

EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952

(PLATES 10–16)

THE seventeenth season of excavation devoted by the American School of Classical Studies to the Athenian Agora ran from February into July of 1952.¹ New ground was broken around the Church of the Holy Apostles at the southeast corner of the square and this led to a substantial increase in our knowledge of the development of the Agora in both its earlier and later phases. Within the square excavation was completed in various areas which had been superficially explored between the Wars: to the east and west of the Odeion, to the north of the Temple of Ares (where a ground altar of the archaic period came to light), and in the north-east corner both in front of and behind the Stoa of Attalos. In addition to yielding a good deal of information on the history of the square, this deep digging has, as always, brought out from tombs and wells much evidence for early habitation in the region. Two chamber tombs and three pit burials of the Late Helladic III period were opened, one pit grave of the Submycenaean and one of the late Geometric age. Sixteen wells were cleared with a range in date from Late Helladic III to Byzantine; of particular interest are groups of pottery of the seventh century B.C. from two of the wells.

The veteran staff remained as in the previous season. Mr. Eugene Vanderpool divided his time between academic duties, the supervision of an area of excavation and responsibility for the Agora during the absence of the undersigned. Miss Lucy Talcott has continued in charge of records and the museum and has smoothed the way for all those engaged in the study of Agora material. Miss Barbara Philippaki returned to assist Miss Talcott in the autumn of 1952 after spending the session

¹ Thanks are due as always to the authorities of the Greek Archaeological Service for facilities freely rendered, in particular Professor A. Orlandos, head of the Department of Antiquities, Mr. John Meliades, Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, Mr. and Mrs. Christos Karouzos of the National Museum and Mr. John Threpsiades, Ephor.

The undertaking continues to be fortunate in the competence and devotion of its Greek technical staff headed by Mr. Sophokles Lekkas as Chief Foreman. Of the many persons who assisted on a voluntary basis during the year particular thanks are due to Mr. Alexander Lattimore for help in the photographic laboratory.

As in past years, Professor John L. Caskey, Director of the School, has given generously of his time and care to this department of the School's activities. Nor could the undertaking have continued without the energetic support of the Chairman of the Board of Trustees, Mr. Ward Canaday, and the Chairman of the Managing Committee, Professor Charles H. Morgan. The actual prosecution of the work has depended, and will continue to depend, on generous financial assistance both from institutions and from individuals.

1951-52 in membership at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. During Miss Philippaki's absence her place was taken by Miss Alikí Halepa who has since remained as a museum assistant. Miss Alison Frantz remains responsible for a growing volume of photography and Mr. John Travlos continued as architect of the excavations until departing in the autumn of 1952 to take up a one-year membership in the Institute for Advanced Study. Miss Margaret Crosby supervised the excavation of the large block of new ground at the southeast corner of the square. Miss Virginia Grace, with the help of her experienced assistant, Miss Maria Savatianou, has continued her study of wine jars with a view to their publication in corpus form. Mrs. Elizabeth G. Caskey has continued the arduous task of identifying the coins from the current excavation, to the great satisfaction of the excavators.

As in past years, the Agora once more profited from the participation of scholars holding Fulbright grants. Professor Henry S. Robinson of the University of Oklahoma spent the full year in an intensive study of the pottery of the Roman period (86 B.C. into the sixth century) from the Agora Excavations and also travelled extensively in the Near East to examine comparative material. He is spending the year 1952-53 as a member of the Institute for Advanced Study, digesting and writing. Professor W. Kendrick Pritchett of the University of California devoted the year to a study of the inscribed records of the sale of the goods of Alkibiades and his accomplices in the profaning of the Mysteries and the mutilation of the Herms (415 B.C.). By the end of the year he had completed the epigraphic study on paper and had recomposed in physical form (with some supplementary plaster) two out of a probable total of eleven great stelai. In sorting out and attributing the many fragments to their proper stelai, Professor Pritchett profited greatly from the help of Dr. Norman Herz, a trained geologist, who spent the year in Greece applying his special knowledge to the solution of this and other problems on which geologist and archaeologist could work together to their mutual advantage, e. g. the more certain identification of Greek marbles and the considerations that governed the employment of various kinds of stone in the different parts of an ancient Greek building. All the above scholars held Fulbright Research Grants.

Two holders of predoctoral Fulbright grants also devoted much of the year to the Agora. Miss Marion R. Holland, trained both in archaeology and architecture, acted as assistant architect and in particular began the study of the many additional fragments from the superstructure of the Temple of Ares which have come to light since Professor Dinsmoor's original study.² Mr. Norman A. Doenges made his debut in field archaeology by supervising an area of excavation.

Professor Richard H. Howland of the Johns Hopkins University spent the summer of 1952 in Athens completing the study of the lamps of the Greek period

² *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 1-52.

from the Agora (down to 86 B.C.). Mr. Peter Corbett of the British Museum, with the assistance of a grant from the American Philosophical Society, in the months August to October, 1952, carried out a fruitful piece of research on the technical aspects of the stamped and black-glazed pottery of the fourth century B.C. Professor Cedric Boulter of the University of Cincinnati completed the study of a richly varied well group of the mid fifth century B.C. In the course of a brief visit in the summer of 1952 Mrs. Evelyn L. Smithson of the Institute for Advanced Study supervised the clearance of a number of early wells and a grave and studied, with a view to publication, the material from the graves of the Protogeometric period. The supervision of field work was shared this season, as last, by Miss Rebecca C. Wood, Special Fellow of the School. Miss E. Patricia Neils, a student of the School, by joining a marble knee found near the Temple of Ares with a statue discovered in the making of the Athens-Piraeus Railway in 1891, identified the figure as an akroterion from the Temple.

THE SOUTHEAST AREA

Excavation

It had long been realized that the eleventh-century Church of the Holy Apostles overlay one of the cardinal points in Athenian topography, viz. the southeast corner of the Agora. The exploration of the region became possible through the demolition of a group of private dwellings to the south of the Church in the autumn of 1951 and through agreement with the Ministry of Education and Religion regarding the reduction in the area of the churchyard to the north of the building. Since this is still the parish church of the neighborhood, access to it has been maintained by shifting gateways and stairs. It is hoped that the nineteenth-century addition which now dwarfs the original part of the Church may eventually be removed. When the exploration has been completed the building will be protected by retaining walls and embellished by planting. It may then be appreciated as one of the earliest and most attractive of the surviving churches of Byzantine Athens and it will at the same time from its lofty site be one of the most prominent and pleasing features of the Agora park.

The exploration of the area both to the south and to the north of the Church was supervised by Miss Margaret Crosby, on whose observations the following account is largely based.

The excavation revealed that the terrain in antiquity had sloped rather steeply down toward both the north and the west, a circumstance which had much to do with the disposition of the ancient buildings. It also happens that the area lies at the foot of a shallow gully which separates the northern slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus. This had exposed it to especially heavy silting; to the northwest of the Church, for instance, the accumulated debris and silt lay to a depth of $5\frac{1}{2}$ metres above the

floors of the ancient buildings. The exploration accordingly involved the removal, at great cost, of a vast volume of earth; fortunately the results may claim to have justified the outlay.

The Southern Limit of the Early Square

Immediately to the south of the Church appeared the foundations of two early buildings which form a jagged line with a third building to the west already partially exposed in 1936 (Pls. 10-13). The large fountain house discovered in 1934³ at the southwest corner of the Agora region presumably stood at the western extremity of this line. It is hoped that the removal of the northern block of the Excavation Houses in the fall of 1952 and the campaign of 1953 will fill the gap in the row.

It is already clear, however, that this row of buildings constituted the southern limit of the Agora from the sixth and fifth centuries until the great reorganization of the second century B.C.⁴ The discovery thus helps greatly in visualizing both the scheme and the extent of the early square. Having in mind that the Stoa Poikile, dating a little before the middle of the fifth century, must have closed the north side of the square just beyond the limits of the present excavation, we observe that as early as the end of the fifth century the Agora was fairly compactly bordered by public buildings on three sides: the west, north and south. We have as yet no certain trace of substantial buildings on the east side before the abortive beginning on the construction of the square market building in the late fourth or early third century B.C.⁵ The north to south dimension of the open square of the early Agora may be estimated as about 200 metres and its east to west breadth will have been about the same; its area, therefore, must have been little less than ten acres.

The early buildings that faced northward across the square presented their backs to an important east to west thoroughfare that ran between the Agora and the foot of the Acropolis and Areopagus to provide communication between the Piraeus Gate in the western city wall and the eastern parts of the town. The ancient road is directly overlaid by the modern Observatory Street, illustrating once more the age-long persistence of such natural thoroughfares.

Of the three early buildings in the area of the Church, the westernmost has a width of 15.50 m. and has been exposed from its eastern end a distance of 23 m., but its west end has not yet been fixed. It is divided longitudinally by a wall that is set

³ *Hesperia*, IV, 1935, p. 360; XVIII, 1949, pp. 133 f.

⁴ This would seem at first glance to violate the evidence of the boundary stone of the Agora, dating from ca. 500 B.C., which still stands *in situ* to the southeast of the Tholos (*Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, pp. 205 f., fig. 4; Supplement IV, 1940, p. 107). This marker, however, stood at the junction of lines of traffic coming both from the southwest and south and may therefore have been intended primarily to delimit the Agora toward the west rather than toward the south.

⁵ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 99-102. The date in the time of Lykourgos previously proposed for this enterprise may have to be lowered by the further study of pottery and coins.

somewhat south of middle. Crosswalls (not shown on the plan) divide both north and south parts into rooms of various size. There is no trace of a colonnade. Both the wall socle and the orthostates that still stand in places on it are cut from soft, cream-colored poros. The construction is good and substantial. The little evidence thus far available would suggest a date in the second half of the fifth century B.C. The building continued in use until it was razed to make way for the South Stoa in the second century. The characteristic plan of the structure leaves little doubt that it housed shops, the larger rooms to the north being the places of business, the back rooms serving for storage or domestic purposes.

The easternmost of the three early buildings measures *ca.* 13.60 x 16.60 m. overall. Its outer foundations, built of massive squared blocks of soft, cream-colored poros, are 1.20 to 1.30 m. in thickness. There is no indication of exterior columns. Traces of interior walls dividing the building into a number of rooms have not yet been fully cleared nor plotted. Nowhere do the walls now rise above the ancient floor level, and the floor itself has been largely disturbed by late intruders. The northwest corner has not yet been exposed. The evidence of material, construction and a little associated pottery suggests a very tentative dating in the latter part of the fifth century. The original purpose of the building is as yet obscure. In the early Roman period a number of kilns set deep beneath the old floor level obviously served some industrial use. In one room of an annex placed against the east side of this building are the cup-shaped bedding holes for four large storage jars.

The Southeast Fountain House

The best preserved of the early buildings bordering the south side of the early square is an hydraulic establishment, a long rectangle in plan, measuring 6.80 x 18.20 m. overall, with its major axis approximately east and west (Pls. 10, 13, Fig. 1). Although the areas both to north and to south are still unexcavated, there can be little doubt that the building opened northward on the square and that, like its neighbors, it presented its back to the important east to west roadway that ran parallel to the south side of the square. It was separated by narrow alleys from the buildings to east and west.

Although the walls nowhere rise more than one course above the ancient floor level and even the foundations in many places have been entirely stripped, enough remains to indicate the general lines of the original scheme and to give a hint as to the nature of an extensive remodelling carried out in the Greek period.

The building originally comprised three parts: a large central area, which presumably served as a lobby, and lesser areas, one at either end, measuring *ca.* 3.20 x 5.00 m., which are shown by the waterproofing of the floors and by the provision for drainage to have been water basins. A parapet with supporting posts is presumably to be restored between the middle space and either basin, but of this only the under-

pinning remains. The floor of the western basin lay about one foot lower than that of the eastern and both basins descended below the floor level of the central room. At present the difference in level between the central area and the floor of the east basin is *ca.* 0.15 m., but, since there is reason to believe that the floor of the mid part was cut down by about one foot in the course of the reconstruction, the original difference would have been accordingly greater.

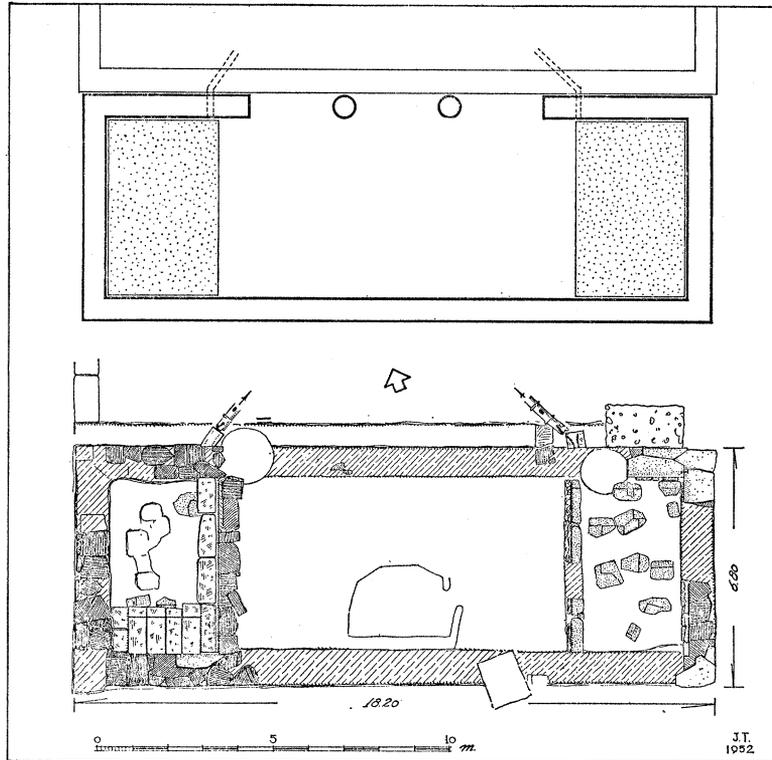


Fig. 1. Southeast Fountain House: Actual State and Tentative Restoration.

