

# EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1950

(PLATES 24-30)

FIELD work carried out during the first six months of 1950 constituted the fifteenth campaign of excavation devoted by the American School of Classical Studies to the exploration of the Athenian Agora. The project, begun in 1931, has now passed its twentieth year, but of these four lustra one was made fallow by World War II.

In 1950, as in the previous year, a large proportion of the whole effort went to the exploration and study of the Stoa of Attalos and its immediate environs with a view to the reconstruction of the building for use as an Agora museum. This preparatory work has now been completed. An interesting by-product of the work on the Stoa of Attalos was the elucidation of the scheme of a small colonnade, the North-east Stoa, that closed the eastern part of the north side of the Agora square. The removal of a maze of house foundations of the Byzantine and Turkish periods in the north central part of the Agora brought to light the altar of Ares and, incidentally, yielded a number of interesting marbles both inscribed and sculptured. A beginning was made on the systematic conservation of the ancient buildings in the area, starting with the Tholos, the Civic Offices, and the Odeion.

Field work in and around the Stoa of Attalos was supervised by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool, assisted for a time by Miss Evelyn B. Harrison, while the clearing of the north central area was in charge of Mr. Gerald J. Sullivan and Miss Margaret Crosby. Miss Lucy Talcott has continued to be responsible for the records and the museum; in this department she now enjoys the assistance of Miss Barbara Philippaki who comes fresh from her studies under Professor Beazley at Oxford and whose book on the Attic stamnos is soon to appear. Miss Alison Frantz has again filled all our photographic needs and Mr. John Travlos has devoted his whole time to our architectural problems. Miss Marian Welker has produced many drawings and water colors of vases, lamps, and architectural details. Miss Giulia Hitsanides, a grand-niece of Professor Gorham P. Stevens and a recent graduate from the School of Architecture in the Athenian Polytechnion, has also been of great help in this department.

In addition to the field work with which the present report is largely concerned, good progress has been made in the course of the year on the study of various groups of material. Thus Eugene Vanderpool, working in close correspondence with Professor A. E. Raubitschek of Princeton University, has been systematically digesting the collection of ostraka that now numbers well over 1500. Miss Lucy Talcott, in the little time left to her by the demands of colleagues, has resumed her study of Red-Figure. Miss Margaret Crosby, having completed her publication of the silver-mine

leases, has turned to the study of the lead tokens in the Agora collection which now numbers several hundred pieces ranging in date from the 4th century B.C. into the late Roman period. The stamped designs which they bear, usually of fine quality, are full of mythological and religious interest.

Miss Virginia Grace has almost completed the reading and preliminary classification of the stamped wine jars in the Agora and has besides found time to work over the collections in the Athenian Kerameikos and in the Epigraphic Museum in Athens, and to record recent finds on Rhodes, Cyprus, Thasos, and at Corinth. She has, moreover, arrived at an understanding with the authorities of the French School whereby the resources of the Agora may be pooled with those from the French excavations on Delos and Thasos and produced in corpus form with much greater economy and authority than would be possible in separate publications of the individual sites. In the Agora museum Miss Grace has set out a series of some 300 wine jars arranged both by date and by place of origin: an illuminating documentation of an important branch of ancient commerce.

Mr. G. Roger Edwards has completed his survey of the Hellenistic pottery on the Agora shelves, some 4000 vases, and has seen to the making of the necessary photographs and drawings. Mr. Richard H. Howland, Chairman of the Department of Fine Arts in Johns Hopkins University, resumed his connection with the Agora for the second half of the calendar year with the object of preparing for publication his study of the Agora lamps which now number over 4700.

Before their departure in the late summer, Miss Evelyn Harrison had completed the groundwork for her study of some fifty sculptured portraits in the Agora and Mrs. Evelyn Lord Smithson had done the same for a significant series of groups of Protogeometric pottery recovered from wells. Miss Anna Benjamin has performed a difficult but useful service by completing an index of the many hundreds of graffiti and dipinti on pottery, thus making this intriguing material accessible.

In the course of a summer visit, Mrs. T. L. Shear renewed direct contact with the Agora coins on the study of which she has been working steadily with the help of the card catalogue now in Princeton. Another summer visitor, Miss Lucy T. Shoe, made a close study of the many poros fragments from the Stoa Poikile with a view to their publication.

Among others who continue to work on Agora material though at a distance are Professor B. D. Meritt (inscriptions), Gladys Davidson Weinberg (glass), and Dorothy Burr Thompson (terracotta figurines).

The long series of well documented skeletal material produced by the Agora Excavations is being made to yield the utmost in anthropological data by Dr. J. Lawrence Angel of the Daniel Baugh Institute of Anatomy in the Jefferson Medical College, Philadelphia. In the summer of 1949, Dr. Angel brought his records up to date by examining all the material that had come out since his last previous profes-

