ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1954

(Plates 24–31)

THE large-scale exploration of the Athenian Agora was completed by the American School of Classical Studies in 1953. In the spring and summer of 1954, however, a modest campaign of excavation was devoted to the supplementary exploration of specific buildings at the southwest and southeast corners of the square. The restoration of the Stoa of Attalos as a permanent museum, which had been commenced in the summer of 1953, was pushed vigorously throughout the year 1954. Modern additions were stripped away from the 11th century Church of the Holy Apostles which stands at the southeast corner of the Agora, and a start was made on the restoration of the building to its original form. The systematic landscaping of the area was initiated in the late autumn of 1954.

During the academic year 1953-54 Eugene Vanderpool again served as Deputy Field Director, and during the season supervised excavation. John Travlos divided his time between the architectural needs of the excavation and the Stoa of Attalos project. Lucy Talcott retained responsibility for the records, and at the same time made progress on the study of Red-Figure and Black-Glaze with the assistance of Barbara Philippaki. Alison Frantz took time from her duties as staff photographer to supervise the exploration and conservation of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Margaret Crosby directed an area of excavation and prepared the publication of a group of vases with theatrical representations. Virginia Grace, assisted by Maria Savatianou, pursued her study of ancient wine jars. Dorothy B. Thompson supervised an area of excavation and carried on her study of the terracotta figurines of the Hellenistic period. Evelyn B. Harrison resumed her systematic study of Agora sculpture and completed several articles on special topics. Mabel Lang devoted the year to a study of ancient metrology, working especially from the indications of capacity and price inscribed on vases. Eva Brann made a study of the unpublished pottery of the 7th century B.C. Judith Perlzweig continued her study of the lamps of the Roman period in general, while Clairève Grandjouan completed a study of the plastic lamps of the same period. C. W. J. Eliot, in addition to rendering other services of many kinds, collaborated with Mabel Lang in the writing of a guide to the Agora, to be published early in 1955. Mrs. J. L. Caskey and Mrs. T. L. Shear have continued to work on the coins, both those from the current excavation and those from earlier seasons.

Piet de Jong produced water colors of outstanding objects and Aliki Halepa-Bikaki did much of the routine drafting.

The staff of the Stoa of Attalos project is listed below in the section on the Stoa.

In the year under review, as in so many past years, the Agora Excavations are under deep obligation to the authorities of the Ministry of Education in the Greek Government, more particularly to Professor A. Orlandos, head of the Department of Restoration, to Mr. John Meliades, Ephor of Athens and the Acropolis, and to Mr. and Mrs. Chr. Karouzos, Director and Assistant Director of the National Museum.

1 Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 31-67.
Fig. 1. Restored Plan of the Agora: 2nd century after Christ
THE SOUTHWEST CORNER OF THE SQUARE (FIG. 1)

In previous seasons this area had been almost completely cleared of the deep accumulation of late Roman and still later times. A considerable depth of filling and natural deposit of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, however, had still to be removed in order to permit the exploration of the early Greek levels. The greatest single mass was the earth filling thrown in by the builders of the Middle Stoa in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. to raise the level between the new building and the two old buildings to the south, viz. the Heliaia (?) and the Southwest Fountain House. The clearance of this area was directed by Mr. Eugene Vanderpool who had brought to light the Heliaia (?) in the previous year. The excavation exposed a large area of the Agora floor of pre-Hellenistic times and elucidated the history of the important thoroughfare which had led southward from the southwest corner of the square for many centuries; its course had been respected by the builders of the Heliaia (?) in the 6th century B.C. and of the Southwest Fountain House in the 5th century, but a shift westward was occasioned by the construction of the Middle Stoa in the 2nd century. The excavation to the north and west of the Southwest Fountain House assisted greatly in establishing the plan of the building; a detailed study of the evidence has still to be made, but the tentative conclusions which emerged from the season’s work are set out below.

In her exploration of the western part of the Middle Stoa in 1953 Mrs. Dorothy B. Thompson had become aware of the existence of a complex of small buildings at the edge of the Agora the ruinous foundations of which had been overlaid by the west end of the Stoa. In 1954 she proceeded to expose these foundations both inside the foundations of the Stoa and in the area to the west of the Stoa. Her tentative conclusions also are summarized below.

Southwest Fountain House (Pl. 24, a)

The more complete exploration of the Southwest Fountain House has helped greatly in the understanding of its design and history. First, with regard to the plan of the building, it is now clear that in the beginning it was L-shaped with legs each ca. 17 meters long and with the point of the L set deep down in the lower slope of the Areopagus. The L was divided longitudinally by a parapet in such a way that the half which lay toward the point served as a reservoir, while the half which faced on the adjacent thoroughfare was a porch. Water was delivered to the southeast corner of the fountain house by an aqueduct of massive poros blocks coming from the east; this aqueduct continued northward, with reduced dimensions, along the east side of

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4 Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 50-54.
the building to supply various lesser pipelines which radiated from its northeast corner. The unusual plan had certain obvious advantages; it permitted a great length of parapet over which many people could draw water at once, and the open northwest corner reduced interference with the busy thoroughfare which led southwestward out of the Agora.

From the original construction there remain in place short stretches of the foundations; they are made of substantial blocks of gray poros. Two of the stylobate blocks from the porch were found near by where they had been re-used in alterations of the building; they retain traces of unfluted columns 0.62 m. in diameter. A Doric frieze block of hard gray poros, cut with a re-entrant angle, which had likewise been re-used in the area of the fountain house, probably derives from its hollow northwest corner. With this block are to be associated numerous fragments of Doric frieze and cornice blocks which have been found widely scattered along the south side of the Agora. To the parapet may be assigned a fragmentary orthostate of the same hard, gray poros, its top deeply worn by water jars.

The material and workmanship of the foundations and the architectural details of the blocks which have been tentatively assigned to the superstructure of the fountain house would indicate a date in the latter part of the 5th century B.C. The building can therefore no longer be considered as a candidate for the honor of identification with the Enneakrounos of the Peisistratids, as previously suggested; but it nonetheless has the distinction of being the most capacious fountain house yet known in ancient Athens. It met the needs of the neighborhood from late in the 5th century B.C. into the 5th century of our era.

