THE CAMPAIGN OF 1935

The annual progress of the excavation of the American Zone of the Athenian Agora will be described in the customary form of a general summary report. The fifth campaign of excavation extended for a period of twenty-two weeks, from January 28, 1935 until June 29.¹ Weather conditions were unusually favorable and it was necessary to suspend operations because of rain or mud for only five days throughout the season. As a result of the length of the season as well as of improved methods of transportation more earth was removed than in any previous campaign, the total being 30,850 tons. The area that was cleared amounts to about three acres so that by the close of the year a total of nine of the sixteen acres of the American Zone had been excavated and more than 90,000 tons of earth had been carted away. The result is the disclosure of a great expanse of ancient remains, such as appears in a view of the area from the southeast shown in Figure 1, in which the historical buildings are being recognized one by one, so that at length the Agora is assuming a very definite and logical shape.

The administration of the excavations has remained the same as in previous years with control vested in the Agora Commission under the chairmanship of Professor Edward Capps of Princeton University. The business management in Athens has been conducted as efficiently as usual by Mr. A. Adossides who, with the able support of the legal counsellor, Mr. Kyriakides, has been tireless in pressing for action on Agora business and has accomplished remarkable results in the face of innumerable difficulties. But it must be emphasized that little could have been achieved had it not been for the active sympathetic support of the governmental authorities. The Prime Minister and Madame Tsaldaris frequently gave evidence of their interest in the work, the Ministers of Education and of Public Welfare responded favorably to our every call, and Professor Oikonomos, Director of Antiquities in the Ministry of Education, promptly furnished active support on many occasions. For this generous coöperation the Director of the excavations expresses the heartiest gratitude on behalf of the Agora Commission and of the staff of excavators.

Few changes have been made in the personnel of the excavation staff. The assistant architect, Charles Spector, was called home by illness in his family before the beginning of the campaign and his place was filled by a young Greek architect, J. Travlos, who did such satisfactory work that his services have been engaged for another season. Mrs.

Dorothy Burr Thompson withdrew temporarily from the corps of excavators but she will resume her position in 1936. One new Agora Fellow was appointed, Miss Margaret Crosby, who measured up adequately to the high standard set by her fellow excavators. The photographic work was admirably done by Miss Alison Frantz in the absence of Mrs. Joan Bush (now Mrs. Vanderpool) who was unable to come to Athens for the current season, and Miss Constance Curry was borrowed from the School to assist Miss Talcott in the Catalogue Department. In the Coin Department Miss Doris Raymond was appointed an assistant in place of Miss Baker and Miss Bunnell whose terms of service had expired. Great credit is due to the members of the staff for their unfaltering devotion to a very strenuous type of work during a long and intensive campaign.

The group of foremen remained the same as in the preceding season with the same head foreman, Sophokles Lekkas, experienced solver of difficult excavation problems. The number of laborers averaged 200, most of whom had worked previously in the Agora. The major physical problem of the excavations is the disposal of the vast quantity of earth that must be removed, and as the depressions in the neighborhood have become filled it must be carried to longer and longer distances. While the use of motor trucks has assured the fairly rapid handling of the earth it has also increased the cost of operations, but in view of the distances to be covered no other method of transport is practicable.

The work of the current season was conducted in four blocks that are marked with the Greek letters Nu (N), Xi (Ξ), Omicron (Ο), and Pi (Π) on the city plan of the American Zone that is published in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), p. 312, fig. 1. Besides these blocks some work remained from the preceding year to be completed in Sections Beta (B) and Gamma (Γ) in the southwestern part of the Zone. In the latter Section the area was greatly enlarged by the acquisition of an extensive terrain of public property on its west and south sides. This land was occupied by the unsightly huts of sixty-seven refugee families and it was only after herculean efforts that they were finally removed by the Government to more suitable and hygienic quarters. The additional amount of land thus made available for excavation was so great that work was conducted in it throughout the season and will be continued in the next campaign. In connection with the extension of this area to the west the governmental authorities have granted permission for the complete exploration of the plateau of the Theseion. This investigation, which will be made in 1936, should prove very profitable if one may judge from the results achieved in a small area at the north end, which will be described later in this Report.

A careful study of the excavated buildings on the west side of the area was made by Dr. Thompson in preparation of the publication of these buildings. The identifications announced at the close of last season were confirmed and additional chronological evidence was secured. An important piece of confirmatory evidence for the Ἱμέρον is a fragmentary statuette with an inscribed dedication to the Mother of the Gods that was found actually imbedded in the Hellenistic wall of the building. The chronological history of the Stoa of Zeus has been more accurately determined by the investigation of stratified deposits
Fig. 1. The Excavated Area from the Southeast
below its floor level. It now appears that the present structure on the site was begun shortly before 430 B.C. Building operations were apparently suspended during the first decade of the Peloponnesian War, but were resumed in the interval of the Peace of Nikias, 421–415 B.C. The building was not entirely completed, however, until some time in the fourth century, because its interior walls were decorated with the paintings of Euphranor. More evidence was also secured for another building, the Bouleuterion, proving that an earlier structure was erected on the site in the latter part of the sixth century.

THE SOUTH STOA

The past season brought two important contributions to our knowledge of the topography of the Agora through the complete excavation of two large buildings, which may be provisionally called the South Stoa and the Odeion. Both buildings lie in several Sections of the excavations and the South Stoa has been under excavation during three campaigns. For two seasons Mr. Parsons has been in charge of this branch of the work and his report on the building is the basis for the account here given.

Fig. 2. The East End of the South Stoa seen from the Southwest
The South Stoa extends from east to west for a length of 150 metres along the south side of the Agora forming a convenient boundary for the area. Its width is 18.30 metres and it is divided longitudinally by a series of twenty-three columns or piers that are joined by walls. Most of the superstructure of the building is missing but at the east end there are preserved the lower drums of three unfluted Doric columns standing in place on the stylobate. These columns, which are shown in Figure 2, are spaced with an intercolumniation of two metres and by the use of the same intercolumniation on the
side it is possible to make a tentative reconstruction of a peripteral building with seventy-three columns on the sides and with nine on the ends. The necessity for this unusual shape was occasioned by the fact that when the stoa was built with its front facing the square on the north, some public buildings already existed south of it which could not reasonably be cut off from the Agora by a long blank wall.