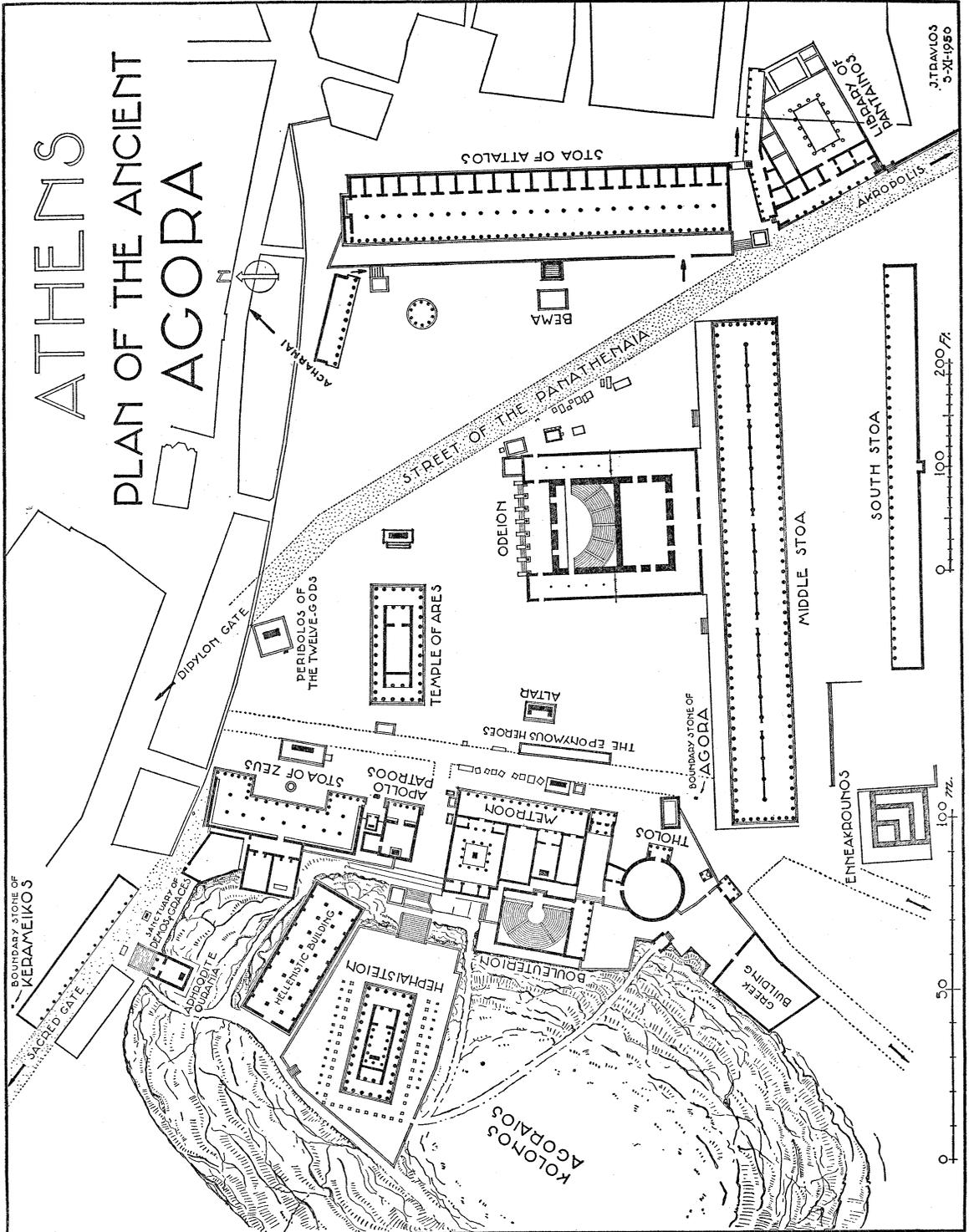


Fig. 1. The Agora in the Second Century after Christ

sional visit before the War. During the year under review the teeth and jaws of these skeletons have been subjected to X-ray examination by Dr. George Philippas, a practising dentist of Athens with American training. Dr. Philippas has extracted much valuable information on the general trends in dental hygiene among his fellow townsmen over a period of 3500 years and many interesting sidelights on their individual miseries.

This year, as last, the undertaking has been greatly advanced by the collaboration of scholars holding United States Government grants under the Fulbright Act. In the first half of the calendar year the following scholars holding such grants participated in the work of the Agora: Misses Lucy Talcott, Margaret Crosby, Marian Welker, Virginia Grace, and Mr. G. Roger Edwards, all Research Scholars; and Miss Anna Benjamin, Miss Evelyn B. Harrison, Mrs. Evelyn L. Smithson, and Mr. Gerald J. Sullivan as Graduate Scholars. In the second half of the calendar year Mr. Howland held a half-year Research Scholarship.

For the academic year 1950-51, Misses Talcott, Crosby, Frantz, and Grace hold research fellowships from the School. We are greatly indebted to Miss Frantz for the benefit of her professional services given on a purely voluntary basis during the half year that intervened between the termination of her duties as Cultural Attaché and her formal return to membership in the School.

The skilled Greek technical staff has continued to give its essential support to the scholarly endeavor under the genial direction of our Chief Foreman, Mr. Sophokles Lekkas, who has served in this capacity throughout the first twenty years of the undertaking and who now, having recovered from a serious operation, courageously looks forward to another such term.

It is a pleasure once more to record the ever ready support and the lively interest shown by the authorities of the School even in a year beset with other problems.

It is equally pleasant to acknowledge our standing debt to our hosts, the authorities of the Greek Archaeological Service: to its head, Professor A. Orlandos, to the ephors, Messrs. N. Kotzias and J. Threpsiades, and to Mr. and Mrs. Karouzo of the National Museum for so helpfully facilitating the study of comparative material in their keeping.

Most welcome financial assistance has again been received from Mr. John Crosby, Mrs. Lyndon M. King, and various members of the staff.

#### CONSERVATION OF BUILDINGS

Most of the ancient buildings of the Agora have come to light in a more ruinous state than those of any other major site in Greece. In order to preserve the little that remains of walls and floors and to make the scheme of the buildings intelligible to the visitor, much careful conservation will be required. This year a beginning was made on systematic attention to buildings of which the study had been previously

completed, viz., the Tholos, Civic Offices, and Odeion. In each case gaps in the foundations have been made good, exploratory pits have been refilled and holes in floors have been closed with crushed stone. The necessary building material has been drawn from the vast number of nondescript and non-attributable ancient blocks which had previously cluttered the excavations.

Another incidental gain from such measures is the greater ease with which weeds can be controlled; still another is the clarity with which the buildings thus treated can now be distinguished whether from the neighboring hill-tops or from the air.

#### STOA OF ATTALOS — AGORA MUSEUM

As reported in the account of last season's work,<sup>1</sup> it is hoped that the Stoa of Attalos may be rebuilt to serve as a permanent Agora Museum. The project, having been included in the program for the rehabilitation of archaeological areas and museums in Greece, continued to receive financial support under the Marshall Plan and hence the work was carried out by the School on behalf of the Greek Government under the general oversight of Professor A. Orlandos as head of the Departments of Antiquities and of Restorations in the Ministry of Education. We are deeply indebted to Professor Orlandos for his patient collaboration in working out the involved administrative and technical problems.

Within the year the preparatory work on the Stoa was completed. The last of the extraneous blocks were cleared away from within the limits of the building and its terrace (Pl. 24 a). In order to make room for those removed from the south end of the Stoa a mass of late accumulation was cut away between the Stoa of Attalos and the Middle Stoa, thus exposing a 30-metre length of the Panathenaic Way and the southeastern exit from the main square. The retaining wall necessary to support the modern north-to-south street to the east of the Stoa has been carried up to a safe height and the long narrow area immediately behind the Stoa has been carefully explored.

