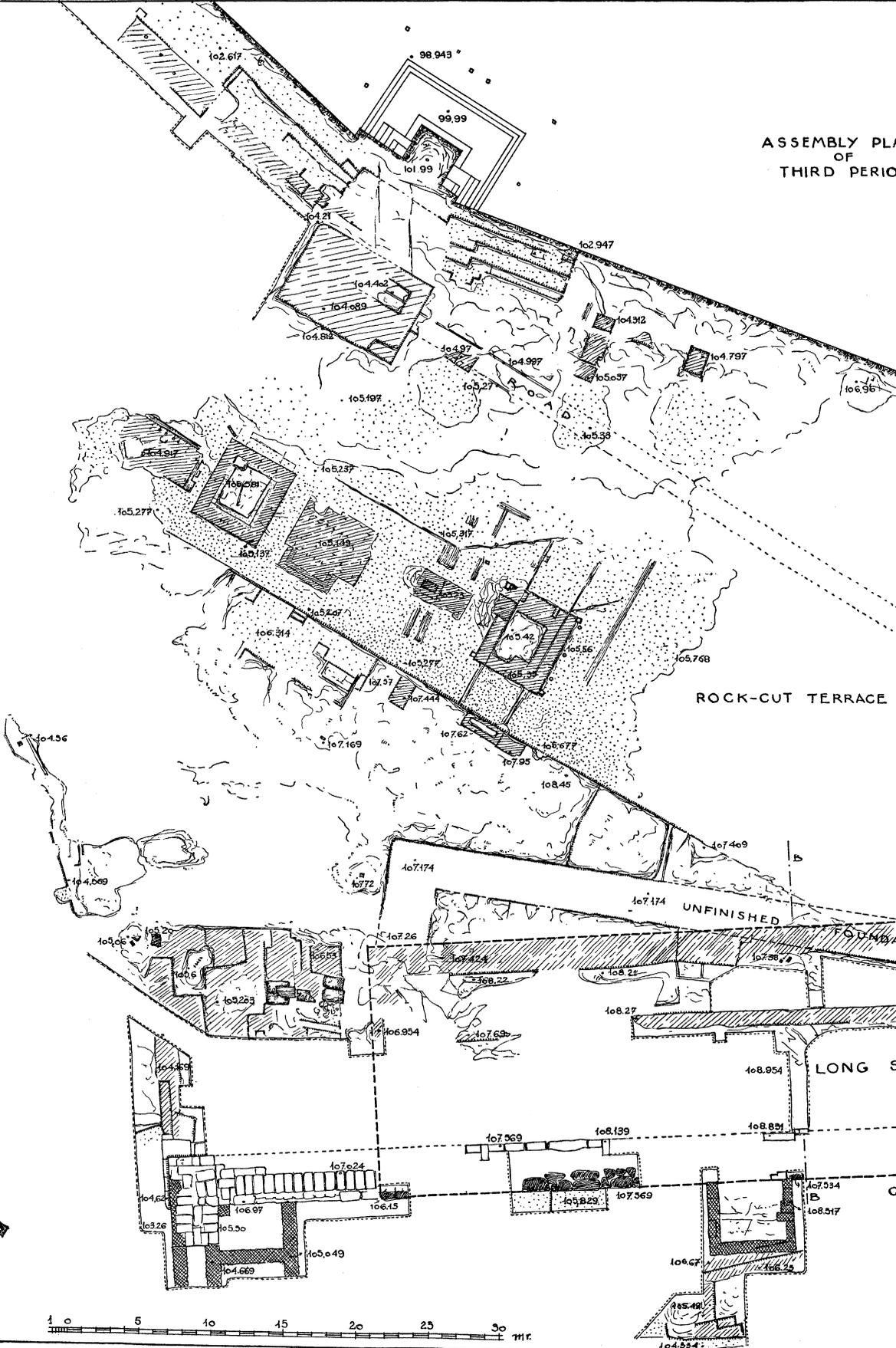


ASSEMBLY PLACE
OF
THIRD PERIOD

ROCK-CUT TERRACE

LONG S

UNFINISHED FOUNDATION
C



beneath the front of the later building. The two cuttings intersect at an angle of *ca.* 12°. The earlier cutting is 69.20 m. long and returns toward the south at either end. Its breadth in the east-west part is 3.08 m., in the returns 3.30 m. The return at the western end can be traced a distance of nine metres and that it was not carried farther is proved by the rising unworked bedrock beyond. The return at the eastern end has been followed only to the southern edge of the Long Stoa. No trace has been found of a bedding farther south to correspond with the great east-west cutting. The width of the bedding would be appropriate for a city wall, but that it was intended for this purpose is made altogether improbable by the rising ground to the south, *i.e.* outside the line of the wall. We may better suppose that the cutting was made rather for the colonnade of a large building which, from the close correspondence in site, orientation, and length, may well be regarded as an unfinished predecessor of the Long Stoa. The earlier enterprise was carried perhaps even less far than the Long Stoa, for irregularities toward the east end of the great bedding show that it never received blocks.

There would, however, appear to have been a building erected on the site between these two unsuccessful ventures. Part of the northern foundation of this intermediate building may be traced running parallel to the broad early cutting just within the foundation for the front wall of the Long Stoa near its eastern end (Fig. 9, Pl. I). All that remains is a rock-cut bedding with an average width of 0.80 m., pierced by a series of seven dowel-holes.¹ The pry-holes show that the dowels were set in the middle of the blocks. This northern foundation can be followed a distance of 9.25 m., though neither end has been found. The disturbance caused by the later building on the site makes it impossible to fix with certainty the lines of the other walls so that we do not know the shape or dimensions of the building. The precise place and orientation of the northern foundation of this structure were clearly fixed by the great pre-Stoa foundation bedding, which must therefore be earlier. The intermediate building was certainly either demolished or found in ruins by the builders of the Long Stoa, and the earth filling of the Stoa was carried unbroken across the earlier foundation beddings. Some blocks of the early building, as noted above, were re-used in the foundations of the Long Stoa.

Within the area of the Long Stoa, toward its eastern end, there came to light fragmentary foundations of still earlier buildings (Pl. I, Figs. 8, 9). The plan of the eastern of the two buildings represented by the remains would seem to be completed by the rock cuttings to the east. If this be so, the building had an interior width of *ca.* 2.40 m. and a length of more than 8.00 m. One room occupied 5.40 m. of its western end. Of the western of the two small buildings one can now make out only the southeastern corner. The

¹ The dowel-holes are 0.06 m. square, 0.05 m. deep and were leaded through pour-channels *ca.* 0.14 m. long. In the three western holes of the series the lead remains. In two of them are impressions of dowels which were square in section, 0.03 m. to the side. In the third the dowel projected so little beneath the bottom of the upper block and so little lead was poured that lead and dowel failed to make contact.

foundations are of rubble stone laid dry and are only 0.40 m. thick. These were undoubtedly intended as socles for mud-brick walls.

In order to provide a level terrace of some width in front of the Long Stoa toward its eastern end, the builders were obliged to erect a retaining wall over 23 m. long. The bedding for this wall may be traced throughout its length running in a northwest-southeast direction across the shoulder of the hill (Pl. I, Fig. 13). Only three of its blocks remain in position. Of these the easternmost formed the eastern end of the wall. There is no trace



Fig. 13. Terrace walls from southwest. Arrows from left to right indicate second wall, first wall, north-west corner of Long Stoa

of a southward return. The wall need not have risen more than 2.50 m. high at the most to support a terrace level with the euthynteria of the Long Stoa. The blocks of the retaining wall were of the same material and were worked and set and coursed in precisely the same manner as those in the southern wall of the Stoa. This indicates clearly enough that the retaining wall belongs to the same building program as the Stoa. The contemporaneity of the two is further confirmed by the identity of the fillings associated with them.

About three metres to the south of the retaining wall just described are traces of an earlier wall with an orientation very slightly different. Its course can now be followed a distance of 14.50 m., though originally it may have extended considerably farther toward the east. In places the bedrock was worked down to receive the first course of blocks; elsewhere the blocks were laid on the firm earth or on a packing of broken stone. Three

blocks remain in position: roughly worked masses of the local limestone and to the north-west of them 1.50 m. of the packing of broken stone. The width of the bedding is *ca.* 0.90 m. This older retaining wall was obviously intended to serve one of the earlier buildings on the hilltop behind, though which we cannot say.

Between the Assembly Place proper and the Long Stoa a large area of the hilltop was levelled down at some time in antiquity so as to form a broad, smooth terrace on which various monuments were subsequently set (Figs. 8, 14, Pl. I). The association of this area and its monuments with the Long Stoa and its terrace is by no means certain, but the ancient remains may most conveniently be described at this point.



Fig. 14. Front of Assembly Place and Rock-cut Terrace from northwest

The area of actual rock-cutting measures *ca.* 50 m. from east to west, 28 m. from north to south and is bounded toward the south by a scarp of the living rock which rises to a maximum height of *ca.* 2.75 m. A flight of three steps cut in the shoulder of this scarp toward its western end provided ready communication between the terrace and the area in front of the Long Stoa (Fig. 15). In the face of the scarp at its highest point there is a niche with arched top (1.10 m. high, 0.60 m. wide, 0.50 m. deep from front to back) with cuttings along the sides for pilasters and across the top for an epistyle and probably a pediment (Fig. 16, Pl. I). The cutting reminds one of the large central niche in the Sanctuary of Zeus Hypsistos and it was undoubtedly intended, like that one, to receive a statue.

In the western part of the rock-cut terrace is the rectangular foundation bedding which in our earlier report was tentatively associated with Meton's heliotropion.¹ This bedding

¹ *Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 207 ff.

undoubtedly antedates the cutting of the terrace inasmuch as the core of the bedrock left inside it rises well above the floor level of the terrace. To the west of "Meton's Heliotropion" and separated from it by an interval of 1.60 m. is another rectangular bedding, designed to receive a monument that measured in its first course *ca.* 5.00 m. east to west and 2.52 m. north to south (Pl. I). In the middle of its north side is a series of four small dowel-holes with pour-channels.¹ Elsewhere there are only pry-holes for the setting of the blocks of the first course.

To the east of "Meton's Heliotropion" are three other large rectangular beddings which require a word of description. The first of these (*i. e.* the most westerly) measures



Fig. 15. Third bedding from east on Rock-cut Terrace

ca. 3.30×5.10 m. and has a southern, probably contemporary, extension asymmetrically placed and measuring on its setting line *ca.* 1.50×3.22 m. (Fig. 15, Pl. I). The entire surface of the bedrock is smooth dressed to the same level save around the southward extension where a bearing surface was left 0.10–0.30 m. wide and 0.005 m. high. Dowels were probably not used in the first course of the original construction. But that the bedding was used more than once is shown by the multiplicity of pry-holes on its surface and by the presence, toward its northern edge, of two isolated dowel-holes with pour-channels.

The second bedding (Pl. I) is likewise a good piece of rock-cutting measuring overall *ca.* 1.92×3.90 m. The blocks of the first course were secured by dowels leaded through

¹ The dowel-holes measure 0.04 m. square and 0.04 m. deep; the pour-channels are 0.15 m. long and rounded on the bottom.

pour-channels, three on the north side and three on the south side.¹ These cuttings show that the monument was *ca.* 1.50 m. wide. Its length, as given by the pry-holes at either end, was *ca.* 3.70 m. The similarity in dowelling between the first period of use of this bedding and the second period of its neighbor to the west suggests that those usages were approximately contemporary. At some time subsequent to the destruction of the original



Fig. 16. Easternmost bedding on Rock-cut Terrace. Arrow indicates bedding for colonnade of Long Stoa

monument on this second bedding the northwestern corner of the area was cut deeper to receive a smaller erection. For it no dowels were used.

The easternmost of the series of beddings is rather more carelessly worked (Pl. I, Fig. 16). It has maximum outside dimensions of *ca.* 5.22×5.80 m. This bedding was obviously not intended like the preceding to support a solid foundation, for it consists of a dressed channel surrounding an unworked rectangular core. The channel on the eastern

¹ The dowel-holes measure $0.03 \times 0.06 \times 0.05$ m. deep. The dowels themselves, as proven by the impressions in the surviving lead, were 0.015×0.03 m. in section. The pour-channels are 0.15 m. long and rounded on the bottom.

side is exceptionally wide, conceivably to carry steps. Irregularities in the bedrock required that the western channel should be cut much deeper than the others, and indeed the northwest corner had to be built up with a small block of *poros*. There are pry-holes but no trace of dowels in the bedding. At each corner is a deep rectangular socket apparently intended to receive a post. A row of three round post holes (0.12–0.15 m. in diameter, 0.20–0.23 m. deep) along the eastern edge of the bedding is not parallel to it and is probably earlier.

We have not cleared the rock-cut terrace farther to the east, but a couple of trenches opened by earlier excavators show that the surface here, though artificially cut, is much rougher than that farther west and in all probability has no more individually worked beddings. Farther toward the north, between the line of beddings here described and the scarp of the Assembly Place, are several smaller rectangular beddings and on the higher rock to the south of the southern scarp of the rock-cut terrace are numerous cuttings of which the purpose must remain equally obscure.