The foundation of the building was constructed of blocks of red conglomerate but the superstructure, as far as it has been preserved, is built entirely of poros. Figure 3 shows the steps, stylobate and a column drum of the east end of the stoa as seen from the east. The columns, which were covered by a thick coat of stucco, were joined by a screen of stone slabs about 0.25 m. thick and at least as high as the lowest drums. The excavation of this area was not completed by the end of the season and will be continued in the next campaign.

The date of the construction of the stoa must be placed in the Hellenistic period for the mass of material thrown in to support its foundations contained objects, such as pottery, lamps, and coins, that belong chiefly in the third and second centuries. One coin, however, from the footing trench of the foundation walls, a coin of the Athenian Cleruchy of Delos, must be dated after 166 B.C., so that the date of erection of the building must have been close to the middle of the second century B.C., and thus it was about contemporaneous with the Hellenistic reconstruction of the Metroön on the west and with the Stoa of Attalos on the east. It is clear that at this period the shape of the Agora approximated a fairly compact square. The plan of the buildings published in Hesperia [IV (1935), pl. III, opp. p. 362], which is supplemented by Fig. 13 below, shows that an additional stoa would make a suitable closure of the area on the north side; and that location would admirably accord with the literary references to the site of the Stoa Poikile, which is associated with the Stoa Basileios in the mention made by Harpokration (s. v. ἕγουαι) of the Herms, which certainly stood at the entrance to the Agora (Xen. Hipparch., III, 2).

The South Stoa was destroyed in the latter part of the third century A.D., on the evidence provided by the objects in a stratum of débris lying north of its west end and by the fact that some of its architectural members were used in the construction of the Valerian wall. Some time after the middle of the fourth century the site was partly occupied by an elaborate system of baths which made use of a stream of water that still flows steadily into the area from the southeast. It has not been possible to identify this great stoa with any building mentioned by ancient writers.

THE ODEION

At the north end of the central part of the American Zone a series of statues of giants standing on pedestals has baffled the ingenuity of archaeologists for a satisfactory interpretation of their structural purpose for the many years since they were uncovered by the Greek Archaeological Society (1859, 1871). Without any particular reason the building to which they belong has been usually called the “Stoa of the Giants.” A view
Fig. 4. The West End of the Row of Giants

Fig. 5. The Theatre Building behind the Giants
from the north of the west end of the row of Giants is given in a photograph reproduced in Figure 4 that was made at the beginning of the season before the demolition of the modern houses in the neighborhood, while Figure 5 shows the same area as it appeared at the conclusion of the excavations. A comparison of these two views conveys the clearest impression of what is occurring in the heart of Athens where the modest houses of a humble section of the modern city are giving way to the streets and houses, the temples and monuments of the ancient city of classical fame.

![The Orchestra from the North](image)

**Fig. 6. The Orchestra from the North**

Ten metres south of the façade of the Giants was uncovered the north wall of a rectangular building, measuring 52.50 by 42.50 m., that encloses a small theatre (Fig. 5). The building is oriented north and south with its front on the north side and with its rear wall built against the terrace wall of the South Stoa. It lies in areas of excavation that were supervised by Dr. Oliver, Mr. Vanderpool and Miss Crosby, but since Miss Crosby was in charge of the clearance of the main part of the building she prepared the report on which this account of the work is based.

The building consists of a rectangular auditorium that is surrounded by a corridor five metres wide that seems to have been a cryptoporticus except on the north where there was probably an entrance porch. A view of the theatre from the north (Fig. 6) shows the
orchestra and the cavea with its five passage stairways and with the cuttings in the bedrock for the marble seats of which only a few are preserved. The orchestra, which is less than a semicircle, has a floor paved with small pieces of marble of varied colors, white, green, gray, veined, and red, arranged in simple decorative designs (Fig. 7). A cutting in the floor presumably marks the original location of an altar or a statue-base. The orchestra was entered by lateral passages between the cavea and the stage, of which the foundations are 1.10 m. above the level of the orchestra floor.

Fig. 7. The Orchestra from the South

A deposit of burned material varying in depth from 15 to 75 cm. overlay the floor. It was almost wholly composed of charred bits of marble and of broken roof-tiles, many of which are stamped with the name Dionysiou. Seventeen coins from the undisturbed burned filling have been identified in spite of the injury to their surfaces from the fire. These are 7 of Athens of the Greek period, 3 from other Greek cities, 1 Athens Imperial, 1 Trajan, 1 Gordianus III, 2 Roman third century, and 2 Gallienus. The depth of the burned stratum and the serious injury to the surface of the marbles indicate a violent conflagration, and it is difficult to understand how so much fuel for flames could exist in a stone building of this sort.
The date of the construction of the building can be determined approximately from the methods of construction, from the stamped roof-tiles, from two marble heads found on the floor, and from the style of some of the architectural members. Parts of several large handsome Corinthian capitals have permitted the complete restoration of one of them which is reproduced in Figure 8 from a drawing by Mr. Travlos. The simple arrangement with a single row of acanthus leaves at the base and the water leaves extending above them characterizes a special type of Corinthian capital. This capital is identical in type with the capitals of the columns of the porches of the Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestes,¹ which is dated on good grounds by Graindor about the middle of the first century B.C.² The close similarity in style of these capitals of neighboring buildings predicates an approximately uniform date for the time of their construction which would have occurred in the course of the rebuilding of the city after the damage wrought by Sulla. A Corinthian anta capital that is built into a late Roman wall of the building (Fig. 9) may perhaps be attributed to the same era of construction in spite of the presence of a flower stalk below the tangent middle volutes which A. D. Fraser has noted to be a characteristic of Hadrianic style [Art Bulletin, IV (1921), pp. 15 ff.].