The series of three large earlier buildings previously reported beneath the Stoa has been more thoroughly examined and much new evidence has been gathered for their dates and plans. Deep digging beneath the north end of the Stoa terrace revealed the circular poros bedding (1.35 m. in diameter) for a small monument, presumably an altar, that was carefully fenced with a ring of leaded posts (Pl. 24 b). Dating from the late archaic period, the base had already been overlaid by a building before the end of the fifth century B.C. No clue has yet been found to the identification of this intriguing and, in view of its position, certainly important monument.

The new archaeological survey of the Stoa proper, made both possible and imperative by the discovery of so much new material in the clearing of the site, has yielded solutions to many of the outstanding problems in the recovery of the design

<sup>1</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 316 ff.

of the building; a few of the results may be noted here. The removal of a little late masonry has revealed the original top of the shop-front wall over a 6-metre stretch near its south end; a series of dressed beddings on the wall top gives the precise spacing and slope of the rafters. A more satisfactory solution has been found for the restoration of the stairways leading to the upper story; they appear to have been over most of their length open to the sky, and to have been roofed only in their upper part. All the elements have now been recovered for the restoration of the upper front order, including the parapet between its columns. It is now apparent that in the Roman period mezzanine floors were inserted in many of the shops of the lower story. At the extreme south end of the terrace in front of the Stoa are clear traces of a fountain house that formed part of the original design, while behind the south end of the Stoa are remains of a public latrine of Roman date.

As a basis for the actual reconstruction of the Stoa, a technical survey was carried out during the summer and autumn of 1950 by Mr. George Biris, a Greek civil engineer with abundant experience in the construction of large public buildings in Athens. A whole folio of working drawings is now at hand together with the detailed calculations for both the construction and the cost. The drawings on which the survey is based are the work of Mr. John Travlos who has throughout collaborated closely with Mr. Biris.

The careful clearing of bedrock in the long narrow area immediately behind the Stoa has been remarkably fruitful. In addition to the foundations of various buildings exposed both in 1949 and 1950, five wells have been cleared this season: two of the late Geometric period, one of the mid 6th century, one of the late archaic period and one of the early Roman. The finest single object from these wells, a black-figured Siana cup of *ca.* 570 B.C., will be published shortly in a separate article in this journal by its finder, Eugene Vanderpool.

Of no little interest, however, is the wine jug of Pl. 25 a, which was found broken but complete in the late archaic well.<sup>2</sup> The shape can be paralleled in other Agora deposits of the early 5th century.<sup>3</sup> Tightly wedged in the mouth of the jug was its stopper, neatly cut from cork; a small vertical hole in its middle was intended, no doubt, for a knotted cord to facilitate removal. It would appear that the jug had been lowered into the well in a complete state, presumably to cool its contents; then either the cord broke or the vessel was shattered in striking against the side of the shaft.<sup>4</sup> Pausanias (VIII, 12, 1) reported cork oaks in Arcadia, and the use of cork for net floats is well attested by literary sources from the 5th century onward<sup>5</sup> while the comic poet Alexis (*fl. ca.* 344-288 B.C.) prescribed its insertion in the soles of courtesans who needed a

<sup>2</sup> Inv. P20786. Height, 0.282 m. Diameter, 0.246 m.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 231, fig. 27: from a well beneath the Tholos.

<sup>4</sup> Cato (*Res Rustica*, CXX) recommended as a means for keeping grape juice sweet for a year that it be placed in an amphora, stoppered with cork and pitch, lowered into a pool, left for 30 days, and then removed. Our cork, however, showed no trace of pitch.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Frazer's note on Pausanias VIII, 12, 1.

little extra height.<sup>6</sup> Its employment in stopping wine bottles was perfectly familiar to Horace<sup>7</sup> but our well would seem to have preserved the earliest known record of its use for this purpose.<sup>8</sup>

The terracotta lamp shown in Pl. 25 b will serve as a sample of the large group of pottery recovered from the well of early Roman date.<sup>9</sup> This article came out quite intact, even to the charred wick of twisted fabric. We may surmise that it slipped from the hand of someone who had gone to draw water by night and that it was preserved by plunging into the deep water. The lamp is of non-Attic, probable Italian manufacture. Its top is enlivened by pictures of an olive spray and a pitcher: the ultimate and the immediate sources of the lamp's fuel.

This same well yielded a large number of cattle bones and horns. Since similar deposits have been found in other wells and pits of both the Greek and the Roman period along the east edge of the market square, we may infer that there were slaughter houses or butcher shops in the area.

A rubbish pit immediately behind the Stoa and toward its south end produced, along with a mass of broken pottery of the second half of the 5th century B.C., three small terracotta plaques, all intact and all remarkably fresh (Pl. 25 c).<sup>10</sup> One of the plaques has a straight top line, a jagged bottom. On one side it has the word "Halimous" painted in black glaze, on the reverse the three letters LEO, clearly an abbreviation for the tribal name "Leontis." The other two pieces are complements to the first; on them it is the upper edge that is irregular though finished, and they are clearly, therefore, the corresponding lower halves of two pieces similar to our first. On the obverse both have the letters POL (?); on the reverse one has Leo(ntis), the other Ere(chtheis).

In 1878 another example of this same series had come to light in the excavations of the Greek Archaeological Society at the Dipylon.<sup>11</sup> In shape it resembles our first piece, i. e., it has an irregular lower edge, but it has a small hole at its middle. On one face it bears the painted inscription "Xypetaion." No lettering was recorded by its editor on the reverse, although we may now assume that it bore the appropriate tribal name: Kek(ropis), the paint of which may well have flaked.

We may reconstruct the procedure as follows. A clay plaque of the size of a domino was carefully shaped. On one side a demotic or a deme name was painted

<sup>6</sup> Kock, *Com. Att. Frag.*, No. 98.

<sup>7</sup> *Odes*, I, 20, 3; III, 8, 10.

<sup>8</sup> Miss Virginia Grace draws my attention to the discovery of cork in amphora necks apparently of early Roman date found in southern France: S. Gagniere, *Cahiers d'Histoire et d'Archéologie*, Nîmes, XI, 1948, pp. 113 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Inv. L4704. Length, 0.12 m. Width, 0.075 m.

<sup>10</sup> Inv. MC 820-822. Thickness, 0.008 m. Width and length, 0.03 m.

