
(PLATES 93–108)

THIS REPORT PRESENTS the archaeological results obtained during five seasons of excavations in the Athenian Agora, which were conducted by the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The area under investigation lies in the modern city block to the west of St. Philip’s Square and is bounded by Hadrian Street on the south and Hastings Street on the north. Initial exploration of the largest single property in that block, City Block 1370/7, had been carried out from 1980 to 1982. During the period here under review, that area was expanded by the acquisition of two properties, City Block 1370/26 and 1370/27, located on Hadrian Street to the west and east, respectively, of the section excavated in the early 1980’s. The north side of the excavation was further enlarged by the purchase of a third property, City Block 1370/8, which lies on Hastings Street just west of the earlier excavation.¹

In terms of the topography of the ancient city, the recent excavations covered an area around the northwest corner of the Agora (Figs. 1, 2). On the south, the area bordered the edge of the Panathenaic Way, and it was bisected by a street running from north to south that passed the southwestern end of the Stoa Poikile and separated that building from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania just to the west. The acquisition of three pieces of real estate enabled exploration of three different areas in the vicinity of these venerable monuments. It was possible to undertake further clearing of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite and the remains to the west of it, as well as to open up an area immediately in front of the Stoa Poikile. The large property on Hastings Street yielded up a first glimpse of the private and commercial buildings that lined the eastern side of the north–south street behind the Painted Stoa.

THE EARLY ROMAN TEMPLE OF APHRODITE

The fieldwork of recent seasons along the western edge of the excavated area has exposed all the surviving remains of the temple that was added in Augustan times to the Classical sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania. The southeast corner of this structure had come to light already in the excavations of 1981–1982, but complete exploration of the building now

¹ As always in the past, the recent fieldwork proceeded with the oversight of the First Ephoria of Classical Antiquities, and it is a pleasure to acknowledge the welcome collaboration and helpful assistance of its personnel, headed by successive Directors of the Akropolis, Evi Touloupa and Petros Kalligas. Of fundamental importance to the success of this campaign of excavations was the generous financial support of the David and Lucile Packard Foundation, whose annual grants made possible the purchase of real estate and provided approximately two-thirds of the total funding for the archaeological fieldwork. Grateful acknowledgment is also made for annual contributions from the Department of Art and Archaeology at Princeton University, which defrayed about one-third of the excavation’s operating expenses. For further acknowledgments, see p. 546 below.

Hesperia 66.4, 1997
Fig. 1. Restored plan, northwest corner of the Agora
Fig. 2. Actual-state plan of excavated area, Classical levels
enables a fuller account of its architecture and history.\textsuperscript{2} It must be emphasized at the outset, however, that the total reconstruction of the building on at least two occasions in later antiquity, together with its thorough pillaging at the hands of mediaeval scavengers, has rendered both its architecture and its history difficult to understand with assurance.\textsuperscript{3}

The Roman builders oriented their temple absolutely precisely with the cardinal compass points, so that its façade faced due south onto the open square of the Agora. Moreover, they sited the building in such a way that its central axis aligned with the Archaic altar of Aphrodite, which lay only 2.15 m distant from its first step (Pl. 93).\textsuperscript{4} This eye for the axial alignment of buildings is not the only Roman characteristic in the design of the temple. A glance at the plan (Fig. 3) reveals at once its thoroughly Roman proportions, for the overall width of its prostyle porch, 10.08 m, is considerably greater than the overall depth of the building, 9.45 m from front to back. The depth of the porch, 3.80 m from the south foundations to the crosswall, is much greater than the depth of the cela, \textit{ca.} 2.00 m from the crosswall to the northwest corner. Furthermore, the steps of the porch project 0.94 m beyond the flank walls in a manner that finds exact parallels in the Southeast and Southwest Temples in the Agora, which are of similar Early Roman date.\textsuperscript{5} More than any other Athenian building, however, the Temple of Aphrodite, with its deep porch and shallow cela, recalls contemporary temples of the Italian homeland and of Rome in particular. Such Augustan monuments as the Templum Divi Iulii in the Forum Romanum seem to be reflected in the plan and proportions of the Agora building.

Of the original fabric of the building only the foundations for the prostyle porch and for the western flank wall are preserved. These consist of squared poros blocks laid without mortar in more or less regular courses, with some admixture of reused materials of both poros and marble in the courses below the first step. The steps and columns of the porch were carried on a massive podium measuring 2.20 m from front to back and descending to bedrock some 2.50 m in five courses of masonry (Pl. 94:a, b). The foundations for the western flank wall, measuring 0.60 m in thickness, survive in two courses of blocks for most of its length, and they stand to a height of 1.80 m in three courses at the original northwest corner. At the southwest corner the projecting podium of the porch has been robbed out to a low level, but since here the temple builders encroached for a distance of 2.00 m upon the masonry platform of a preexisting building immediately adjacent (Pls. 94:a, 98:a), it is possible to measure exactly the overall width of the krepidoma for the porch.