An ancient carriage road may be traced along the hilltop, joining, apparently, the two roads that crossed the range of the Pnyx hills through the saddles, one at either extremity of the central hill. Traces of the road have been exposed between the Long Stoa and the retaining wall to the north of it, on the unworked hilltop to the southeast of the great bema of the Assembly Place and again on the unworked rock to the north of the modern telescope (Pl. I). The wheel marks were left by vehicles with a gauge of 1.50 m. The scanty traces of wear suggest that the road was in use for no great length of time. A clue to its date is given by the fact that it appears to have been cut through by the rectangular bedding to the south of the great bema of the Assembly Place. This bedding is undoubtedly to be associated with the final reconstruction of the Assembly Place that occurred in the first half of the second century A.D.¹

For the dating of the Long Stoa and the other structures described above, the evidence is not abundant. A handful of black-glazed sherds found beneath the floor packing of the earliest rubble walls under the eastern end of the Long Stoa need not be later than the fifth century B.C. The filling of the great pre-Stoa foundation bedding yielded pottery as late as of the late second century B.C. It may be supposed that this trench was filled in when the building, of which the northern foundation with its dowel-holes remains, was to be erected. The style of the dowel used in that foundation is in itself scarcely earlier than the second century B.C. For the Long Stoa we have the mass of filling in its eastern end which, as noted above, would seem certainly to have been brought in by the builders of the Stoa. This filling contained much broken Hellenistic pottery, waste from Hellenistic pottery works and moulds for the making of Megarian bowls.² The bulk of this material

¹ Parts of this roadway had been detected previously and appear, for instance, on Curtius' plans in *Die Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, Berlin, 1891, fig. 7, pl. VI.

² Cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 451 ff.

is of the third and second centuries B.C. The fragments of moulds for Megarian bowls illustrated in Figure 17, *d*, *e*, need not be later than the second century.¹ The few coins found in the filling are Athenian pieces of the New Style, dated from 229 to 30 B.C. There is, however, a certain amount of later pottery and lamps. In Figure 17, *a*, *b*, *c*, are shown fragments from the handle attachment, the nozzle, and the shoulder of lamps of the latest type represented in the filling. These are of Broneer's Type XXI.² They are large and covered usually with thin brown glaze. One may judge of their date from the fact that

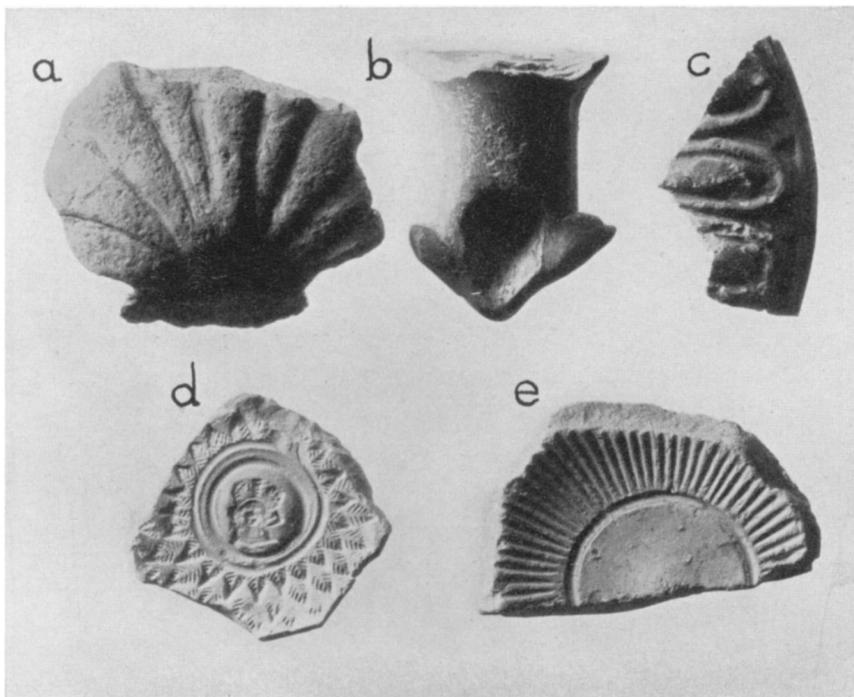


Fig. 17. Fragments of lamps and moulds from filling of Long Stoa

they were one of the more popular varieties in use in the newly founded Corinth (44 B.C.). They may have continued in use down somewhat into the first century A.D. Since not a few fragments of such lamps were found in the filling of the Long Stoa and in that behind the associated terrace wall, we must conclude that the Stoa and wall are as late as that time; since nothing later has been found in significant association with them we have no reason to believe that the buildings date from after, say, the middle of the first century of our era.

¹ For the dating of the bowls, see *ibid.*, pp. 456 ff.

² O. Broneer, *Corinth*, IV, ii, *Terracotta Lamps*, Cambridge, Mass., 1930, pp. 73 ff.

2. VOTIVE OBJECTS

At various points around the walls and buildings described above a number of objects of a votive character were found, sufficient in quantity, indeed, to show that we have to do with a sanctuary. Since the objects are of interest both for the identification and the character of the cult, they may be described in some detail.

When the blocks of the later terrace wall were removed, the earth filling behind them slipped down over the wall bedding. At one point near the eastern end of the wall this filling consisted largely of ashes and charcoal among which were found many small votive cups, lamps and terracotta figurines. Most of the objects themselves were blackened and cracked by burning.

TERRACOTTA FIGURINES

Of the forty-four figurines from the deposit, the majority are in fragmentary condition. In technique, they form a consistent group. Almost all are mould-made and hollow; exceptions will be noted. In all cases, the clay is fine, buff, and slightly micaceous, presumably Attic; on most examples it has been turned to ash-gray by burning. The white, limey slip adheres to a number of pieces; over this occasional traces of color are preserved; these will be noted individually. Since the figurines are all small, an opening in the back is usually unnecessary or replaced by an open bottom. The backs of most of the figurines are roughly made by hand.

The types represented are limited and are frequently repeated in several examples from one mould. They fall into three groups: seated figures, including those of women, girls, and boys; standing figures, including those of girls, two boys, and one warrior; reliefs; and miscellanies, including a few heads and a fragment of a mask. These will be briefly described.¹

1. *Seated Figures*

a. Fig. 18.

A female figure, wearing a close-fitting chiton, sits stiffly on a high-backed throne. Her hands rest on her knees. A long lock of hair falls down on her right shoulder. There are two examples from one mould: 1) lacking head and base. P.H. 0.068 m. 2) broken away above the mid-thighs. P.H. 0.045 m.

b. Fig. 18.

Similar type; the chiton has an overfold and the folds of drapery are lightly indicated. The feet rest on a foot-stool. Curls hang on the shoulders. Two identical, complete examples survive: H. 0.093 m.

c. Fig. 18.

Similar type. The folds of drapery are not indicated. The hair is rolled above the forehead in front of a low polos. There are three other examples from one mould: 1) Complete H. 0.087 m.

¹ The following abbreviations will be used: H. = Height; W. = Width; T. = Thickness; preceded by P. = Preserved Height, etc. TK. = F. Winter, *Die Typen der figurlichen Terrakotten*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903.

d. Fig. 18.

Similar type, with a more youthful face. She wears a high-girt chiton with short sleeves; the folds are indicated. Rectangular vent in the flat back. Broken away below the knees. P.H. 0.065 m.



Fig. 18. Votive Figurines

These four specimens are of a type common in all parts of the Greek world. It was most popular in archaic times, but it occurs as a survival much later.¹ The type presumably represented a goddess, but the numerous examples from the Acropolis, Eleusis, and the Argive Heraion indicate that it was not restricted to one goddess alone. We cannot, therefore, assert that our pieces actually represent, as a contemporary statue would, the artistic type of any goddess.

¹ *TK*, I, pp. 48 ff.; J. Martha, *Catalogue des figurines ... d'Athènes*, p. IV; there is much unpublished material of this sort from the Athenian Agora and Corinth.

e. Fig. 18.

A childish figure sits, resting her left hand on her thigh, her right bent up slightly against her body. She wears a long, loose garment, girt high. There are two examples from one mould: 1) The rough back was pierced by a rectangular vent. Broken above the waist. P.H. 0.057 m. 2) Preserved from neck to thigh. P.H. 0.043 m.

For the type, cf. *TK.*, II, p. 123, 3, 6 and a Boeotian example, J. Sieveking, *Terrakotten und Bronzen der Sammlung Loeb*, München, 1930, pl. 12, 2, p. 13.

f. Fig. 18.

Similar type, with a fold of drapery hanging over the knees. Preserved only from waist to mid-thigh on the right side. P.H. 0.05 m.

g. Fig. 20.

A nude boy sits on a seat or coffer upon which lies his chlamys. His right arm is bent upward against his body, his left is buried in the drapery at his side. The flesh was covered with a thin yellow slip. The back is flat, with a circular vent. The head is missing. P.H. 0.067 m. Three other fragments from this mould survive.

For the type, cf. *TK.*, II, p. 259, 8 d and p. 260.

2. *Standing Figures*

h. Fig. 19.

A female figure stands with her right leg slightly flexed. She is wrapped in an himation of which the rolled upper edge is held up to her right shoulder by her enveloped right hand, and hangs loosely down her left side. 1) Plinth-like base; large rectangular vent. Head missing. P.H. 0.08 m. 2) From the same mould. Head and base missing. P.H. 0.074 m. There are also two other fragments from this mould.

The pose is very popular; its prototype occurs on a Muse on the Mantinea Basis. Cf. an Italian example, *TK.*, II, p. 41, 10.

i. Fig. 19.

A girlish head and shoulders, presumably from a piece similar to the foregoing. The surface is much rubbed. P.H. 0.045 m.

j. Fig. 19.

A female figure stands, wearing a chiton, over which is wrapped an himation drawn across the chest from the right shoulder in a broad fold. The right hand lifts the lower edge; the left is covered by the drapery. The hair is worn in "melon-frisur." Two examples from one mould: 1) The features are rubbed. Broken away below the waist. P.H. 0.064 m. 2) Head missing, the front much flaked. P.H. 0.075 m. One other small fragment was found.

A crisper example of this type is said to come from Tanagra, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, C 308, pl. XXX.

k. Fig. 19.

A youthful female figure stands with her left foot slightly outthrust. She wears a chiton under an himation that is tightly drawn around the shoulders and over the pendent right arm. Its free end falls loosely over the slightly raised left hand. The hair was drawn back to a knot at the back of the head. Possibly traces of red paint on the hair. The back is roughly modelled. The knot of hair and a fragment from the bottom behind are missing. H. 0.105 m.

For this popular pose and the arrangement of the drapery, see *TK.*, II, p. 54, 6, 7.

l. Fig. 19.

A youthful figure, presumably female, stands with the right knee flexed. An himation envelops the right arm and hand which clasps it at the neck and also the left hand which lifts it slightly from the left leg. The hair is worn in masses over the ears and in a plait down the centre of the head. The back is roughly modelled. Complete save for a chip from the bottom. H. 0.097 m. There are also three other fragments surely from the same mould, two others probably from the same, and one from a mould at least once removed from that mould.

Cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 210, fig. 14*d*, an example from the North Slope of the Acropolis.

m. Fig. 19.

Similar type. The folds of drapery are less carefully rendered and the head is different. The hair is arranged in curls over the forehead under a thick wreath. Low plinth base. Solid back laid on as a heavy strip and then modelled. Complete but mended at the knees. H. 0.104 m.



Fig. 19. Votive Figurines

n. Fig. 19.

Similar type. The drapery is rolled at the neck. 1) Solid, with a lozenge-shaped hole gouged in the back. Head and legs missing. P.H. 0.06 m. 2) Head and shoulders from the same mould. Hollow in the upper part. The hair is loosely rolled around the face. P.H. 0.045 m.

On the type represented by Nos. l–n, two garments are usually worn. See *TK.*, II, p. 40, 2; cf. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas*, pl. XXX, C 334, representing a “boy.”



Fig. 20. Votive Figurines

o. Fig. 20.

A youthful male figure stands with the right knee flexed. Only the lower part of the body is covered by an himation of which the upper rolled edge is drawn diagonally across the abdomen, its loose ends passing behind to be wrapped round the left forearm. The right arm hangs loosely by the side. Traces of dark red paint on the flesh. Head and feet missing. P.H. 0.076 m.

For the type, see *TK.*, II, p. 242, particularly 3, 7, from Tanagra. Usually an object was held in the hand.

p. Fig. 20.

A boyish figure clasps a round shield against his body, its rim running under his chin. He wears a chlamys, ending on his right side just above the break, and on his head a pointed cap with flaps hanging along the shoulders. Traces of dark red paint on flesh and shield. Broken away below the hips. P.H. 0.075 m.