<sup>11</sup> Koumanoudes, *Ἀθήναιον*, VIII, 1879, p. 237, No. 6; *I.G.*, I<sup>2</sup>, 916. The piece is presumably in the National Museum but is at present inaccessible.

across the top and the letters Pol(?) across the bottom (the latter, however, is not necessarily a constant; other abbreviations may have appeared). On the other side the abbreviation of a tribal name was written across the middle. Then, before the plaque was fired, it was cut neatly in two across the middle in an irregularly wavy or toothed line which passed through the tribal name on the back leaving the upper parts of the letters on one-half of the plaque, the lower parts on the other. Firing followed.

We are dealing then with tallies or *symbola*, little plaques cut in half along an irregular line in such a way that any given half would join only its original mate and no other. They could thus be used for purposes of identification and recognition, each of two parties holding one of the halves. The presence of tribal and demotic names leaves no doubt that they are official rather than private *symbola*. This is suggested also by the close similarity between their fabric and that of contemporary official measures. The evidence of context and of letter forms indicates a date near the middle of the 5th century B.C.

Exactly how our *symbola* were used we can only conjecture at present, but it seems clear that they must have played some part in the official business transacted between the tribes and their member demes. They are not to be connected with the *symbola* employed in the law courts (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 65, 2 and 68, 2) nor does it seem likely that they could have been used in any way for allotment purposes. Whatever their exact use, they may be regarded as a new series of objects illustrating the mechanics of Athenian Government to be added to the already impressive lot discovered in the course of the Agora excavations.<sup>12</sup>

In the season of 1949 a Mycenaean burial was encountered behind the Stoa near its mid part.<sup>13</sup> In 1950 at a distance of a few yards another burial of quite a different sort came to light (Pl. 26 a). There remained the lower part of a round pit sunk in the soft bedrock, its walls and floor carefully lined with brown clay. On the floor lay the skeleton of a dog, head to the west, with a large beef bone close by the nose. A miniature squat lekythos which was found at a slightly higher level may or may not belong with the burial; in any case it fixes the date within the 4th century B.C. This evidence of tender regard for a pet animal may be added to the frequent appearance of house dogs on sculptured gravestones of the period and to the epigrams from the graves of dogs.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>12</sup> I have drawn this basic description from the original account by Eugene Vanderpool. Several ingenious explanations of their purpose have already been propounded and others will no doubt be forthcoming.

<sup>13</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 326.

<sup>14</sup> *Anth. Pal.*, VII, 211. Clarke, Bacon and Koldewey, *Investigations at Assos*, Cambridge, Mass., 1902-21, p. 290 and p. 293, fig. 5, shows a gravestone found at Mytilene, now in Constantinople, carved with a figure of a dog and a metrical inscription of the Roman period. Miss Machteld Mellink has drawn my attention to a parallel for our burial in a cemetery of the A'U'baid period (early 4th millennium B. C.) at Eridu in Mesopotamia: a grave lined with sun-dried brick contained the skeleton of a boy, and above it the skeleton of a dog, probably of Saluki type, with a

Of the many small objects found in the exploration of the earlier buildings beneath the Stoa of Attalos, two terracottas may be mentioned. The first<sup>15</sup> comes from the construction filling of the great square peristyle, a context of the second half of the 4th century B.C.<sup>16</sup> A mould, from which the modern cast illustrated in Pl. 26 b was taken, preserves the upper part of a figure clad in tunic and Phrygian cap, hence probably Attis. On the analogy of better preserved examples, he may be restored in the act of genuflection beside an altar on which he has thrown himself either in exhaustion after an ecstatic dance or in supplication. The type is widespread and was in favor in the middle of the 4th century as shown by the discovery of several examples among the houses of Olynthos. The Agora piece is remarkable for the delicate modelling of the head which has a sculptural quality akin to that of the Mausoleion Frieze and the Alexander Sarcophagus.<sup>17</sup>

The second terracotta is also preserved in the shape of a mould which formed part of the floor packing of the immediate predecessor of the Stoa of Attalos, a market building to be dated in the second quarter of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>18</sup> There remains but a single corner of a large plaque, on it the legs of a figure moving swiftly to the left (Pl. 26 c).<sup>19</sup> The agitated, carefully patterned drapery stands in much the same derivative relationship to Athenian work of the late Periclean period as does that of the great frieze on the Altar of Pergamon, with which our piece is, no doubt, closely contemporary. The fragmentary state of the Agora plaque is in some measure compensated for by the chronological value of its context.

Beneath the floor of the Stoa in front of the eighth shop from the south lay a fragmentary boundary stone inscribed Δ]HMHTPO[Ξ] HOPOΞ in lettering of the first half of the 5th century (Inv. I 6311). Although the stone was not found *in situ*, it is so paltry a scrap that it is not likely to have been carried far for re-use; this raises a tantalizing problem as to the site of the sanctuary.

#### THE NORTHEAST STOA

The examination of the northern part of the retaining wall of the Stoa of Attalos led to the further clearance of a small building which had been partially exposed in

meat bone at its mouth (*Illustrated London News*, Sept. 11, 1948, p. 304, fig. 8). On the west slope of the Areopagus, among the ruins of houses and shops, was found a terracotta jar containing the skeleton of a small dog together with an unguentarium of the late Hellenistic period; this will be published shortly by Rodney S. Young. Cf. also Theophrastos, *Characters*, XXI, 36.

<sup>15</sup> Inv. T 3044, Height, 0.068 m.

<sup>16</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 320 ff.

<sup>17</sup> F. Winter, *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten*, Berlin and Stuttgart, 1903, p. 158, Nos. 6-8; D. M. Robinson, *Olynthos*, IV, 1931, Nos. 340, 341; VII, 1933, No. 388. I owe the references to my wife.

<sup>18</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 320.

<sup>19</sup> Inv. T 3045. Height 0.31 m. Width 0.28 m. The full height of the figure may be estimated as *ca.* 0.65 m.

1938 at the extreme northeast corner of the market square.<sup>20</sup> Most of the structure falls within the width of the trench cut for the Athens—Peiraeus Railway in 1891 but measured sketches made by German scholars at that time and now preserved in the German Archaeological Institute in Athens, when studied in conjunction with the foundations now exposed, allow its scheme and dimensions to be fixed. The structure was a stoa measuring overall *ca.* 26.60 x 7 m. It faced south across the square and presumably bordered the important thoroughfare that swept along the north edge of the square. In function, scale, and date the new building is comparable with the colonnade discovered in 1936 along the north side of the westward continuation of the same road outside the northwest corner of the square;<sup>21</sup> the new building, however, is Ionic, the other Doric. For lack of an ancient name we may designate the structure the Northeast Stoa.