\textsuperscript{2} For a preliminary report on the earlier work, see Shear 1984, pp. 33–37. As a result of later reconstructions of the building and disturbance of the stratification, there is now no evidence bearing on the date of the construction of the temple. All the relevant pottery is cited (\textit{ibid.}, p. 36, note 55).

\textsuperscript{3} The area of the Roman temple was excavated under the supervision of Alison Adams Dickey in 1990, John McK. Camp II in 1990 and 1991, and Julia L. Shear in 1993.

\textsuperscript{4} For the Archaic altar and its relation to the temple, see Shear 1984, pp. 24–33.

\textsuperscript{5} Dinsmoor 1982, especially figs. 10, 12. For the Roman characteristics of the plan and proportions, cf. such contemporary temples in Rome as the Temple of Divus Iulius (Zanker 1972, pp. 48–49; Coarelli 1985, pp. 272–273, 291–292; Richardson 1992, pp. 213–214) or the Tiberian reconstruction of the Temple of Concord (Zanker, \textit{loc. cit.}; Richardson 1992, pp. 98–99; Steinby 1993, pp. 316–320). The pottery from undisturbed construction fillings of the Agora temple is not sufficiently abundant to fix its chronological position precisely with relation to the Roman examples.
Fig. 3. Plan of Early Roman temple, showing preserved remains, with restorations of original phase
The foundations for the east wall, beyond the projection of the porch, and for the interior partition are preserved only in the rubble masonry of a later rebuilding on slightly different lines and with the greater thickness of 0.90 m. Beneath the wide foundation for the later crosswall, but on exactly the same line, there came to light a rubble bedding for the original period of construction, of which the thickness, 0.60–0.70 m, was in closer conformity to the original western flank (Pl. 95:a, b). The north wall of the temple was completely dismantled in late antiquity, and only the lowest rubble bedding at the northwest corner indicates the position of the wall. What appears deceptively on the site to be a north wall for the temple, preserved to a high level, is actually a concrete wall of rubble and lime mortar, built as late as the 5th century after Christ, which meets the line of the west flank at an obtuse angle (Fig. 2).

The first poros step of the prostyle porch is preserved for most of its width across the south façade and returns around the east end of the porch, where its line has been interrupted by a late tile-lined drain channel (Pls. 94:a, 95:a). The step shows signs of foot wear along the entire surface of its tread, and its level indicates that it rose 0.25 m above the new ground level established by the Roman builders on the south side of the temple. The lowest step is 0.35 m wide across the front but returns on the sides of the porch with a width of 0.59 m, as can be measured at the southeast corner. A few blocks of the second step also remain in place: one at the southeast corner, two on the eastern return, and two farther west where the southwest corner of the podium has been robbed out. The step block at the southeast corner has raised and rough-picked panels on both faces of the corner riser (Pl. 96:a), a detail that is better interpreted at this period as deliberate decorative rustication rather than evidence of a lack of finish. On its upper surface, the block preserves the sharply etched lines of weathering forming a precise angle of ninety degrees where the corner of the stylobate once rested. The position of the weathering lines shows that the tread of the second step was 0.35 m in width both on the front and the side return, and the clean precision with which the lines score the surface of the stone suggests that the stylobate may have been of marble rather than poros (Pl. 96:b).

The original poros foundations for the eastern projection of the prostyle porch have survived despite a variety of later alterations. Also still in place are two blocks laid as stretchers lying 2.45 m behind the face of the second step block at the southeast corner. These blocks are of about the same size and character as the blocks in the western flank wall, and they are in the proper position to have carried the southeast anta behind the corner column (Fig. 3). Early in the 3rd century after Christ, the crosswall and the eastern flank wall, beyond the projection of the porch, were rebuilt in the rubble masonry that survives today. The character of the reconstructed masonry differs markedly from the squared ashlar blocks of the original stonework. The foundations for both the east wall and the crosswall are fashioned of small field stones laid in rough and uneven courses

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6 For the deep filling deposited by the Early Roman builders, see Shear 1984, pp. 35–36, fig. 14 (Section C–C, Layers G–K).