To the same period may also be assigned three marble female heads in high relief that were lying in the burned stratum just above the floor of the orchestra. These heads, one of which is illustrated in Figure 10, will be discussed in a subsequent article dealing with the sculpture and for the present it will be sufficient to point out that they closely resemble the head of the Hera Farnese in the Naples Museum and must reflect the type

¹ See Stuart and Revett, The Antiquities of Athens, I, pl. VII.
² Athènes sous Auguste, p. 179.
of the original source of that work. The background of the heads is a marble slab in the top of which are cuttings for dowels so that they presumably served some decorative architectural purpose in connection with the theatre building. They were, therefore, made when the theatre was constructed and were buried when that building was burned in the latter part of the third century A.D. The destruction, of which the date is fixed by the latest coins in the burned stratum, those of Gallienus, was probably due to the invasion of the Heruli in 267 A.D. In the second half of the fourth century the foundations were used for the erection of another building, on the northern façade of which the statues of the Giants were placed. But the fate of this building was brief as it does not seem to have long survived the end of the century and may have been ruined when Alaric visited Athens in 396.

The evidence for the identification of this small theatre is fairly clear. Only two buildings, that may be considered in this connection because of their theatrical type, can possibly be located in this part of the Agora. They are the Orchestra, described by Arrian (Anab., III, 16, 8) as situated opposite the Metroön and the Odeion, mentioned by Pausanias (I, 8, 6) next after the statues of the Tyrannicides. The shape of the new building does not seem suitable for the Orchestra which should normally be a full circle and no trace was found of the bases of the statues of the Tyrannicides which, according to Arrian and Pausanias, were still standing there in the middle of the second century A.D. But the shape

Fig. 9. Corinthian Anta Capital in a late Wall of the Odeion
is quite appropriate for that of a small covered theatre such as the Odeion certainly was. Pausanias locates the Odeion near the Enneakrounos and although the new building is separated by the South Stoa from the fountain house in the southwest part of the Agora,

Fig. 10. Marble Head from Burned Stratum above the Orchestra

which has a good claim to be considered the Enneakrounos, it is not far from it and, therefore, because of its location and of its shape it may be provisionally identified as the Odeion.

The proposed identification is supported by the discovery of two objects in the excavation of the building, one a statue of Dionysos (Fig. 11) and the other a fragment
of a marble base inscribed with the name Philadelphos (Fig. 12). The importance of these discoveries is due to the fact that Pausanias states that the Odeion contained a statue of Dionysos "worth seeing," and that in front of it were erected statues of the

![Fig. 11. Statue of Dionysos](image)

Ptolemies. The workmanship of the figure of Dionysos is good and when complete the statue might justly have been considered to be "worth seeing." The name in the fragmentary inscription may reasonably be restored as Ptolemy Philadelphus and the piece is presumably from the base of one of the statues mentioned by Pausanias. Such
is the evidence at present available for the identification of the building. Further evidence on the subject may be secured in the next campaign when the area to the north will be excavated.

The ground plan of the ancient buildings of the Agora as they appeared at the close of the season, shown in Figure 13, should be compared with the plan published in *Hesperia*, IV (1935), pl. III, opp. p. 362. On the west side below the Theseion are the famous public buildings: the Stoa of Zeus, the Temple of Apollo, the Metroon, the Bouleuterion, and the Tholos. The south and east sides are bounded by great stoae.

![Fig. 12. Fragment of an Inscribed Base](image)

In the centre is the Odeion; in the southwest corner the Fountain House, the Enneakrounos; and on the north edge the Altar of the Twelve Gods. A suitable completion of the plan requires another stoa along the north side and, as has been suggested, such a position for the Stoa Poikile would harmonize with ancient references to the site of that building. This possibility, however, cannot be explored in the immediate future because the suggested site is north of the electric railway that forms the northern boundary of the American Zone.

**THE PLATEAU OF THE THESEION**

On the plateau south of the Theseion the living rock is visible in many places and elsewhere it is covered by only a shallow deposit of earth. The ultimate plan for the inclusion of this area in the archaeological zone presumes its embellishment by the discreet planting of shrubbery. Before this can be done the rock must be covered with earth and
the space is so large that many thousands of tons will be required for the purpose. It will obviously be a great convenience for the excavations if the earth, which is now carted for a long distance at considerable trouble and expense, can be dumped in the immediate neighborhood. Before covering the rock, however, it was essential to explore it thoroughly and this investigation, which was partially made this year and will be completed next season, produced unexpected results. Cuttings for early graves and an unripped Protogeometric burial, which will be described later, were uncovered; many objects of various periods were found lying close to the bedrock; and a large cistern was opened that had not been entered since the fourth century A.D.

THE CISTERN

The cistern is located on the axis of the eleventh column of the Theseion and lies 58.20 m. south of the stylobate. It is cut in the solid rock and is lined on the interior with a thick coat of stucco. The diameter of the mouth is 1.05 m. and its depth is 4.70 m. It was packed with stones and earth through which the ancient objects were scattered, but it did not contain water, which was originally received through channels cut in the surface of the bedrock extending south and southwest of its mouth. The contents of the cistern are varied in character and represent a long range of time, as is indicated by the dates of the coins, which include the following: Megara, 307–243 B.C.; Athenian New Style, 229–30 B.C.; Delian Cleruchy, after 166 B.C.; Athenian Imperial, 1st century A.D.; and the Emperors: Philippus, 244–249; Gallienus, 253–268; Postumus, 259–268; Constantius Chlorus, 293–306; Constantine I, 306–337; Constantius II, 323–361 A.D. Nothing later than the time of Constantius was found in the deposit.

The objects from the cistern, of which forty have been catalogued, are of much interest and importance. They include a marble herm, two ivory statuettes, the lower part of a marble statuette of Herakles, a Roman lamp of the second century A.D., a lamp of the third century signed EV (Eutyches), two terracotta heads, twenty-two lead seals, and the following bronzes: a bull, statuettes of Herakles and of a shepherd, a coiled snake, a spout in the shape of a boar’s head, and an arrow tip. The fragile ivories and the bronzes are well preserved because of the dry condition of the earth in the cistern.