This little warrior, holding the Greek shield, but wearing the Asiatic cap, has a parallel from Myrina (Pottier and Reinach, *Nécropole de Myrina*, Catalogue no. 282, which is drawn in *TK.*, II, p. 384, 5). Such warriors appear first in the third century B.C. presumably following the invasions of the Gauls and the closer relations between mainland Greece and Asia Minor. Many small terracotta shields were found in the tomb at Eretria (K. Kourouniotes, *Eph. Arch.*, 1899, pp. 228 f.) which presumably date after the Gallic invasions of 279 B.C. Cf. also the figures of combats with Gauls on Alexandrian pottery (E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Le Caire, 1912, pl. LXXX, 273, p. 187) and figurines from Asia Minor (*TK.*, II, pp. 384 ff.).

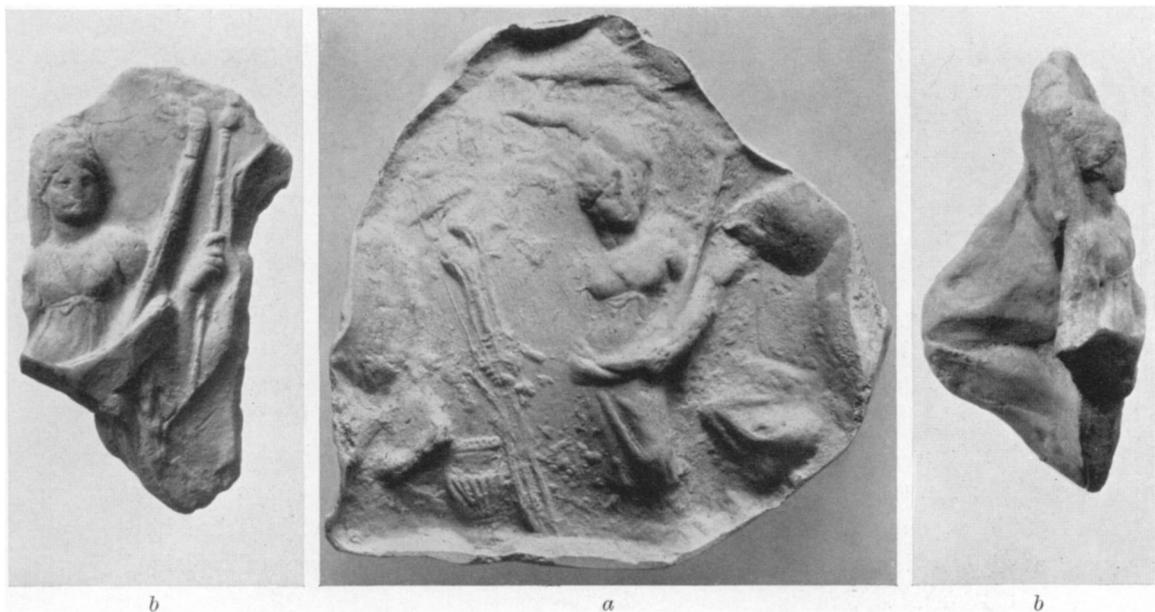


Fig. 21. Mould (photograph from a cast) and ancient impression

q. Fig. 20.

A youthful figure, probably male, advances forward to the right. He wears a short chiton, falling only to the knees, and a chlamys hanging diagonally from the right shoulder, covering the bent left arm. Figure solid below, slightly hollow above. Traces of red paint on the chiton, of yellow on the chlamys. Head, right side and feet missing. P.H. 0.053 m.

3. *Reliefs*

r. Fig. 21.

(a) Terracotta mould and (b) impression from a similar mould. From the same filling as the preceding but probably not from the "votive deposit."

Both pieces show in the middle a standing female figure wearing a high-girt chiton and an himation. She carries a short torch in the crook of her l. arm. (On the mould alone) a stag springs away from the r. side of her head and a long torch rests in her r. hand. On the ground beyond the torch stands a fluted amphora of a type commonly found on Megarian bowls. To her l. are traces of a seated female figure: the edge of a veil, a r. arm bent upwards and holding a sceptre tipped with a pomegranate, and (on the mould alone) the draped knees. (a) P.H. 0.067 m., P.W. 0.038 m. Shallow impression, doubly struck. (b) H. 0.085 m., P.W. 0.078 m. Pyramidal grip attached to the back. No trace of paint or of burning.

The seated figure with her sceptre and the standing figure with torches may plausibly be identified as Demeter and Kore. Similar groups occur on earlier Attic relief vases that show an Eleusinian assembly of the gods (F. Courby, *Vases grecs à reliefs*, Paris, 1922, p. 140 [no. 15], 198 ff.). The impression (*b*) is not from the mould (*a*) but from another (lost) mould derived from the same original, probably a metal bowl. The practice of selecting groups from metal vessels for application to terracotta vases was common in the Hellenistic period (Courby, *B. C. H.*, 1913, pp. 418 ff.; *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 426). This double-struck mould is presumably a waster. The ancient impression, supplied with a grip like the stamp for an Arretine mould (cf. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 426, fig. 7), was probably discarded after the selection of the group and the elimination of the filling ornaments, which were common on bowls but superfluous for a single group. The presence of the stag on the mould need not, therefore, confuse the identification, especially as the original surface by the head of Kore on the impression shows that in this case the animal was deliberately cut out. The composition as presented here centres on a group evidently intended to be Eleusinian. These wasters, together with numerous moulds for figurines, Megarian bowls and lamps of the period also found nearby, may be taken as evidence for the existence, in the vicinity, of a potter's shop which supplied offerings for a sanctuary.

Stylistically, the relief figures of queens of the later third century found on Alexandrian vases afford dated parallels for the Pnyx terracottas.¹ The pose, the out-thrust hip, the small bosom, the high girding and the deep-cut, triangular neck all resemble those on our pieces.²

A figurine from the Eretrian tomb, dateable probably to the latter part of the third century, also shows the same characteristics (J. Beazley, *Ancient Gems in Lewes House*, Oxford, 1920, p. 85, no. 102, fig. 4). Analogy with comparable Megarian bowls would suggest a slightly later date, the early part of the second century (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 352, no. C 18 ff.).

Another small fragment of a plaque was found, showing folds of drapery.

4. *Miscellanies*

s. Fig. 20.

The head of a female of mature years wearing a polos. Moulded hollow in two parts. Broken below and behind. P.H. 0.046 m.

The type suggests a goddess, probably Demeter.

t. Fig. 20.

The head of a Pan or satyr. From the back rises a short column depressed at the top. Traces of red paint on the front. P.H. 0.033 m.

Probably this is the head of a herm against which a figure leaned.

¹ The following names appear: Arsinoe Philadelphos, 276–270 B.C., Berenike, 246–221 B.C., Ptolemy IV, 221–203 B.C.

² Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXX, 267–269; R. Horn, *Stehende weibliche Gewandstatuen*, pl. 10 and particularly pl. 11, 3; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Roman Pottery*, pl. V, K 77; *Exped. Ernst von Sieglin*, Leipzig, 1913, II, pp. 119 ff., figs. 129 f., pls. XXXI f.

A much rubbed small female head and a fragment of rolled hair, probably from a female mask, complete the terracotta objects from the deposit.

This small deposit was probably thrown out from the sanctuary at one time. Many of the figurines, such as the figures of seated women, cannot themselves be dated without external evidence. Certain pieces suggest a date for the deposit. The figure of a warrior (*p*) belongs to a group of figurines that may be dated after the first quarter of the third century. Comparison of the draped figures of children with those from Chatby and Pagasai,¹ both dating at the turn of the fourth into the third century, places our group in that general period. The crisply modelled examples from the Pnyx (e.g. Fig. 19, *j*, *k*, *l*; Fig. 20, *o*) also resemble Tanagra types, many of which may be dated in the early third century, whereas others of the Pnyxian group (e.g. Fig. 19, *h*, *m*, *n*) present a simpler style in which the folds of drapery have degenerated into a few ridges on an almost untreated surface. This simpler style may be assigned to the latter half of that century. The round face, the hair drawn tightly back in "melon-frisur" or worn in a central plait, the thick wreath, and the very high girding are earmarks of well-developed third century style. The technique and fabric of the whole group is sufficiently similar as to suggest no extended period of manufacture. In point of fact, the use of moulds makes it perfectly possible for a group of terracottas of diverse styles to have been made actually within a year. In a period of confused traditions and slow stylistic development it is impossible to assign a more definite date to the deposit than the third century B.C.

BRONZE PLAQUE

Athens, Nat. Mus. No. 15,185. Fig. 22.

Found lying on bedrock between the two retaining walls just north of the surviving blocks of the earlier wall. The associated filling included fragments of late red-figure and also bits of Megarian bowls. H. 0.196 m., T. 0.002 m. A fragment from the top of the head and the left toes are missing.

The drawing has been lightly engraved on the sheet of bronze and then trimmed around the outline. It represents a woman standing in three quarters view to the right, her face in profile. Her hair hangs down her back. Her chiton has a short overfold that covers her arms to the elbows. She lifts her chiton from the left shoulder with the left hand; in the right she carries a ring-like wreath hanging by her side.

This plaque is a rare survivor of a class of figures cut out of bronze, a class that was once probably extremely common for cheap dedications in sanctuaries. Miss Lamb has likened such pieces to the offerings of metal that crowd the eikons of modern Greek churches.² They were often pierced for suspension; possibly the break in the top of the head of our piece was occasioned by such a hole.

¹ A. S. Arvanitopoulos, *Γραπτά Στήλαι Δημητριάδος Παγασών*, Athens, 1928, pp. 45 ff., figs. 48–57; Stahlin, Meyer, Heidner, *Pagasai und Demetrias*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, p. 165; Breccia, *Sciatbi*, pl. LXXII, 214 ff.; pl. LXXIII, 221, and Catalogue nos. 456 ff.

² *Greek and Roman Bronzes*, London, 1929, pp. 124 f.



Fig. 22. Bronze Plaque

Most of the surviving examples of this class are earlier and finer than the Pnyx specimen. They have been found at Olympia, in Crete, on the Athenian Acropolis, and elsewhere.¹ Archaic examples from Arezzo are not dissimilar.² A fine piece from Tegea represents a woman in profile, holding a phiale and sceptre; it dates from the mid-fifth century.³ Clumsier specimens from Bassae, Berekla, and Stratos⁴ may be compared with ours, though few seem so late in date.

The context in which the Pnyx plaque was found suggests a date in the late fourth century. This dating is confirmed by examination of the style. The technique may be compared with that on Etruscan mirrors and cistae of the fourth century, particularly those on which short broken lines are etched as brief diagonals to indicate the folds of drapery.⁵ The pose, especially the gesture of lifting the chiton from the shoulder, and the drawing of the clumsy features, large hands, and coarse fingers belong to the phase of Attic style exemplified on the later vases from

¹ *Ibid.* and an excellent list in P. Jacobsthal, *Die metischen Reliefs*, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, 1931, p. 105.

² G. M. A. Richter, *Greek, Roman, and Etruscan Bronzes in the Metropolitan Museum*, New York, 1915, pp. 15 ff., nos. 33 f.

³ Jacobsthal, *op. cit.*, pl. 73, p. 105, Athens, National Museum, 13087.

⁴ K. Kourouniotes, *Eph. Arch.*, 1910, pp. 307 ff., figs. 23 f., Bassae and Berekla; F. Courby and C. Picard, *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Arcarnanie*, Paris, 1924, p. 101, fig. 62.

⁵ Lamb, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

South Russia.¹ Since the draughtsmanship on these vases is necessarily more careful than on a cheap offering of bronze, it is difficult to date our piece closely by analogy with vase-painting. The carelessness of such details as the loose way in which the chiton hangs over the arms and the treatment of the bottom of the drapery, indicates a breaking-down of tradition and formula. The last quarter of the fourth century seems the most plausible upper date. No third century material is at hand for comparison in order to set a lower limit.