The central room has suffered most grievously; virtually nothing remains either of its walls or original floor. Shallow beddings for continuous stone foundations may, however, be traced throughout the length of the north and south sides. A still more shallow bedding outside the line of the north wall may well have been occupied by a step; this has suggested, and it is indeed the only evidence for, the restoration of columns in this side of the building.

The wall foundations in the area of the end basins are markedly deeper than those on the sides of the middle room, no doubt because these walls served both as the outer walls of the building and as the sides of the water basins (Pl. 13b). The stone is a hard gray poros, not quite creamy enough to be the normal Kará limestone.

The jointing is polygonal throughout; it becomes increasingly more careful in the upper courses until in the first course above floor level, as represented by a few surviving blocks at the southeast and northeast corners, both the vertical joints and the horizontal beds are finished with great precision. The inner face of the one course that survives above floor level is finished smooth and is unstuccoed. Traces on its top indicate that the face of the next course was set back *ca.* 5 centimetres. The top inner edge of the surviving course is slightly rubbed from wear in both basins. One clamp of Z shape remains in place in the first course above floor level at the northeast corner.

Of particular interest is the flooring of the basins which would appear to have been identical at both ends of the building. The floor consisted of thin slabs of milky white marble, 0.03-0.08 m. thick, irregular in shape and size, and jointed in much the same polygonal scheme as the wall courses. In the mid part of the basin the slabs rested on irregular masses of limestone set down in the bedrock; along the walls their edges were housed in a rabbet cut in the top of a wall course in such a way that the edges of the slabs were overlaid by the blocks of the next course.⁶ A gap of about two centimetres between the actual edge of the flooring and the stone of the wall was waterproofed with a packing of viscous yellow clay. The intermediate joints between slabs were worked with such precision as to be virtually invisible and were no doubt waterproof for all practical purposes.

From the inner angle of the north end of each basin a drain made of round terracotta pipes of normal archaic type led off diagonally as though to converge at a point now overlaid by the Church of the Holy Apostles. The drainage was carried through the wall in a stone channel set at the floor level of the basin. It is conceivable, though the ruinous condition of the wall makes certainty impossible, that there was also an outlet at a higher level.

Up to this point the restoration is reasonably certain. The provision for drainage and waterproofing leaves no doubt that we have to do with an hydraulic establishment. The water was undoubtedly concentrated in the end basins; the thinness and delicacy of the flooring in those areas make it unlikely that they were normally accessible. It may be supposed that the water was stored to some depth in the basins (so much is implied by the massive construction of the walls), and that it was drawn over parapets by people standing in the central room.

The building is unusual in plan, particularly in having two basins separated by a lobby. Yet a scheme basically similar to this has been inferred by Orlandos for a fountain house represented on a black-figured hydria in the Louvre,⁷ and a splendid

⁶ A similar arrangement has been observed in a fountain house on Paros, probably of the fourth century: O. Rubensohn, *Ath. Mitt.*, XXVII, 1902, p. 203, fig. 6.

⁷ *Αρχ. Έφ.*, 1916, p. 100, fig. 11, K and fig. 34.

fountain house probably of the fourth century B.C. on Tenos comprises two draw basins separated by a large exhedra.⁸

What was the source of the water? Although the water table remained close to the floor level of the ancient building throughout the summer of 1952, there is nothing to suggest that any immediately local source was tapped. Yet there is no trace of a piped supply in the surviving parts of the structure. The most likely source would appear to be a subterranean aqueduct which has been exposed over a length of some metres to the southeast of the present building and which continued westward beneath the ancient roadway to terminate in the other large fountain house discovered in 1934 at the southwest corner of the Agora (cf. above, p. 28). The floor, walls and roof of the channel are built of heavy blocks of soft brown poros and the interior dimensions, 0.60 x 1.00 m., are such as to permit the passage of a workman. The water was carried in terracotta pipes which rested in a concave trough cut in the floor of the channel. The pipes now in place are L-shaped, but these may well be replacements of original round pipes. Since this conduit must have passed within ten metres of our building, it is tempting to regard it as the source, although admittedly the connection has yet to be established and the problem can scarcely be settled until the aqueduct has been more completely explored.

A date in the second half of the sixth century is suggested for the fountain house by the material and the stone work of the original parts which have much in common with the Old Temple on the Acropolis and, still more, with the Old Temple of Dionysos below the Theatre. Such a date would be congruent with the little pottery that has as yet been found in association with the first period: this pottery breaks off at about the middle of the century. It may also be significant in this connection that two wells which opened a few metres to the southeast of the fountain house went out of use about the middle of the sixth century.

The remodelling of the fountain house, to which reference has already been made, may be dated tentatively, again on the evidence of material, workmanship and a limited amount of pottery, in the second half of the fifth century. Although the details must remain largely conjectural, the scheme of the building would seem to have been altered radically. The marble floor of the western basin was removed and the area was overlaid by a massive packing of large squared blocks of soft, creamy poros. There is reason to believe that the floor level of the central room was now lowered and that the packing of poros blocks was continued over its whole length as also over the east basin, which probably lost its marble floor on this same occasion. The original drains were, of course, put out of use by this move. Their place was taken by a carefully plastered open stone channel which had its beginning at the extreme southeast corner of the building; from this point it ran due east to the wall

⁸ Orlandos, 'Αρχ. Έφ., 1937, pp. 608-620.

of the neighboring building and thence proceeded northward at the foot of that wall. The remainder of the narrow area between the two buildings was now covered with a cement floor sloping down to the channel; the cement was laid over the stone paving of what had previously been an alley between the buildings.

How the building was used henceforth and why it was thus altered can be learned, if at all, only by the fuller exploration of the environs.

The overflow from the fountain house was carried northward in the continuation of the open stone channel that issues from the southeast corner of the building. Its course, bordering the west edge of the Panathenaic Way, has been traced throughout the excavated area; at intervals it is punctuated by round dip basins.^{8*} A corresponding arrangement served the west side of the square: a similar open stone channel, likewise equipped with basins, carried the overflow from the other large fountain house along the east edge of the principal thoroughfare. Still a third conduit of this type is known to have bordered the road which led out from a point near the southwest corner of the square toward the Piraeus Gate.⁹ These facilities were no doubt in the mind of Plato as he made his observations on civic water supply in the *Laws* (VI, 761c) and the *Kritias* (117). Plato had the overflow from the fountains used for watering the groves of Poseidon and the other gods, and we shall note below (p. 46) an instance of this practice in the Agora.¹⁰ One can imagine many other practical uses to which flowing water might be put in a market place for the convenience of both man and beast. The arrangement is also familiar, of course, in stadia.

The later history of the newly found fountain house is as yet obscure. The sinking of a well immediately to the south of the building in the third century after Christ suggests that it had gone out of use by that time, conceivably in consequence of the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Much of the foundation stone at the west end of the building was removed in the fifth or sixth centuries; further pillaging occurred, especially in the central and eastern parts, in the Byzantine period, perhaps at the time of the erection of the Church of the Holy Apostles (early eleventh century).

It would be well to consider the possibility of the fountain house having gone out of use as such long before the third century after Christ. There is evidence for the existence of a fountain at the south end of the terrace of the East Stoa of the Commercial Agora (below, p. 37). As yet the foundations barely protrude from the excavation scarp to the north of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Pl. 14b); they may be more fully explored by cautious trenching in the future. Already, however,

^{8*} The existing stone channel along the Panathenaic Way is probably of the late Hellenistic or early Roman period; the exact line and form of the earlier period have not yet been established.

⁹ *Hesperia*, XX, 1951, pp. 156 f.

¹⁰ The Agora of Thasos was served by a similar system of channels and basins (*B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1952, pp. 254-256, figs. 44 and 45); so too was the Herakleion of Thasos (M. Launey, *Le Sanctuaire et le Culte d'Hérakles à Thasos*, Paris, 1944, pp. 23 f.).

one can distinguish two periods. To the earlier phase belongs a floor, with an east to west dimension of *ca.* 6 metres, made of fragments of tile set on edge and covered with cement. The floor was bordered by a wall of *opus reticulatum*¹¹ and sloped down eastward to a drain hole communicating with the earlier open stone water channel. Subsequently the wall of *opus reticulatum* was demolished and a massive podium with concrete core faced with re-used poros blocks was set down on the cement floor. A new basin with tiled floor and bordering wall was now constructed against the east front of the East Stoa; it discharged its overflow into a new underground drain through a hole protected by a marble slab with a rosette design in openwork. Six marble slabs which had been re-used in a Byzantine tomb a few metres to the north of these foundations evidently derive from an hydraulic establishment as shown by grooves in their edges for waterproofing material and by traces of a thin parapet on their tops. A small statue of Venus Genetrix type in which the original apple was replaced with a water pitcher was recovered from a house foundation of the Turkish period in the same area; it would be thoroughly appropriate for the embellishment of a fountain house or nymphaeum (below, pp. 53-54).

This assortment of evidence is too meagre as yet to permit of many conclusions; but it does suffice to establish the existence of a fountain at the south end of the terrace in front of the East Stoa. It may be observed further that this source in its time would have been more conveniently accessible than the old fountain house which must have appeared out of the way after the construction of the East Stoa.¹² It remains problematic, however, whether the new fountain supplemented or supplanted the old.

The emergence of a large fountain house of the archaic period inevitably rouses again the old hydra of Athenian topography, viz. the problem of the Enneakrounos. Of recent years there has been a growing inclination to identify as the Enneakrounos mentioned by Pausanias the fountain house discovered in 1934 at the southwest corner of the Agora area.¹³ The periegete records the Enneakrounos between his mention of the Odeion of Agrippa and the Hephaisteion (I, 14, 1). The southwest fountain house could readily have been visited, or at least seen, by one going from the Odeion to the Hephaisteion by the logical route that led through the propylon south of the Tholos. A difficulty in the way of this interpretation has, however, been the fact that Pausanias refers to temples of Demeter and Persephone and of Trip-

¹¹ This is an interesting example of a type of construction rarely used in Greece. Miss Blake dates the *floruit* of *opus reticulatum* in Italy as from about the middle of the first century B.C. to about the middle of the first century after Christ (*Ancient Roman Construction*, Washington, 1947, p. 253).

¹² A similar arrangement is known for the Stoa of Attalos: a capacious fountain house set against the retaining wall at the south end of the stoa terrace. This will be discussed in the forthcoming publication of the Stoa.

¹³ Cf. E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 131 f.

toleomos as "above the fountain house." These temples in all probability stood in the Eleusinion which can be identified, with something approaching certainty, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis.¹⁴ Temples thus situated could well have been described as above the newly found fountain house. But before identifying this building with Pausanias' Enneakrounos one must face several difficulties. To have seen it on his way from the Odeion to the Hephaisteion Pausanias must have followed an extraordinarily roundabout route. In the structure of the building as we know it, moreover, there would appear to be no logical occasion for the use of nine spouts. Furthermore, the radical revamping of the building, which is attested by the actual remains and which one might be tempted to identify with the transformation from Kallirrhoe to Enneakrounos, is certainly much too late to have been carried out by the Peisistratids, the known authors of that change.¹⁵ Finally, there is the uncertainty as to whether or not the newly found building was still functioning as a fountain house in the time of Pausanias.

In view of all this uncertainty, and at least until both fountain houses and the aqueduct have been more thoroughly explored and studied, it would seem discreet to refer to the building discovered in 1934 as the Southwest Fountain House and to the one found in 1952 as the Southeast Fountain House. They have been so labelled on the new plans (Pls. 10, 11).

THE COMMERCIAL AGORA

Historical Development

No less interesting than the new light shed by the past season's work on the early history of the south side of the square has been the elucidation of the development of this area in the Hellenistic period.

The sprawling early square, well watered and no doubt well provided with shade trees, had served many departments of community life: political, judicial, commercial, dramatic, social. In the course of time special provision was made for certain of these functions. At a date in the neighborhood of 500 B.C. the political assembly sought a quieter meeting place on the slopes of the Pnyx Hill. About the same time dramatic performances were transferred to the more sheltered south slope of the Acropolis. Court houses were erected around the square in the fifth and fourth centuries. Pleasant promenades for social intercourse were provided by the erection of the Stoa Poikile in the mid fifth and the Stoa of Zeus in the late fifth century. Among the latest activities to receive adequate special accommodation was commerce. As outlined

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁵ This alteration, as also the construction of the large stone aqueduct, is conceivably the hydraulic works covered by *I.G.*, I², 54 of 437/6 (?) B.C. Cf. Meritt, Wade-Gery and McGregor, *Athenian Tribute Lists*, II, Princeton, 1949, p. 74, D 19; A. Wilhelm, *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, p. 128. There is mention of a water channel (*ἀγωγὴ*) and perhaps also of a fountain (*κρήνη*).

in the report on the previous season's work,¹⁶ an informal market place dating from the early fourth century has been recognized beneath the north end of the Stoa of Attalos. In the late fourth or early third century this made way for a more substantial square colonnaded structure which, however, was never completed. Finally, in the second century, and probably in the 60's, the bold decision was made to divide the old area in such a way as to result in a large, almost square plaza to the north and a long narrow space to the south. The main area served the more seemly aspects of public life; the lesser appears to have been a market-place proper.