THE MARBLE HERM

The herm is of the usual type consisting of a tall shaft of Pentelic marble, supported by a base, which is surmounted by the bust of a man with marble projections at the shoulders in place of arms. The piece, which has a total height of 1.52 m., is remarkable for its excellent state of preservation and is particularly interesting because it bears the name of the individual portrayed inscribed across the top of the face of the shaft [Fig. 14. Illustrated London News, Oct. 19, 1935, p. 645, fig. 7; A.J.A., XXXIX (1935), p. 444,
The head, which will be discussed in a subsequent article on Sculpture, is an admirable portrait of an elderly man. The style of the workmanship suggests a date in the second century A.D. and such a date would be fitting for the shapes of the letters of the inscription. But although the name is fully given: Moiragenes son of Dromokles, of the Deme Koile, Eponymos of the Tribe Hippothontis, this man is not otherwise known from ancient records unless, as Mr. Sterling Dow has suggested, he may be identified with a Moiragenes mentioned in an inscription of the second century A.D. (I.G., II², 1809).

THE IVORY STATUETTES

The two small ivory figures of seated women are similar in type, style and costume, and were evidently made by the same hand (Fig. 15). Both women are seated on an irregularly shaped block and both wear the same style of dress, a chiton girdled just below the breasts and a himation folded across the lap. The type of head is also similar with placid, reposeful features in the Praxitelean style. In each case the hair is parted in the middle, brushed back over a fillet and caught in a knot behind. The figure on the left of the picture (height: 0.057 m.), whose arms are missing, is facing forward with her head slightly inclined to her left side. The other woman (height: 0.05 m.) has twisted the upper part of her body to the left where she is holding a large lyre. The presence of the lyre and the type and pose of the figures suggest the interpretation of them as Muses, and the woman with the lyre resembles in style and costume the figure of the seated Muse on the Mantineian base. The style of the figures and the admirable technical execution of the work are characteristic of products of the Greek period and since several Greek coins were found in the cistern there is no obstacle raised by the circumstances of discovery against their attribution to the fourth or third century B.C. The figures evidently formed the decorations of some large object as a small hole is visible at the back of each seat. It may be conjectured that all nine Muses made in the same exquisite style were set up in an aediculum or used for some other decorative purpose.
Fig. 15. Two Ivory Statuettes

Fig. 16. Bronze Statuettes
THE SMALL BRONZES

By contrast with the delicately wrought ivories the bronze statuettes are crudely made. The two figures on the left of the picture shown in Figure 16 came from within the cistern, the one on the right was found on the surface outside lying above the bedrock, but as all are of similar careless type and of late date they have been grouped together. The figure of Herakles in the centre (height including base: 0.094 m.) is a copy in miniature of the famous statue of the hero resting that is well represented by the Farnese Herakles in the Museum at Naples. Here he is seen in similar pose with the massive head inclined towards the left shoulder, with the right arm bent behind his back, and with the left arm resting on a support over which the lion’s skin has been thrown. Similar, too, are the shaggy hair and beard, the exaggerated calves of the legs, and the heavily muscled body. The chief divergence between the statuette and its presumptive model is in the type of the support. The Farnese Herakles leans on his club which is resting on a rock, but the bronze figure holds his arm over a large tree trunk, a much less pleasing composition.

The statuette on the left of the picture (height: 0.091 m.) appears to be from the same workshop as the Herakles. A youth is represented who is nude except for an animal’s skin that is girded about the loins with its ends hanging down on his thighs. He should probably be identified as Pan or Paris or perhaps as a simple shepherd. His right arm is raised aloft but in his lowered left hand he is holding a lagobolon, a weapon with a curved end used for killing hares.

The figure of Hermes on the right of the picture is even cruder than the other two. He is standing on a circular base holding a purse in his right hand and the caduceus in the left (height with base: 0.086 m.). He wears a peaked cap and has a chlamys draped over the left shoulder. Large wings were attached to the ankles, part of one of which remains. A work of such careless character may have been intended for use merely as a cheap offering at some shrine.

The contents of the cistern included also twenty-two lead seals, and seventy-one of similar type were found elsewhere on the plateau in the vicinity. More than half have on the obverse the head of Hermes with a caduceus, all counterstruck with a dolphin; the reverse is plain. Ten others show a standing figure of Hermes holding money bag and caduceus on the obverse, and on the reverse a draped standing figure. Other types include a head of Athena, a bearded head that is probably Poseidon with a trident, a Pegasus, a rayed head of Helios, and a bust of Athena wearing a Corinthian helmet. It is not certain for what purpose these seals were made but because of the predominance of the type of Hermes, the god of trade, it is possible that they were used in some way as a guarantee in connection with the production or sale of merchandise.
THE EARLY GRAVES

An astonishing feature of the current campaign has been the discovery of burials of sundry early periods. One of these that is particularly interesting for the history of Athens is a grave of the neolithic period that must be dated prior to 3000 B.C., and is the earliest record of habitation on the site of the Agora that has been found. About two metres east of the façade of the Metroön a circular cutting, ninety centimetres in diameter, appeared in the bedrock. This proved to be the top of a shaft that extended down to a depth of three metres; at its bottom a rectangular cutting in the rock on the east side contained the skeleton of an adult in crouching position and two vases. Figure 17 shows above, in section, the shaft in relation to the foundation of the Metroön on the right, and to the water-channel of the sixth century B.C. on the left, and below, in plan, the grave and its contents.