In the course of its long career the fountain house underwent innumerable alterations. As early perhaps as the 4th century B.C. an extension was thrust out westward from the southwest corner of the building. Of about the same date will be an extension northward from the northeast corner; here there are traces of wall spouts which were fed by the northern extension of the aqueduct; hence one could choose between drawing over the parapet in the main building and filling one's jar beneath a flowing spout in the annex. On the construction of the Middle Stoa in the middle of the 2nd century B.C. the ground level was raised considerably between the new structure and the fountain house; this led to the abandonment of the northeast extension of the fountain house and to the construction of a low retaining wall along the north side of the main building. Finally, in the early Roman period, a water basin was installed in the previously open northwest corner of the building and much if not all of the old building proper was absorbed in an extension of the neighboring structure which has been tentatively identified as the Heliaia.

The fountain house was skirted on the west by a north to south street which,

*Cf. Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, pp. 131 f.; XXII, 1953, p. 34.*
after sweeping around the west end of the Areopagus, descended at a rather steep gradient to the southwest corner of the Agora. A deep accumulation of gravel and cobbled road surfaces attested the fact that for many centuries this had been one of the principal entries to the square. In the middle of the roadway, at a point opposite the southwest corner of the fountain house, is a bedding block with a shallow rectangular sinking in its top suitable for a perirrhanterion or holy-water basin such as are known to have stood at the entrances to the Agora.7

Area at West End of Middle Stoa

Supplementary exploration carried out by Mrs. Thompson beneath the west end of the Middle Stoa and in the area immediately to the west brought to light an irregular complex of buildings dating chiefly from the 6th to the 4th centuries B.C. Part of the group was demolished already in the late 4th century B.C., apparently to permit a freer exit from the southwest corner of the square; their ruins were overlaid by the west end of the Middle Stoa in the mid 2nd century. The surviving western portion suffered in the Sullan sack of 86 B.C., and the last remnants would seem to have been razed in the Augustan period when the Doric propylon was erected to the south of the Tholos and a new east to west thoroughfare established on the line of the terrace of the Middle Stoa.

The plans of these buildings have still to be worked out in detail, but their informality and comparatively slight construction, combined with the presence of a number of wells and, in one room, of various basins sunk in the ground, would suggest that we have to do with habitations. The newly uncovered group of buildings is in fact continuous with that discovered in 1953 to the north of the northwest corner of the Middle Stoa and tentatively identified as the establishment of Simon, the shoemaker friend of Sokrates.8 Their proximity to the official limits of the Agora, as indicated by the boundary stone which stands in situ at the southwest corner of the main square,9 might, however, be taken to imply a public character, and the possibility should be considered that they served as the headquarters of some board of officials; in plan and construction they are reminiscent of the archaic predecessors of the Tholos.10

The Strategion

In a level of late Hellenistic or early Roman date just to the west of the Middle Stoa lay a marble stele inscribed with a decree of the year of Pytharatos (271/0 B.C.) in honor of the taxiarchs.11 In the text of the decree (lines 34 f.) it is specified that the stele should be set up “in front of the Strategion.” The marble, to be sure, was

7 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 47, n. 32.
8 Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 51-55.
10 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 15-44, figs. 13, 32.
not found in situ, but the fact that it lay loose and had not been re-used would suggest that it had originated near by. That the Strategion, i.e. the headquarters of the generals, or the war office of ancient Athens, stood in this general area is also indicated both by references in the authors and by the previous discovery toward the southwest corner of the Agora of several other decrees in honor of the taxiarchs. It is conceivable that the Strategion is now represented by the remains of the complex described in the preceding section, but, in view of the comparatively early abandonment of those buildings, a more likely candidate is the building to the southwest of the Tholos which has previously been designated on plans of the Agora as the "Greek Building." This structure has been fully excavated but drawings have not yet been made. It comprised a series of rooms grouped around a courtyard, and dates from the second half of the 5th century B.C.; it continued in use throughout antiquity. The size and plan of the building would be appropriate to the headquarters of the generals who are known not only to have had a common place of meeting but also to have dined and sacrificed together (Demosthenes, XIX, 190). Precisely these same needs in the case of the Prytaneis were met by the near-by Tholos.

Southeast Corner of the Agora (Pl. 25)

The exploration at the southeast corner of the square centered around the Byzantine Church of the Holy Apostles. The churchyard, which as a result of repeated nibbling in previous seasons had been reduced to a narrow ring around the church, was completely dug away. The modern surface overlay an accumulation of loose, silty earth some two meters in depth. The removal of this earth proved unexpectedly rewarding, for it showed that the church walls rested on the massive concrete podium of a fountain house or nymphaeum of the Roman period. The fountain house, in turn, had been set down in the ruinous northern part of the building of the 5th century B.C. which has been tentatively identified as the Mint of Athens. Most of the corresponding layer of soft earth was removed also from inside the church where again the remains of the two earlier buildings came to light.

The exploration around the church was directed by Miss Margaret Crosby who had had much experience in this area in previous campaigns. The work inside the church was supervised by Miss Alison Frantz.

Church of the Holy Apostles

The 11th century Church of the Holy Apostles had long been recognized by specialists as outstanding among the several surviving Athenian churches of the Middle Byzantine period by reason of its unusual and highly refined plan and the

12 The evidence has been set out in detail by Dinsmoor, op. cit., pp. 295 f.
beauty of its masonry. The average visitor's impression of the building, however, was adversely affected by the large 19th century extension toward the west which overshadowed the original eastern part. At the desire of the Department of Restoration in the Greek Ministry of Education, and under the general supervision of that Department, the American School undertook to remove the modern parts, to carry out urgently needed work of conservation on the old portion and to restore the building to its original form. The undertaking was made possible by a grant from the Samuel H. Kress Foundation of New York City. The field work was carried out under the immediate supervision of Miss Alison Frantz with the counsel of Mr. John Travlos on its architectural aspects.