The first element in this great program of modernization was the Middle Stoa which effected the actual division and faced on both squares. Then in successive stages each of the squares was more precisely defined and embellished with new buildings. Around the very middle of the second century the east side of the main square was closed by the Stoa of Attalos; a quarter of a century later the Metroon rose on the west side. Both of these buildings presented marble porches to the square. The excavations of 1952 have shown that a similar development occurred in the lesser square. Soon after the erection of the Middle Stoa, a short double colonnade, which we shall call the East Stoa, was carried south at right angles from the east end of the Middle Stoa in such a way as to leave only a narrow passage between the new structure and the old shop building along the extreme south side of the lesser square. Finally, after the provision of new shops in the Stoa of Attalos, that old shop building was demolished to make way for the long, single-aisled colonnade which has been called the South Stoa. All three buildings which served to enclose the Commercial Agora were of limestone, in keeping with their utilitarian function.

The East Stoa

The East Stoa measured overall about 14 x 40.30 m. Although nowhere preserved to a level above the first step, the foundations (Pl. 14a) permit the scheme of building to be recovered with reasonable certainty (Pl. 11). The north and south ends were closed with solid walls. Columns have been restored on the long sides because of the greater width of the foundations and the presence of steps of which a few blocks are preserved toward the south end on both the east and west sides. The interaxial spacing of the columns has been assumed to be twice the length of the step blocks or about 2.60 m.; this results in fourteen columns between antae. Of the columns and entablature nothing has yet been recognized. Faced with the necessity of adjusting the marked difference in level between the area to the west of his building and the Panathenaic Way to the east, the architect boldly fixed the floor level of the east aisle about 1.35 m. higher than that of the west. This situation was largely concealed, however, by a wall on the median line of the building which was broken in

¹⁶ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 101.

the middle by an opening approached from the west by a stairway some 8.50 m. wide. A crosswall, which appears to be original, cut off the three southernmost bays of the west aisle; there are slight indications, not yet confirmed, of a similar arrangement at the north end of the same aisle. The east aisle was floored with a mosaic of white marble chips. Set in this floor in the south half of the aisle, in a north to south row at intervals of 1.80 to 2.00 m., are four large marble bedding blocks with a square sinking in each of the four corners as though for the support of tables.

To the east of the East Stoa is a level terrace some 8 m. wide. Here again the architect had to contend with a difficult terrain, the land rising toward both the east and the south. The adjustment was made by means of a long flight of stairs of which three, out of an original five, remain in place toward the south (Pl. 14b). As observed above (p. 33), the south end of the terrace would appear to have been occupied by a fountain house, but neither the southern limit of the terrace nor the southeast corner of the East Stoa itself has yet been exposed.

The East Stoa was thus a small but useful building. It screened the east end of the Commercial Agora from the Panathenaic Way and yet provided easy communication from one to the other. Like its great neighbor, the Middle Stoa, this building also had a dual personality, looking as it did both westward on the Commercial Agora and eastward on the broadened part of the Panathenaic Way which was later (*ca.* A.D. 100) to be flanked on the opposite side by the porch of the Library of Pantainos.

There is little evidence as yet for the precise dating of the East Stoa. It is certainly later, however, than the Middle Stoa against which it was thrust, but, to judge from the similarity in material and workmanship, not much later. Its structural relation with the Middle Stoa can scarcely have been happy. The foundations of the two buildings are separated by an interval just wide enough to accommodate the marble gutter which carried off the drip from the south roof of the Middle Stoa, and the East Stoa projects slightly beyond the line of the east end of its neighbor.¹⁷

The South Stoa

The construction of the next unit, the South Stoa, would seem to have followed closely on the completion of the East Stoa, if again one may judge from similarity of material and technique. This latest building is only one aisle in width.¹⁸ Its east end was thrust against the west face of the East Stoa in such a way as to cover the three southernmost bays of the earlier building. The floor level of the South Stoa was slightly lower than that of its neighbor, a difference which was made good by a single

¹⁷ A similar and no doubt equally unsatisfactory juxtaposition of stoas has been observed at both the southwest and northeast corners of the Agora of Thasos (R. Martin, *Recherches sur l'Agora grecque*, Paris, 1951, p. 513).

¹⁸ The South Stoa was discovered and in large part exposed in 1936 (*Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 357 f.).

step between the two buildings. The ground plan indicates that the structural relationship between the East Stoa and the South Stoa was of a more organic nature than that between the East Stoa and the Middle Stoa, but evidence is lacking for a detailed restoration. Several stylobate blocks of the South Stoa remain in place toward the east end. On them are traces of the setting of fluted Doric columns from which may derive a fragment of a fluted shaft of gray poros found near by. The building has been exposed to a length of 90 metres, but its west end has not yet appeared.

Later History of the Area

In the Roman period the south walls of both the East and South Stoas were extensively rebuilt with free use of concrete and mortar. It was perhaps on this same occasion that the eastern part of the South Stoa was divided by cross walls into shops: a belated recognition of what must have seemed from the beginning an obvious lack in this part of the Agora.

The buildings around the Commercial Agora were undoubtedly destroyed in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, and the bulk of their stonework was no doubt removed for incorporation in the "Valerian Wall" which was built soon thereafter. In the neighborhood of A.D. 400 much of the area was overlaid by the great gymnasium complex which spread its tentacles over the whole central area of the ancient square (Pl. 12). During the past season a beginning was made on opening up a well-built octagonal room with rectangular antechamber on its north side which formed the extreme southeast corner of the Gymnasium. This part of the Gymnasium, like the contemporary water mill to the east,¹⁹ was abandoned in the course of the sixth century, after which time there is little evidence of activity in this area until the construction of the Church of the Holy Apostles early in the eleventh century.

AREA TO THE EAST OF THE ODEION

In the program for completing the exploration of areas that had been hastily opened up between the Wars, Mr. Norman Doenges supervised excavation in the southern half of the triangle bounded by the Odeion on the west, the Panathenaic Way on the east and the terrace of the Middle Stoa on the south (Pl. 16a). Although the area had been pillaged of building material in the Roman period and greatly disturbed by habitation in the Byzantine and Turkish periods, much valuable information was gathered, especially from early graves and wells.

Two burials came to light. One, in the angle between the Odeion and the Stoa terrace wall, was the pit grave of a child furnished with a tall-stemmed kylix, a

¹⁹ *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90.

feeding bottle, a small red jug and a necklace of glass-paste beads; the date is Late Helladic III. The second burial was that of a girl; her body had been laid in a shallow grave which by chance came down on the mouth of a disused well to the east of the southeast corner of the great court of the Gymnasium. The burial was accompanied by four miniature vases, two oinochoai and two 3-handled bowls, of latest Geometric style. The material from the well beneath the grave ran down in date into the second half of the eighth century, but it also included the mouth and base of what must surely have been a splendid "Dipylon amphora" which may itself be supposed to have come from a slightly earlier grave (Pl. 18a).²⁰

The area was marked by an astonishing number of early wells: four of the Geometric period in series from early to late and two of the seventh century, the range in date being from the mid ninth into the last quarter of the seventh century.²¹ Of particular interest is the latest well of the series which, though of modest depth (6.70 m.), yielded a great quantity of pottery in a wide variety of shapes. Along with the local Attic vases from this well were found a significant number of Protocorinthian which should be of value for the dating especially of the plainer Attic wares. The immediate association of the two fabrics is of particular interest at this time, the third and early last quarter of the seventh century, when the Protocorinthian product was exercising its most formative influence on the Attic. Since the well group should some day be presented as a whole, only a single piece is here illustrated: an amphora of medium size with a bold floral design around the wall and the protome of a bull on either side of the neck (Pl. 18b).²² The slender shape of the body and the profiles of neck and lip are still in the late Geometric tradition, and may also recall one of the great vases of the mid-seventh century, the Nessos amphora in New York.^{22a} Our piece, in which the black-figure style is only foreshadowed, presumably falls early within the third quarter of the century.

In the early sixth century B.C., by way of civic improvement, a gully in this area was canalized with walls of rough stonework forming a channel about one metre in both width and depth. Its sinuous south to north course has been cleared over a length of some 30 metres close along the east side of the Odeion, but neither its beginning

²⁰ P 22435. Diameter of mouth 0.505 m., preserved height 0.46 m. The panels are similar on both sides of the neck. The vase shape and scheme of decoration are closely paralleled in an amphora at Eleusis (*Jahrbuch*, XIV, 1899, p. 193, fig. 57). From elsewhere in the Agora comes a neck fragment with similar, though more elaborate design (Young, *Hesperia*, Supplement II, 1939, p. 180, no. C134, fig. 130 = Inv. P 7024, dated by Young at about the end of the eighth century).

²¹ Five of the six wells were cleared under the supervision of Mrs. Evelyn L. Smithson in mid summer, 1952.

²² Inv. P 22299. Height 0.50 m., diameter of body 0.287 m. Traces of purple remain on the bull's neck, on the tongue pattern, on the band below the tongues, and on the hearts of the palmettes.

^{22a} Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, figs. 86-87; Beazley, *Development of Attic Black Figure* (Sather Classical Lectures, XXIV), 1951, p. 7; Cook, *B.S.A.*, XXXV, 1934-5, p. 192.

nor end has yet been found, nor the reason why it was allowed to fill up in the middle of the sixth century.

A group of four monument bases, two of them of great scale, came to light in the angle between the Odeion and the terrace of the Middle Stoa. Three of the four were clearly placed in relation to the terrace wall; the fourth, almost square in plan, is so obviously fitted into the angle between Odeion and terrace wall as to imply that it dates after the erection of the Odeion (*ca.* 15 B.C.). All the bases, alas, are stripped to their lowest foundations so that there is little hope of determining what they carried.

The pillaged foundation pits of the two larger monument bases were occupied by a filling datable from its pottery in the first century after Christ. A similar deposit overlay much of the bedrock in the area. This material was overlaid by several successive layers of the second and third centuries without any well defined intervening ground levels. It would appear that on several occasions in the first three centuries after Christ the level of the area was adjusted. The reasons are now obscure, but it is possible that the area, shielded as it was by the Odeion from the flow of traffic, was planted. A number of cuttings in bedrock, both rectangular and round, toward the southeast corner of the triangle may indeed mark the place of trees or shrubs.

The area was traversed by several of the well-nigh innumerable water channels which in successive periods passed diagonally through the Agora from the southeast toward the northwest. Most of the conduits exposed this year consisted of terracotta channels of \sqsubset -shape dating from both the Hellenistic and Roman period. Particularly impressive is one of the late Roman period which was set down into the foundations of the largest of the pillaged monument bases but which was itself overlaid by the enclosure wall of the Gymnasium. The sides of the \sqsubset -shaped terracotta channel had been built up in brickwork to a height of 0.36 m. and the channel was covered by massive \cap -shaped tiles which would have permitted the rather painful passage of a man. Among the pipelines is also one of lead, early Roman in date. The pipe was made, in the normal ancient fashion, of a long narrow sheet of metal rolled over on itself and soldered.²³ Lead water pipes are rare in comparison with those of terracotta in Athens as at other Greek sites, in part presumably because of the disadvantages noted by Vitruvius (*de Arch.* VIII, 4-11): the repair of a lead pipe required a specialist whereas anyone could fix a terracotta pipe, and with lead pipes there was always the danger of poisoning.

More was learned in the course of the season about the plan and the history of the great Gymnasium which was erected above the ruins of the Odeion and the Middle

²³ A complete specimen (Inv. IL 1267) measures 2.67 m. in length, presumably 9 feet of 0.296 m. One end is slightly trumpet-shaped to receive the end of the next pipe. The minimum interior diameter is *ca.* 0.045 m. The ancients would no doubt have referred to this as a "10-inch pipe," that being the width of the sheet of lead from which it was manufactured (actually 0.25 m.).

Stoa *ca.* A.D. 400 (Pl. 12). A square room set against the east side of the great north court near its southeast corner appears to have served as an entrance vestibule. This arrangement, however, would seem to have been shortlived since the foundations of the square room are overlaid by the angular enclosure wall running from the north court to the east end of the Gymnasium. Near the middle of the east side of the north court two smaller rooms were found to have been added at some time after the original construction. Most interesting was the discovery of five large lime-slaking pits in the angle between the Odeion and the terrace wall of the Middle Stoa. They range in area from *ca.* 3 x 4 metres to *ca.* 6 x 6 metres, their depth being *ca.* 0.75 m. Their level and the fact that they had been filled in the fifth century after Christ leaves no doubt that in them was slaked the lime for making the mortar and plaster used in the construction of the Gymnasium. This site was presumably chosen as being approximately equidistant from the various extremities of the vast complex.

Above the ruins of the late Roman Gymnasium lay the remains of houses of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. A well serving one of these dwellings has still to be cleared.

AREA TO THE WEST OF THE ODEION

During the season of 1952 Miss Rebecca C. Wood resumed and completed the deeper exploration of a large area which she had begun the previous year in the region bounded by the Odeion on the east, the Great Drain on the west, the Middle Stoa on the south and the Temple of Ares on the north. The remaining masses of deposit of the late Roman and Byzantine periods, as also tenuous remains of foundation walls of those periods, were removed after due study. Exploration was carried down to bedrock over much of the area, especially to the west of the Odeion itself; elsewhere it was halted at the firm-trodden, gravelled surface of the square as it was in early Roman times.