7 Pottery dating the reconstruction of the crosswall, Layer 2A, under the wide foundation of the later wall and above the narrow foundation of the earlier wall, Lot BZ 589. Latest pieces: lightly wheel-ridged fragments, cf. *Agora* V, J13, J45 (2nd and into 3rd century).
and bonded with mud or clay as a kind of mortar (Pl. 95:b). While the alignment of the reconstructed crosswall remained the same, the eastern flank wall moved westward about 0.50 m. In their reconstructed form, both walls seem to have been incorporated into a building of the 5th century after Christ, and soft, dark fill of that late date descended to a depth of two courses below the lowest step inside the temple (Fig. 4).  

It is plainly incorrect to regard this latest construction as a rebuilding of the earlier temple, for there can be no doubt that the temple was in ruins before the 5th-century work was undertaken. As a part of this late antique building, an enormous platform of solid concrete was laid against the southern façade of the temple. The concrete structure extended 7.30 m along the south façade; it projected southward for a width of 2.20 m and to a depth of 1.70 m against the earlier foundation, so that it occupied all the space between the temple and the altar (Figs. 2, 4). At the time of excavation, the concrete was found to cover all the surviving step blocks of the temple and was in fact responsible for their subsequent preservation. This means, however, that the temple had already been stripped

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of its superstructure, columns, and stylobate before the late builders buried its krepidoma in their concrete platform. In order to expose the temple podium, the excavators cleared away much of the concrete, so that what remains on the site today are two masses marking the original eastern and western limits of the platform (Pl. 94:a). In the course of breaking up the concrete, a good many fragments of pottery were recovered from the aggregate. The latest of these were datable to the 5th century after Christ, and they provide not only a terminus post quem for the late antique construction but also a terminus ante quem for the destruction and demolition of the Early Roman temple.\(^9\)

The surviving foundations of the southern façade preserve enough evidence to calculate with accuracy the original dimensions of the prostyle porch. The treads of the steps can be measured where they return around the southeast corner, and the weathering lines on the block of the second step locate precisely the corner of the stylobate (0.59 + 0.35 = 0.94 m from the east end of the podium). The overall width of the porch on the first step can be measured within a few millimeters as 10.08 m, from the preserved eastern edge to the point where the southwest corner abutted the foundations of the adjacent structure. If the return of the steps on the east is duplicated at the western end and both dimensions are subtracted from the width of the lowest step, the result yields the width of the stylobate: 10.08 – (0.94 × 2) = 8.20 m. Recovery of the dimensions of the prostyle porch now makes it possible to recognize and assign to the exterior columnar order of the temple two pieces of marble Ionic architecture. Found reused in a Byzantine wall less than ten meters from the corner of the temple was the upper part of an Ionic shaft (Fig. 5, Pl. 96:c). Its most distinctive feature is the anthemion pattern at the top, which exactly reproduces the familiar anthemion on the Ionic columns of the Erechtheion.\(^10\)

An Ionic base was reused in the late antique period for some kind of columnar monument a few meters south of the temple, at the edge of the Panathenaic Way (Figs. 2, 6, Pl. 96:d), where it remains today. It faithfully reflects the profile of the Erechtheion bases, although the upper torus shows neither the horizontal fluting of the east porch nor the elaborate guilloche pattern of the north porch.\(^11\) The dimensions of both blocks suggest that they are deliberate copies at roughly three-quarters the size of the original. Since the width of the stylobate (8.20 m) bears almost precisely the same relation to the stylobate of the north porch of the Erechtheion, the pieces of the columnar order can be assigned

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\(^10\) A 4634: P.H. 0.70 m; upper Diam. (top of shaft) 0.575 m. Fragmentary Ionic column shaft. Broken at bottom, parts of the shaft and decoration very worn. At top and below anthemion, a bead and reel. Around top of shaft, a band of anthemion, 0.236 m high, consisting of alternating palmettes and lotus blossoms. Below anthemion, normal Ionic fluting. Upper surface has lewis hole for lifting. White marble.