After a careful photographic record and drawings had been made, the roof and walls of the western addition were stripped away. It proved necessary to remove also the modern pulpit and altar screen in order to replace the columns against which they had been set. Though fine examples of early 20th century ecclesiastical marble work, they were grossly out of scale with the building and greatly interfered with the intended architectural effect of its interior. The modern floor of marble slabs was likewise lifted, revealing that the whole area of the interior, except the sanctuary, had been occupied by tombs of both the Byzantine and Turkish periods, most of them large vaults of masonry. Finally, the modern plaster was stripped from the inner walls and ceiling; beneath it in places, especially in the eastern apse, appeared some inconsiderable remains of earlier paintings, scarcely earlier, however, than the 17th century.

The close examination of the structure made possible by the clearance has solved many problems regarding the previously disputed original plan of the church and its subsequent history (Fig. 2). It now appears that in the beginning the main body of the church was symmetrically cruciform in plan, having apses not only to east, north and south but also toward the west. The western apse, however, was largely concealed by a rectangular porch or narthex which communicated with the eastern part of the church through three doorways.

This unusual design was undoubtedly satisfactory from an aesthetic point of view, and the limited area of the interior (its maximum width being only 11.30 m.) was presumably adequate to the needs of the small parish the foundations of whose houses have been brought to light by the Agora excavations. Subsequent alterations, motivated by the need for more space for the congregation, culminated in the plan

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14 Cf. especially A. Xyngopoulos, Εὐφρετήριον τῶν Μνημείων τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Α'. Εὐφρετήριον τῶν Μεσανωτικῶν Μνημείων, 1. 'Αθηναίων, Athens, 1929, pp. 77-79, figs. 71-75.
15 The School is under deep obligation to Professor A. Orlandos, head of the Department of Restoration, and to his departmental assistant, Mr. E. Stikas, for their lively personal interest and for invaluable counsel on all technical aspects of the work. The services of an experienced technician made available by the Department greatly facilitated the execution of the project.
16 The School records its deep appreciation to the officers of the Foundation and particularly to its president, Mr. Rushton H. Kress, who visited the site in the summer of 1954.
of the building as it was in 1954 in which the west apse had been reduced to two piers and the original porch had been extended so as to constitute a large open nave.

The walls of the church, being of excellent masonry and resting solidly for the most part, on ancient foundations, had suffered little from natural causes. They had fared less well at the hand of man. Irregular gaps in the original masonry and the late replacement of the northeastern column are probably due to bombardment in the War of Independence which is known to have caused much damage in the area of the Agora.

Demolition and exploration having been completed in the summer of 1954, the work of conservation and restoration was begun in the autumn. By the end of the year the three faulty columns, i.e. the northeastern, southeastern and northwestern, had been replaced; the foundations and the inner faces of the original walls had been repaired and the western apse had been rebuilt to about one third its height.

The Nymphaeum

The semicircular fountain house of the type commonly called nymphaeum which came to light beneath the church and churchyard of the Holy Apostles is only one in a long series of hydraulic establishments which had stood at the southeast corner of the Agora, among them the Southeast Fountain House of the archaic period, various small installations of Hellenistic and early Roman date in the East Stoa, and the grist mill of the 5th to 6th centuries after Christ near the northwest corner of the Library of Pantainos.\(^\text{17}\) The site was recommended by its accessibility to pipelines coming from

\(^{17}\) *Hesperia*, V, 1936, pp. 70-90.
the east and also by the fact that it was the highest point in the region of the Agora so that the overflow could easily be directed to further use elsewhere.

The most imposing extant part of the newly found fountain house is the massive concrete underpinning for a floor of marble slabs, the plan of which was a segment of a circle slightly greater than a semicircle with a radius of ca. 7.10 m. (Pl. 25). This floor is bounded on the curved part of its periphery by a trench 2.60 m. wide from which a foundation of large stone blocks has been stripped to the last piece. Across the straight face of the floor lies a rectangular platform ca. 3.60 m. wide with three steps to permit access from the north. Toward the rear of this platform, and on the axis of the building, is a bedding, 1.64 m. square, for a monument.

Water was supplied by an aqueduct which approached the midpoint of the curved back wall of the building from the southeast. The upper part of this aqueduct had been exposed in earlier seasons; the conduit entered the area of the Agora excavations from the east at a point near the southwest corner of the Eleusinion and thence descended northward along the edge of the Panathenaic Way.

From the superstructure of the Nymphaeum sadly little has been found: a richly moulded crowning member curved in plan, a small fragment of a curved architrave with a guilloche carved in its soffit, a Corinthian capital of comparable scale, and various small fragments of elaborately carved frieze and cornice members. The existence of the curved architrave, which is shown by the treatment of its soffit to have rested on columns, indicates the use of a colonnade against the concave face of the curved back wall, an arrangement analogous to that of the nymphaeum at Tipasa in Algeria.\(^\text{18}\)

Beyond this point the restoration of the plan must await the closer study of the remains.

In view of the rich character of the architectural detail and the general practice in monumental fountain houses of the Roman period, one would expect the Nymphaeum to have been freely adorned with sculpture. We may in fact unhesitatingly associate with the building a marble statue of the Venus Genetrix type which was found a few meters to the north in 1952.\(^\text{19}\) The fact that the copyist had replaced the original apple held in the left hand with a water pitcher had already at the time of discovery of the statue aroused the suspicion that an ornate fountain house was lurking in the vicinity. Several smaller fragments of an Amazon similar in workmanship to the "Aphrodite Hydrophoros" were also found in the vicinity, suggesting that the sculptural repertory consisted largely at least of classicistic adaptations of famous old works.

The nature of the concrete and the style of the few surviving bits of architectural marble would suggest a date toward the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. Such

\(^{18}\) S. Gsell, *Les Monuments antiques de l'Algerie*, I, Paris, 1901, p. 243, fig. 73, pl. LXV.