The deeper probing here as elsewhere in the Agora inevitably revealed early burials. A small, roughly hewn and perhaps unfinished chamber tomb of Late Helladic III date appeared between the great marble altar of Zeus Agoraios (?) and the Odeion (Pl. 12, Square J 10). Its dromos sloped down steeply from the north. The chamber itself yielded only a few scraps of bone and potsherds, but in the dromos lay a mass of broken and fragmentary vases of various shapes: an amphora, a skyphos, a hydria, a high-necked jug, several bowls and numerous kylikes. Since no household deposit of the Mycenaean period was encountered at ground level in the general area, this pottery is undoubtedly to be associated with the tomb, but the history of what happened is obscure. South of the southwest corner of the Temple of Ares two more modest pit graves of Late Helladic III date were cleared. Taken together with several that had been found previously in this area these may have constituted a small family burial plot. A few metres farther south a well preserved pit grave of the Submy-

cenaean period was opened under the supervision of Mrs. E. L. Smithson; its furnishings comprised one small and one medium-sized oinochoe.

Chronologically next in order is a well of the second half of the seventh century to the west of the northwest corner of the Odeion. The faulty nature of the bedrock would appear to have led to its early abandonment, perhaps even before it was completed.

Among the few structural remains encountered in the area is a light wall of rubble masonry, preserved to a height of only a few centimetres, which appears to have enclosed the northwest corner of the Odeion at an interval of *ca.* 5 metres from the building. Its level suggests that the wall is contemporary with the Odeion in its original form, but its purpose is puzzling. North of this wall, and apparently placed in relation to it, are two monument bases, one small and one large. A fragment of a life-sized horse's foot of gilded bronze found near the larger base may derive from the monument which it carried.

The great apse that springs out from the west wall of the Gymnasium near its north end was thoroughly explored. Its foundations overlie the corner of a rectangular projecting room which would seem to have been abandoned during construction in favor of the apsidal form.

To the southwest of the apse were encountered the tenuous remains of a dwelling house of informal plan and cheap construction apparently to be dated in the sixth century after Christ.

The ground level of the early Roman period contemporary with the Odeion of Agrippa was preserved only over a limited area around the northwest corner of the building. Elsewhere in the triangular space bounded by the Odeion on the east and the Southwest Temple on the south even the bedrock had been much disturbed and was overlaid by a deep mass of reddish earth, the potsherds in which were predominantly of the first century after Christ with some, however, as late as the second and third. Here and there were rectangular cuttings in the bedrock, two or three feet across and equally deep. The pottery from the earth that filled these holes was as late as of the first century after Christ. Although the situation is far from clear, it is tempting to believe that here, as to the east of the Odeion, an area which lay aside from the main lines of traffic had been repeatedly landscaped and planted.

AREA TO THE NORTH AND WEST OF THE TEMPLE OF ARES

Monument Bases

Having completed the clearance of a vast region to the south of the Temple of Ares Miss Wood transferred her activities to the areas between the west end of the Temple and the Great Drain and between the north side of the Temple and the Athens-Piraeus Railway. Here the house foundations of an extensive Byzantine settlement

had already been removed in earlier seasons. The one building of Late Roman date in the area is a large square structure with central court lying to the north of the temple (Pl. 12, Square J 6). From the many cells of the grid formed by its massive concrete foundations Miss Wood removed the remaining deposit of late Roman date to expose the gravelly surface of the square of early Roman times and to detect whatever earlier structural remains might have been spared.

The results of this exproation were at once interesting and painful. Interesting because it became clear that the area had been occupied by one of the most striking concentrations of large monuments in the whole Agora: at least a dozen, varying greatly from one another in size, shape and date. The concentration appears to be centred on the façade of the Stoa of Zeus, though it may have been occasioned in part by the convergence of two important thoroughfares just to the north. The situation as revealed by the season's work accords well with Pausanias' mention (I, 8, 3-5) of many important statues and groups of statues in this area: Amphiaraos, Eirene and Ploutos, Lykourgos, Kallias, Demosthenes, Herakles, Theseus, Apollo, Kalades and Pindar, not to mention the Ares, the two statues of Aphrodite and the Athena which apparently stood inside the Temple of Ares. It also clears up a minor but long-standing topographical problem, viz. how the statue of Pindar, located by Pausanias (I, 8, 4) with reference to the Temple of Ares, could be described by Pseudo-Aeschines (*Epist.* IV, 2 f.) as in front of the Stoa Basileios, i. e. the Stoa of Zeus.²⁴ The painful aspect of the matter is the grievous condition to which these monuments have been reduced. Practically all had been stripped already in the late Roman period to their lowest foundations.

Eschara

The best preserved of the newly exposed monuments is a hearth-like altar, which the Greeks would probably have called an *eschara*: "a base set at ground level, rectangular in plan, having the scheme of an altar but without elevation."²⁵ It lies immediately to the south of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods (Pl. 15, Fig. 2) and owes its comparatively good state of preservation to the fact that it was abandoned early, probably already in the Hellenistic period, and then overlaid, first by what appears to have been an exhedra facing north and much later, about A.D. 400, by the large building mentioned above, the concrete foundations of which were sufficiently massive to discourage all but the most determined intruders.

In its original form the *eschara* was a long rectangle in plan (1.76 x ca. 3.77 m.), with a curb of poros enclosing an area packed with field stones. At each short end the outer edge of the curb rises a few centimetres with a simple concave profile

²⁴ Cf. Frazer, *Pausanias' Description of Greece*, note *ad loc.*

²⁵ Scholiast B, Euripides, *Phoen.*, line 274.

corresponding to the bolster at the end of a normal altar. The area between these "bolsters" where the fire was kindled had been repeatedly surfaced with thin layers of fine brown clay between which were sandwiched traces of ash to a total depth of *ca.* 10 centimetres.

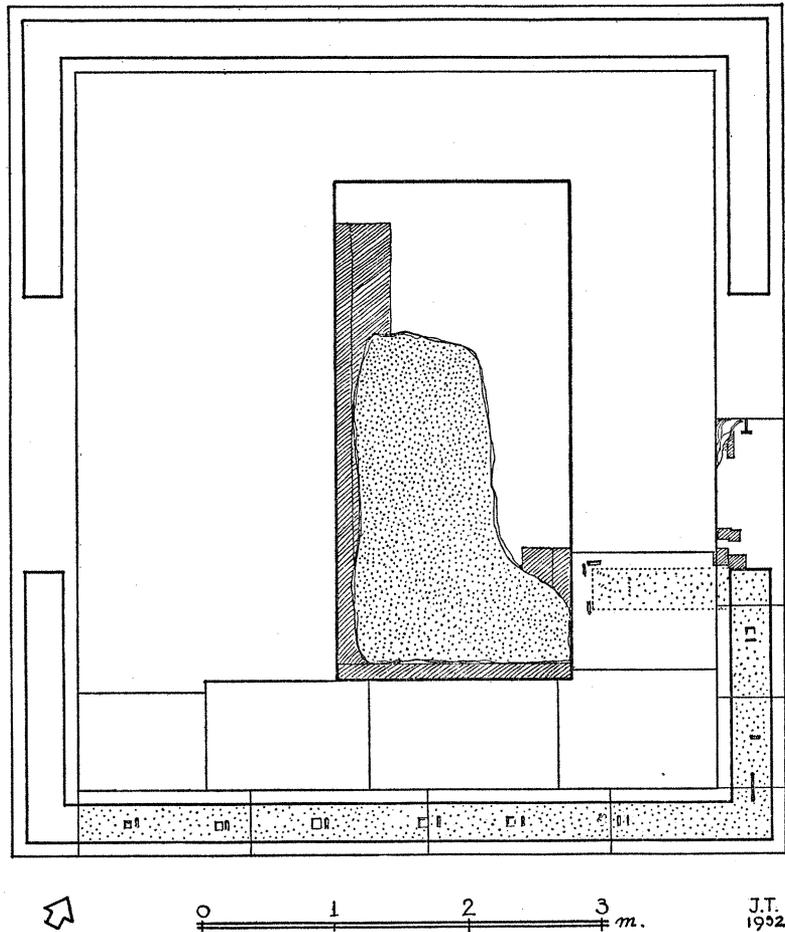


Fig. 2. Archaic Eschara.

Subsequently, though not much later, the hearth was surrounded with stone paving and was enclosed by means of a thin stone wall. The paving and the sill for the wall are preserved only around the southeast corner, but impressions in the earth elsewhere leave little question as to the restoration. The paved area was considerably wider on the west than on the east side, obviously to facilitate the movements of the officiating priest. There are clear traces of a doorway with cuttings for a double door in the middle of the east side, and from the fact that the enclosing wall bent inward in line with the side of the door opening it may be inferred that the door was

protected by a simple roof covering a vestibule rather than a porch.²⁶ Although the west side is utterly destroyed at the critical point, an entrance is in all probability to be restored there also.

The enclosing wall consisted of orthostates of soft yellow poros one foot thick; several fragments were found on the spot and the pry-holes on the sill indicate their arrangement.

As will appear from the plan (Pl. 10), the eschara has the same orientation as the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, and the two enclosures were separated by only a narrow passage. The ground level associated with the eschara, moreover, agrees precisely with that of the Twelve Gods in its original period. The two monuments are also similar in the choice of material and in the tooling of the stone. We may therefore date the eschara within a few years of the Altar of the Twelve Gods, and this, as Thukydides (VI, 54, 6) reports, was founded by Peisistratos the Younger during his archonship which is now assigned by scholars with growing assurance to 522/1 B.C.²⁷ The relationship of the two monuments would suggest that the eschara, presumably the less important, was sited in relation to the Twelve Gods. And the few potsherds found in association with the original eschara would in fact call for a date not earlier than the closing years of the sixth century.

One would gladly know to whom the eschara was sacred. The testimony of the ancient lexicographers, as also the evidence of the few surviving and certainly identifiable comparable monuments in Greece proper, tend to show that this type of altar was counted more proper for a hero than for a major divinity. That the present example, however, served a cult of some importance is suggested by its size and substantial construction and by its location near the entrance to the square, in close proximity to the Twelve Gods. On the evidence now available it would be rash to attribute it to any one of the several heroes known to have been worshipped in the Agora, but the closer study of the monument itself and the further exploration of the environs may eventually permit greater precision.²⁸ However that may be, the

²⁶ For a comparable arrangement in the east wall of the Archegesion on Delos cf. R. Vallois, *L'Architecture hellénique et hellénistique à Délos*, Paris, 1944, p. 72, note 5. In the relevant inscriptions the doorways of the Archegesion are referred to as *θυρῶνες*.

²⁷ Cf. T. J. Cadoux, *J.H.S.*, LXVIII, 1948, p. 111.

²⁸ One of the most likely candidates is Aiakos, to whom the Athenians dedicated a precinct in the Agora in compliance with an oracle from Delphi at some time in the neighborhood of 500 B.C. (Herodotos V, 89). This precinct was still to be seen at the time of Herodotos' writing but is not clearly referred to by any later author. (The confused references in Hesychios, *s.vv.* *Αἴαι* and *Αἰάκειον*, may derive from Herodotos). The newly found precinct was of the same type as the parent shrine in Aegina which is described by Pausanias (II, 29, 6-8) as being in the most conspicuous part of the city, a rectangular enclosure around an altar which was raised not far above the ground. Some additional color is given to the attribution by the proximity of the eschara to the Stoa and earlier sanctuary of Zeus, father of Aiakos, and by the erection near by of a statue

newly found monument is an outstanding illustration of a type of sanctuary of which few other examples have come to light on the Greek mainland.²⁹

Peribolos of the Twelve Gods

The removal of a mass of concrete foundation belonging to the late Roman building brought to light a round dip basin cut from a large square block of poros at a point to the west of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods (Pl. 12, Square K 6; Pl. 15b). The basin, set down in the contemporary ground level almost to its full depth, would have lain to the right of one approaching the west entrance of the Peribolos. The basin drew its water from the stone channel which, as noted above, carried the waste from the Southwest Fountain House down the west side of the square. Appropriate cuttings are to be seen in the sides of both the basin and the channel, but the connecting pipe-line, perhaps of lead, has entirely vanished. Since there is no outlet from the basin, this was evidently the end of the branch line and the water must have been used on the spot. The most probable use of the basin would seem to be for watering the trees which are attested by the soft pits observed around the Peribolos in the course of the excavation and which have been identified elsewhere as the olives and the laurels described by Statius (*Thebais*, XII, 492) around the Altar of Pity.³⁰ The level of the dip basin, combined with the quality of its workmanship, would suggest a date in the fourth century or early Hellenistic period.

Having passed the dip basin, the visitor to the Peribolos had next on his right an object which is now represented only by a poros block set in the earth with a round sinking 0.40 m. in diameter and 0.05 m. deep in its top (Pl. 15 b).³¹ There can be

of Pindar who shared Boeotian connections with Aiakos and who repeatedly referred to the hero in his odes. Dedication to a foreign cult and for a specific occasion would also more easily account for the otherwise strangely early lapse of a sanctuary in this prominent part of the city. But all this is conjecture.