The two vases (Fig. 18) are primitive hand-made bowls. The one on the right of the picture, that was lying near the head of the skeleton, has lugs on each side for

Fig. 17. Section and Plan of Neolithic Shaft Grave
handles. It has been fired to an ash gray color and is slipped and polished both inside and out. Three pairs of drilled holes along the edges of a fracture show that this crude bowl had been mended in antiquity. The second vase, which had two loop handles, is made of equally coarse clay but it has been fired to a reddish orange color on the outside. The colors with which these vases were reproduced in the Illustrated London News (Oct. 19, 1935, p. 647) are approximately correct. These vases do not fall into any of the categories of Helladic pottery and they are dated by Mrs. Leslie Walker Kosmopoulos, a specialist who has devoted years of study to the Greek prehistoric period, at the close of the neolithic age. The shaft itself contained sherds of the Middle Helladic period, including pieces of gray Minyan and of matt painted ware, but nothing later than that period. This discovery of a neolithic burial supplements in an important way the revelation by Della Seta in 1922 of a settlement of the period on the south slope of the Acropolis [Bollettino d'Arte, N. S., II (1922), pp. 278 f.], and the excavation of a neolithic tomb in the same neighborhood by A. N. Skias in 1899 (Arch. Ephem., 1902, pp. 123 ff.). By the courtesy of the Greek Government the bones from the grave have been deposited in the American Museum of Natural History in New York where they are being studied by Dr. H. L. Shapiro who will present an anthropological study of the material in a subsequent number of Hesperia.

**THE MYCENAEAN BURIAL**

Since a grave of the late Mycenaean period containing pottery and a gold signet ring was discovered in 1933 in Section Eta of the excavations [Hesperia, IV (1935), pp. 318–320] it was not surprising to find another grave of the period this year. A cutting was carefully made in the bedrock in Section Lambda (length: 1.90 m.) with vertical sides and a flat bottom. Its orientation is from east to west and the body was laid in it with
Fig. 19. Plan of the Mycenaean Grave

Fig. 20. Late Mycenaean Vase
the head at the west end. The upper part of the skeleton is well preserved but the middle of the body is missing and the bones of the legs were disarranged. This disturbance of the bones undoubtedly occurred when a Roman wall was built across the grave as is shown on the plan in Figure 19. The skeleton lay in a curious position with the head lowered to the left so that it rested on the left shoulder. The right arm was bent across the chest and the fingers were tightly clasped about the left upper arm. The left forearm was raised so that when uncovered it pointed nearly straight up toward the surface. The date of the grave is fixed in the late Mycenaean period (Late Helladic III), about 1200 B.C., by the pottery from it which includes one vase that is practically complete (Fig. 20). This is a jug of familiar Mycenaean shape and decoration, with three loop handles on the shoulder, and with bands and stripes painted red on a buff ground.

Another grave nearby, containing a complete skeleton, which was similarly cut in the bedrock, is presumably also to be classified as Mycenaean although no pottery was found in it. The physiological characteristics of a man of this period will presently be reported since the Greek Government has also presented the skeleton from the grave with the pottery to the American School for the Museum of Natural History in New York.

THE PROTOGEOMETRIC GRAVE

On the plateau south of the Theseion the bedrock is covered by a shallow deposit of earth, varying in depth from thirty to forty centimetres, beneath which numerous rectangular cuttings in the rock were uncovered. As one of the cuttings contained an unrifled burial of the Protogeometric period, about 1000 B.C., and as Protogeometric sherds were scattered over the area these shafts are evidently the remains of a cemetery of that period which was located on the crest of the hill. The preserved grave was cut in the rock in a direction from northwest to southeast and contained the skeletons of two young children, one placed above the other, both with their heads at the southeast end. Twelve vases were deposited with the upper skeleton, and the presence of carbonized
matter and of bones of animals in the earth above the body indicates a burnt sacrifice at the funeral. The plan of the grave shown in Figure 21 gives the position of the upper skeleton and the offerings. The vases, which are preserved intact except for a few missing chips, are decorated in characteristic Protogeometric style (Fig. 22). Four of the jugs in the top row of the photograph bear on the shoulder the usual design of concentric semicircles and the vases in the lower row have equally characteristic decorative motives consisting of squares or rectangles or triangles of cross-hatching or of checker-board pattern. When the remainder of the plateau is excavated in the next season it may be expected that a farther extension of this early cemetery will be revealed.

THE GEOMETRIC BURIALS

Valuable historical and topographical evidence is furnished by the discovery of a cemetery of the Geometric period. Archaeological research always produces unexpected results but nothing could be more surprising than to find a cemetery in the Agora of Athens. Obviously the burials must have been made prior to the time when the area

Fig. 22. Vases from Protogeometric Grave
was selected as an agora, and the site of the cemetery, therefore, suggests the important topographical inference that the early town of Athens did not extend far to the north, but was clustered closely around the slopes of the Acropolis and the Areopagus. Twenty-one burials, of which most were intact, were uncovered in a limited area lying at the base of the south end of the Kolonos Agoraios. They are situated south of the Tholos and at a depth of from two to three metres below the floor of that building. It is reasonable to suppose that many similar graves have been destroyed by the later buildings and intrusions; and such violated graves may have been the source for the countless fragments of Geometric pottery scattered everywhere about the area at a level slightly above bedrock. The abundance of this deposit points to the interesting historical conclusion that the town of the Geometric age was a large and important one.

The period covered by the burials extends from the beginning of the eighth well down into the seventh century B.C., and thus the material provided permits a study of the development of the Geometric style and of its transition to the early Attic. Two types of interment were practised, the shaft grave which was used for adults and urn burials used for children. The earlier graves, dating from the beginning of the eighth century, had been disturbed by the later, and in one instance the second shaft had been cut across the earlier one and its filling earth contained dedicatory objects from its predecessor.

From one of the disturbed early burials came a vase of unique character and of interesting decoration, the handsome oenochoe (height: 0.228 m.) which is illustrated in Figure 23. The vase has a tall vertical handle and a trefoil mouth, and its surface is covered with decorative designs. In addition to the linear decorations there are also two bands on which are represented chariots and warriors of primitive type and crude appearance, painted in black on the buff ground. Three warriors appear on the band encircling the high neck of the vase. They wear helmets with long waving crests, have long swords suspended at the waist, and each carries two spears and a shield of hour-glass shape. The shoulder decoration of the oenochoe consists of a large meander pattern set between narrow bands of zigzags, and then below, about the body of the vase, comes the main zone of decoration.