\(^{19}\) *Hesperia*, XXII, 1953, pp. 53f., pl. 19, a and b.
a date would accord well with certain basic similarities between our monument and
the Exhedra of Herodes Atticus at Olympia. Both had the characteristic horseshoe
plan and both presented a sculpture-adorned façade in a prominent position at the edge
of a famous old square. It is tempting to believe that the building in the Agora drew
its water from the aqueduct which was begun by Hadrian and completed under his
successor in A.D. 140, and that it was perhaps conceived as a monumental termination
to this, the most ample water system of the ancient city.20

The Mint (Argyrokopeion)

The deep exploration around and within the church, in addition to bringing to
light the Nymphaeum, also revealed that the building of the 5th century B.C. which
was first discovered in 1952 and subsequently identified tentatively as the Mint ex-
tended much farther to the north than originally supposed and somewhat farther
toward the east. Its overall area, indeed, proves to have been more than twice as great
as indicated on the earlier plans; it measures ca. 22.00 x 27.50 m. as against the 13.60 x
16.60 m. of the part previously known.

The new discovery, furthermore, means that the group of flans which were
previously supposed to have been found outside the northeast corner of the building,
and which are the best evidence yet available for its identification, actually lay within
the limits of the building.21

Since so much of the remaining foundations of the northern part of the Mint are
overlaid by the Nymphaeum and the Church, careful probing and study will be
required to fix its plan. It is already apparent, however, that the newly discovered
area to the north comprised both closed rooms and open courtyards.

The fact that the Nymphaeum could be set down in the northern half of the Mint
indicates that the older building was already partially ruinous or was in part demolished
to make way for the new.

The Stoa of Attalos Project

Reconstruction

The reconstruction of the great colonnade which had closed the eastern side of
the market square was begun in midsummer of 1953 and has been pushed forward
rapidly throughout the subsequent 18 months. The construction is in charge of the
firm of W. Stuart Thompson and Phelps Barnum of New York City who proceed
under the general oversight of the Department of Restoration in the Greek Ministry
of Education.22

22 For the beginning of the project cf. Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 55-57. In this undertaking,
as in the restoration of the Church of the Holy Apostles, we continue to profit from the professional
In the early months of the undertaking a large proportion of the total effort went into the prosaic but highly necessary tasks of draining the area of the building and reinforcing the ancient foundations. The girdle of drains that has been carried around the building at a level somewhat lower than its lowest foundations has proved very effective and should assure the dryness even of the basement storerooms. The close examination of the ancient foundations showed that the ground water through the ages had reduced the compacted clay formation on which the masonry rested to something little different from mud; this soft material was therefore scooped out and replaced with concrete under all those foundations which were to bear the weight of the building proper. The difficulty of carrying out this operation, especially in the course of an exceptionally wet, cold winter, is compensated for by the assurance of the stability that is so essential in connection with masonry of cut stone.

By the end of 1954 structural work had been completed in the basement storerooms that underlie the floors of both the colonnade and the terrace in the northern half of the building. Care has been taken in these parts to leave exposed and readily accessible representative parts of earlier monuments, such as a child’s grave of the Mycenaean period, a room of the lawcourt of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. in which a group of bronze ballots was found in 1953, some of the foundations of the great square peristyle which replaced the earlier lawcourt, and enough of the substructure of the Stoa of Attalos itself to illustrate the repeated changes that were made in its plan in the course of its original construction.

The rear wall of the Stoa, which had been demolished to floor level or lower through most of the length of the building, has now been restored in gray Piraic limestone to the full height of the first storey throughout the northern two thirds of its length (Pl. 27, b). It has been found possible to bond the new masonry with the ancient at the extreme northeast corner of the building where the ancient wall had survived to its full height. The original windows in the rear wall had consisted of narrow vertical slits, one for each of the twenty-one shops on each floor; they were intended, no doubt, more for ventilation than illumination. In order to assure adequate lighting for the museum to be installed in this part of the building, the new windows

counsel and the personal interest of Professor Anastasios Orlandos, head of the Department of Restoration. Mr. Manuel A. Tavarez directs and coordinates the operation as Engineer in Charge. Mr. John Travlos is responsible for the original design of the building; Mr. George Biris is Consultant Engineer with special responsibility for the reinforced concrete. Mr. Constantine Mastoras supervises the working and setting of stone and marble. Messrs. M. Kourouniotes and A. Stavroudes have served as assistant architects. The knowledge and personal interest of these men has been seconded by the devotion of the foremen in the various divisions and by the skill of the technicians, notably the team of sixty marble workers now assembled. Only by a high degree of cooperation among this varied personnel has it been possible to cope with the complexities of a job in which ancient and modern methods of construction are so closely intermeshed.

have been made considerably larger than the old, though the original spacing has been retained.

In the front part of the building the reconstruction of the limestone wall that supported the terrace has been almost finished and the terrace, some six meters in width, has been reconstituted in its full length (Pl. 27, a). The steps and stylobate of dark marble that are to support again the front columns, and the gutter of Piraeic limestone to carry off the drip from the eaves, have been re-laid in full; they bring home to the visitor the tremendous length of the building.

On November 10th, 1954 the first of the new columns was erected: one of the Ionic order in the inner row of the ground floor (Pl. 26). By the end of the year a second Ionic column had been completed and two others partially erected, while of the front Doric columns eight were complete and two in process of erection. All the Ionic bases on the ground floor had been laid, and four architrave blocks had been put in place above the Doric columns in the front of the building.

Some of the greatest technical problems were encountered in the wall which contained the doors of the ancient shops. In order to retain the ancient blocks of marble and limestone, most of which had suffered in the fire which destroyed the building, it was here necessary to support the ancient fabric by means of reinforced concrete piers inserted in the heart of the wall. By the end of the year, however, work on this wall had proceeded far enough to permit the complete framing of two of the shop doors and the erection of the jambs for three others. The framing of the shop doorways, which have an open height of 3.42 m. and an open width at the bottom of 1.71 m., calls for exceptionally large blocks of marble and special skill, since the two jambs, the threshold and the lintel are each cut from a single piece of marble.

In addition to the stone and marble members that have already been set, a large proportion of the limestone blocks needed for the upper walls have already been cut and a start has been made on the carving of the Ionic bases and the Ionic and Pergamene capitals of the upper storey. Studies are in progress for the making of the terracotta roof tiles and for the replacement of the great wooden joists and rafters of the ancient building.