The foundation for the row of columns that formed the south front of the stoa is visible in its full length immediately to the south of the railway retaining wall (Pl. 27 c). Toward its east end there remains in place part of the lowest of three steps of Hymettian marble. Numerous fragments from the superstructure lay in the plundered foundation trench and on the floor of the building; though small, they are helpful (Pl. 27 b). The column shafts were of greenish white marble of Karystos, unfluted. The Ionic capitals, of Pentelic marble, are clearly patterned on those of the Erechtheion; bands of bead and reel encircle the cushion; the eyes of the volutes are flat. Between shaft and capital there intervened a richly carved drum, again as in the Erechtheion. A tiny fragment from the volute of a corner capital found at the southeast corner of the building indicates a prostyle rather than *in antis* arrangement. Scraps remain of the architrave, of dentils, of a marble antefix and one small piece most likely from the coffered soffit of the cornice. Several pieces of carved marble revetment suggest that the interior was richly finished. The surviving step blocks indicate a column spacing in the neighborhood of 2.50 m. which would be consonant with the scale of the superstructure and would call for 11 columns.

Little evidence is yet available for the date of construction. Similarity with the Temple of Rome and Augustus on the Acropolis (*ca.* 27-18 B.C.) in point of technique and stylistic dependence and the sparing use of gray, lime mortar for pointing the interior joints in the foundations of the Agora building would suggest a date in the early Roman period. The lavish use of marble, in striking contrast to the frugal construction of the colonnade bordering the road to the Sacred Gate, may imply that the building was a gift to the City.<sup>22</sup> Our stoa was certainly destroyed by fire, in all likelihood in A.D. 267, and was never rebuilt.

<sup>20</sup> *Hesperia*, VIII, 1939, p. 213.

<sup>21</sup> *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 339; IX, 1940, p. 299.

<sup>22</sup> It appears to be too late in date to rank as a candidate for identification with the "Stoa of the Roman" of *I.G.*, II<sup>2</sup>, 958, 29 (mid 2nd century B.C.).

The southeast corner of the Northeast Stoa is separated by an interval of only 2.65 m. from the retaining wall of the Stoa of Attalos. This was no doubt a useful entrance for pedestrians at the extreme northeast corner of the square, and the deep accumulation of successive layers of hard tramped gravel shows that it was so used for centuries. We should have expected, however, a wider passage at this critical point. The explanation may be that the Northeast Stoa, which could scarcely have been shortened without becoming insignificant in scale, was thrust eastward as far as possible in order that its west end might not block another entrance to the square, viz., the thoroughfare that brought one in from the northeast, through the Acharnian Gate and past the little sanctuary of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria discovered in 1937.<sup>23</sup>

It was perhaps at the time of erection of the Northeast Stoa that provision was made for more convenient access to the north end of the terrace of the Attalos Stoa. A large rectangular monument which had previously risen immediately in front of the terrace wall of the Stoa was now shifted westward leaving room for a stairway between monument and terrace wall; the first step remains in place. This was a measure of very real convenience to those coming from the north and wishing to visit the Stoa of Attalos, for the clearing of the past season has brought to light what would seem to have been the only original entrance to the Stoa: an opening in the parapet of its terrace close to the south end of the building.

The more precise determination of the scheme of the Northeast Stoa has implications also for the topography of the northwest corner of the Agora. It will be observed on the plan (Fig. 1) that the line of the back of the stoa if projected westward just skirts the northeast corner of the Peribolos of the Twelve Gods and the north end of the Stoa of Zeus. This line would appear to represent the southern edge of the thoroughfare that bordered the north side of the square and that then continued on a very natural course between Kolonos Agoraios and the Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces on the south, the narrow Augustan stoa on the north toward the Sacred Gate and perhaps also the Dipylon. This considerably increases the likelihood that the building designated on the plan as the Stoa of Zeus was actually the northern-most building on the west side of the square and hence that it was known as the Royal Stoa as well as the Stoa of Zeus.<sup>24</sup>

These considerations have little effect on the hypothetical placing of the Stoa Poikile previously proposed.<sup>25</sup> It still seems probable that this building, facing south,

<sup>23</sup> *Hesperia*, VII, 1938, p. 614. Cf. the plan of the Agora and its environs in *Hesperia*, Supplement VIII, 1949, p. 386; a revision of this plan will appear shortly in a regular number of *Hesperia* in an article by Rodney S. Young.

<sup>24</sup> On the vexed problem of the identification of the stoas see most recently E. Vanderpool, *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 128. It is possible that some considerable modification of the road system between the Agora and the Dipylon occurred in the rebuilding after the Roman sack of 86 B.C. which was particularly destructive in this area.

<sup>25</sup> *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 327 ff.

bordered the north side of the thoroughfare that ran across the north edge of the square. Its eastern termination, like the western termination of the Northeast Stoa, was presumably fixed by the road coming in from the Acharnian Gate.

#### THE ALTAR OF ARES

In furtherance of the systematic program for finishing the exploration of areas that had been summarily opened up between the Wars, a tangle of late house foundations was removed this year from the area north of the Odeion and to the east of the Temple of Ares (Pl. 28).<sup>26</sup> The field work was supervised through most of the season by Mr. Gerald Sullivan, toward the end by Miss Margaret Crosby. Although the clearance of the area was by no means completed, the season's work made the Odeion and the Temple of Ares more intelligible to one on the spot, brought to light the Altar of Ares and another considerable stretch of the Panathenaic Way and produced some interesting marbles from the late walls.

The private houses in this area in their earliest form (11-12th century) were part of the thickly built Byzantine settlement that stretched across the whole northern part of the old Agora. The foundations showed evidence of repeated reconstruction and re-use from that period down to modern times. The houses were modest in scale and construction. They were provided with numerous wells and with storage facilities in the shape both of terracotta or masonry pithoi and of small vaulted chambers. Before removal, these remains were photographed, drawn, and studied; they will be included eventually in a comprehensive account of the Byzantine dwellings of the Agora region.

The Panathenaic Way as exposed in this area is a broad open roadway with a graveled surface torn by the torrents that swept down from the slopes of the Acropolis after the ancient drainage system had been disrupted by the barbarian sack of A.D. 267. That the road had not always followed exactly the same course is indicated by the appearance in the wall of a late pit, deep beneath the latest road surface, of a water channel very carefully made from massive poros blocks; the filling in the channel showed that it had already gone out of use in the latter part of the 5th century B.C.