The frieze of warriors engaged in a combat of Homeric type is shown in developed form in Figure 24. The central part of the scene is a hand-to-hand fight between two men of opposing sides. The single combatant who is facing two foes is protecting himself and his charioteer with a square shield; the driver of the four-wheeled cart on the right, who is equipped with an hour-glass shield, is undoubtedly to be associated with the attacking foot soldiers on the left and thus the opposing forces are distinguished by shields of different shapes. The human figures are crudely made, with eyes formed by dots in

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1 Dr. Hampe of the German Institute has made the interesting suggestion that the "Siamese" twins, the Aktorions, are here represented, ep. C. Blinkenberg, *Fibules grecques et orientales*, pp. 165ff.

2 For the use of shields of different shape by a single group see G. Lippold, *Griechische Schilde* in *Münchener Archäologische Studien*, p. 424.
reserved areas, with broad shoulders, wasp waists, and large hips, but in spite of the naive crudity of the execution the artist has succeeded in presenting variety of composition and in instilling a sense of action into the scene.

Fig. 23. Early Geometric Oenochoe

This vase, as far as the decoration is concerned, is an unusually interesting example of a familiar type of pottery, but it has also an additional and unique characteristic. Four round holes are cut in the body, pairs opposite one another, front and back and on the
sides, and through these holes are passed two hollow terracotta tubes, which thus cross on the interior of the vase. No parallel exists for this curious arrangement and the significance of the tubes is far from clear. They were made with much care and with cons-

Fig. 24. Combat Scene on the Frieze of the Oenochoe

iderable difficulty, and must have been essential to the purpose for which they were intended, but that purpose, which may have been concerned with magic or ritual, remains for the present an enigma.

A group of contemporaneous terracotta figurines was found in the vicinity of the oenochoe and in the filling of a neighboring grave (Fig. 25). On the left of the picture

Fig. 25. Geometric Terracotta Figurines
a charioteer is seen standing in his car, on the right are two seated figures, and in the centre are a bird and two crude animals, horses or dogs. The technique is similar to that used on the oenochoe and the figures are covered with decorations painted in black on a buff ground. The most interesting of these terracottas is the seated figure on the extreme right. The person, presumably a woman, has its arms raised aloft in the position of tearing the hair, so that a mourning attitude is portrayed. The body is entirely covered with decoration but besides the usual geometric designs a small figure is painted on the centre of both front and back in the same attitude as that of the terracotta itself, with arms raised and with the hands tearing the hair. The figure on the front of the body is set between two swastikas; on the back there are also two swastikas but their arrangement is different, one being at the left of the figure and the other below it. These terracottas were funeral dedications, and representations of mourning scenes are commonly portrayed on sepulchral vases of the Dipylon style.

Such a scene is, in fact, represented on an amphora found near the figurines that is adorned with plastic snakes of sepulchral significance on rim, handles and shoulder (Fig. 26). Besides the linear designs three bands of figured ornamentation present scenes associated with sepulture. On the front the narrow band just below the rim is occupied by a series of men bringing offerings, the panel on the neck portrays a prothesis scene, and on the main band around the body is a series of five three-horse chariots, symbolical of the funeral games held in honor of the dead.

These scenes illustrate some of the burial customs of the early Greeks, and the elaborateness of the designs bespeaks developed skill on the part of both the potter and painter.

THE SHAFT GRAVES

Six shaft graves were uncovered which yielded pottery dating in the latter part of the eighth century. One of these was a double burial that differed in type from its neighbors. The skeleton of a man was lying in undisturbed state in a direction from northwest to southeast with the head at the northwest end. The bones were covered with hard packed...
earth but there was no stone cover preserved above them. Figure 27 shows the outstretched skeleton, with the stone slabs covering another grave south of it still in place, and on the left the urn burial of an infant. No vases were found with the bones of the man but an iron dagger was lying under his left arm. When the skeleton had been removed and a thin stratum of earth beneath it had been cleared seven vases appeared directly below lying on a skeleton of a woman that was placed in the opposite direction to that of the man, that is with the head toward the southeast. The vases from the grave are a pyxis, four bowls, a tall pitcher and a kantharos.

The neighboring grave to the south also contained the skeleton of a woman and seven vases, of which five are pyxides.¹ This grave is a typical example of the group. The bedrock had been cut away to form the shaft which was covered with seven slabs of gray limestone. After the removal of the slabs earth was encountered for a depth of forty centimetres, below which was a layer of ashes ten centimetres deep. Under the ashes was a thin stratum of earth that had been strewn over the body and the offerings. Apparently when the body had been placed in the grave and the vases deposited sufficient earth was thrown in to cover them; then sacrifices were held and the ashes scattered over the earth before the cover slabs were set in place.

¹ These vases are illustrated in *A.J.A.*, XXXIX (1935), p. 176, fig. 4.
Three graves of men contained few offerings forming a noticeable contrast to the richness of the contents of the graves of women. This contrast is intensified when we come to the last and richest grave of the group, that of a young woman. The appearance of the grave after the removal of the cover slabs and the clearance of the filling earth is shown in Figure 28. The grave was oriented approximately east and west and the body lay with the head at the west end. The offerings, of which the position is clearly marked on the plan (Fig. 29), comprise a large iron brooch, a small bronze brooch, a bronze stick pin, two bronze rings, a terracotta disc, and twenty-two vases. The vases (Fig. 30), eleven of which are pyxides, illustrate the beauty and the variety of the best geometric technique.
Besides the shaft graves eleven urn burials were uncovered in the cemetery. These were large amphorae or small pithoi that contained, when found in undisturbed condition, the partially burned bones of infants and offerings of small vases such as would be appropriate for the use of children. Some of these urn burials extend in date into the seventh century and thus approach the time when this area was preempted for the location of the Agora.