²⁹ In addition to the Delian Archegeion referred to above, one might compare the Pyre of Herakles on Mount Oita (Pappadakis, *Δελφίον*, V, 1919, parartema, cols. 25-34, especially col. 28). The pyre measured 20 to 30 metres across and was bounded by a simple stone curb somewhat similar to ours in profile; this curb may be of Roman date although the history of the pyre certainly goes back into archaic times. For an example recently found in the Dionysion at Delphi cf. *B.C.H.*, LXXVI, 1951, p. 249. Altars of this primitive type have more commonly been found inside temples than in the open. Cf. in general, Reisch, *R. E.*, VI, 1907, cols. 614-617; M. P. Nilsson, *J.H.S.*, XLIII, 1923, pp. 144-148 and *Från Stenålder till Rokoko, Studier—O. Rydbeck*, 1937, pp. 43 ff.; S. Marinatos, *B.C.H.*, LX, 1936, p. 239, n. 3; M. Guarducci, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni*, XIII, 1937, pp. 159-165; F. Robert, *Thymélè*, Paris, 1939, pp. 185 f.; M. Launey, *Études Thasiennes I: Le Sanctuaire et le Culte de Herakles*, Paris, 1944, pp. 171-174; C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis, 1949, pp. 130 f., 199, 207-214.

³⁰ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 50.

³¹ *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, 1949, p. 95.

little doubt that this marks the place of a *perirrhanterion* or holy-water basin which would have consisted of a shallow bowl, most likely of marble, supported by a pedestal with flaring foot. Such basins formed part of the normal furnishing of a sanctuary.³²

THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE SQUARE

In the season under review Mr. Eugene Vanderpool completed the deeper exploration which he had begun in 1951 over a large area in the northeast corner of the square. Additional evidence was gathered for the study of the three public buildings which preceded the Stoa of Attalos on the site, and a handsome dividend was gained in the form of an important and well preserved inscription which was found in the construction filling of the cloistered market building deep beneath the porch of the Stoa (see below under "Inscriptions").

In the otherwise open west side of the informal market enclosure which preceded the cloistered buildings³³ appeared numerous rectangular cuttings in the soft bedrock which are being tentatively identified, like those to the east and west of the Odeion, as pits for the planting of trees (Pl. 12, Square O 8).

To the several tombs of the Late Helladic III period found in the northeast area in 1951 was added a small chamber tomb which came to light a few metres south of the southwest corner of the Northeast Stoa (Pl. 12, Square O 7; Pl. 17 a). The approximately square chamber had been entered through a dromos sloping down from the northeast. On the floor of the tomb lay a skeleton tolerably well preserved except for the skull, part of the skull of a second and the leg bones of a third skeleton. With the first, or possibly the second skeleton, belonged two vases, a tall slender kylix of cream-colored clay and a plain, one-handled jug (Pl. 17 b).

Much of the chamber tomb, as also parts of its occupants, would seem to have been cut away by workmen of the fourth century B.C. engaged in digging the foundation pit for a large monument. It was presumably reverence for the dead that induced them to desist and to shift the monument westward by its own width. There the monument, whatever it may have been, stood until it was demolished in the early Roman period; only its square pit now remains, plundered of its stonework to the last couple of conglomerate blocks. A comparable example of respect for the dead was encountered last season in the Late Helladic tomb beneath the Temple of Ares;

³² On *perirrhanteria* cf. H. Kenner, *Jahreshefte*, XXIX, 1935, pp. 135 ff.; L. Ziehen, *R.E.*, XIX, 1937, cols. 856 f.; A. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, Cambridge, Mass., 1949, pp. 370-413. The Agora, as a sacred area, was itself equipped with *perirrhanteria*: C. Wachsmuth, *Die Stadt Athen im Altertum*, II, Leipzig, 1890, p. 411. The stump of one of these still stands in place at the northwest corner of the Civic Offices (Pl. 11), and a second (Inv. A 2115) was found in the "Valerian Wall" at the south end of the Stoa of Attalos, having stood, no doubt, at the southeast entrance to the square.

³³ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, p. 100.

there the intruders on two occasions had left propitiatory offerings of white-ground lekythoi.³⁴

A little supplementary exploration was carried out by the undersigned to the east of the north part of the Stoa of Attalos in order to complete the plans of the pre-Stoa buildings. Deep beneath the floor levels of all the public buildings appeared the mouth of a well which had been abandoned, after little use, in the second half of the seventh century B.C. The pottery is much less in volume than that from the well to the east of the Odeion (above, p. 39) but it is comparable in date and in the admixture of Protocorinthian. Two outstanding examples of the Protoattic style are illustrated on Plate 18 c and d, the lion oinochoe³⁵ from near the mouth of the well, the horse amphora³⁶ from near its bottom. The oinochoe is an impressive new example of a scheme of decoration already represented by an oinochoe of comparable size from the Agora³⁷ and by a jug from Phaleron,³⁸ all three pieces probably by different hands. The antithetical grouping of the horse amphora recalls such works as the Burgon Lebes.³⁹ The similarity between this vase and the bull amphora from the well to the east of the Odeion (above, p. 39) in the rendering of leg and eye, in the choice and distribution of decorative motifs and in the subordination of robustness to orderly design suggests that the two amphorae are by the same hand.

WORK OF CONSERVATION

In keeping with the current practice of doing a certain amount of conservation each season, attention was devoted this year to the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo Patroos.

The Stoa of Zeus especially was in need of care. The soft creamy poros of its foundations, which had stood up perfectly well through the many centuries when it was underground, had already begun to deteriorate from exposure to the atmosphere. The most practicable way of preserving such remains for the future is to bury them again as far as possible. A second consideration was how to make the scheme of the ancient building intelligible to the visitor, something that has hitherto been virtually

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

³⁵ P 22550. Height to lip 0.255 m., height with handle 0.295 m., diameter of body 0.173 m., diameter of base 0.115 m. Traces of purple paint on mane and tongue; no incision.

³⁶ P 22551. Preserved height 0.283 m., diameter of body 0.22 m., diameter of base 0.10 m. Purple for forelocks and triangular area toward front of neck, for heart of palmette and for band at top of panels; incision for details of heads. The panels on the two sides are closely similar.

³⁷ *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 594, no. 214, fig. 61.

³⁸ Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung*, fig. 83.

³⁹ Pfuhl, *op. cit.*, fig. 82; K. Kübler, *Altattische Malerei*, Tübingen, 1950, fig. 17 and p. 11, there dated in the mid-seventh century.

impossible because of the very ruinous condition of the building combined with its unusual design.

The solution adopted in the case of the Stoa was to outline its plan with ancient blocks found on the site (not all from the Stoa itself) and then to fill up the interior to the level of its middle step, part of which remains in place at the south end, with field stone from the excavation (Pl. 16 b). The foundations for the interior columns have been emphasized and pits, curbed with dry stone masonry, have been left to expose pre-Stoa remains. The area of the building has been surfaced with clean gray clay in the hope that this combination of stone underpinning and clay top dressing may prevent settling and discourage the growth of vegetation. The fragmentary marble columns and cornice blocks of the Stoa have been set up on the spot so as to be readily accessible to scholars.

The cella, north room and pronaos of the near-by Temple of Apollo have been similarly treated.

The marble altar inscribed with the names of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria, which had long ago been assigned to the tiny temple ensconced between the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo, has been brought out from the Excavation House and set up on the bedding block which was found *in situ* in front of the building. It fits with gratifying precision.⁴¹

INSCRIPTIONS

The inscriptions found this season are not numerous but among them are several pieces of outstanding interest.

A fragment from the top of a large stele proves to belong to the list of the men of Argos who fell fighting by the side of the Athenians against the Spartans at Tanagra in 458 B.C. Other fragments of the same monument were previously known, but the new piece helps greatly in fixing the form of the stele and in the restoration of the text.⁴² Another fragment (I 6523), datable from its splendid lettering to one of the early years of the Archidamian War, must likewise come from a casualty list. There remains part of the rubric comprising the names of those who fell in Thrace; the list begins with the barbarian bowmen. Both of these documents have been published by Meritt in *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 351-5, No. 4; pp. 340-1, No. 1.

The statue base of black Eleusinian limestone (I 6532)⁴³ illustrated in Fig. 3 was found, where it had been re-used, in the underpinning of a monument base in

⁴¹ *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 106.

⁴² For our previous knowledge of the monument cf. B. D. Meritt, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, pp. 134-147.

⁴³ On the use of this material cf. L. T. Shoe, *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, 1949, pp. 341-352. One would gladly know what other stone, if any, was combined with the Eleusinian in this monument.

front of the north part of the Stoa of Attalos, at a point in line with the fifth shop from the north. In the top of the block are cuttings for securing the feet of a bronze statue of approximately life size. Although the rear part of the block had been trimmed by those who re-used it, the overall dimensions and scheme can be recovered

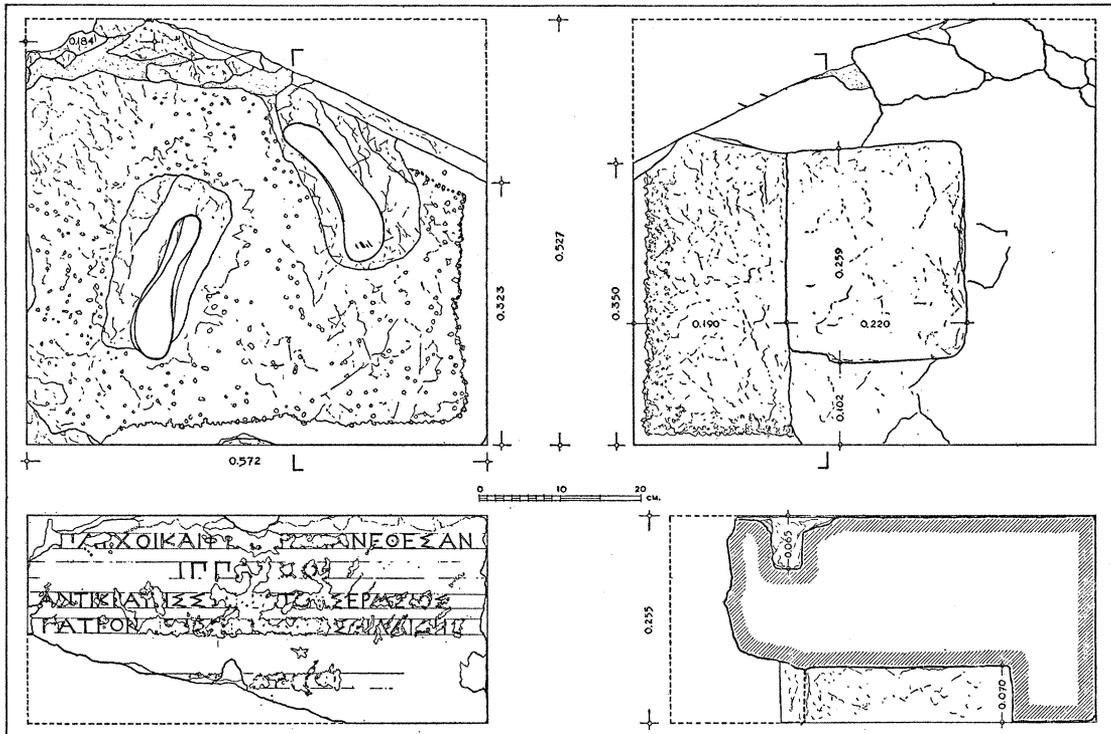


Fig. 3. Base of Statue dedicated by Hipparchs and Phylarchs (I 6532).

with the help of the chips. On the underside of the stone is a large rectangular sinking intended, no doubt, to house the tenon on the top of a short shaft which itself would have rested on a lower base block. In this way the statue could have been raised to an effective height with a minimum of outlay.⁴⁴ The lettering appears to have been deliberately though carelessly mutilated before the block was re-used, yet the text can be recovered with assurance:

⁴⁴ This type of pedestal has recently been studied by O. Walter, *Mitt. des deut. arch. Inst.*, III, 1950, pp. 139-147. Cf. also the instructions for making the pedestal for a tripod as set out in an inscription of the fourth century: *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXI, 1906, pp. 134-144, fig. 1 (Holleaux), pp. 145-150 (Dörpfeld), pp. 359-362 (Lattermann); *A.J.P.*, XXVIII, 1907, pp. 425-430 (Robinson); *Ath. Mitt.*, XXXIII, 1908, pp. 75-80 (Lattermann); *A.J.A.*, XXVII, 1923, p. 24 (Dinsmoor).

[Ἴπ]παρχοὶ καὶ Φύλαρχοι ἀνέθησαν
 Ἴππαρχοὶ
 Ἀντικράτης Σωκράτους Ἑρμείος
 Πατροκλέης Ἱεροκλέους Φιλαΐδης
 Φύλαρχοι

Aristotle (*Ἀθ. Πολ.*, LXI) described the Hipparchs, two in number, as the general commanding officers of the Athenian cavalry, while the ten Phylarchs, one from each tribe, commanded the tribal regiments. In peace time these officers must have been known chiefly from their direction of the various cavalry displays which are so vividly described by Xenophon in his essay *On the Cavalry Commander*, Ch. III. The dedication of the Hipparchs and Phylarchs here recorded had to do, presumably, with these exhibitions. Xenophon recommended that the cavalry should give one of these displays in the Agora, including in their performance a dash "from the Herms" (to be localized near the northwest corner of the square) to the Eleusinion. That his suggestion was followed has been inferred from the statement in Athenaios (IV, p. 167 f.) to the effect that Demetrios of Phaleron, while acting as Hipparch at the Panathenaia, set up a bleacher for his mistress "higher than the Herms." In this connection it is probably significant that the present inscription was found, albeit re-used, in the northern part of the square, that the Bryaxis base, which carried a victory dedication of the Phylarchs, stood at the north end of the Stoa of Zeus,⁴⁵ and that an inscribed block from another monument, in which a tribal victory is recorded with mention of a Phylarch, came to light, re-used, at the southeast corner of the same building.⁴⁶ All three monuments, all dating from the fourth century B.C., may have stood in the northwest corner of the square, near the Herms which are twice given by Xenophon as the starting point for the manoeuvres which he recommends.