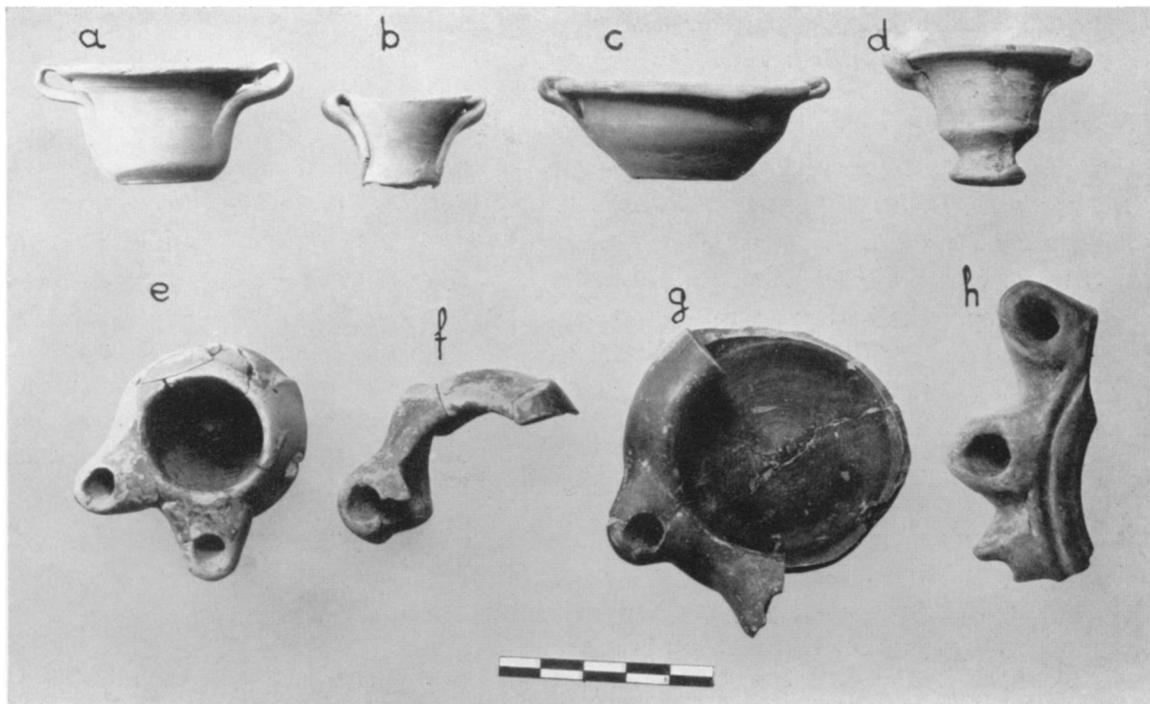


Fig. 23. Votive bowls and lamps

MINIATURE VASES

Many miniature vases were found, not a few in the same filling that yielded the terracotta figurines, others in the earth that still remained in position behind the retaining wall, and many more above the ancient ground level around the eastern end of the Stoa. Here, fragments of hundreds had been tramped in the earth and had gotten lodged in the fissures and crannies of the rugged limestone. Four shapes may be recognized, and a representative specimen of each is illustrated in Figure 23. All were carelessly made on the wheel. Vases

¹ K. Scheffold, *Untersuchungen zu den Kertscher Vasen*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1934, dating on p. 139 for: pl. 43, no. 214 (ca. 340–330 B.C.); pl. 46, no. 205 (ca. 330–320 B.C.); pl. 47, no. 201.

a and *b* have the shape of a simple kantharos; *c* of a shallow bowl with two strap handles pinched on the rim; *d* is a miniature krater. The various types are quite constant in size: *a* with a height of 0.028 m., *b* of 0.021 m., *c* of 0.021 m., *d* of 0.031 m. The first three types are never painted; the little kraters are covered inside and out with a thin brown glaze. Many of them have suffered from fire, notably those found together with the figurines.

The circumstances of finding provide little evidence for the dating of these vases. They agree closely, however, in shape and fabric and in range of types with a quantity of similar vases found in the Agora in a closed deposit of the late fourth century B.C.¹ A more marked degeneration of shape and an inferior glaze on many of the Pnyxian specimens suggest that they may well run down into the following century.²

LAMPS

Along with the terracottas in the mass of filling which had originally been supported by the later terrace wall, were found a few fragmentary lamps with single nozzles of the ordinary type in use in the fourth century and early Hellenistic times. In the same place lay a number of other lamps so similar to one another in shape and fabric as to form a closed group. The best preserved are illustrated in Figure 23. In all, the *infundibulum* is low and open, the lip slightly incurved. Of *h* the rim is decorated with a wheel-run groove. Each of the first three had three nozzles; the fourth at least as many, but probably more. The first three retain traces of horizontal strap handles. All have been damaged by fire, which has turned the clay to an ash-gray color. The glaze is lustreless, brown or black in color and in most cases flaked. Although the open *infundibula* and the short nozzles lend an archaic appearance to the lamps, the quality of their fabric and glaze and the carelessness of workmanship suggest a date in the third century B.C. These multi-nozzled lamps are undoubtedly votive, for they are not ordinarily found among remains of houses but they do occur in quantities in sanctuaries both of Greece and Italy.³

¹ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 128.

² Such miniature vases, varying according to period and locality, are found commonly in ancient sanctuaries both in Greece and Italy. For the bibliography of the type see Van Ingen, *C.V.A.*, University of Michigan, I, 1933, p. 68.

³ Many have been found on the acropolis at Athens where they still lie unpublished. Cf. *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 346. Others, now in the Candia Museum, come from a sanctuary, probably of Demeter, outside ancient Gortyn (*Arch. Anz.*, 1909, col. 102; Xanthoudides, *Guide to the Candia Museum*, p. 34). Newton found many in the sanctuary of Demeter, Persephone and Pluto at Knidos, others in a sanctuary of Demeter and Persephone at Budrum near Halikarnassos (C. T. Newton, *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, London, 1862, pp. 327, 378, 387, 393 ff., 402, 405). In the sanctuary of the Malophoros, a cult of Demeter, at Selinunte, many hundreds of various sizes and schemes were found (Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXII, 1927, cols. 369 ff., figs. 163 ff.). They were equally popular as votive offerings in the sanctuary of Demeter at Agrigento (Marconi, *Not. Scav.*, 1926, pp. 142–145, fig. 33; *Agrigento Arcaica*, Rome, 1933, pp. 69, 74, pl. XVI).

For lamps of simpler forms found in sanctuaries and for the practice of dedicating lamps see A. Frickenhaus, *Tiryns*, I, Athens, 1912, pp. 100 f.; C. Blinkenberg, *Lindos*, I, Berlin, 1931, cols. 31 ff.; Pappadakis, *Arch. Delt.*, I, 1915, 141 ff.

DEFIXIONIS TABELLA

Found in a cranny of the rock *ca.* 4.00 m. east of the southeast corner of the Long Stoa, near the round stele bedding (p. 182). H. 0.04 m., W. 0.115 m., unrolled. A strip of lead, irregular in outline and in thickness, inscribed on both sides, rolled and transfixured with an iron nail (Fig. 24).

Though the damage caused by the nail and by corrosion has made the reading difficult, enough remains to show that the document is a curse of the sort familiar from Attica. For more complete specimens one may refer to *I. G.*, III, 3, *Defixionum Tabellae*, ed. R. Wünsch, 1897, especially nos. 47 ff., and for an introduction to the subject one may consult the preface to the same work. In l. 3 appears to lurk the verb *καταδέω* "I bind with a magic spell," which occurs commonly in the Attic formulae. One Lysias is the object of the curse, he together with his "house and works." For the joint inclusion of *ἔργα* and *οἰκία* or *οἶκος* cf. Wünsch, *op. cit.*, nos. 53 and 69. The letter forms would suggest a date in the late fourth or the third century B.C.

Overlying the bedrock around the eastern end of the Long Stoa and behind the retaining walls to the northeast of the Stoa, possibly a dozen more scraps of sheet lead were found, the majority of them doubtless from similar documents. The fragments, however, have so suffered from exposure that only an occasional letter is visible.

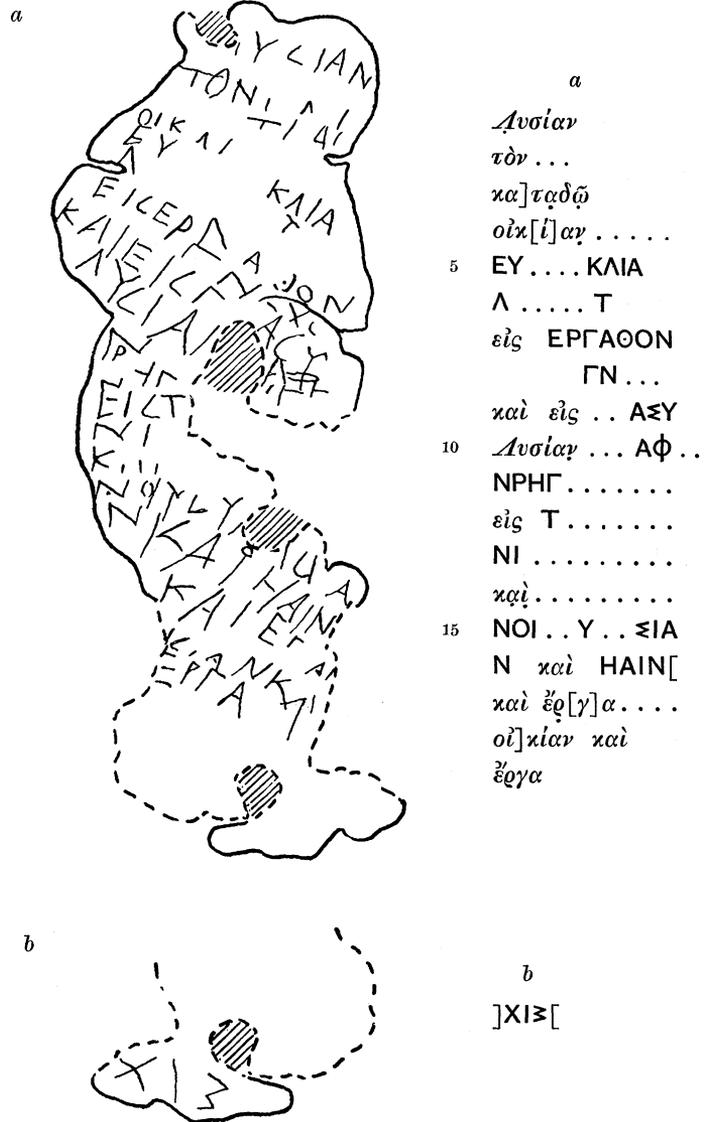


Fig. 24. Defixionis Tabella

STELE BEDDINGS

In the surface of the rising mass of bedrock just to the east of the southeast corner of the Long Stoa are three stele beddings, two rectangular ($0.13 \times 0.15 \times 0.10$ m. deep; $0.24 \times 0.40 \times 0.13$ m. deep) and one round (0.36 m. in diameter; 0.20 m. deep) (Pl. I). In the round bedding remains a bit of the stele of Hymettian marble. Back of the earlier retaining wall and covered over by the filling thrown in behind it are two more rectangular sinkings in the bedrock ($0.14 \times 0.15 \times 0.12$ m. deep; $0.14 \times 0.16 \times 0.15$ m. deep). These too may have held dedications or, conceivably, boundary stones of the sanctuary.

The number and variety of the votive objects and the circumstances in which they were found leave no doubt that there was an ancient sanctuary nearby. This is made especially clear by the votive cups, for these were found in hundreds both in the filling associated with the later terrace wall and scattered over the earlier ground level in the region between the retaining wall and the Long Stoa. That area may accordingly be regarded as a part of the sanctuary. The fact that the Stoa and retaining wall were thrown about the area shows clearly that they belonged to the sanctuary. Relying on the well-known conservatism of Greek religious practice, we may safely argue that the earlier buildings represented by the foundations within the area of the Long Stoa likewise formed part of the same sanctuary.

3. THE IDENTIFICATION AND HISTORY OF THE SANCTUARY

In the absence of any inscription definitely establishing the identity of the site, we must consider the possibility first, of associating the ruins with one or other of the sanctuaries already identified in the region, and secondly, of assigning them to one of the several sanctuaries known from literary sources to have existed in the area but not hitherto discovered.

One might think first of the sanctuary of Zeus Hysistos. But his worship would seem definitely to have centred about the cult statue which we may suppose to have occupied the large niche in the face of the scarp to the east of the bema of the latest auditorium. Nor is there anything to indicate that the worship of Zeus on this spot goes back to the time suggested by our votive offerings.

Near the top of the Hill of the Nymphs, to which it has given a name, a rock-cut inscription marks the Sanctuary of the Nymphs and the People: *ἱερὸν Νυμφ[ῶν] δέμο . . .* (*I. G.*, I², 854; Judeich, *Topographie*², p. 398). On the northern slopes of the same hill the boundaries of a sanctuary of Zeus were fixed by rock-cut inscriptions: *ἱερός: Διός* and *ἱερός* (*I. G.*, I², 863; Judeich, *ibidem*). Another inscription (*ἱερὸν μητρὸς*) cut in the rock on the northwestern slope of the Hill of the Muses suggests that the Mother (of the Gods) had, if not a sanctuary, at any rate property in the neighborhood.¹

¹ Skias, *Eph. Arch.*, 1899, pp. 239 f.

Melanippos, a son of Theseus, was worshipped at a sanctuary, the Melanippeion, in the district of Melite which must have included also the new-found sanctuary.¹ Chrysa on the Pnyx, where the left wing of the Amazons rested in their battle against Theseus, would seem to have been a sanctuary of Chrysa, a goddess of light.² But the remains under discussion are too substantial to have belonged to either of these apparently insignificant sanctuaries.

Plutarch tells us that Themistokles founded a sanctuary to Artemis of Best Counsel (Aristoboule) near his home in Melite and in Plutarch's day a statue of Themistokles still stood in the temple.³ But in the new sanctuary nothing has been found of a temple, certainly nothing going back to the time of Themistokles. We know that Herakles with the epithet "Averter of Evil" (*Ἀλεξίνακος*) or "Of the Apples" (*Μήλειος*) was worshipped in a famous sanctuary in this district,⁴ but no festival is recorded in connection with his cult to account for such a building as the Long Stoa. Nor are our votive objects suitable to the hero, for to him were offered only apples.