**THE POTTERY**

In addition to many complete vases secured from the unrifled graves pottery in more or less well preserved condition was found elsewhere in the excavations, in wells and cisterns and in disturbed deposits, in such abundance that the season may be appropriately characterized as distinctively a pottery year. Many different periods are represented by ceramic masterpieces and even works from the hands of the famous Attic potters are not lacking. Several of the categories will be discussed in special articles by members of the staff so that only a brief account of the material need be presented here.
Fig. 31. Early Geometric Oenochoe from the Shaft

Fig. 32. Geometric Krater from the Shaft
Some clearing of late walls in the northeast corner of Section Eta, that was excavated in 1933, led to the discovery of a well cut in the bedrock. The mouth of the well lies 6 metres below modern level and the well itself extended to a depth of 51/2 metres; its filling belonged uniformly to the early Geometric period. In addition to many baskets of sherds from the shaft two vases that are practically complete were found at the 31/2 metre level. One of these is a large oenochoe of the black Dipylon style (Fig. 31), and the other is a handsome krater that is decorated with dark brown bands painted on a light buff ground (Fig. 32). In the same stratum with these vases was discovered an imported object of extraordinary character. This is a pendant made of blue glass that is illustrated in Figure 33 from an enlarged water-color made by Piet de Jong. The head of a woman is portrayed whose face is framed by a wig or a heavy mass of hair. The shape of the face is long and tapering, the eyes are narrow, the cheek bones are high and prominent, the mouth is small, and the neck is encircled by two rows of beads. The appearance of this head and the material from which it is made suggest an eastern source, perhaps Phoenician or Syrian, but no parallel has yet been noted that might be helpful in determining its origin or its date.

Another interesting object of the Geometric period is a two-handed bowl that bears on its side in incised letters the name of its owner (Fig. 34). The shape is rather shallow with an outflaring rim, and the handles are horizontal. The buff clay had been covered with a black slip that has largely flaked away. The bowl was found in a late Geometric context and its shape is exactly similar to bowls found in the late Geometric cemetery at Corinth. It should be dated near the end of the eighth century B.C. The unusual feature about it is the presence of the inscription by which the owner records his proprietary rights. It reads: \[\text{ΘΑΙΠΟ ΕΙΜΙ ΠΟΤΕΡΙΟΝ}\], I am the cup of Tharios. The name Tharios is not otherwise known, and the use of the diphthong instead of the simple \(\varepsilon\) in the verb should be noted. The letters are carefully made and show no signs of chipping so that the inscription is evidently contemporaneous with the manufacture of the bowl. The shapes of the letters are similar to those inscribed on the Geometric pottery found by Blegen on Mt. Hymettus [\textit{A.J.A.}, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 10 ff.], and the bowl furnishes another illustration of the advanced development of Greek writing in the eighth century.

Succeeding the Geometric style a new type of pottery appeared in Athens in the early seventh century that is characterized by altered shapes and by a greater repertory of decorative motives. A magnificent specimen of this Proto-attic style is a stately krater that is decorated on each side by two large birds, resembling an ostrich in appearance, that face each other in a field of ornamental designs consisting of rosettes, circles, zigzags, and elaborate spirals. Figure 35 shows the vase as restored by de Jong. The only uncertain element in this restoration is the shape of the base of which no part was recovered, and which perhaps should have been made higher on the analogy of the vase in the Fitzwilliam Museum (\textit{Corp. Vas. Ant.}, \textit{Cambridge}, 1, III G H, pl. II, 7). Other pottery of this group
Fig. 33. Glass Pendant. Scale 4:1

Fig. 34. Late Geometric Bowl with Inscription
includes a panel from a large vase that is occupied by a realistic cock and a side of a vase decorated with two facing sphinxes.

Other early ceramic types include several imported Corinthian vases, a fine fragment from the neck of a large amphora of Attic orientalizing style that is decorated with a running Gorgon, and an Attic Black-figured jug with an arming scene portrayed on its front panel. The many pieces of fifth century ware, of which the two most important are a white-ground disc with Helios standing in a chariot and a fragmentary vase signed by Euthymides, will be published in later articles by Miss Talcott. Attention, however, may
be called here to an interesting inscription incised on the bottom of the base of a large two-handled bowl that was found in connection with other vases with incised names in a pit beneath the floor of the Stoa of Zeus. The earliest datable object from the pit is an ostrakon of Aristeides that cannot be placed after 483, the year when Aristeides was ostracized. The inscription is in the form of a dactylic hexameter line divided between the outer rim of the bottom of the base and its inner disc. It reads as follows: ὑγρῶν

![Incised Inscription on Bottom of Vase](image)

Fig. 36. Incised Inscription on Bottom of Vase

δ γράψας Ἕ[φρον]ίος Σῳδίας κατάπυγον, which may be freely translated: “Euphronios who painted the vase (or scratched the inscription) says Sosias be damned!” All the letters are clear except those of the name Euphronios which have been deliberately deleted, but the remaining traces of letters seem to me to warrant the suggested restoration. In order to show the spacing of the restored letters the inscription is illustrated in Figure 36 from a drawing by de Jong. The rivalry between Euthymides and Euphronios is well known from the inscription on an amphora in Munich (E. Pfuhl, Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Griechen, I, p. 433), and whether or not the Sosias here cursed is to be identified with the potter
Sosias, I am inclined to connect the new inscription with the rivalries existing among the ceramic masters in Athens.

A great quantity of pottery dating from the fourth and third centuries was secured from several cisterns on the west side of the area of excavations. One of the deposits that can be dated in the middle years of the fourth century contained a vase that had been imported from Cyprus. Another imported vase is a hydria (Fig. 37) that belongs stylistically to a group that has acquired its name from the cemetery of Hadra near Alexandria where many have been found. The evidence secured at Hadra dates this pottery in the second quarter of the third century B.C. It is interesting to secure these imported vases both for the confirmatory chronological evidence that they provide and for the enlargement of the variety of pottery in the Agora collection.