The names of the two Hipparchs are otherwise unknown. Why the names of the Phylarchs should not have followed the heading is not clear. It is conceivable, though unlikely, that they were inscribed on the face of the supporting pilaster.⁴⁷

Some supplementary exploration beneath the porch of the Stoa of Attalos brought to light, at a point opposite the fifteenth shop from the south, a well preserved stele (I 6524) containing a law against tyranny proposed by Eukrates in 336 B.C. The inscription has been published by Meritt with epigraphic and historical commentary,⁴⁸ but certain other aspects of the document may be considered briefly here. According to the text (lines 24 ff.), the law was to be inscribed on two stone tablets one of which

⁴⁵ *I.G.*, II², 3130; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks*, p. 279, figs. 723 f.

⁴⁶ *Hesperia*, XV, 1946, p. 176, no. 24.

⁴⁷ I have profited in the study of this inscription from discussion with B. D. Meritt who will prepare the proper publication.

⁴⁸ *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 355-9, No. 5.

was to be placed "in the *ekklesia*," i. e. presumably on the Pnyx, the other "at the entrance to the Areopagus as one goes into the Bouleuterion." There can be little doubt that in 336 B.C. the Council of Five Hundred was meeting in the building which we now know as the New Bouleuterion. It would appear from the new text that in this same period the Council of the Areopagus met in a building with an entrance which one would normally pass on going into the (New) Bouleuterion. Only two buildings come into consideration, viz. the Tholos, situated to the south of the passage that led from the market square to the New Bouleuterion, and the Old Bouleuterion to the north of the same passage.⁴⁹ Since it is incredible that the Tholos should have been referred to as "the Areopagus," we are left with the Old Bouleuterion, an eminently satisfactory situation inasmuch as this roomy hall would appear to have been available for just such purposes between the late fifth century, when it was vacated by the Council of Five Hundred in favor of the New Bouleuterion, and the late second century when it made way for the Metroon. Since the building faced south, it did undoubtedly have an entrance precisely where one would pass in going from the square to the New Bouleuterion.⁵⁰

Since the object of placing one of the stelai at the entrance to the meeting place of the Council of the Areopagus was obviously to insure its being seen by the Councillors, we may infer that the meeting place here referred to was the one in normal use at the time. In the text of the law the word *synhedrion* is twice used (lines 15 and 19) of the meeting of the Council. The word admits of the double meaning: "the act of assembling" or "the place of assembling." In the present instance it is perhaps easier to believe that the word is used in a general way of the place. And this probability is strengthened by the fact that the word *synhedrion*, certainly meaning a place or building, is used as a point of reference for the setting up of three decrees that have been found in or near the site of the Old Bouleuterion, all of them dating from the third century B.C. when that building would seem to have been still available for such use.⁵¹ We know, however, that even in the fourth century B.C.

⁴⁹ Cf. Pl. 10 and the plan in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 133, fig. 72.

⁵⁰ This does not preclude the existence of another entrance, perhaps on the side toward the square, as might be inferred from the pains taken in the text of the law to define the entrance by which the stele was to be placed.

⁵¹ The inscriptions have been published in *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 445-448, No. 2 B, line 12; VII, 1938, pp. 101-103, No. 18, lines 39-40; *ibid.*, p. 109, No. 19, line 5.

For a general discussion of the problem cf. W. A. McDonald, *The Political Meeting Places of the Greeks*, Baltimore, 1943, pp. 295-298. The word *synhedrion* was used also of the meeting place of the Sacred Gerousia, but since this body was founded in Athens as late as the time of Marcus Aurelius, it is not necessary to equate its meeting place with that mentioned in the earlier inscriptions; cf. J. H. Oliver, *The Sacred Gerousia*, *Hesperia*, Supplement VI, p. 128, no. 31, line 13. The inscription in which the Synhedrion of the Sacred Gerousia is mentioned was found in the region of the Tholos, suggesting that its meeting place was also at the southwest corner of the Agora, but the evidence does not yet admit of greater precision.

the Council of the Areopagus met also on occasion in the Stoa Basileios, apparently being no more tied down to one place than was the *Ekklesia*.⁵² As to where the Council of the Areopagus gathered after the Old Bouleuterion had made way for the Metroon we cannot say; possibly it used a room in the Metroon or shared the New Bouleuterion with the Council of the Five Hundred.^{52a}

As to the illustrative relief above the text, the seated figure, as Meritt has pointed out, conforms to the well established type of the personification of Demos, the People of Athens.⁵³ The most probable identification for the standing female who crowns him is Demokratia. It would be easy to criticize the panel on the score of its uncouth composition, the faulty perspective in the rendering of the chair, the artist's failure to indicate the sceptre in the left hand of Demos. Yet the specialist will welcome it as another well preserved and precisely dated document for fixing the chronology of fourth century sculpture; and the general reader will observe that the little picture conveys its message in language almost as clear as that of the written text.

SCULPTURE

Of the numerous pieces of sculpture that came to light in the course of the season's work only a few are here singled out for comment.

A marble statue about two-thirds life-size of the Venus Genetrix type had been incorporated in the foundations of a house of the Turkish period just to the east of the Commercial Agora (Pl. 19 a and b).⁵⁴ The head is broken off and missing. The right arm, which had been cut separately and fastened with a dowel, is also gone, but enough remains to show that it had been in the normal attitude of holding a fold of the cloak above the shoulder. The left arm, however, had been altered by the copyist. Instead of being bent at the elbow and thrust forward with an apple in the hand, a gesture attested by several better preserved copies, the left arm here hangs by the side and holds a water jar in the hand. It is tempting to believe that this adaptation was happily devised to fit the statue for the adornment of a fountain house, conceivably the establishment of the Roman period attested by various indications at the south end of the terrace of the East Stoa (cf. above, p. 37). A statue of the same type,

⁵² [Demosthenes] XXV, 23: τὸ τὴν ἐξ Ἀρείου Πάγου βουλήν, ὅταν ἐν τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ καθεζομένη περισχοινίσσεται, κατὰ πολλὴν ἠσυχίαν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς εἶναι καὶ ἅπαντας ἐκπολῶν ἀποχωρεῖν.

^{52a} An alternative possibility should be admitted, viz. that "the going up to the Areopagus" and "the entrance to the Areopagus" are to be taken literally, the corollary to which is that "the Bouleuterion" is to be identified as the council house not of the Five Hundred, but of the Areopagus, situated on the hill of that name.

⁵³ Representations of Demos have been dealt with recently by E. Buschor, *Miscellanea Academica Berolinensia*, II, Berlin, 1950, pp. 25-30.

⁵⁴ S 1654. Pentelic marble. Height above plinth 0.93 m. The front has been burned by the acid from a near-by cesspool.

⁵⁵ G. Bendinelli, *Annuario*, I, 1914, pp. 141 f., no. 5, fig. 5.

though lacking the left hand, was found by the Italian excavators in the nymphaeum at Gortyna in Crete⁵⁵ and a semi-draped Aphrodite with a pitcher in left hand is one of the many statues from the nymphaeum of Miletos.⁵⁶

The new statue, though modest in scale and in the quality of its carving, is important as one of the largest and best preserved examples of the Venus Genetrix type thus far found on Greek soil, the majority having come to light in Italy.⁵⁷ It thus tends to confirm the view, if additional proof were needed today, that the prototype was an Athenian work of the late fifth century rather than a specimen of classicistic revivalism produced in Italy. One might indeed argue, though without complete confidence, that the great original still stood in Athens at the time when our statue was carved. So much is suggested not only by the general correspondence of the newly found version with the original type that may be inferred from a collation of other good copies such as the large marble "from Frejus" in the Louvre and the terracotta by Diphilos from Myrina, but also by the detailed similarity in the handling of the drapery with certain figures of the Nike Temple Parapet, long since connected by Schrader and Carpenter with the master of the Venus Genetrix.

One would gladly know when the new copy was carved. On this notoriously difficult problem additional evidence may eventually be obtained from the structure with which the statue appears to have been associated. Of internal evidence based on technique, the front of the figure yields less than the back which has been much altered by the copyist to suit the change in the left arm and also greatly coarsened: in the wooden quality of the folds and in the chisel work this back is close to that of several portrait statues from the Agora that may be dated in the second century after Christ.⁵⁸

A marble statuette of Asklepios from a disturbed context to the east of the Odeion commands respect despite its lack of head, feet and right hand (Pl. 19 c and d).⁵⁹ The god stands, resting much of his weight on his serpent-entwined staff held close to his right side. His heavy cloak is rolled down so as to expose the chest and both shoulders. Our small marble appears to be a free variant of a major work of

⁵⁶ T. Wiegand, *Milet*, I, Heft V, *Das Nymphaeum*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1919, p. 60, no. 7. An adaptation of the Venus Genetrix type, with girdle added, also came from this nymphaeum: *ibid.*, p. 60, no. 8.

⁵⁷ For a statuette of the original type with left arm bent from the Agora cf. *A.J.A.*, XXXIX, 1935, p. 179, fig. 8. Several other small statuettes have since accumulated in the Agora. On the question of provenance in general cf. S. Reinach, *Rev. Arch.*, V, 1905, pp. 401; G. Lippold, *Kopien und Umbildungen griechischen Statuen*, Munich, 1923, p. 46; M. Bieber, *Röm. Mitt.*, XLVIII, 1933, p. 272.

⁵⁸ For the back of the "Aphrodite from Frejus" cf. the excellent view in H. Schrader, *Phidias*, Frankfurt am Main, 1924, fig. 287.

⁵⁹ S 1589. Preserved height 0.235 m. Pentelic marble. One drilled hole in the top and two in the bottom suggest that both head and feet had been broken off in antiquity and refastened with metal pins.

the middle or third quarter of the fourth century which is known from several large-scale copies or adaptations of the Roman period.⁶⁰ The principal diversion from the norm is the baring of the left shoulder which, in the type with the staff on the right side, is almost invariably covered by the cloak. The summary but thoroughly competent handling of both flesh parts and drapery may be matched on many of the Attic grave stones of the third quarter of the fourth century, which indicates that our miniature version is not far removed in date from its hypothetical prototype.⁶¹ Its fresh modelling and monumental quality give it a high place among many known small-scale representations of the healing god.

The small but striking head of Pentelic marble shown in Plate 20 d was found in the destruction debris overlying the floor of the South Stoa toward its east end.⁶² The face wears a short, clotted beard, drooping moustache and rather long wavy hair; the remnant of a pointed Phrygian cap marks him as an Asiatic. The suggestion of agony or great exertion conveyed by the half open mouth and deeply articulated brow, coupled with the half-life scale, suggest some relation to the figures commonly connected with the Attalid dedication on the Acropolis, particularly with the Persian now in Aix.⁶³ Any very direct relationship is made unlikely, however, by indications on the back of the head that it has been broken from a relief. The workmanship is coarse but vigorous.

The life-sized marble head of a young woman illustrated in Plate 20 b lay on the floor of the east aisle of the East Stoa of the Commercial Agora, close to the south end of the building.⁶⁴ The shape of the tenon shows that it comes from a draped torso. A hand holding a phiale (Pl. 20 c) which was found near by is sufficiently close in scale and style of workmanship to be associated with the head; this, however, would suggest that the subject was engaged in sacrifice, in which case one would expect her to have veiled her head. The hair, parted in the middle, has been drawn back in wavy masses and twisted behind the ears in tight rolls which are tied together with a ribbon on the nape of the neck. This characteristic coiffure is well matched in the

⁶⁰ Cf. K. A. Neugebauer, *Asklepios, 78th Berlin Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1921, pl. III. For the Asklepios reliefs cf. U. Hausmann, *Kunst und Heilium*, Potsdam, 1948; the author (p. 126) contemplates a new study of the sculptural types in the round.

⁶¹ For the surface finish cf. the statuette of Asklepios found at Olynthos in 1938 and dated by the excavator to the early fourth century B.C.: D. M. Robinson, *Olynthus*, XII, 1946, pp. 130-137, pls. 115-119.

For another, somewhat larger statuette of Asklepios of the Roman period from the Agora cf. *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 198, fig. 17.

⁶² S 1596. Overall height 0.17 m., width 0.109 m. There are two measuring points on the chin.

⁶³ *Ath. Mitt.*, I, 1876, pl. VII; Winter, *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*, p. 351, 6. On the monument cf. Frazer's note on Pausanias I, 25, 2.

⁶⁴ S 1631. Height 0.38 m. A choice piece of Pentelic marble. This piece, as also a bearded male portrait head found in a Byzantine wall to the west of the Odeion (S 1604), will be included in the forthcoming study of portrait sculpture from the Agora by Miss Evelyn B. Harrison. (*The Athenian Agora*, Vol. I, Portrait Sculpture, 1953 [in press], Nos. 11, 52].

portrait medallions of Antonia Minor (36 B.C.-A.D. 37) and of Agrippina the Elder (ca. 14 B.C.-A.D. 33) on coins struck under Claudius. The cast of the features, coupled with the sensuous charm that plays so lightly over them, leaves little doubt that we have to do with some princess of the Julio-Claudian house, though probably nothing short of an inscription could establish the precise identification. In the sheer beauty of its crisp modelling and in its remarkably fresh condition the piece has few equals among the surviving works of this period known from Greece.