The complete removal of the house foundations to the east of the Temple of Ares brought to light the whole of a rectangular foundation of large poros blocks, one corner of which had been revealed by the preliminary excavation (Pl. 29 a). The base measures 6.30 x 8.90 metres overall and falls on the axis of the Temple at a distance of 10 metres from the east front of the Temple. Two courses of poros blocks remain in place and the present top shows a carefully dressed bed for the euthynteria, presumably of marble. Although the present remains constitute a regular rectangle in

<sup>26</sup> On the preliminary excavation of the area cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 352; VII, 1938, pp. 318 f.; IX, 1940, p. 7.

outline, the blocks are laid in such a way as to show that the main part of the superstructure was supported by the eastern three-fifths of its width, while the remaining width to the west was occupied by steps, the length of which was less than that of the main part of the monument. A large though much battered orthostate of Pentelic marble that was found lying on the southeast corner of the foundation probably comes from the superstructure (Pl. 29 a). With it may be associated several fragments of richly carved moulding found in the area.

All the blocks of the foundation are clearly re-used. In the style of their original working as well as in the way in which they were set by their re-users, these blocks closely resemble the foundation material of the Temple of Ares which has been shown to date originally from the third quarter of the 5th century B.C. but to have been transplanted to the Agora in the time of Augustus.<sup>27</sup> This similarity, coupled with the axial placing of the newly cleared base, leaves no doubt that it is to be associated with the Temple. In size and plan the base would be thoroughly appropriate to a temple altar of the period of this Temple. Hence we need not hesitate to regard it as the base for the Altar of Ares.<sup>28</sup>

On top of the altar foundations lay a bearded head of Pentelic marble slightly over one-half life size (Pl. 29 b, c).<sup>29</sup> That the head comes from a high relief is shown by the scar of contact near the top of its back and by marks of the drilling by means of which the neck and left side were cut free from the background. With this head, in all likelihood, is to be associated a draped female torso, likewise from a high relief, and similar in material, scale, and quality of workmanship (Pl. 30 d).<sup>30</sup> The torso was removed in 1937 from a late foundation a little to the east of the Altar. The figure has both hands forward but what they held is not clear nor is there any other clue to her identification.

The male head is perhaps a little, but only a little more developed in style than the bearded heads of the Panathenaic frieze. The female figure likewise is a trifle later than comparable figures on the Panathenaic frieze. On the other hand, she is indubitably earlier than the Caryatids of the Erechtheion or the Nike Temple Parapet. A more apposite comparison is with the little figures from the base of the cult statue of Nemesis at Rhamnous. These considerations point to a date in the 30's of the 5th century, the decade to which the Temple of Ares has been referred through an analysis of its architectural style.<sup>31</sup> The first-rate quality of the newly found sculpture would also encourage one in associating it with the Temple. On the negative side,

<sup>27</sup> *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 47 ff.

<sup>28</sup> On the basis of the slight evidence provided by the preliminary excavation the altar was included by C. G. Yavis, *Greek Altars*, Saint Louis, 1949, among his "Altars of Undetermined Type, Group A, length 3 m. to 6.50 m." (p. 192).

<sup>29</sup> Inv. S 1459. Height, 0.14 m.

<sup>30</sup> Inv. S 1072. Height, 0.582 m.

<sup>31</sup> Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, p. 47: 440-436 B.C.

there is no other building or monument of appropriate date within the general area to which the frieze might be attributed.

The scale of the sculpture raises a problem, for it is appreciably greater than that of either the metopes or the continuous friezes of the Hephaisteion, a sister temple of Ares and almost identical in size.<sup>32</sup> Since, however our figures are of virtually the same scale as those of the Nike Temple Parapet,<sup>33</sup> and of the same salience, our relief would be appropriate for a balustrade.

May we then venture to suppose that our sculpture once adorned the outer face of a parapet enclosing three sides of the platform that supported the actual Altar of Ares? It must be admitted that, with so little of the altar left, there is little hope of establishing such a connection by direct evidence, yet the most characteristic feature of the altar's plan, viz., the fact that the steps stop short of the ends of the altar proper, would strongly favor just such a restoration.

If we accept the contention of one (and a very reasonable) school of thought that would have Ares' temple originally stand on Ares' hill, the need of a protecting parapet will be the more easily understood.<sup>34</sup> Placed thus our monument might well have inspired those who were commissioned a few years later to fence the top of Nike's bastion in full sight across the saddle between the two hills. And (if one more conjecture be permitted) may not the stir caused by the removal of temple and altar from the hilltop to the Agora, apparently to do honor to Augustus in or about the years 15-10 B.C., have influenced the design of the Ara Pacis, vowed in 13 B.C. and dedicated in 9 B.C. to commemorate Augustus' victorious return from Spain and Gaul, an altar distinguished by a marble screen richly carved in a style redolent of the ripe Periclean?

One more observation may be ventured on the placing of the altar in its second period. The plan (Fig. 1) will reveal that the altar falls not only on the main axis of the Temple of Ares but also on that of the Odeion; a dual relationship which must have impressed itself on anyone ascending the Panathenaic Way. This then will form one more link in the intimate connection that has been shown to exist between the two buildings in the recent studies of them: the temple brought in to the square to be rededicated, it seems, to Ares and Augustus, the concert hall erected by Agrippa, the son-in-law of Augustus and the father of Gaius Caesar who was himself addressed as the "New Ares."<sup>35</sup>

Of several inscribed marbles recovered from the late foundation walls in the area of the altar the most interesting is perhaps the lower part of a stele bearing a

<sup>32</sup> Height of Hephaisteion metopes, 0.828 m.; of continuous frieze, 0.808 m.

<sup>33</sup> Total height, 1.059 m.; height of sculpture field, 0.910 m. (Dinsmoor, *A.J.A.*, XXX, 1926, p. 9, fig. 4).

<sup>34</sup> This is my wife's observation.