Fig. 37. Hydria of Hadra Type
The local Hellenistic ware is abundantly represented in the year's harvest, and two vases are selected to illustrate this group (Fig. 38). They are of similar shape, the kantharos type, and both have the rich black glaze that is characteristic of the period with decorative motives added in opaque white. The vase on the left of the picture is decorated with pairs of dolphins, while that on the right has above its ornamental design the painted word, φιλίας, "Friendship's cup," thus identifying the authentic "loving cup" of the ancient Greeks. The thin walls and graceful shape of these cups recall the statement of Epigenes, a fourth century writer quoted by Athenaeus (XI, 474 a), that "potters do not make fat kantharoi now but they make them small and dainty as if people were going to drink the cups and not the wine."

The excavations always produce considerable pottery of the later periods, Roman, Byzantine, and Turkish but this does not require detailed description in this place. The fact should be emphasized, however, that well preserved specimens in the Agora collection now handsomely illustrate many diverse periods of ceramic development. Contrary to all previous expectations the Agora has become a new centre in Athens for the study of pottery, and especially valuable for that study is the fact that accurate records furnish all details of the circumstances of discovery so that precious chronological evidence is usually available.
TERRACOTTAS

Figurines of many types and periods are commonly found in the area, and evidence that they were locally made is provided by the frequent discovery of the moulds that were used in their manufacture. The number of Greek and Roman lamps is steadily increasing, and those secured during the present season, 369 in number representing practically all periods, bring the total catalogued in the Agora to 1921. One Hellenistic example is particularly interesting because a piece of the wick is preserved in place extending from the channel of the nozzle into the bowl. Since the dates of lamps are now fairly well fixed they supplement coins in providing chronological evidence for stratified deposits.

COINS

The problem of handling the coins from the excavations is an ever growing one because of the constantly increasing numbers. The harvest of the present year was 9,690 pieces, and the grand total for the five seasons is 41,290. This total includes modern coins and many that will disintegrate in the cleaning process, but the proportion of those lost is surprisingly small in view of the badly corroded condition in which they come from the ground. This is demonstrated by the complete returns from Section Eta. Of a total of 3,624 coins from this Section 395 (10.9%) disintegrated and 93 (2.5%) were illegible, leaving 3,136 (86.5%) that were legible and identified. An analytical study of the coins is presented by Mrs. Shear in a later article in this Number.

OSTRAKA

The collection of ostraka now numbers 145 pieces, including the names of all those listed by Aristotle as ostracized before the Persian invasion, names of Athenians known in history, and names not otherwise known from historical records. Ballots derived from the early ostracisms, of which specimens are shown in Figure 39, include seven against Hipparchos son of Charmos, seven against Megakles son of Hippokrates, six against Xanthippos son of Arriphron, twenty-eight against Aristeides son of Lysimachos, fifty-four against Themistokles son of Neokles, and thirteen against Hippokrates son of Anaxilas (or Alkmeonides).

Many curious variations occur in the spelling of the names indicative of the low degree of literacy of the period. One ballot of Aristeides is particularly interesting in view of the story related by Plutarch (Aristeides, VII, 5–6) about the embarrassment of an illiterate man who could not write the name. On the sherd the name was poorly written and below it the father’s name was started. Then the name of the Deme, Alopekethen, was incised and later crossed out, and below it the father’s name, Lysimachos, was carefully incised in a different hand. Evidently a voter became quite confused with the name and sought help from a neighbor just as in the tale of Plutarch the illiterate man did of Aristeides himself.
The name of Themistokles is also variously written. In one case patronymic and demotic are added, in fifteen cases only patronymic appears, and in twenty-one only the demotic. One sherd (lower right corner of the picture) is unique in showing the use of the four-barred sigma, and of omega instead of omikron in the termination of the father's name.

An interesting ostrakon bears the name of Kallias son of Didymias, who was a famous athlete and won the Pankration at Olympia in 472. A monument was erected to him at

Olympia and numerous victories at other games are recorded, but we hear nothing of any political activity in which he was engaged at Athens. Pseudo-Andocides (IV, 32) simply mentions the ostracism as a reproach to the city. Perhaps the votes of ostracism against him were assembled by jealous athletic groups.¹

**INSCRIPTIONS**

New inscriptions, complete and fragmentary, to the number of 1079 have raised the grand total from the excavations to 3058. As in previous years the new pieces represent many types of documents and date from many different periods. They require detailed

¹ The ostracism of Kallias was questioned by Carcopino, *L'Ostracisme Athénien*² (Paris, 1935), p. 120.
technical study which is being devoted to them by Professor Meritt and his assistants. The results are being published regularly in *Hesperia* and form the exclusive contents of two numbers of the latest volume (IV, 1 and 4). Only several pieces of more general interest will be mentioned here.

Fig. 40. Notice of Library Regulations

Some boundary stones of precincts have been secured of which the most interesting are those of the Metroön and of the sanctuary of the Dioscuri, but since they were not in place they have no topographical significance. Decrees with the names and dates of archons are always of value for establishing the chronology of the Attic calendar, but
especially important is a fragment preserving part of a list of treasurers, which carries a sequence of names of seven archons beginning with Philanthes 87/6. The following names are Hierophantes, Pythokritos, Niketes, Pammenes, Demetrios and one beginning with the letters AR. Of the names of the treasurers Pasinikos is not otherwise known in Attic prosopography. The significance of the new list is that it fixes exact dates for the archons Pythokritos, Niketes and Pammenes, who had been previously known but had not been exactly dated, and it gives the names of two archons, Demetrios and AR..., who had not been known before. It also necessitates the determination of new dates for the series of three archons who had been placed tentatively in the years 84 to 81 which are now definitely occupied. This is a good illustration of the type of historical information that is being supplied by the excavations in the Agora.

An inscription of quite modern tone referring to library regulations was found in the vicinity of the dedicatory inscription of the library of Trajan [Hesperia, IV (1935), p. 332, fig. 19]. It is evidently an official notice that was posted in or before the building (Fig. 40), and reads: βιβλίον (sic) οδContained in XML content ends here.