If marble deliveries continue at their present rate, it is anticipated that the reconstruction of the northern two-thirds of the Stoa, on which work is now being concentrated, can be completed by the end of 1956.

In the course of the year two plaster models of the Stoa have been completed by the technician John Bakoulis under the direction of John Travlos. One of the models, at a scale of 1:200, shows the building in its full length and permits for the first time a true appreciation of its proportions (Pl. 28, a). The other model, at a scale of 1:50, includes only the north end of the Stoa (Pl. 28, b). It is intended to illustrate the interior arrangements of the building and also to include more detail than was possible at the smaller scale.
Well of the late Archaic Period beneath the Stoa Gutter

Before a start was made on rebuilding the stone gutter which ran the length of the Stoa front, it was deemed wise to adjust the level of one of the few ancient blocks which had survived in place toward the south end of the building, but which had settled slightly. When the block was raised the cause of its settling soon became apparent: it had been laid across the mouth of an early well. The well when cleared proved to have a depth of 9.70 m. The inflow of water at the time of excavation was slight, and the fact that but few water jars appeared in its filling would suggest that it had proven unsatisfactory as a source of water in antiquity. This will help to explain why, after a short period of use, the shaft was abandoned as a well and used as a dumping place for a vast mass of broken pottery, enough to fill some sixty-five 5-gallon containers as it was brought to the surface.

Since the pottery from the well ranges in date from the decade 520-510 B.C. to the decade 490-480 B.C., it is hard to escape the conclusion that the disaster which led to its destruction was the Persian sack of 480 B.C. We may assume further that the unproductive well had been deliberately chosen as a dumping place by the owner when he returned to clean up his property. The sheer bulk of the pottery, coupled with the large number of certain types of vase, e.g. 250 lekythoi, and the presence of several vases by each of several hands, suggests that the material came from a retail potter’s shop on the edge of the market square. Of the shop itself nothing remains, a situation which has been observed in other instances in the Agora where wells had clearly been abandoned at the time of the Persian sack. This is to be explained in many cases, no doubt, by Thucydides’ explicit statement (I, 90, 3) that as soon as the citizens returned they set about building new city walls and, to speed up the process, drew material from their own old buildings “sparing neither private nor public building from which anything of use for the work might be gotten, but pulling down all.” So much the more valuable, therefore, is the evidence to be drawn from such wells as the present for the study of life in Athens of the late archaic period.

The group of pottery as such will be valuable for the study of ceramics inasmuch as it is one of the largest compact groups ever found of Attic vases of the immediately pre-Persian generation. Its interest is enhanced by the wide variety of types: large wine jars, scores of plain black-glazed vases, many partly glazed vessels for kitchen use, and a nice sprinkling of figured pieces in both black-figure and red.24

The only large black-figured vase from the well is a column-krater on one side of which appears the struggle between Herakles and the Nemean lion in the presence of Athena and Iolaos (Pl. 29, b), while on the other side are five komasts.25 Although the

24 The following observations are based largely on the results of a preliminary study by Lucy Talcott and Barbara Philippaki. Only a slight sampling of the material is attempted here, pending its detailed study and presentation as a group.
25 Inv. P 24123. Pres. H. 0.282 m.; diam. of rim 0.30 m.
theme of Herakles and the lion is common in late black-figure, it is rare on vases of this shape, and the new piece appears to be the only example of the subject on a column-
krater in which both Athena and Iolaos are included.

Among the 250 lekythoi a number of known vase-painters are represented: the Phanyllis painter, Arming Group, Marathon Workshop, Painter of Athens 581 and the Gela painter. It is particularly interesting that the Gela painter should be well represented, for hitherto he has been known chiefly from finds made in Sicily.\textsuperscript{26} Among lekythoi attributable to him from the present group is a fine large specimen with a chariot scene and dog (Inv. P 24105), another with a fountain house scene painted on a white ground (Inv. P 24106), and a smaller piece bearing a curious picture of two bulls facing each other with a washsbassin and palm tree between them (Inv. P 24067). A few examples of the Cock class have been noted and also of the Little Lion class, one of these, decorated with a single combat, executed in Six’s technique. Many other lekythoi, as yet unassigned, tell the familiar stories of Dionysos and his followers, of heroic deeds, of the palaestra and of scenes from daily life.

For illustration we may choose a large and well made lekythos which has not yet been assigned to any known painter (Pl. 29, a).\textsuperscript{27} It is decorated with a particularly interesting representation of a familiar subject, viz. the Introduction of Herakles into Olympos. The scene is unusually full, comprising as it does both the procession and the palace of Zeus. Herakles modestly brings up the rear, preceded by his patroness Athena, by Hermes and by Apollo who has here dispensed with his chariot and gives his undivided attention to his kithara. Within the palace, here represented by a Doric column, Zeus sits enthroned and behind him stands Hera. The lekythos may be dated \textit{ca.} 510-500 B.C.

The red-figured vases from the well are few in number but choice in quality. Of exceptional interest is an addition to the short list of known lekythoi decorated in the red-figured style (Pl. 28, c).\textsuperscript{28} A lively procession of warriors marches around the wall of the lekythos to meet in combat at the front. The arrangement suggests that the artist was a cup painter, and indeed a cup from the same hand in the British Museum, ascribed to the wider circle of the Nikosthenes painter, has long been known.\textsuperscript{29}

Of the red-figured cups from the well no less than four are inscribed \textit{Xaipias} or \textit{Xaipas kalōs} (below, pp. 72-75).

Three other cups are attributable to Epiktetos. All have medallion pictures: a satyr on a donkey (Inv. P 24114), a boxing match (Inv. P 24110), and a naked girl who skips lightly over a footbath (Pl. 28, d).\textsuperscript{30} She wears a kerchief bound around her hair and carries in her hands her soft leather boots which she has perhaps

\textsuperscript{26} C. H. E. Haspels, \textit{Attic Black-figured Lekythoi}, Paris, 1936, pp. 78 ff., and Appendix VIII.

\textsuperscript{27} Inv. P 24104. H. 0.305 m.; diam. 0.123 m.