<sup>35</sup> Dinsmoor, *Hesperia*, IX, 1940, pp. 49 ff.; Thompson, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, p. 97.

prytany decree to be dated apparently in the second quarter of the second century B.C.<sup>36</sup> The marble preserves 13 lines of the decree of the Boule, the full register of 50 names drawn from 12 demes of the tribe Hippothontis and 10 citations in honor of individual officials. Among many points of interest in the inscription is the mention of "the official in charge of secret documents."<sup>37</sup>

Two sculptured marbles, likewise from the late house foundations to the east of the Temple of Ares and to the north of the Odeion, deserve mention, not because of any significant association with the area, but because of their own intrinsic interest. The first is the mid part of a life-sized kouros of island marble (Pl. 30 b, c).<sup>38</sup> Scars on either side show that the hands hung close by the thighs. The almost rectangular cross section of the trunk and the schematic rendering of surface detail would suggest a date near the middle of the 6th century B.C. so that the fragment even in its present piteous condition adds one more to the short list of life-sized male figures known from Athens itself in this period.<sup>39</sup>

The other marble, though still more fragmentary, is also more significant (Pl. 30 d, e).<sup>40</sup> It is a remnant of a life-sized group of a man attacked from behind by a lion. Of the man there remains a little from the top of the head and the back of the neck. The hair over the skull is rendered by stippling on which are traces of red paint; the stippled surface was bordered at the back with two rows of snail-shell curls. The lion has fared no better; of him there is left to us one and a half claws, their points embedded in the man's skull. The outermost claw was cut separately and attached by means of a small bronze pin secured with cement. The puckered skin around the base of the claw proper is suggested by finely engraved lines. The workmanship, insofar as one may judge from so small a sample, is masterly. The marble is fine-grained, milky white, laminated in texture, akin to that of the Moschophoros. The use of such marble would suggest an early date. So, too, would the very close similarity in the rendering of the claws with the great poros lion and bull pediment of the Acropolis.<sup>41</sup> A somewhat lower date is perhaps demanded by the treatment of the hair on the man's head which finds ready parallels in the neighborhood of 525 B.C.<sup>42</sup> One might then hazard a date late in the third quarter of the 6th century.

<sup>36</sup> Inv. I 6295. This document is being studied for publication by Mr. Gerald Sullivan.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, p. 27.

<sup>38</sup> Inv. S 1440. Height, 0.285 m. Width, 0.345 m.

<sup>39</sup> The obvious comparisons are with the Tenea-Volomandra Group (ca. 575-550 B.C.) and the Melos Group (ca. 555-540 B.C.) of Miss Richter's *Kouroi*, New York, 1942.

<sup>40</sup> Inv. S 1449. Maximum dimension, 0.235 m.

<sup>41</sup> H. Schrader, *Die archaische Marmorbildwerke der Akropolis*, Frankfurt, 1939, p. 387, fig. 499.

<sup>42</sup> For the stippling cf. the Sabouroff head in Berlin (A. Furtwängler, *Die Sammlung Sabouroff*, Berlin, 1883-1887, pls. III, IV; C. Weickert, *Griechische Plastik*, Berlin, 1946, p. 27, fig. 13). The stippling and snail-shell curls in combination are found on the head in Boston: Caskey, *Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin*, XXXIV, 1936, pp. 6 f.; *A.J.A.*, XL, 1936, p. 307, figs. 1 A-C; Richter, *Kouroi*, No. 119.

The theme of our group was presumably a gigantomachy in which a giant was assailed by a feline attendant of one of the gods. One thinks in this period of the marble rendering of the subject in the front gable of the "Hekatompedon" on the Acropolis or of the poros version in the rear gable of the Alcmaeonid temple of Apollo at Delphi, while the specific incident is more nearly paralleled on the frieze of the Siphnian Treasury. The scale of our fragment is more appropriate to a pediment than to a frieze and its remarkably fresh condition might well be explained by the protection afforded by the raking cornice close above a group that would naturally have been thrust into an angle of the gable. Since there appears to be no place for our group in the known buildings or sculptural compositions of the Acropolis, we must search in the lower city for another of the great buildings of Peisistratid Athens.<sup>43</sup>

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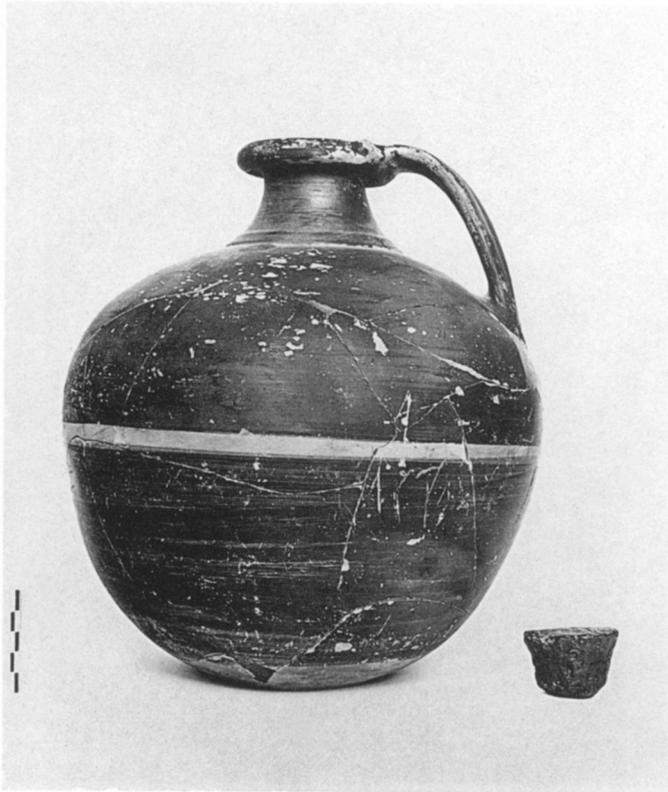
<sup>43</sup> It is perhaps conceivable that the poros lion's head found in 1946 near the altar of the Twelve Gods derives from the other (the rear) gable of the same building (*Hesperia*, XVI, 1947, p. 207, pl. XLIII). Several fragments of archaic poros architecture found in the northern part of the excavations must also be more carefully scrutinized in this connection.