A miniature but extraordinarily vivid piece of sculpture is the bust worked in relief on a medallion or *emblema* from the floor of a terracotta bowl (Pl. 17 c).⁶⁵ A man of short hair and beard with a cloak thrown over his left shoulder is represented in the characteristic attitude of a lecturer: right hand raised with first and second fingers extended, a roll in the left hand. The attitude, the style and the serious atmosphere associate the piece with the statues of philosophers of the late fourth and early third centuries B.C., most of which are represented as seated. That the subject was a famous man is also suggested by the existence of a replica from the same mould in the Agora collection and of a much debased replica, reported to be from Corinth, in Berlin.⁶⁶ A clue to a more precise identification is given by the prominent, slightly aquiline nose and the full lips which suggest Semitic blood. An outstanding philosopher of Semitic origin who had been honored with a statue presumably at Athens in the late fourth or early third century and whose fame persisted there in the Roman period is not likely to be other than Zeno, the founder of the Stoic school. The medallion corresponds in most respects, save in the wispy termination of the beard, with the inscribed bronze bust and marble herm in Naples.⁶⁷ And it agrees line for line with the references to Zeno's physical appearance imbedded in the pages of Diogenes Laertius (VII, 1, 16, 20, 26, 30): lean, serious, morose, sour, with wrinkled brow. The Athenians had honored the distinguished immigrant with a bronze statue (Diogenes Laertius, VII, 6) which would have been appropriately placed at the north edge of the Agora in or before the Painted Stoa where Zeno had taught and which gave its name to his teaching.

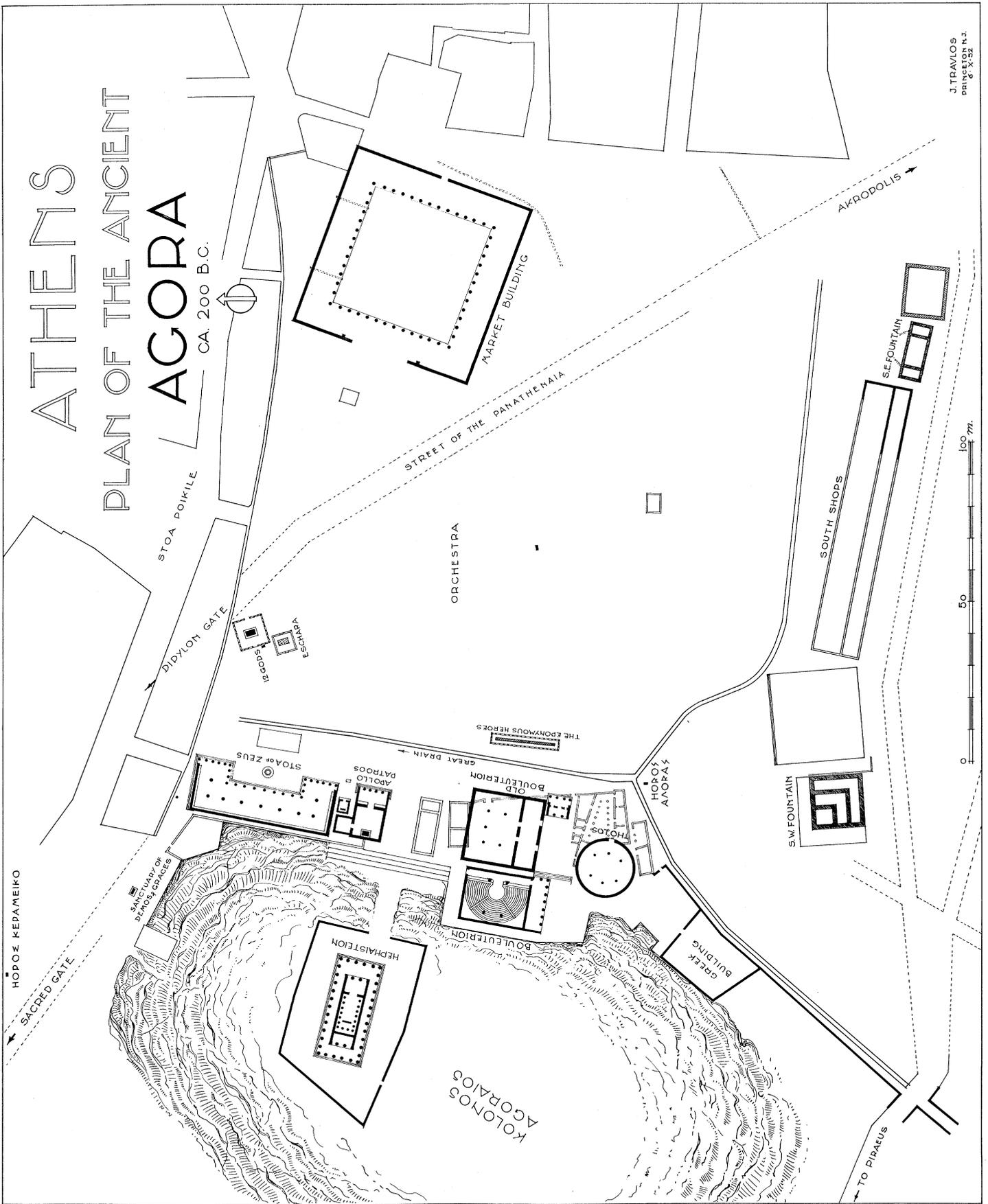
HOMER A. THOMPSON

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PRINCETON

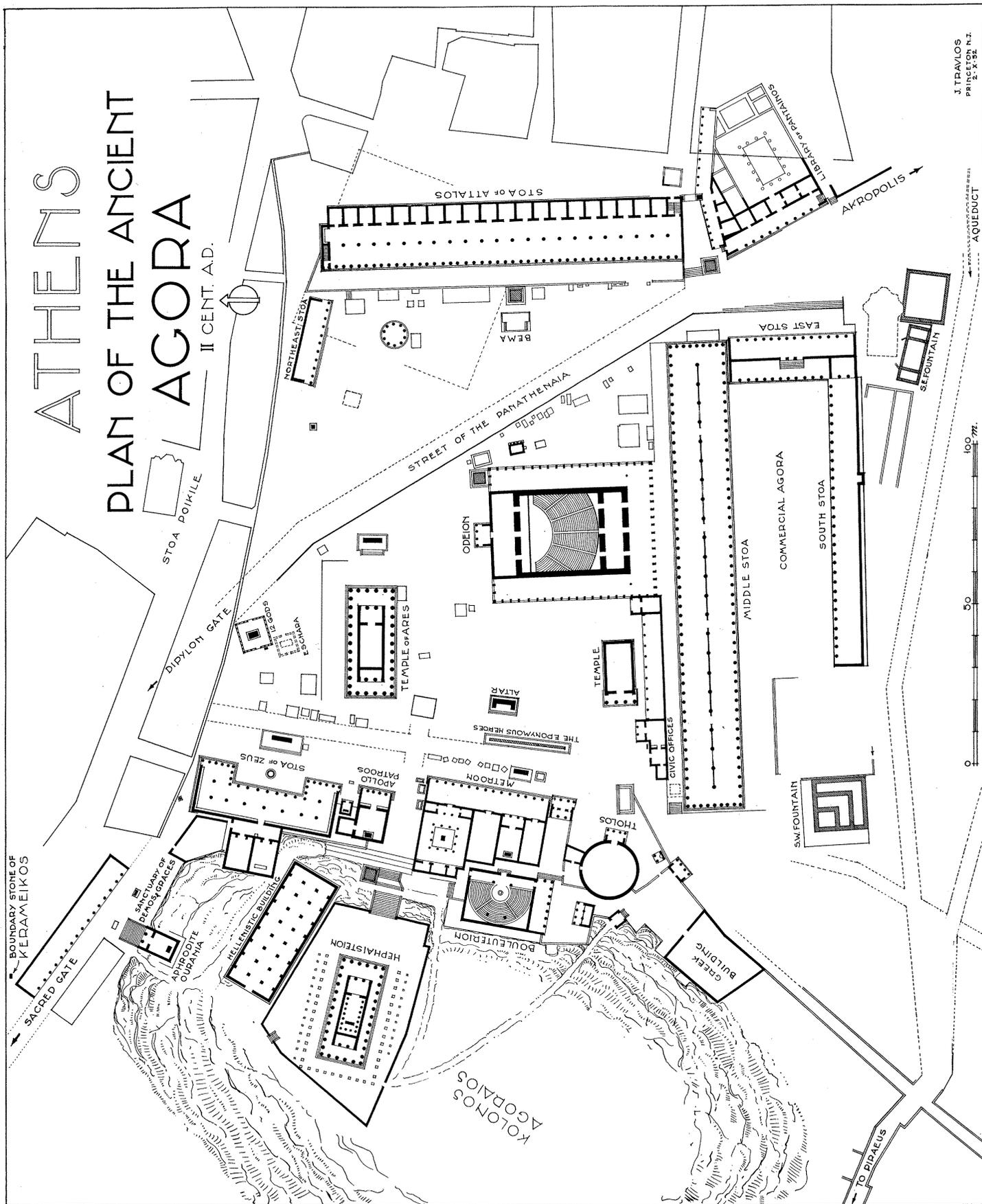
⁶⁵ P 22351. From destruction debris associated with the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. Diameter 0.07 m.; broken all around. Orange-colored clay covered with matt red glaze on the inside, unglazed on the underside. For other such *emblemata* from the Agora cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 181, pl. 61, 4; XVIII, 1949, p. 224, pl. 45, 3. The Agora collection now comprises some eighteen pieces which will be included by Mr. Henry S. Robinson in his comprehensive study of the pottery of the Roman period from the Agora. The majority of these examples date from the first century after Christ.

⁶⁶ The Agora replica is P 15175. For the piece from Corinth cf. H. Winnefeld, *68th Berlin Winkelmannsprogramm*, 1908, p. 20, no. 12, pl. III, 3.

⁶⁷ A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, New York, 1912, p. XXII, fig. 13, pl. 104; K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker*, Basel, 1943, p. 109, 2 and 4, p. 209 for the bibliography.