\textsuperscript{28} Inv. P 24061. Pres. H. 0.138 m.; diam. 0.081 m.

\textsuperscript{29} London 1907.10-20.1; \textit{A.R.V.}, p. 102; Pfuhl, \textit{Mal. und Zeich.}, fig. 347.

\textsuperscript{30} Inv. P 24131. H. 0.084 m.; diam. 0.178 m. Concave rim (Type C).
just taken off. The footbath, with its three feet and kylix-type handles, is probably to be thought of as bronze.\textsuperscript{31} The taut figure of the girl and the skillful way in which the picture is disposed in the tondo are thoroughly characteristic of Epiktetos, and the love name Hipparchos, which appears in the background of the medallion (here spelled \textit{hìpìrxos} καλός), is also a favorite of this artist. The same model, in fact, and the same footbath appear on another cup by Epiktetos in Leningrad.\textsuperscript{32} Belonging to the decade 520-510 B.C., the Agora cup (Fig. 3) is the earliest piece of red-figure from the well, and appears to be slightly earlier than most of the vases which were in stock at the time of the disaster; it was found at the very bottom of the shaft and so may have been dropped in during the short period when the well was still in use.

The most unusual of the cups from the well will be a trifle later than Epiktetos', dating about 510-500 B.C. (Pl. 30; Fig. 4).\textsuperscript{33} In the floor medallion a young man, crouching to right, is about to set forth; he wears a short cloak and a wreath of honeysuckle; in one hand is a knotted staff, in the other a rabbit, by the ears. He might stand as the general type of the youths seen in archaic Attic red-figure in palaestra scenes, in courting scenes and the like. Around his figure runs the signature Γόργος ἐποίησεν. Widely spaced around the exterior is a second inscription: Κράτης καλός.

The scenes on the exterior contrast both with each other and with the daily-life atmosphere of the interior. On one side is Dionysos and his crew: at the left we see the god and an attendant maenad, a rather confused young woman it would seem, since, although Dionysos' kantharos is obviously empty, she is carrying the replenishing pitcher upside down.

On the other side is one of the famous episodes of epic poetry, the fight to the death between Achilles and Memnon. The artist has chosen the moment before the last. The older hero, Memnon, has lost the use of his spear which has passed through the hide of Achilles' shield and become fixed. In endeavoring to free his spear, Memnon has thrown himself backwards, but in so doing he exposes his body to his adversary, loses his balance and his grasp on the grip of his shield. The younger hero, spear poised for the death-blow, seems to hesitate an instant, as if for the artist's convenience. The moment is even more dramatic and pathetic than those chosen a few years later by the Berlin painter for the two very similar scenes of single combat (Achilles and Memnon, Achilles and Hektor) which decorate the neck of his well known volute-krater in London.\textsuperscript{34} The tragic atmosphere is heightened on the Agora

\textsuperscript{31} Cf. M. Milne, "A Greek Footbath in the Metropolitan Museum of Art," \textit{A.J.A.}, XLVIII, 1944, pp. 26-63. Our example will be of Miss Milne's Class Ac: Bowl with offset lip, two horizontal lifting handles and no carrying handles (pp. 51 f.).


\textsuperscript{33} Inv. P 24113. H. 0.074 m.; diam. 0.18 m. Rim offset inside only.

\textsuperscript{34} British Museum E 468: \textit{A.R.V.}, p. 139, 102; Beazley, \textit{Berliner Maler}, Berlin, 1930, pls. 29-31. [Sir John Beazley's full discussion of representations of this subject, in \textit{Attic Vase Paintings in the
FIG. 3. Profile of Cup by Epiktetos (Inv. P 24131) 2:3

FIG. 4. Profile of Cup by Gorgos (Inv. P 24113) 2:3
cup, as on the London krater, by the presence of the two mothers: the wide-eyed Thetis urges on Achilles, while Eos, parting her lips in anguish and tearing her hair, contemplates the imminent doom of Memnon.

If the boy with the rabbit on the interior of this cup may well stand for all the youths so often called kalos, and the Dionysos of the exterior for the red-figure artists' happy portrayal of the god in convivial surroundings, then the magnificent figure of the victorious Achilles is even more an epitome, this time of the heroic ideal. Thus the three scenes on this small cup, differing so widely in composition and in mood, reflect the full repertory of vase-painting in the late archaic period.

The close similarity in ethos and composition which has been observed above between the combat scene on the Agora cup and those on the Berlin painter's volute-krater in London might be reinforced by many points of likeness in the drawing both of the figures and of drapery, as well as in the use of the unusual motive of the pierced shield, which occurs on the volute-krater by the Berlin painter in Cambridge. It seems at least possible that the Gorgos cup is a youthful piece by the Berlin painter himself, in that case, both the earliest work and the only cup thus far known from his hand.

**Sculpture and Metalwork**

The limited excavation carried out during the year could not have been expected to produce much sculpture, nor did it. On the other hand, the systematic study which Miss Evelyn Harrison is now devoting to the whole mass of sculpture from the excavation has yielded many dividends. In addition to these, the recognition by Dr. Frank Brommer of an Agora fragment as part of the figure of Amphitrite from the west pediment of the Parthenon is of special interest (below, pp. 85-87). Another fortunate discovery is reported by Miss Harrison in the immediately following paragraphs.

A battered male torso retrieved from a marble pile in the center of the exca-
Activations prove to be part of the figure of Theseus from the Sinis metope of the Hephaisteion. The fragment has been fastened back into place with two bronze dowels (Pl. 24, b). Though it retains very little of the original surface, it gives for the first time a fairly clear idea of the pose of the figure and so enables us to restore the composition with more accuracy than before. Both arms were raised; the left shoulder was pressed close against the background of the relief while the right adhered less closely. If we imagine the left arm extended sidewise, the right arm bent and raised with the elbow slightly forward, we get a position of shoulder and back muscles that corresponds to that of our fragment. The left hip projects a little more than the right, showing that the direction of the stride was toward the spectators' left.