Pausanias (I. 14. 1) saw two temples, one of Demeter and Kore, the other of Triptolemos, above the Enneakrounos (*ὑπὲρ τῆν κρήνην*). It has been proposed to assign these buildings to the Thesmophorion and to place them on the Pnyx Hill above the site of Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos.⁵ But the two temples cannot be separated from the Eleusinion which Pausanias mentions by name a few lines below (I. 14. 3). Now Pausanias' account of fountain and temples is inextricably imbedded in his description of the Agora and it follows that both must lie in or immediately adjoin the Agora. Significant evidence is already available for placing both the Eleusinion and the fountain at the southern edge of the market square, *i. e.* at the northern foot of the Areopagus, so that the temples seen by Pausanias do not concern us here.⁶ The same is true of the temple of Eukleia, a memorial of Marathon, which Pausanias noted after the two temples (I. 14. 5).

Having eliminated the other known candidates we have left to consider a sanctuary which was undoubtedly the most famous of those in this part of the city, *viz.* the Thesmophorion or Sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros.⁷ This was the meeting place of the women of Athens during their autumn festival, the Thesmophoria, celebrated on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of the month Pyanopsion, and here it was, and on the occasion of this festival, that Aristophanes laid the scene of his *Thesmophoriazousai*, presented in 410 B.C.

¹ Harpokration, *Lexikon*, s. v. *Μελανίππειον*.

² Plut., *Theseus*, XXVII, 3; Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 422 ff.

³ Plut., *Themistokles*, XXII.

⁴ Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 396 f.; L. Deubner, *Attische Feste*, Berlin, 1932, p. 226 f.

⁵ Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 398 f.

⁶ *Hesperia*, III, 1934, p. 447; IV, 1935, p. 360. Pausanias did not pass around the south side of the Areopagus, as his failure to mention the Pnyx would sufficiently show. The further excavation of the Agora will make this abundantly clear.

⁷ Cf. Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 398 f., and for the cult and festival see Deubner, *Attische Feste* pp. 50 ff.

From the play itself we gather not a few hints about the site. A half dozen passages prove clearly enough that the sanctuary occupied a lofty position:

l. 280 (Kinsman)

*ὦ Θράττα, θέασαι, καομένων τῶν λαμπάδων
ὄσον τὸ χροῖμ' ἀνέρχεθ' ὑπὸ τῆς λιγνύος*

l. 584 (Kleisthenes)

*Ἐδριπίδην φάσ' ἄνδρα κηδεστήν τινα
αὐτοῦ γέροντα δεῦρ' ἀναπέμψαι τήμερον*

l. 623 (Kleisthenes)

ἀνῆλθες ἤδη δεῦρο πρότερον;

l. 657 (Chorus)

. . . ζητεῖν, εἴ που κάλλος τις ἀνὴρ ἀνελήλυθε

l. 893 (Woman)

οὔτος πανουργῶν δεῦρ' ἀνῆλθεν

l. 1045 (Kinsman)

*ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσδ' (ἐς) τόδ' ἀνέπεμψεν
ἱερόν, ἔνθα γυναῖκες*

The general impression as to the loftiness of the site is confirmed, perhaps echoed, by the scholiasts who add, however, the interesting information that the first day of the festival, the *ἄνοδος*, took its name from the "going up" to the sanctuary.¹

From Aristophanes' play we gather further that the sanctuary was very intimately connected with the Pnyx. That it was situated on the Pnyx Hill is made perfectly clear by the passage in which the chorus prepares to track down any possible male intruders:

l. 655 ff.

*ἡμᾶς τοίνυν μετὰ τοῦτ' ἤδη τὰς λαμπάδας ἀψαμένους χορῆ
ξυσωσαμένας εὔ κἀνδρείως τῶν θ' ἱματίων ἀποδύσας
ζητεῖν, εἴ που κάλλος τις ἀνὴρ ἀνελήλυθε, καὶ περιθρέξαι
τὴν πύκνα πᾶσαν καὶ τὰς σκηρὰς καὶ τὰς διόδους διαθρήσαι²*

¹ Schol. to l. 585: *ὅτι ἀναπέμψαι κυρίως. διὸ καὶ ἄνοδος ἡ πρώτη λέγεται, παρ' ἐνίοις καὶ κάθοδος, διὰ τὴν θέσιν τῶν Θεσμοφορίων. ἐπεὶ καὶ ἄνοδον τὴν εἰς τὸ Θεσμοφόριον ἀφίξιον λέγουσιν. ἐπὶ ὕψηλοῦ γὰρ κεῖται τὸ Θεσμοφόριον.* Schol. to l. 623: *καὶ τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἄνοδον, ἐπειδὴ ἄνοδος ἦν πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.* With the passages in the play and with the scholiasts agrees Hesychius, *Lexikon*, s. v. *ἄνοδος*: *ἀνάβασις. ἡ ἐνδεκάτη τοῦ Πανεπιώνος, ὅτε αἱ γυναῖκες ἀνέρχονται εἰς Θεσμοφόρια, οὕτω καλεῖται.* We know too that the Thesmophorion in the Peiraeus lay high (*I. G.*, II², 1177, 21 ff.): *ἀναρχ[ά]ψαι δὲ τότε τὸ ψήφισ|μα τοὺς ὀριστὰς μετὰ τοῦ δημάρχ|ου καὶ στῆσαι πρὸς τῇ ἀναβάσει | τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου.* And the same would seem to have been true of the sanctuaries of Demeter Thesmophoros at Megara (Pausanias, I. 42. 6), at Pagasai-Demetrias (*Praktika*, 1915, pp. 191 f.), and at Eretria (*Arch. Anz.*, 1911, col. 122).

² The *δίοδοι* were undoubtedly the passageways between the tents, not, as is sometimes suggested, the aisles of the assembly place. The meeting place of the period boasted no aisles (*Hesperia*, I, 1932, pp. 103 f.).

We may suppose, moreover, that it was the very proximity of the sanctuary to the actual meeting place that suggested to the poet the assembly of women.

In looking for the Thesmophorion we must, therefore, search for a roomy place, capable of accommodating some hundreds, if not thousands, of Athenian women; it must be one of the markedly high parts of the city, and it must lie on the Pnyx Hill, preferably close to the actual assembly place. Now of the three eminences in the range of hills which in antiquity would seem to have been known collectively as the Pnyx,¹ the western is already occupied by the Sanctuary of the Nymphs and the People, the eastern by the Monument of Philopappos, which would scarcely have been tolerated in a sanctuary. Neither of those heights, moreover, affords the area called for by our conception of the Thesmophorion. We are reduced to the central hill, and it, indeed, answers precisely to our specifications. Though its summit rises only some 30 m. above its immediate base and about 50 m. above the general level of the market square, yet its northeastern slope, by which it is usually approached, is sufficiently steep to impress one on a hot October day. The top of the hill, as appears clearly in Figure 1, is smooth and gently rounded and roomy enough to accommodate a good many tents. From the same photograph it will be clear that one cannot stand on the hilltop, *i. e.* in the vicinity of the Long Stoa, without being constantly aware of the Assembly Place.

We are thus inevitably led to identify the newly found sanctuary with the Thesmophorion, led, that is, by a double process of elimination: the new sanctuary cannot be associated with any, except the Thesmophorion, of the many sanctuaries known to have existed in this region and the Thesmophorion can have lain nowhere save precisely in the area occupied by the new sanctuary.

On the question of the identification of the site it remains to consider the bearing of the votive offerings described above, especially of the terracotta figurines.

Greek votive offerings admittedly bear no rigid relation to the deities to whom they were dedicated, but certain types may, with caution, be associated with divinities. It has been suggested on plausible grounds that the relief (Fig. 21, *r*) is connected with the worship of Demeter. The seated figures of women may well also represent Demeter; the type has been found in many of her sanctuaries, for instance, at Eleusis, Tegea, Lykosoura, and Halikarnassos.² The same identification may seem reasonable in the case of the head (Fig. 20, *s*). Figures of girls and boys dancing have also been found at Demeter precincts, as at Priene³ and in the sanctuary of Pasikrate, a deity related to Demeter, at Pagasai-Demetrias.⁴ It must be admitted, however, that similar figures have been found in unrelated sanctuaries or even graves at Chatby, Eretria, Tanagra, and the North Slope of the

¹ Plato, *Kritias*, 112 a; Jane Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, London, 1890, p. 107.

² *TK*, I, pp. xxxiv f.

³ T. Wiegand and H. Schrader, *Priene*, pp. 147 ff., pp. 158 f., figs. 141 ff.

⁴ See above, p. 177.

Acropolis.¹ It should be noted also that types usually associated with Demeter, such as pigs, women carrying pigs, and hydrophoroi, are absent from the deposit. But even after the most conscientious exclusion of uncertain evidence, we must admit that the types, and particularly the terracotta relief, point to the identification of the divinity as Demeter and that nothing vitiates such an identification.

The other small objects of a votive character are likewise appropriate to a sanctuary of Demeter. The lamps were presumably used in the nocturnal rites performed during the festival and were afterwards dedicated to the goddesses. Though similar lamps have been found in such places as the Athenian Acropolis, where the association with Demeter is not proven, yet the references given on p. 180 above clearly indicate how commonly they were placed in sanctuaries of the chthonic goddesses. Nor again are the miniature vases peculiar to the worship of those divinities. But they would form convenient receptacles for the conveyance of the offerings of grain and seeds of various sorts offered to the goddesses. In the sanctuaries of the Eleusinian cult such offerings were commonly carried in the compound vases known as *kernoi* (*Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 447 ff.), but the discovery of many thousands of miniature vases similar to ours in the sanctuary at Eleusis proves that the simpler form was used there as well. The sanctuary of Demeter, as that of a chthonic deity, was again especially appropriate for the deposit of *defixiones* and such have been found in numbers in the sanctuaries of Demeter, Persephone, and Pluto at Knidos and of the Malophoros at Selinunte.²

None of the remains on the site can be construed as those of a temple, nor is it likely that a temple (which, had it ever existed, must have stood in some prominent part of the area now thoroughly explored) should have disappeared without leaving a trace. But we have no reason to suspect the existence of a temple. Literary references to the Athenian Thesmophorion tell only of a sanctuary (*ἱερόν*), never of a temple (*ναός*). Elsewhere, temples seem rarely to have been erected in the sanctuaries of Demeter Thesmophoros.³ The rarity

¹ Chatby, see above, p. 177; Eretria, C. Hutton, *Eph. Arch.*, 1899, p. 34, pl. 2, 1; Tanagra, *TK*, II, *passim*; North Slope, O. Broneer, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, pp. 334 ff., fig. 5.

² Newton, *Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, pp. 382, 719 ff.; Gabrici, *Mon. Ant.*, XXXII, 1927, cols. 384 ff.

³ In the sanctuary on the acropolis of Eretria, identified as the Thesmophorion, are foundations which may be those of a temple (*Arch. Anz.*, 1911, col. 122). At Pagasai-Demetrias remains of a building, said to be those of a temple, have been found in a sanctuary, where Demeter, Kore and Pluto were worshipped (*Praktika*, 1915, pp. 192 ff.). A fragmentary inscription found in this sanctuary records a decision to prepare a new copy of a stele which had apparently stood on the original site of the Thesmophorion (*ἔπον ἐ]ν ἀρχῆι ἦν τὸ Θεσμοφόριον*) and had been damaged. The new copy was to be set up *ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς [Ἀήμνη]ρος*. This suggests that the large sanctuary was called simply that of Demeter and that the Thesmophorion proper either adjoined or formed part of it. Hence the temple, if such it was (neither plans nor photographs have appeared), cannot certainly be assigned to the Thesmophorion (*Polemon*, I, 1929, pp. 32 ff.; *Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, pp. 208 f.). Pausanias (VIII. 36. 6) noted a temple and a grove of Demeter five stades from the city of Megalopolis. Since admission was for women only, the sanctuary may well have been a Thesmophorion. On Aigina we read of a porch or gateway of Demeter, with bars, this, probably, in the temenos wall (Herod., VI. 91: *εἰς δὲ τις τούτων ἐκρυγῶν τὰ δεσμὰ καταφεύγει πρὸς*

of temples may well be due to the fact that the votaries were exclusively women. The men who were so jealously excluded from all share in the cult practices were perhaps not unnaturally chary of contributing to their support. In the *Epitrepontes* of Menander, Smikrines, in warning his daughter Pamphila of the danger of continuing to be the wife of a man who keeps a double establishment, assures her that having to contribute to the Skira and the Thesmophoria on behalf of both wife and mistress will be the ruin of Charisios:

l. 533

τὴν πολυτέλειαν. Θεσμοφόρια δὲς τίθει,
Σκίρα δὲς· τὸν ἕλεθρον τοῦ βίου καταμάνθανε.
οὐκὼν ἀπόλωλεν οὗτος δημολογουμένως;

The sanctuary had inevitably at least one altar, on which the Kinsman in the *Thesmophoriazousai* would sacrifice his hostage:

l. 693

ἀλλ' ἔνθαδ' ἐπὶ τῶν μηρίων
πληγὴν μαχαίρα τῆδε φοινίας φλέβας
καθαιματώσει βωμόν.