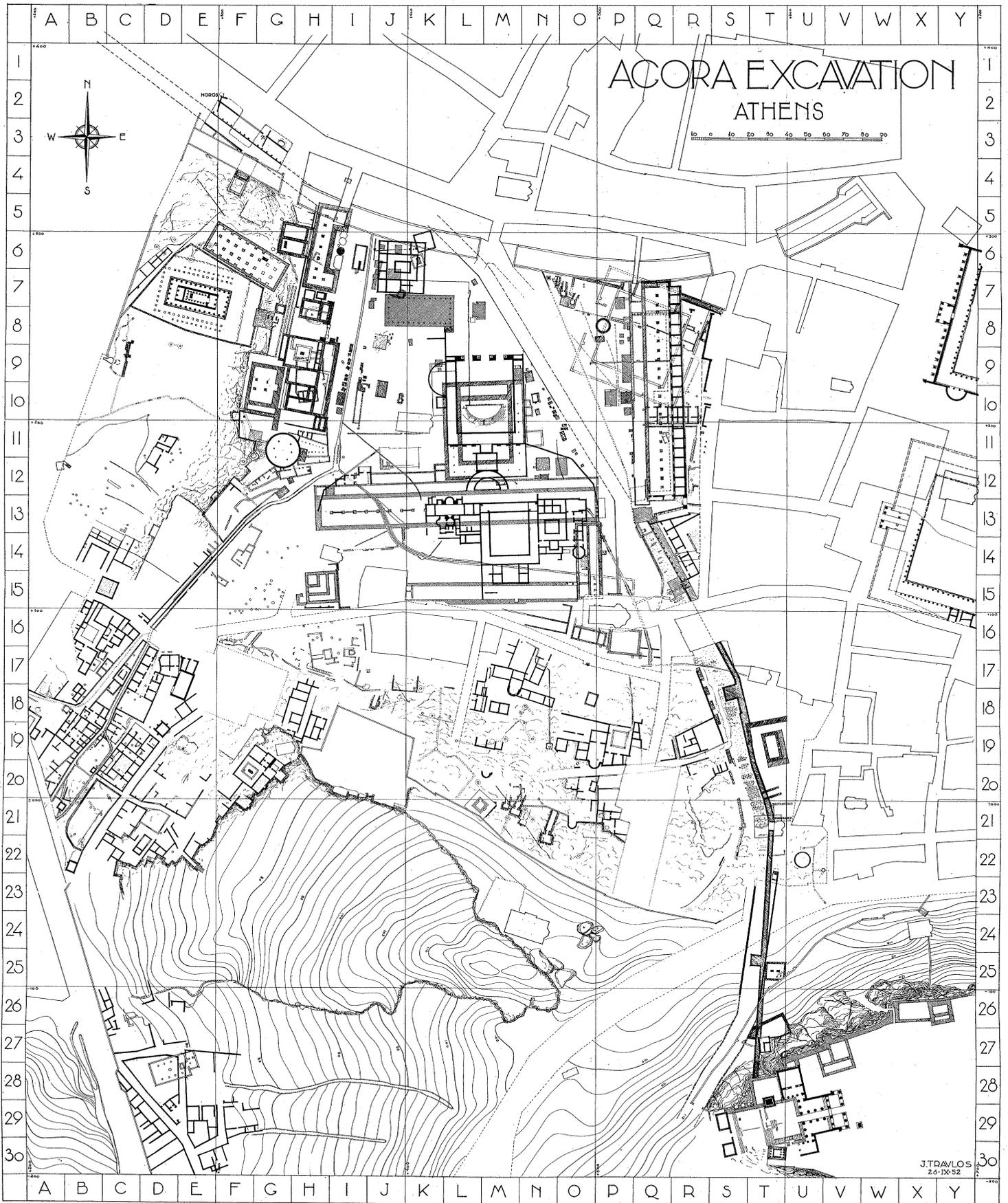


HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952



J. TRAVLOS
PRINCETON N.J.
S. 1952

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952



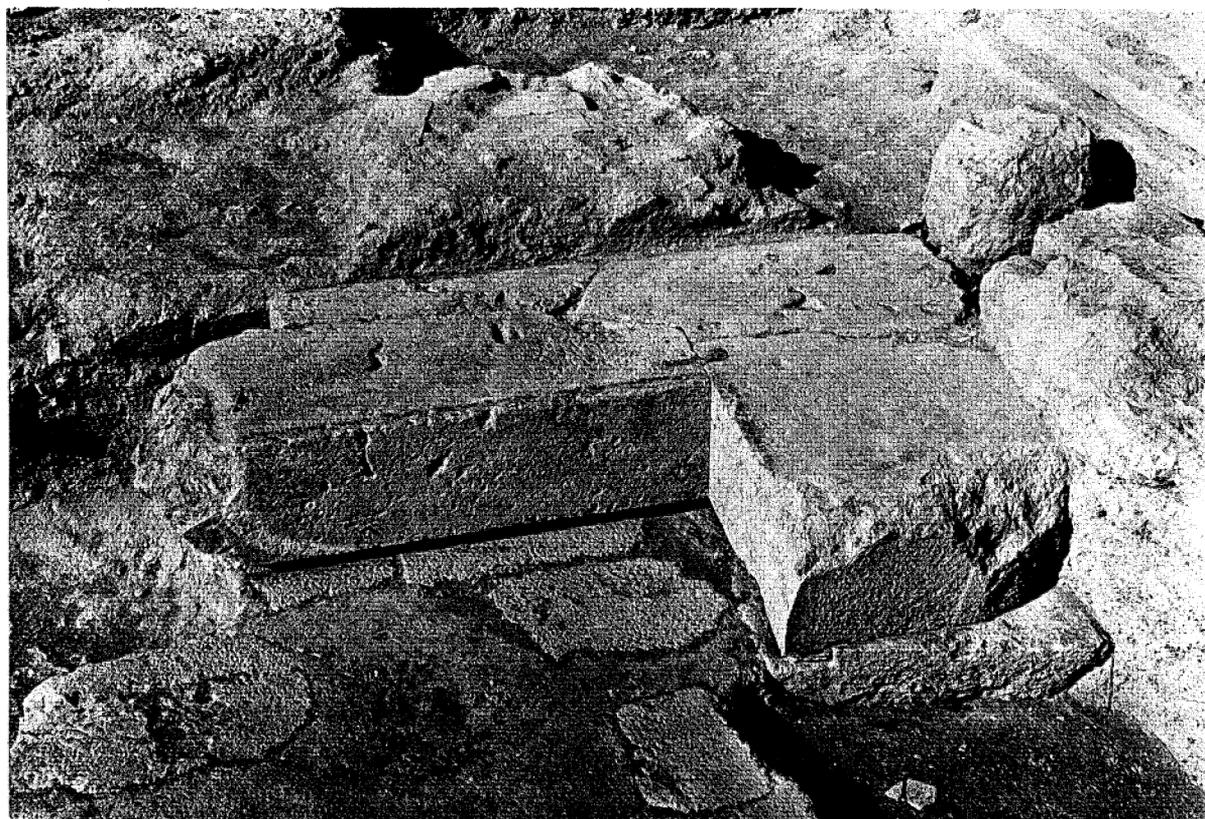
Actual State Plan of the Athenian Agora

HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1952

J. TRAVLOS
26-IX-52



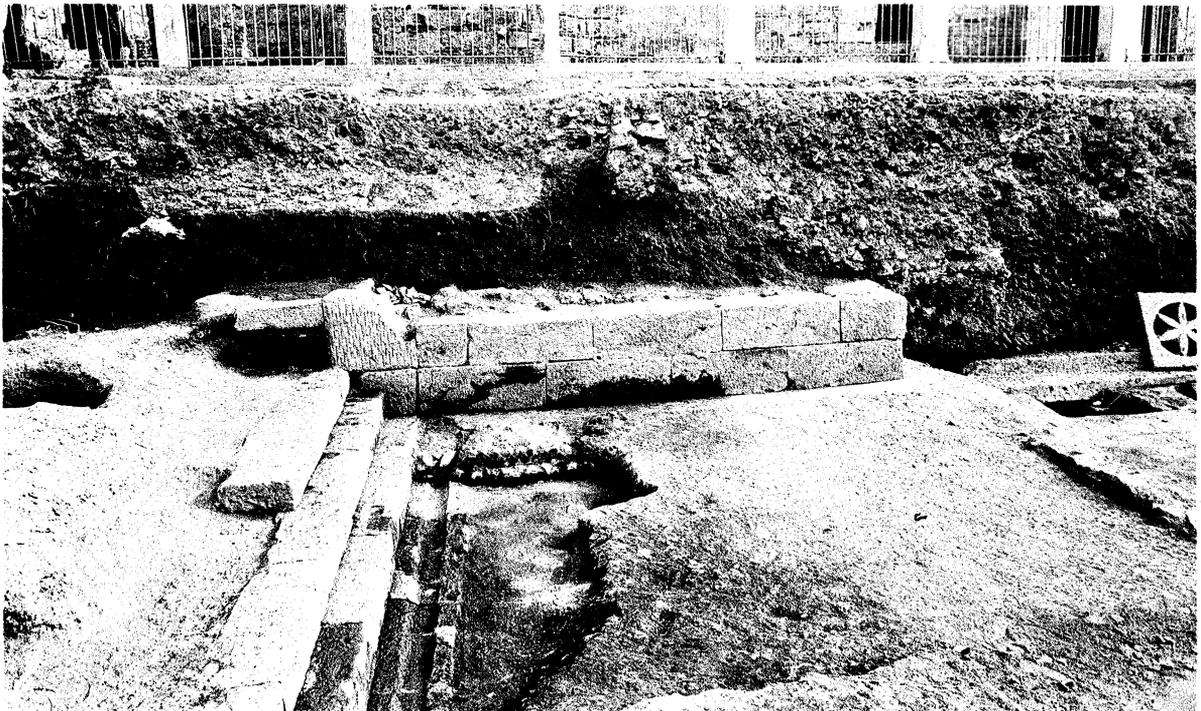
a. Southeast Fountain House from the Southeast. Church of the Holy Apostles to the Right



b. Northeast Corner of the Southeast Fountain House



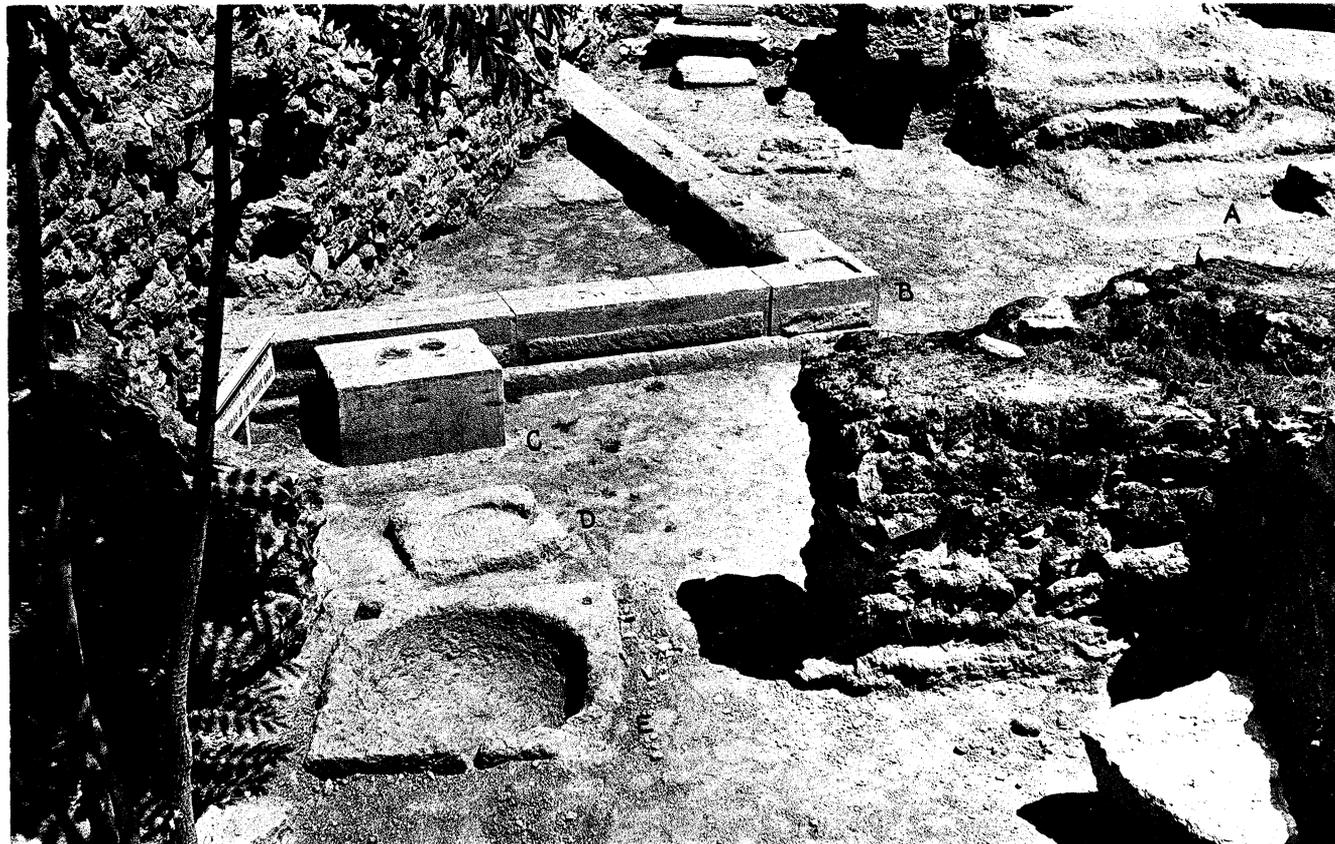
a. Area of the East Stoa of the Commercial Agora from the North. A: Southeast Corner of the Middle Stoa, B: East Foundation of East Stoa, C: West Foundation of East Stoa, D: Steps leading to Panathenaic Way



b. Steps and Monument to East of East Stoa from the North



a. Archaic Eschara from the North. Above its corner are the Foundations of an Exhedra



b. Peribolos of the Twelve Gods from the West. A: Eschara, B: Southwest Corner of Peribolos, C: Leagros Base, D: Base for Perirrhanterion (?), E: Water Basin



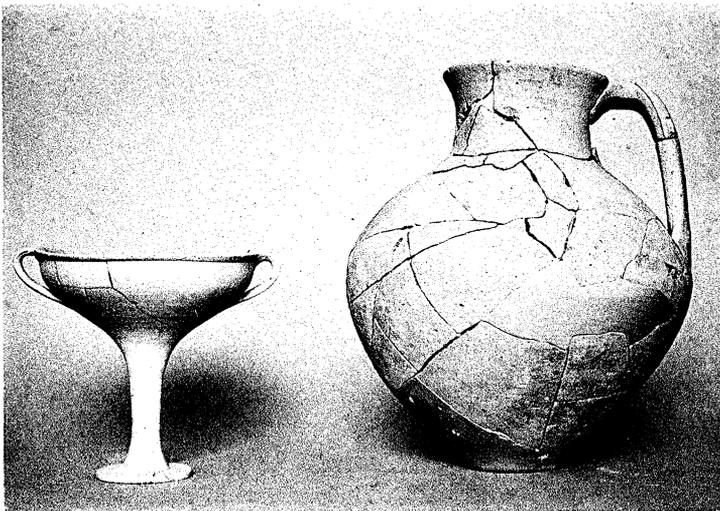
a. Area to East of the Odeion from the Northwest. A: LH III Grave, B-E: Geometric Wells (E with burial in its mouth), F: Early seventh century Well, G: "Protoattic Well East of the Odeion"



b. Stoa of Zeus after Conservation from the Northeast



a. LH III Chamber Tomb (A) and Remains of Monument Base (B)



b. Vases from Chamber Tomb (P 22318, 22319)



c. Terracotta Emblema from Bowl (P 22351)



a. Neck of Dipylon Amphora (P 22435)



b. Amphora from Protoattic Well to East of Odeion (P 22299)



c. and d. Protoattic Oinochoe (P 22550) and Amphora (P 22551) from Well behind Stoa of Attalos



a. and b. Statue of Venus Genetrix type (S 1654). Height 0.93 m.



c. and d. Statuette of Asklepios (S 1589). Height 0.235 m.



a. Upper Part of Stele (I 6524). 336 B.C.



b. Portrait Head (S 1631). Height 0.38 m.



c. Hand associated with Portrait Head (S 1627)



d. Head of an Easterner (S 1596). Height 0.17 m.