\(^11\) Attic Ionic column base. H. 0.278 m; Diam. upper torus 0.784 m; Diam. lower torus 0.942 m. Complete but much battered around edges of upper torus. Upper torus (H. 0.078 m) undecorated; scotia (H. 0.101 m) and lower torus (H. 0.099 m) undecorated. At center of upper surface, an empolion cutting (0.079 × 0.083 × 0.104 m deep) with pour channel running from one corner to edge of top surface. On upper surface, a weathering line indicates lower diameter of shaft, 0.718 m at apophyge. At outer edge, right-angled cutting (L. 0.41 m; W. 0.157 m) removed from circumference for full height of base. White marble.
Fig. 5. Ionic column shaft from Early Roman temple
Fig. 6. Ionic column base from Early Roman temple
to the building with some assurance. Comparison of the critical dimensions of the two buildings is most conveniently set out in tabular form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Erechtheion, north porch</th>
<th>76.5% of Erechtheion</th>
<th>Agora Temple</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H. of anthemion</td>
<td>0.279</td>
<td>0.213</td>
<td>0.236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Diam.</td>
<td>0.704</td>
<td>0.538</td>
<td>0.536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(below apophyge)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Diam.</td>
<td>0.940</td>
<td>0.719</td>
<td>0.718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(at apophyge)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diam. of base</td>
<td>1.233</td>
<td>0.943</td>
<td>0.942</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(lower torus)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H. of base</td>
<td>0.353</td>
<td>0.270</td>
<td>0.279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W. of stylobate</td>
<td>10.721</td>
<td>8.201</td>
<td>8.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since the width of the stylobate for the prostyle porch of the Agora temple can now be accurately calculated, it is intriguing to observe that this dimension also is about three-quarters the width of the north porch of the Erechtheion. As the table makes clear, however, in all cases the actual dimensions of the temple in the Agora are closer to 77% than to 75% of the original.

Close examination of the anthemion pattern reveals that the stonemasons of the Agora temple had studied carefully not only the dimensions of the Erechtheion but also the minute details of its decoration (Pl. 97:a). On the Agora column, the anthemion is framed above and below with bead-and-reel moldings. The alternating palmettes and lotus blossoms are placed close together so that their petals almost touch. The lotuses spring from the spiny leaves of acanthus, and below them tendrils curve outward in opposite directions to terminate in tight spirals beneath the palmettes, where small sprigs of acanthus also adorn the lower parts of the tendrils. The paired spirals are separated only by a single ridge running downward from the hearts of the palmettes, and a similar vertical spine articulates the central petals of both lotuses and palmettes. The lotuses consist of seven petals while the palmettes have nine, of which those on the sides curve sharply upward at the tips to form flamelike patterns.

Most of these details are carefully replicated from the anthemion pattern that decorates the columns, upper walls, and anta capitals of the Erechtheion. But Gorham P. Stevens distinguished nine different versions of this pattern, each displaying minor variations one from another.\(^{12}\) Since the dimensions of the Agora temple seem to be related to those of the north porch of the Erechtheion, it is natural to turn there first for comparison of the decorative band on the columns (Pl. 97:b). Although the general effect of the lotus and palmette is much the same, careful scrutiny reveals some significant differences. The columns of the north porch have the bead-and-reel molding only above the anthemion; a simple fillet is placed between the ornament and the apophyge of the shaft. The palmettes and lotus blossoms are linked together by S-shaped tendrils forming reverse spirals that terminate in acanthus leaves at either end. From the spirals beneath the palmettes, three

\(^{12}\) Paton 1927, pp. 203–206. The floral band on the Agora column most closely resembles variety 2a (p. 203); the band below the capitals of the north porch is variety 4a.
loops of floral tendrils rise vertically to separate the palmettes from the lotus blossoms. On the other hand, when the decoration on the Agora column is placed beside that version of the anthemion found on the columns of the east porch of the Erechtheion, the details of the pattern compare much more closely (Pl. 97:d). Here the bead and reel appears both above and below the band of ornament, and the lotuses are connected directly to the palmettes by the tendrils curving outward from their acanthus leaves to form pairs of spirals beneath the palmettes. Although the scheme of the pattern is thus identical on our piece and on the columns of the east porch, nevertheless certain specific details distinguish the Greek original from its Roman adaptation. The lotus blossoms of the Erechtheion columns have five petals rising from acanthus leaves, whereas in the Roman version the blossoms have seven petals. Similarly the palmettes on the Erechtheion columns have eleven petals carved in the plump, spoonlike shape characteristic of the Classical version of the ornament. The Roman craftsman, however, designed his palmettes with nine petals and carved them in the flamboyant and more delicate flamelike shape that did not become common before the Hellenistic period. It would be a mistake to conclude from these differences in detail that the Roman column is merely an inept copy of the Greek original. On the contrary, the delicate carving of the moldings and the floral ornament exhibits the finest of Augustan workmanship. Inspired and heavily influenced by the most beautiful Ionic columns of the Greek period, the anthemion on the Agora column is better seen as an essay in eclectic Classicism that seeks to evoke the spirit of the Erechtheion more than to replicate slavishly the detail of its forms.