Nothing of an altar has been found, but one will readily understand that the ordinary altar, consisting of a single block without necessarily any foundation, could disappear completely.

Nor has anything so far come to light of one of the central and most characteristic parts of the sanctuary, *viz.* the megaron or megara. The word "megaron" had a variety of meanings but in this connection it clearly denoted an underground chamber appropriate to the worship of a chthonic deity.¹ Into this pit were thrown pigs, probably also cakes

πρόθυρα Δήμητρος Θεσμοφόρον, ἐπιλαμβανόμενος δὲ τῶν ἐπισπαστήρων εἴχετο). At Gambaion in Asia Minor it is probable that the goddess had only a walled temenos (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 1219, 31 ff.: καὶ ἀναθεῖναι τὴν μὲν μίαν (στήλην) πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ Θεσμοφορίου, τὴν δὲ πρὸ τοῦ νεῶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Λοχίας). An inscription from Koroneia (*I. G.*, VII, 2876: Ἀθαναδώρα Πολιουμνασιτίδαο ἱερειάξασα Δάματρι Θεσμοφόρον τό τε πρόθυρον ἐπεσκεύαξε καὶ τὸν ἀμφίθυρον ἀνέθεικε) need not imply more than the existence of two ornamental gateways in the enclosure wall. Miltiades suffered the fatal injury to his thigh or knee in leaping over the fence (ἔρκος) of Demeter Thesmophoros on Paros (Herod., VI. 134).

¹ Hesychius, *Lexikon*: ἀνάκτορον· τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος, ὃ τινες Μέγαρον καλοῦσιν. ὅπου τὰ ἀνάκτορα τίθεται; Photius, *Lexikon*: Μέγαρον, οὐ μέγαρον, εἰς ὃ τὰ μουσικὰ ἱερὰ κατατίθενται; Porphyrius, *Antr. Nymph.*, VI: χθονίοις καὶ ἡρωσιν ἑσχάρας, ὑποχθονίοις δὲ βόθρους καὶ μέγαρα ἰδρύσαντο. For the varying signification of the word see the discussion by K. Kourouniotes, *Eph. Arch.*, 1912, pp. 154 ff. The expression used by Porphyrius suggests that the chambers were artificial rather than, as one might have expected, natural. This would be certain could it be proven that the elliptical chamber which Newton found in the sanctuary of Demeter, Persephone and Pluto at Knidos was actually a megaron (Newton, *Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, pp. 383 ff., 391 note e). I know of no other candidate for the name. In the sanctuary at the Peiraeus there was but a single megaron (*I. G.*, II², 1177, 5 ff.: μηδ[] πρὸς τοὺς βωμοὺς μηδὲ τὸ μέγαρον προσίωσιν) and the same was probably true at Paros (Herod., VI. 134. 2). In a sanctuary of Demeter and Kore (probably a Thesmophorion) at Potniai in Boeotia Pausanias saw more than one megaron (IX. 8. 1).

made of dough in the shape of snakes and the male genitals, and pine branches. Snakes which lived in the chasms as "watchers of the chambers" were said to eat much of that which was thrown in. When the remainder had rotted it was brought up by women (*ἀντλήτριαι*) who had refrained from sexual intercourse for three days previously. To take its place they carried down certain objects of unknown nature. The putrefied remains were placed on the altars and were held to guarantee a good crop if taken and mixed with the seed. According to the myth, the pigs were cast in because a herd of swine along with their keeper, Eubouleus, had been swallowed up in the chasm in which Pluto descended with Persephone. The pig was held also to be a welcome thank-offering to Demeter and a symbol of fecundity. Modern scholarship suggests that the representation of snakes, the phallic symbols, and the pine branches were intended to restore fertility to the soil after the harvest.¹

It is much to be hoped that further search may some day bring to light the pit or pits in the Thesmophorion. The hunt is made difficult by the extent of the sanctuary, our ignorance of its precise limits, by the shifting of masses of earth in later times, and by the pine trees which now occupy all the earth-covered parts of the hill.²

¹ The ancient authorities for the ceremonies are Clement Alexandrinus, *Protrept.*, II, 14 (pp. 14f., ed. Potter) and a scholiast on Lucian, *Dial. Meretr.*, II, 1. Both writers evidently drew from a common source; Clement quotes briefly, the scholiast at length but in a muddled way. The scholion has been recently discussed in detail by Gjerstad in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XXVII, 1929, pp. 230ff., and by Deubner, *Attische Feste*, pp. 10ff., 40ff. The interpretation of the latter scholar seems on the whole satisfactory. It is difficult, however, to agree with him that the pigs and the other objects were thrown into the megara during the festival of the Skira or Skiraphoria and extracted at the Thesmophoria (pp. 43f.). If we agree with D. (p. 44), as I think we must, that the megara were in or near the Thesmophorion, then we should have to suppose that the celebrants, on their way from the Acropolis to Skiron on the Sacred Way, visited also the Thesmophorion which lay far from their direct path. Of this there is no suggestion in the passages bearing on the Skira. If D. is right in supposing that *θεσμός* "bedeutet eigentlich das, was hingesetzt, niedergelegt ist," it surely follows that the festival at which the deposit was made should be the Thesmophoria rather than the Skiraphoria. This is, moreover, stated clearly and explicitly by Clement (l.c.) whom we have as much reason to trust in this detail as the scholiast. How long the objects lay in the megara we cannot say. Were they left for a year, i.e. until the following festival, the carcasses of the pigs would hardly have retained much fertilizing power. Actually there is no compelling reason to believe that the remains were removed on one festival or the other. The business may well have been done by the appointed women after an appropriate interval and the sanctified relics used by any interested person. So far as Demeter and her festival were concerned, the important thing was the throwing in of the pigs. This one gathers also from Pausanias' account of what took place in the sanctuary of the two goddesses at Potniai in Boeotia (IX. 8. 1): at the appointed time sucking pigs were let down into the megara. These were said to reappear in a year's time at Dodona, but this report Pausanias could not credit.

² One might suspect that something of the traditions of the old sanctuary and its festival had been preserved in the Church of Hagia Marina situated on the eastern slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, just below the Observatory. The earliest church was housed in an underground chamber over which in later times a small round cupola was set. More recently a large modern church has been built to the north, so arranged that one may pass from its south aisle into the old underground vault. The saint is thought to hold powers of fertility and women slide down the steep rock slopes below the cupola in the hope of children. Saint Marina's festival on July 17 is one of the most popular in the Athenian calendar, especially

From Aristophanes' play we should gather that the celebrants spent much or all of their time during the days of the festival actually in the sanctuary and for their convenience set up tents (*σκηναί*), a necessary shelter from the chill October nights as well as from the burning autumn sun which beat down upon the exposed hilltop. More than one woman might occupy a shelter.¹ But even so, the number of those attending the festival must have required an entire village of tents and it was in these and in the passages among them that the infuriated *Thesmophoriazousai* hunted for other possible male intruders (*Thesm.*, 655 ff.).

The practice of setting up such temporary shelters was common in sanctuaries where festivals of some duration were held.² It is attested, among other places, for Olympia,³ for Delphi,⁴ and for the sanctuary of Hera on Samos.⁵ At the Isthmus the small extent of the sanctuary and the absence of regular accommodation for guests made it necessary for those planning to attend the Isthmia to speak far in advance for their tent plots.⁶ In such crowded sanctuaries the throngs of visitors must have provided no end of problems for those in charge and we read of strict regulations against setting up tents in certain sections of the sanctuaries.⁷ Deserving visitors might be given special privileges in this respect. The Amphictyonic Council, for instance, granted to Mentor, an Aetolian, among other privileges commonly accorded to *proxenoi*, the "first tent at the festival."⁷ At Kos in the

among the women. Preparations commence two days before and the sanctuary is thronged on the eve and the night and the day of the festival. The main ascent to the area round the church is marked for the occasion the ΑΝΟΔΟΣ.

The underground chamber might conceivably have been an ancient megaron. It may equally well have been an ancient cistern which it resembles in shape. In any case, the arguments used above seem decisive in favor of placing the Thesmophorion on the central rather than on the western hill.

On the church see A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, Leipzig, 1868, no. 50; *Ἐδρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Α': Ἐδρετήριον τῶν Μεσαιωνικῶν Μνημείων, Ι: Ἀθηνῶν*, Part B, by A. Xyngopoulou, Athens, 1929, p. 105, figs. 131f.; and on the festival of Hagia Marina see M. Hamilton, *Greek Saints and their Festivals*, Edinburgh and London, 1910, pp. 58f.; A. B. Cook, *Zeus*, II ii, Cambridge, 1925, p. 1114.

¹ Aristoph., *Thesm.*, 624: *καὶ τίς σοδοσι συσκηνήτρια*; Schol. *ad loc.*: *φίλη συνδύλιτος. σκηνας γὰρ ἑαυταῖς ἐποίουν πρὸς τὸ ἱερόν.*

² On the practice in general see the article *tentorium* in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire*, V, 117; Ziehen in J. de Prott—L. Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, Leipzig, 1906, II, pp. 238f. Professor Capps reminds me of Aristophanes' comedy, *Σκίνας καταλαμβάνουσαι*, which doubtless contained many more details regarding the practice.

³ Xenophon, *Hellenica*, VII, 4, 32; [Andokides] IV, 30; Plutarch, *Themistokles*, 25; Heniochos, Kock, *C. A. F.*, II, p. 433, frag. 5. On the discomforts to be endured at Olympia cf. Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, XIV, 18: a master, enraged at his servant, threatens to take him to Olympia, for he thinks it a much more severe punishment to be baked in the sun at the festival than to labor in a mill.

⁴ Cf. *infra*.

⁵ Polyainos, *Strategikon*, VI, 45.

⁶ Aristoph., *Pax*, 879f. and the scholia. The situation will be fully appreciated by those who by design or chance have become involved in one of the popular festivals or panygyreis of modern Greece, that of the Virgin on the island of Tenos for instance.

⁷ See the regulation to this effect regarding the Stoa of Attalos at Delphi (Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 523, 7ff.; 220 B.C.). Note also the similar clause in the Sacred Law of Andania cited below, p. 190. Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 422, 7ff. (ca. 269 B.C.).

first century B.C. the farmers of certain public taxes as well as many other individuals, especially those connected with shipping, were required by law to make sacrifices and to set up their tents in a certain sanctuary, presumably in order to guarantee to the priests a certain income and the advantage of the inevitable perquisites.¹ King Antigonos, in proposing the synoecism of Teos and Lebedos at the end of the fourth century, specified that any Lebedean attending the Panionion should put up his tent and celebrate the festival along with the delegates from Teos. This apparently was to be an effective symbol of their common citizenship.²

The most instructive ancient reference to the practice is to be found in the Sacred Law governing the Mysteries celebrated at Andania in Messenia, a document which presents a vivid picture of a festival comparable, in its external features at any rate, to the Athenian Thesmophoria. The section (VII) dealing with the tents specifies: "The priests shall permit no one to have a tent more than thirty feet square, nor to place hangings or curtains about the tents, nor shall they permit anyone not a priest to have a tent in a place marked off by the priests No one shall have couches in his tent or silver plate worth more than three hundred drachmai. Otherwise, let the priests not permit it and let the excess (silver) become the sacred property of the gods."³

Of the *σκηναί*, naturally no trace has survived save on the written page. But one might well ask whether the Long Stoa, in a later age, was not planned to serve a similar purpose. As a shelter for celebrants at a lengthy festival it would find precise parallels in the stoai which formed a regular feature of the sanctuaries of the healing gods, of Asklepios at Athens, Epidauros, Troezen, Corinth, and Kos, of Amphiaraos at Oropous. If we do not accept this explanation, we shall be hard put to account for the construction of so large a building of this sort on the otherwise bare hilltop. The only alternative solution would be to associate the stoa with the Assembly Place and to suppose that it corresponded to the stoai which are commonly found in conjunction with Greek theatres and odeia. But the Long Stoa is too distant from the Assembly Place nor would it seem to have been laid out in relation to the auditorium, nor does its date agree with that of either of the restora-

¹ Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, II, 137, l. 4: *Θυόντιω δὲ καὶ σκανοπαγείσθων καὶ τοὶ πριάμενοι τὰν ὄντων σίτων κατὰ ταῦτά* etc.; commentary, p. 340. Compulsion is implied also in the fifth-century ordinance of the Elataeans (*op. cit.*, no. 79): *ἐν τοῖς Φαιρακείοις | θύοντα | σκανῶν | γυναικα | μὲ παρίμε[ν]*.

² Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 344, 2ff.: *ὅστις δ' ἂν | εἰς τὸ Πανιώνιον ἀποστέ[λληται, αὐδ]μέθα δεῖν [πρῶξαι πάντα τὰ | κοινὰ τὸν ἴσον χρόνον, σκηνοῦν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ πανηγυράζειν μετὰ τῶν παρ' [ἑμῶν ἀφικομέ]ων καὶ καλεῖσθαι Τήιον.*

³ *I. G.*, V, 1, 1390; Collitz-Bechtel, *S. G. D. I.*, 4689; Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, II, 58; Dittenberger, *Sylloge*³, 736; 92/1 v.c., ll. 34ff.: *σκανὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέποντω οἱ ἱεροὶ μηθένα ἔχειν ἐν | τετραγώνω μείζω ποδῶν τριάκοντα, μηδὲ περιτιθέμεν ταῖς σκαναῖς μήτε δέροεις μήτε ἀλλείας, μηδὲ ἐν ᾧ ἂν τόποι περιστεμ|ματώσωντι οἱ ἱεροὶ μηθένα τῶν μὴ ὄντων ἱερῶν ἔχειν σκανάν . . . μηθεῖς κλίνας ἔχῃτω ἐν ταῖ σκαναῖ μηδὲ ἀργυρώματα πλείονος ἄξια δραχμῶν τριακοσίων· εἰ δὲ μή, μὴ ἐπιτρέπόν|τω οἱ ἱεροί, καὶ τὰ πλείονάζοντα ἱερά ἔστω τῶν θεῶν.* The comparison of the Attic and Messenian festivals gains in point from the fact that the Andanian mysteries were originally derived from Eleusis and were subsequently reorganized by Methapos, an Athenian (Paus., IV. 1. 4f.).

tions of the Assembly Place. If, then, it seems altogether probable that the building which we have called the Long Stoa was intended to form part of the sanctuary as a shelter for the celebrants, it is equally probable that the earlier building represented by the great foundation bedding was planned for the same purpose. In our ignorance of its size and plan we can say nothing of the purpose of the intermediate building save that, as noted above, its position definitely associates it with the sanctuary. The small earliest structures were probably nothing more than repositories for the sacred property of the sanctuary, the more valuable of the votive offerings, etc. Here, for instance, we may suppose were stored between festivals the actual wooden votive plaques, plaques such as those which in the play the Kinsman seized upon to bear his appeal for help (*Thesm.*, 765 ff.; scholiast on 773). The splendid archaic specimens of such pinakes recently found in a cave near Corinth are of a distinctly perishable nature and could not have been left for long out of doors.¹ Here too may have been kept such dedications as the bronze plaque described above.

Whether or not the rock-cut terrace with its monument bases is to be associated with the sanctuary must remain an open question. The fact that the Long Stoa, which seems certainly to belong, appears to cover the area on the south and to communicate with it by way of the rock-cut steps might suggest their association. But the traces of the monuments on the terrace lend themselves to no certain restoration and we shall probably never know whose statue stood in the arched niche.

From the address of the chorus to the goddesses in the *Thesmophoriazousai* we gather that the sanctuary included a grove,

l. 1148

ἦκετ' εὐφρονες Ἰλαοὶ
πότνιαι, ἄλσος ἐς ὁμέτερον.

Their sanctuary in the Peiraeus was likewise wooded,² and this agreeable feature would seem to have been not uncommon in the sanctuaries of the same goddesses elsewhere.³

One might well be struck by the poverty of the remains which survive from a sanctuary that was the seat of one of the most popular and important of the festivals of Athens. The exposed site, to be sure, has been unfavourable to the survival of any great number of ex-votos and has made whatever buildings or built monuments may have stood there an inviting prey to vandals. One will scarcely venture, in any case, to question the identification on the ground of the scanty remains, for if these are not to be associated with the Thesmophorion, then the actual remains of that sanctuary must be still more

¹ *Arch. Anz.*, 1934, cols. 194f.; *A. J. A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 134. ² *I. G.*, II², 1177, 17 ff. Cf. also *I. G.*, II², 2498.

³ Megalopolis: Paus., VIII. 36. 6; Pellene: *idem*, VII. 27. 9; Potniai: *idem*, IX. 8. 1. On woods in sanctuaries and the strict regulations providing for their preservation see Prott-Ziehen, *Leges Graecorum Sacrae*, note to^o no. 34.

inconspicuous inasmuch as they have not yet been observed. Striking too is the limited range of the time represented by the foundations and the votives that have come to light. Some of the foundations within the area of the Long Stoa may conceivably go back to the time of Aristophanes' *Thesmophoriazousai*, which would seem to hold the earliest reference to the sanctuary. But from the area exposed only a very few scraps of pottery and lamps, and those not necessarily to be associated with the sanctuary, are as old as the fifth century. In the other direction we cannot trace the history of the sanctuary, either from the existing remains or from literature, beyond the abandonment of the Long Stoa. Yet there is no reason to doubt that the worship continued, nor need it have been more than disturbed by the construction of the city wall. One would still more gladly know what lay back of the checkered history of the sanctuary in the period for which we have records, whether the continual thwarting of its building program was due to the changing fortunes of the city or to the poverty of the cult or to the mismanagement of its administrators.

IV

CITY WALL

After the construction of the Long Stoa had been abandoned, a line of fortification wall was carried over its south foundation. This city wall may be traced along the crest of the Pnyx range from the saddle between the central hill and the Hill of the Nymphs to the monument of Philopappos on the Hill of the Muses. It is hoped that this entire section of the wall may subsequently be explored, for only then will it be possible to speak with precision of its course and history. In the meantime, a brief note will suffice, covering only that part of the wall which lies over or close to the Long Stoa.

The city wall approached the southeastern corner of the Stoa at an angle of 130° and was so placed that its outer face fell precisely on the corner of the foundation of the building (Pl. I, Fig. 8). In the corner a notch was cut to receive the wall block. Where it overlies the building foundation the wall shows a total thickness of 3.20 m. and consists of an inner and an outer face. The outer face immediately overlies the old foundation; for the inner face a new bedding was prepared within the area of the building. As preserved, these faces consist each of a single row of orthostates (1.25–1.35 m. long, 0.65 m. high, 0.48–0.50 m. thick). The space between was divided into compartments by other orthostates laid as headers between each two stretchers of the outer faces. The blocks are well cut and carefully jointed with a band of anathyrosis 0.10 m. wide along the outer edge of the joint surface. Their tops are dressed to receive another course of blocks. In the best preserved section toward the eastern end of the Stoa, the outer ends of the headers and some of the stretchers were dressed smooth; most of the stretchers were lightly rusticated. The filling between the wall faces was presumably of earth and the upper part of the wall probably of brick. The stone here as elsewhere is a coarse conglomerate.

Beyond the western end of the Long Stoa the city wall continued in a straight line and of the same width for a distance of 15 m. In this section the construction was quite different, for the wall in its preserved height consists of a solid mass of blocks laid in regular succession as headers and stretchers (Fig. 25). They measure $0.50 \times 0.70 \times 1.40$ m. After the third course had been laid at the end of the wall a slight change would seem to have been made in the plan. The blocks of the upper courses were drawn back *ca.* 0.30 m.



Fig. 25. Tower in City Wall, from southwest

from the face of the lower and a rectangular bastion (measuring 3.19×3.55 m.) was set against the southern face of the wall at its very end. The wall now turns north at right angles and must have included in its course a massive structure that rose on a large rectangular bedding to the west of the western end of the Stoa. This bedding has been only partially cleared so that its plan and purpose are still obscure. It conceivably carried a tower which flanked an entrance. Nor is the further course of the wall clear as yet. That it did continue and eventually reached the gateway of which a few blocks remain in the saddle between the central hill and the Hill of the Nymphs would seem certain, and indeed its line has been boldly indicated on maps of this region including our own (*Hesperia*, I, 1932, pl. I). The style of construction at the southwestern corner of the wall

is illustrated in Figures 25 and 26. The bedrock was carefully dressed to receive the blocks of the first course. The headers are 0.63–0.65 m. wide, the stretchers 1.25–1.35 m. long and the courses vary in height from 0.45 to 0.50 m. Around the edges of each block (the two sides and the bottom) is a drafted band 0.06–0.10 m. wide which leaves in the middle a boss with a projection of 0.02–0.08 m. In order to prevent chipping in setting, the lower edge and one lateral edge of each block were lightly chamfered.



Fig. 26. Tower in City Wall, from northwest

Among the débris lying at the foot of the wall in the angle between it and the bastion were found a number of fragments of roof tiles (Fig. 27). They come from large tiles of very slight convexity, made of gritty buff clay, unglazed. No significant dimension is preserved. Four of the fragments bear inscriptions impressed on the concave surface with the same stamp in each case. The single word, ΔHMOCIA , appears in raised letters surrounded by a raised line forming a rectangle (0.048 \times 0.135 m.). The tiles were undoubtedly used in the roofing of the wall.¹

¹ Numerous tiles found along the city wall on Eetioneia were stamped $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\sigma\tau\alpha$ $\Pi\epsilon\iota\varrho$ (*αιέως*); cf. *B.C.H.*, XII, 1888, p. 351; *A.J.A.*, XIV, 1910, p. 308.

At some time when the city wall had reached a very ruinous state, it was extensively repaired and strengthened with towers. This late repair may be traced not only in the area of the Long Stoa but also up the Hill of the Muses. Wherever blocks of the old wall remained in position they were left and frequently the joints were pointed with soft lime mortar. This precaution was taken even in the case of the old south foundation of the Long Stoa near its western end. Elsewhere pits and holes that had formed in the face of the old wall were chinked with fragments of tile and small stones held by lime mortar. The western face of the westernmost end or tower of the old wall was covered down to the contemporary ground level with similar plaster (Fig. 26). The striated surface of the one surviving coat was probably overlaid by a second and finer coat, now completely gone.

In the angle of the old wall at the southeastern corner of the Long Stoa the repairers found some blocks of both faces of the old wall still in position. The three eastern compartments of the wall were now packed solid with old blocks and field stones bedded in lime mortar. In the angle of the old wall a tower was set, measuring *ca.* 6.60 × 7.20 m. outside. Its walls were 1.00 m. thick, built up of broken ancient blocks and field stones set in mortar. Of the western wall of the tower the lowest



Fig. 27. Stamped tile from the City Wall

0.50 m. remains, of the southern wall fragments of mortar. The inner angle of the tower was reinforced by a buttress of similar masonry.

Midway between this tower and the southwestern corner of the old wall the repairers built a second rectangular tower, measuring 5.00 × 6.00 m., against the southern face of the old wall. Of it there remain the lower parts of the eastern and of the western wall which were constructed of re-used conglomerate blocks supplemented by many broken tiles and field stones set in mortar. The southern wall has completely disappeared save for bits of mortar that still cling to the bedrock. A trial trench carried across the area of the Long Stoa exposed the inner face of the wall immediately opposite the tower and showed that the repairers had reduced the thickness of the old wall by 0.30 m., having shifted its inner face that much closer to its outer.

At the same time another tower was built into the angle formed by the bastion at the southwestern corner of the old wall. It is similar to the others in construction and measures *ca.* 4.00 × 5.40 m. outside. Here, too, a reinforcing pier was carried up in its inner angle. The line of the wall would now seem to have turned south at right angles, starting from the bastion. As far as followed (a distance of only 3.00 m.) the wall here

was found to be of the full width of the old bastion and to consist of an inner and an outer face each 1.00 m. thick, with an earth filling between. The eastern wall of the late tower would also seem to have been carried south in a straight line. But here again we cannot be certain of the arrangement without further exploration.

This length of the wall, towers and all, has commonly been regarded as part of Kleon's *Diateichisma* of the twenties of the fifth century B.C. But for the chronology of the wall we have now an upper limit, obviously, in the date of the abandonment of the Long Stoa (*i. e.* in the first century A.D.).¹ Yet this cannot be taken as a precise limit, for a considerable period would seem to have elapsed between the cessation of work on the Stoa and the construction of the wall. This follows from the fact that the filling thrown in the eastern part of the building to carry its floor had spread out over the foundations of the

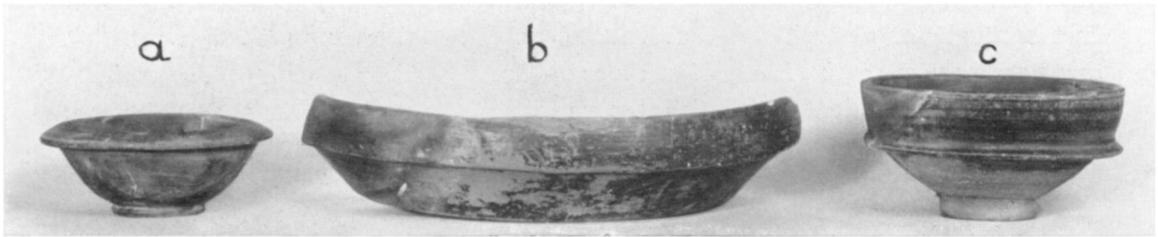


Fig. 28. Pottery from footing trench of City Wall

Stoa and its surface had become extremely hard packed from much traffic. Through this hard packed surface the city wall was set down. Where the blocks of the northern face of the wall remain in position toward the eastern end of the Stoa we could trace the trench which had been cut through that earlier filling to receive the wall. The part of this trench not actually occupied by the wall blocks, 0.50–1.00 m. wide, had been refilled with black earth quite different from that of the earlier filling. This earth would seem to have been part of that brought for the filling of the city wall and consequently objects from it may be taken to afford a *terminus post quem* for the construction of the wall. A few representative pieces, including those obviously latest in date, are described below and illustrated in Figures 28 and 29.