a. Stoa of Attalos: South End from the Northwest (August, 1950)



b. Round Monument Base beneath North End of Terrace of Attalos Stoa, from the Northeast



a. Jug with Cork (P20786)



b. Terracotta Lamp (L4704)



c. Terracotta Symbola (MC820-822)



a. Dog's Grave behind Stoa of Attalos



b. Impression from a Terracotta Mould: Attis(?) (T3044)



c. Impression from a Terracotta Mould: Dancer (T3045)



a. Boundary Stone from beneath Stoa of Attalos (I6311)



b. Marble Fragments from the Northeast Stoa



c. Foundations of the Northeast Stoa from the East

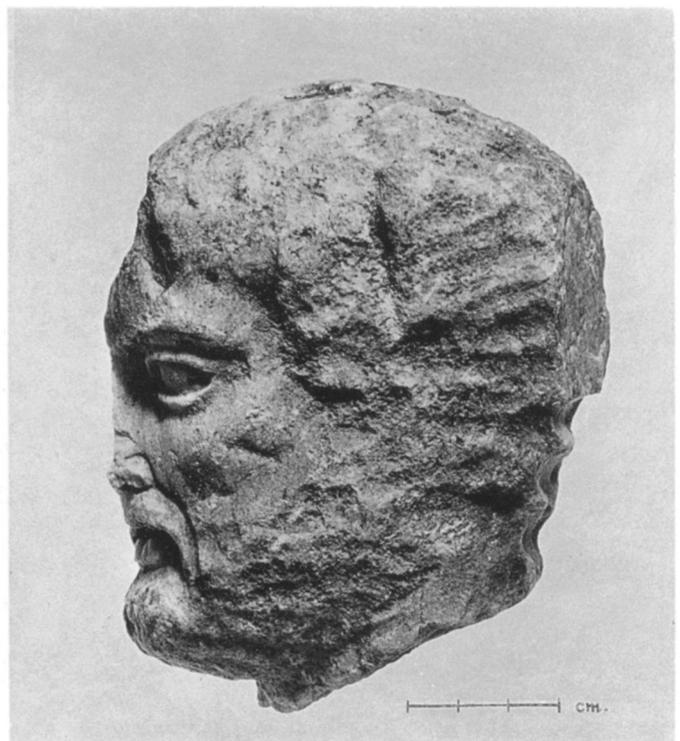


Central Part of the Agora, from the Northwest (July, 1950) (The man in the lower right stands between the Temple and Altar of Ares)

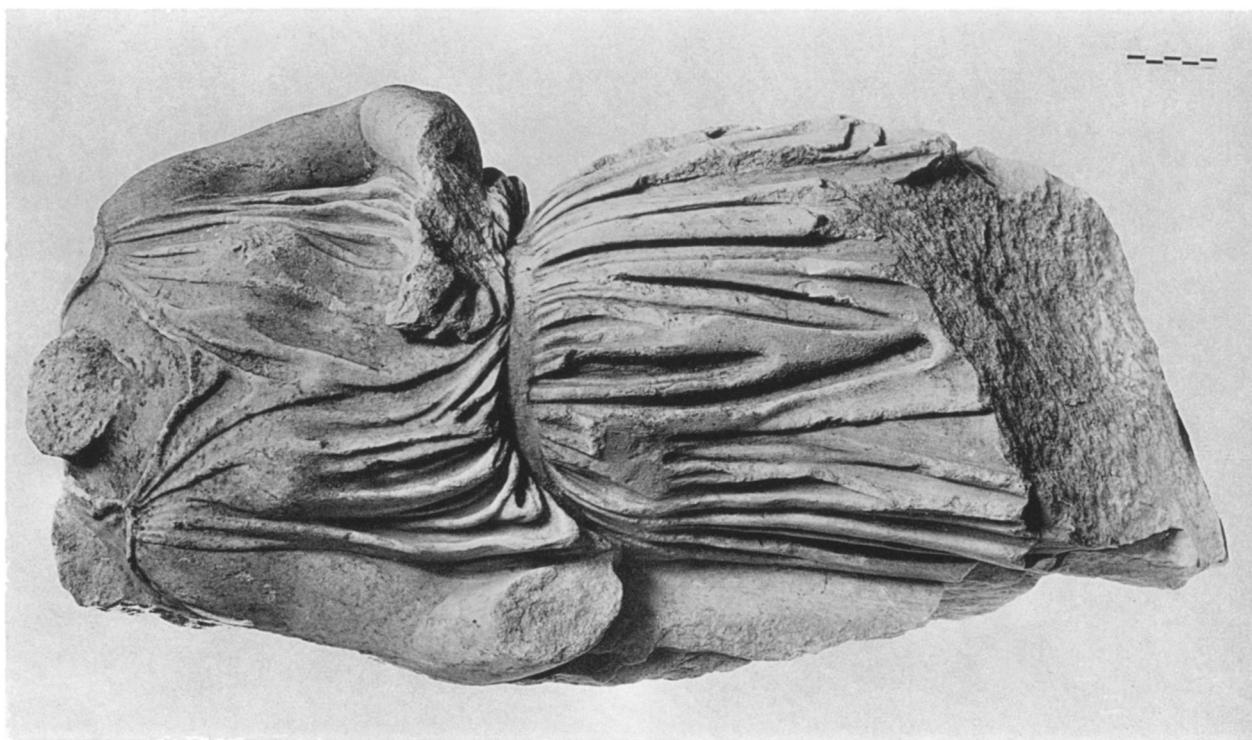
HOMER A. THOMPSON: EXCAVATIONS IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1950



a. Altar of Ares: Foundations from the South



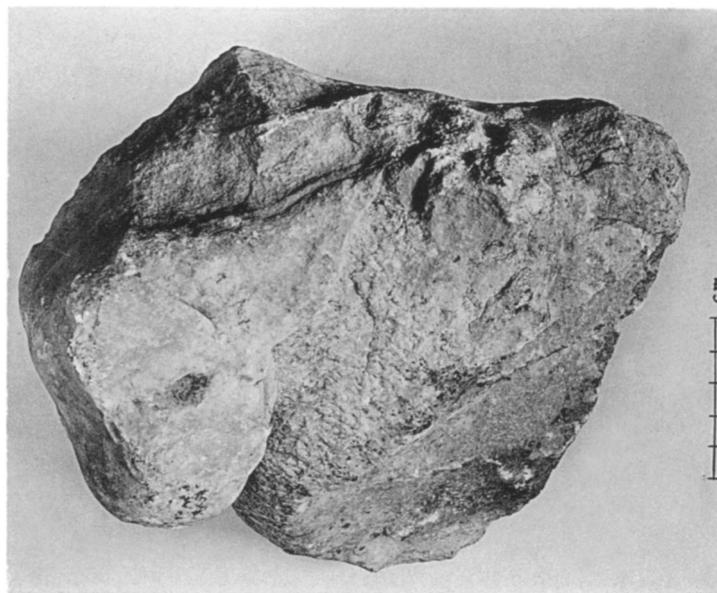
b and c. Bearded Head from Altar of Ares (S1459)



a. Draped Figure found near Altar of Ares (S1072)



b and c. Marble Kouros from north central part of Agora (S1440)



d and e. "Man and Lion" Group from north central part of Agora (S1449)