These features suggest a treatment of the theme which is familiar to us from red-figured cups of the Classical and Late Classical periods. Theseus pulls down the top of the pine tree with one hand and with the other tries to drag Sinis toward it, while the brigand clings in desperation to the trunk of the tree. The cup by Aison in Madrid provides the closest parallel. The hair-pulling motive explains the strong inclination of Sinis's head toward the left which can be observed on the remains of the metope. There is no good evidence for the position of Sinis's right hand. If it were extended in a gesture of helplessness as on the Aison cup, there should be traces of the attachment of the fingers either on Theseus's body or on the background. The two drill holes in the background which Sauer used to locate the hand seem rather to be made for a metal attachment, and served in all probability for Theseus's sword. The baldric will have been indicated in paint only, for there are no attachment holes for it in the torso. Sinis may have grasped Theseus's arm in an attempt to free himself. This is a common motive in hair-pulling scenes and it would provide additional support for the arms of both figures.

The large drill hole in the taenia at the top of the metope doubtless served for the attachment of the arched middle section of the tree. This could have been cut in a separate piece, attached at the center by a metal dowel and cemented at either end to the portions that adhered to the background. The tail of the bull in the Marathonian Bull metope was similarly cut in a separate piece.

37 Inv. S 1833. Pres. H. 0.288 m.; max. depth of relief ca. 0.117 m. Found in the marble pile that marks the location of the stage of the Odeion of Agrippa.
38 South II (Koch).
40 The drawing of Plate 24, b (right) is based on this cup. The radial instead of rectangular composition which the cups demand produces certain differences from the metope. Thus the torsos of the figures are set more obliquely, and either the feet overlap, as on the Aison cup, or the hair-pulling is abandoned in favor of arm-pulling in order to allow more spread at the top of the picture.
41 Das sogenannte Theseion, p. 160.
42 The analogy of the vase-paintings and the large size of the attachment-hole both suggest that
Even more than the other metopes of the Hephaisteion this one is remarkable for the degree of separation of the figures from the background. Except for the torso, no part of Theseus touched the background anywhere, and the surface of the background is everywhere carefully smoothed into a single plane, so that it provides no clue for the restoration. The round pits which Sauer took for marks of attachment are actually the scars left by Turkish musket balls, dating from the days when the south cella door was used as a practice target. One such shot may have brought down our torso. That it had earlier lost arms, legs and head is apparent from the heavy weathering of the breaks. The whole figure seems to have been lost as early as 1686. The position of Theseus's left foot is fixed by the trace that is still visible where it crossed the right foot of Sinis. No trace of Theseus's right foot survives, but a position centered under the body would give greatest stability to the figure. That the foot did not extend to the corner of the metope is confirmed by the smooth, flat finish of the plinth near the left edge.

The cross-pull in opposite directions that forms the basis of this vigorous composition appears in a less developed form in the metope of Herakles and the horse on the front of the Hephaisteion and is used with splendid effect on the Parthenon. Even though we have not succeeded in recovering all its details, the Sinis metope now emerges as one of the most progressive and effective in the Hephaisteion series.

An outstanding addition was made during the season to the growing series of ancient clay impressions taken from fine metalwork. The new piece has recorded for us what would appear to have been one of the metal terminals of a belt about 7 centimeters wide with two loose rings for tying (Pl. 31, c). The plaque is filled with a single figure in high relief: a warrior seated and bowed with weariness or grief. Shield, spear and conical helmet are clearly visible, and the baldric implies also a sword. The warrior has spread his cloak on his rocky seat; his hair is long and dishevelled. Tempting though it is to speculate on the identification of the figure, certainty may well be impossible; positive confirmation is lacking for such conjectures as might immediately occur to one, such as Philoktetes, Ajax or Odysseus. But even

there may have been a short branch, perhaps with some suggestion of foliage, hanging down at this point, but the absence of evidence for pine trees in stone has induced us to keep the restored drawing as simple as possible. The tip of the tree in front of Theseus's shoulder was no doubt also more interesting than we have shown it.

44 Ibid., p. 160.
45 In the metope South XXVII (Smith, Parthenon, pl. 22, 1) and, most dramatically, in the center of the West Pediment.
47 Inv. T 3393. The ancient impression measures 0.115 x 0.113 m. Its back is rough and deeply marked with finger prints.
should the figure remain anonymous, the piece brings us very close to a superb piece of fine metalwork of the end of the 5th century.

We may include here also a couple of objects which come from a well discovered in the southeast corner of the square, close alongside the Panathenaic Way. The shaft was 11.50 m. in depth and was filled almost solidly with broken pottery having a lower limit around 400 B.C. Perhaps the most interesting items from this vast mass of debris were four water pitchers with theatrical scenes which are published elsewhere in this issue by their finder Miss Margaret Crosby (below, pp. 76-84). The well also yielded a fine series of plain black-glazed vases of the close of the 5th century. A large proportion of the pottery consisted of broken wine jars, many of which bore dipinti or graffiti which are gradually yielding sense to the persistent researches of Miss Mabel Lang. Along with them came an ostrakon of Kleophon, son of Kleippides, the notorious lyre-maker and demagogue of whom another ostrakon had been found in 1951. The context in which the new piece came to light agrees well with the conclusion based on the discovery of the first, viz. that some ballots were cast against Kleophon on the occasion when ostracism was used for the last time, viz. the day, apparently in 415 B.C., when Hyperbolos was banished.

Also from the well is a plastic oinochoe in the form of a woman’s head (Pl. 31, b). The major part of the head was made in a mould, but the ringlets and the compact wreath which rests on the forehead were fashioned separately and applied. Dating as it must from the close of the 5th century, the piece falls near the end of the long series of plastic head vases made in Athens. The vogue for such things, which was at this time dying out in Athens, was to flourish for another half century in northern Olynthos.