- a. Bowl with downturned rim. H. 0.045 m., D. 0.111 m. Fine buff clay covered with a thin brown wash inside and out.
- b. Samian dish. H. 0.057 m., D. 0.26 m. Straight upper wall set off from lower by a nick. Flat bottom. Micaceous brown clay covered all over by a reddish brown glaze. On the floor two concentric groups of three grooves each and in the middle a single stamped palmette.

For identical dishes found on Samos, see Technau, *Ath. Mitt.*, LIV, 1929, p. 50, III a. For the shape of the lip parallels occur in the terra sigillata of the north, see Oswald-Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, London, 1920, pp. 207 f., pl. LXV: "The period of this dish (in all its varieties) may be assigned to the later years of the second century and the first half of the third century." Cf. Waagé, *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 293, nos. 107–111, pl. IX: "rim form common in the second century."

¹ No certain trace has yet come to light of any earlier wall in the region. That such existed, however, is not impossible and it should be sought for by further exploration.

- c. Carinated bowl. H. 0.067 m., D. 0.126 m. Gritty, buff clay covered with a firm brown wash on the inside and on the upper part of the outside.

This shape had a long history. Fairly close parallels may be found in Arretine and Gallic sigillata as early as the time of Claudius. Cf. Oswald-Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, pl. XL. But from its occurrence in various dateable groups found in the Athenian Agora one may trace its history down through the second and third centuries. This specimen undoubtedly belongs in the second century.

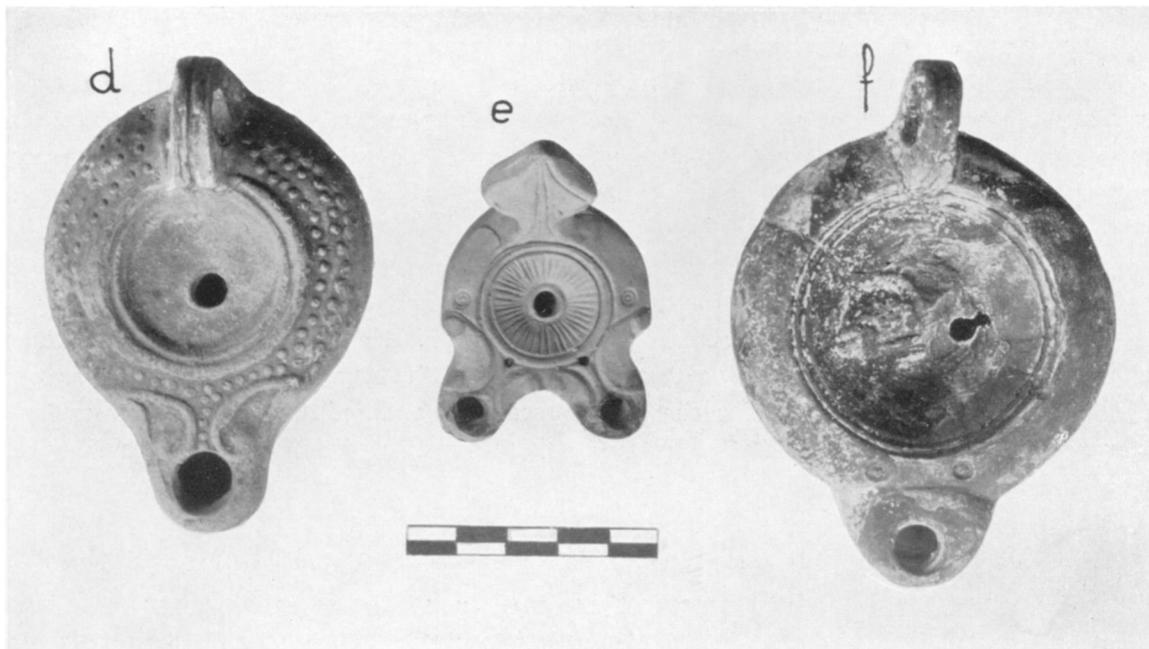


Fig. 29. Lamps from footing trench of City Wall

- d. Lamp, Type XX. H. 0.035 m., W. 0.063 m., L. 0.087 m. Side-wall and shoulders covered with nodules. The handle was moulded with the upper and lower parts of the lamp. Buff clay covered with thin purplish wash.

This is a late specimen of a type popular in Athens in the first century A.D. and probably also in the early part of the second century. See Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps*, pp. 70 ff.; *Hesperia*, II, 1932, p. 204.

- e. Lamp, Type XXI, second variety. H. 0.022 m., W. 0.041 m., L. 0.049 m. On discus, rays; on neck, double volutes. Above the handles rises a diamond-shaped shield moulded with the upper and lower parts of the lamp. Fine buff clay, unglazed. On the underside, within a low base-ring, incised: ΕΠΑ. The lamp is probably Corinthian. The name, 'Επά(γαθος) occurs on (unpublished) lamps found in Corinth in contexts that suggest that this maker was still active after the middle of the second century A.D.

- f. Lamp, Type XXV. H. 0.036 m., W. 0.072 m., L. 0.089 m. Handle has two grooves in upper part only. On the discus in relief, a hare, crouched, to right. Buff clay covered with red glaze applied above a coat of white paint.

It is clear that the group of pottery runs down into the second century A.D. and some of the pieces, such as the Samian dish, *b*, and the lamp, *e*, are probably as late at least

as the middle of the century. We may accept this as an approximate *terminus post quem* for the construction of the wall.¹ One might be tempted to associate its building with the final, probably Hadrianic reconstruction of the Assembly Place, or, perhaps, with the newly founded quarter of Athens, the "City of Hadrian." But other considerations weigh heavily against attributing the wall to Hadrian or his influence. On general grounds one might well question the necessity of such a costly piece of fortification in one of the oldest and presumably safest parts of the Empire at the very height of the "Pax Romana." It is clear too that the Emperor in his various visits to Greece was concerned, not with military preparedness, but rather with the desire to improve the present economic condition and well-being of the people and to revive as far as possible, by public buildings, games, festivals and the like, something of the former glory of the land. He is credited with a truly astonishing number of buildings in all parts of the country: roads, bridges, water systems, baths, gymnasia, temples, etc. But one will search the literary and epigraphic evidence in vain for any reference to military defences. It is precisely in Athens that the *argumentum ex silentio* is most decisive. Had Hadrian been the author of any extensive repairs or additions to the defences of the city, then Pausanias, a warm admirer of the Emperor, describing the city between 143 and *ca.* 160 A.D. (*i. e.* a very few years after Hadrian's last visit of 131/2 A.D.), took no notice of the work though there is more than one place in his description where a reference might fittingly have been made:

- (1) in his note on the ruinous walls of Konon which he saw as he approached the city (I. 2. 2).
- (2) in his account of the sanctuary of Olympian Zeus which must have been the focal point of the new quarter and which was bordered by the fortification wall ordinarily thought to be contemporary with the foundation of the new quarter (I. 18. 6).²
- (3) in the list which immediately follows of Hadrian's buildings in Athens (I. 18. 9; cf. also I. 5. 5).

¹ The lettering on the roof tiles from the wall is of little help in fixing its date. A glance at the tables of Larfeld's *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* and at the photos of Graindor's *Album d'inscriptions attiques d'époque impériale* will show that these letter forms, and similar combinations of forms, occur over a long range from the first century into the third.

² No part of the fortification wall which was obviously at some period thrown around the "Hadrian city" has, so far as I am aware, been dated on external evidence, though the whole circuit is now commonly attributed to Hadrian. See Judeich, *Topographie*², pp. 101, 163f.; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Hadrien*, Cairo, 1934, pp. 226f. One of the sections of this "Wall of Hadrian" most recently exposed (beneath the old Royal Stables at the upper end of Stadium Street) "was found to be faced on each side with dressed blocks of stone and marble stripped from earlier buildings, with a core of rubble, bricks and statue-fragments set in mortar, and many columnar grave stelai of Roman date were also built into it" (A. M. Woodward, *J.H.S.*, XLVII, 1927, pp. 252f., fig. 4). Such construction clearly suggests that the wall building followed on some serious disaster to the city comparable to that which preceded the wall of Themistokles. The wall beneath the Royal Stables finds indeed a close parallel in the "Valerian Wall" which now appears to be connected with the destructive raid of the Herulians in 267 A.D. *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, pp. 329ff. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 705f., had supposed that the new quarter had long lain open. Judeich, *l. c.*, disputes this view.

Two other possible occasions must be considered. The first is the incursion of the Kostobokoi in 170 A.D.¹ This barbarian horde, of a stock related to the Dacian and coming from a homeland which lay somewhere to the northeast of the province of Dacia, apparently took advantage of a weakening in the Roman frontier defences in the region of the Pontus to break through and push south. The widely scattered points from which we have evidence of their destructive raids suggest that they came by water: the shores of the Pontus, the Province of Macedonia, Elateia in Phokis, Eleusis, perhaps even Africa suffered. Aristeides has left us a dirge pronounced over Eleusis desolate (*Oration*, XVIII, ed. Dindorf), but we have no reason to suppose that the city of Athens itself suffered. The invaders came in limited numbers and would scarcely have been in a position to assail Athens even had her walls been out of repair.² The speed with which such a force could move, especially if it came by water, would scarcely have allowed time for Athens to construct any extensive fortifications in preparation for this particular raid. But the horrible prospect of another and perhaps more formidable incursion of northerners, heightened by the inability of Rome to send immediate help because of financial difficulties and frontier troubles in other quarters,³ may well have driven the city to put its defences in order at its own expense. That such was actually the case is perhaps suggested by the appearance of ΔHMOCIA on the tiles.

Still another possibility must be admitted. In the time of the Emperor Valerian the northern hordes again pushed south and laid siege to Thessalonika (253 A.D.). Although they failed to capture the city, they caused such panic throughout the rest of Greece, we are told, that Athens was spurred to rebuild the walls which had lain in ruins since Sulla's storming.⁴ Could we trust implicitly Zosimos, Zonaras, and Synkellos, or rather, their common source, we should be bound to associate the wall with this event.⁵ The evidence bearing on the date of the wall, as much as may be deduced from the pottery and the style of construction, is insufficient to permit of a decision between the two suggested possibilities. The answer must await further exploration.

This section of the city wall probably suffered from the Herulians in 267 A.D. It had, at any rate, been seriously damaged or neglected before the late repair of which we spoke.

¹ The few scattered references to this incursion have been assembled and studied by A. v. Premerstein in *Klio*, XII, 1912, pp. 145 ff., and in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encycl.*, XI, 2, 1922, coll. 1504 ff. See also Frazer's commentary on Pausanias, X. 34. 5 (V, pp. 429 f.). Mr. A. W. Parsons first called my attention to the possibility of a connection between the wall and the raid. I have profited much by discussing with him the vexed problems of the Athenian walls.

² One Mnasioulos of the little town of Elateia, putting himself at the head of an apparently local levy, inflicted much damage on the barbarians. Paus., X. 34. 5.

³ A. v. Premerstein, l. c., p. 162.

⁴ Zosim., I. 29; Zonar., XII. 23; Synkell., p. 381; Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 705 f.

⁵ The statement that the walls had not been attended to since the capture by Sulla would seem to be contradicted by Cassius Dio (XLII. 14) according to whom Caesar's legate, Q. Fufius Calenus, succeeded in taking the unfortified Peiraeus and other parts of the country but not Athens, not, that is, before the defeat of Pompey.

For the date of the restoration, the evidence from the present excavation is slight. Within the area of the easternmost tower explored, a handful of potsherds was gathered from the uppermost layer of earth through which the new walls had been set; these agreed with a few more found in the actual trenches of these walls. The latest pieces are not earlier than the end of the third century A.D., and, consequently, the walls must be as late or still later. Ancient literary references suggest two possible dates. The Emperor Julian (361–363 A.D.) is reported to have done much for the cities of Greece, among other things to have restored their fortifications.¹ Subsequently the Emperor Justinian (527–565 A.D.) put in repair the fortifications of all the Greek cities south of Thermopylai.² Of the two, the earlier date is to be preferred. Alaric, moving south at the head of the Visigoths in 396 A.D., supposed that he might easily take Athens, inasmuch as it was incapable of defence because of its extent.³ This could scarcely apply to the very limited area enclosed by the so-called Valerian Wall which, as noted above, is to be associated with the Herulian invasion of 267 A.D. We must infer that the old outer defences had been reconditioned in the meantime. This reconstruction is probably represented by the rebuilt wall and towers described above, which may therefore be attributable to Julian. But here again greater certainty can be hoped for only from further exploration.

¹ Mamertin., *Panegyric on Julian*, k 9.

² Prokop., *de aedific.*, IV, 2 (Vol. III, p. 372, ed. Bonn).

³ Zosim, V. 5.

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