Another noteworthy find from the same well is a pair of official measures of bronze (Pl. 31, a). The smaller of the two vessels had been stacked upside down inside the large, and the two have become inseparably united by the corrosion of the metal. The dimensions and details of the larger vessel, however, can be determined with a fair degree of accuracy. It is cylindrical in shape with a slightly concave profile. Top and bottom are surrounded by plain bands. The vessel stands on three low feet cut from the lower part of the wall. On the upper of the two bands is engraved

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49 Inv. P 23822. Pres. H. 0.148 m. Mouth and handle of vase broken away.
51 Inv. B 1082. H. inclusive of feet 0.087 m.; outside diam. at top 0.08 m., at bottom 0.085 m.; inside diam. at top 0.07 m. The exact determination of inside height and inside diameter at the bottom had not yet been made at time of writing.
the inscription: δημοσία Ἀθηναίων, followed by one certain and two problematic stamps, none of which has yet been read with assurance.

The feminine gender used in the inscription of this measure, in contrast to the neuter employed on the official measures of terracotta, may imply that the noun kotyle is to be understood. The cubical content of the larger vessel must approximate very closely the figure of 273 c.c., which was long ago calculated by Hultsch as the equivalent of the Attic kotyle and which has been shown to be close to the mark, although perhaps a little low, by the evidence of the 2-chous klepsydra found in the Agora and of terracotta measures from the Agora and the North Slope of the Acropolis.

The newly found measures are the first examples in bronze yet known from Athens. They closely resemble the numerous extant specimens in terracotta, but, since the shape and the crisp details are perhaps more appropriate to metal than to clay, we may infer that the prototypes were of bronze.

We are informed by an inscription of the late 2nd century B.C. that sets of official weights and measures were kept in the Tholos and the Acropolis at Athens, in the Piraeus and at Eleusis. The numerous examples in terracotta found in the current excavations around the Tholos obviously come from that repository, and the isolated specimen found in the well on the North Slope of the Acropolis may perhaps derive from the Acropolis set. But where had the newly found bronze measures been stored? The evidence of the place of finding must not be pressed too hard, but it is tempting to see some significance in the propinquity of the well in which they were found to the building that has been tentatively identified as the Mint. It is conceivable, for instance, that the official weights and measures were made in the mint or that they were there checked and stamped by technicians who were experienced in doing precision work in metal and who possessed the necessary equipment.

LANDSCAPING

Early in November, 1954, Mr. Ralph E. Griswold, architect in charge of the landscaping of the Agora, returned to Athens to initiate the program which he had drawn up after his visit of the previous year.

52 Griechische und Römische Metrologie, Berlin, 1862, pp. 82 and 305.
53 For the klepsydra cf. S. Young, Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 279; for the measures from the Agora cf. M. Crosby, Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, pp. 111 f.; for the measure from the North Slope cf. O. Broneer, Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 223.
54 Broneer, writing in 1938, concluded his discussion of the official terracotta measure found by him on the North Slope of the Acropolis with the words “it seems necessary to suppose that the clay vessels were made for practical use as the near equivalents of metal archetypes, such as have been found in other parts of the ancient world.” (Op. cit., p. 224).
55 I.G., II², 1013. A fragment from another copy found in the Agora Excavations has been published by Meritt, Hesperia, VII, 1938, pp. 127-131, no. 27.
56 In I.G., II², 1013, 29 f. it is specified that the mina weight should be checked with the scales in the Argyrokopeion.
57 Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 66 f.
Supplies of top-soil and manure have been collected from local sources. Nursery stock of many kinds has been contributed by various local bodies. From the Royal Estate at Tatoi have come oaks of four varieties, buckthorn, myrtle, schinus, broom, smoke bush, arbutus and heather. Other stock has been presented by the Government Forestry Service from their nursery at Kouponia (in the eastern outskirts of Athens), by Mrs. Argyropoulos from her nursery at Kaisariani, and by Mr. Vorres, Mayor of Amarousi.  

Systematic planting began early in December in the western and northern parts of the Agora. Here too assistance has been received from local groups, notably the Girl Guides of Athens who on December 12th arrived one hundred fifty strong and planted some thirty laurels along the northern edge of the excavation, where they will replace the grove of laurel and of olive that is known to have shaded the ancient Altar of Pity in this area; the new shrubs will at the same time screen from view the retaining wall of the electric railway that skirts the north side of the area (Pl. 31, d).

The new planting was favored by abundant rain in December. But against the return of summer a system of irrigation pipelines was drawn up, the source of water being the city mains, and a start was made on the actual laying of pipe.  

The Temple of Hephaistos (Theseum) which looks down on the Agora from the west will inevitably be one of the most prominent elements in the Agora park. The current excavations had benefitted the temple by isolating it and permitting it to be viewed from a lower level. At the same time, however, the modern enclosure walls to east, west and north of the building had become increasingly obtrusive and had cut off the temple in an unnatural way from the market place. In the months of November and December, 1954, the offending walls were demolished, a level earth terrace some five meters in width was carried along the north and east sides of the temple and informal paths were laid out to conduct the visitor from the hilltop down into the excavation.

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58 Grateful acknowledgment is here made for these specific contributions, as well as for many donations of money from groups and individuals both in Greece and in the United States. Valuable service in the implementation of the whole program has been rendered by the large and active Athenian Committee for the Landscaping of the Athenian Agora. Professor Gorham P. Stevens has provided most effective liaison between this Committee and the American School of Classical Studies.  

59 General Charles L. Booth and engineers of the Water Company of Athens gave valuable technical advice in planning the system of irrigation and rendered much help of a practical nature in making the installation.
a. Southwest Fountain House, from North. Ruins of Heliaia (?) to left

b. Hephaisteion, South Side: Sinis Metope

Homer A. Thompson: Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1954
Church of Holy Apostles before and after final exploration, from North. Note Foundations of Nymphaeum in lower view

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1954

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Homer A. Thompson: Activities in the Athenian Agora: 1954
a. Stoa of Attalos, Model (1:200), from Northwest

b. Stoa of Attalos, Model (1:50), Interior

c. Agora Inv. P24061

d. Agora Inv. P24131

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1954
a. Pair of Bronze Measures (B1082)
b. Head Vase (P23822)
c. Cast from ancient Impression (T3393)
d. Girl Guides planting Laurel: December 12, 1954

HOMER A. THOMPSON: ACTIVITIES IN THE ATHENIAN AGORA: 1954