This distinction between copy and adaptation comes into sharp focus when the anthemion on the Agora column is compared to those of its slightly older contemporary, the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Akropolis, the Ionic order of which was also closely modeled on the Erechtheion (Pl. 97:c). Here again, the rather simpler version of the ornament is borrowed from the columns of the east porch, but unlike the Agora column, the anthemion pattern of the Augustan monopteros attempts to replicate the Greek original in precise detail. Like the columns of the east porch, those of the Temple of Roma and Augustus have the bead and reel both above and below the band of lotus and palmette. The lotus blossoms have five petals springing from acanthus, and tendrils curve outward from below them to form pairs of spirals under the palmettes. Above the spirals, the palmettes have eleven petals that reproduce the plump shape of the Greek ornament. Thus not only the general scheme of the pattern but the design of the blossoms and the number and shape of the petals are extraordinarily faithful to the original in minute detail.

It is instructive also to compare the same critical dimensions of the columns on the east porch of the Erechtheion and those on the Temple of Roma and Augustus, for it was these dimensions that suggested an adaptive relation between the temple in the Agora and the north porch of the Erechtheion.

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13 For the Ionic order of the Temple of Roma and Augustus, see Travlos 1971, pp. 494–497; Kawerau 1888, p. 13, pls. 25, 26; and see, generally, Binder 1969.
Erechtheion, east porch | Temple of Roma and Augustus | Agora Temple
---|---|---
H. of anthemion | 0.295 | 0.292 | 0.236
(with echinus) | | (with echinus) |
Upper Diam. | 0.589 | 0.595 | 0.536
(below apophyge) | | |
Lower Diam. | 0.763 | 0.764 | 0.718
(at apophyge) | | |
Diam. of base | 0.980 | 0.994 | 0.942
(lower torus) | | |
H. of base | 0.289 | 0.283 | 0.279

It will be obvious at once that both the Temple of Roma and Augustus on the Akropolis and the newly explored temple in the Agora exhibit an intimate familiarity on the part of their masons with the Classical Erechtheion. Indeed, one gets the impression that the builders of the Augustan monopteros actually measured their dimensions from the columns of the east porch of the Erechtheion just as closely as the craftsmen in the Agora adapted the dimensions of the north porch. There can be little doubt that this familiarity with the details of the monument was a direct result of the contemporary program of extensive repairs to the Erechtheion itself, which renewed the venerable temple, damaged by Sulla’s legions in 86 B.C., and which were executed in a manner intended to replicate as far as possible the exact forms of the original decoration.\(^\text{14}\) The Roman repairs to the Erechtheion gave Athenian stonecutters the opportunity to examine at first hand its dimensions and the minutiæ of its ornament, no doubt from a scaffolding thrown up around the building to facilitate its reconstruction. These repairs also serve to elucidate the differences in the Roman versions of the anthemion pattern derived from the Erechtheion. The ornament that decorates the columns of the Temple of Roma and Augustus exhibits the same dry stiffness that distinguishes the Roman work on the Erechtheion itself. One feels that the mason who carved the anthemion of the monopteros might well have worked to restore the damaged portions of the original. The carving of the Agora column, on the other hand, catches something of the lively lacelike quality that has made the decoration of the Erechtheion the paradigm for the Ionic order.

MONUMENTS WEST OF THE ROMAN TEMPLE

The entire area west of the Roman temple, from the border of the Panathenaic Way at the south to the extreme northwest corner of the section, was so crowded with the foundations

\(^\text{14}\) For the Roman repairs, see Paton 1927, pp. 223–224. The principal repairs include the whole west façade between the antae and above the column bases (ibid., pp. 66, 70–76); on the north porch, the lintel and the preserved console of the door, as well as repairs to the coffered ceiling (ibid., pp. 87, 89, 92, 94, 99–103). The coffered ceiling of the east porch was replaced, and the inner face of the architrave was cut back to half the original thickness of the blocks (ibid., pp. 28–29, 45). Also of Roman date is much of the cornice of the main building, as well as the simas, tiling of the roof, and all the surviving antefixes (ibid., pp. 54, 75, 79).
of buildings as to preclude much excavation below Byzantine levels (Fig. 2, Pl. 98:a).\textsuperscript{15} The builders of the Roman temple encroached upon an earlier, adjacent structure for a distance of 2.00 m in order to accommodate the southwest corner of the prostyle porch. The remains of the earlier building consist of a solid platform of large poros blocks laid without mortar, of which some, at least, were reused in the later structure. The platform measures 7.00 m from north to south and 7.70 m from its southeast corner to the point at which it disappears beneath the high western scarp. Along the south side, at the east, only one course of poros blocks was laid as a euthynteria course, but farther north it descends in as many as four courses, thus forming an impressively massive foundation. The poros platform originally carried a marble stepped façade, of which three adjoining blocks of the lowest step and several poros backing blocks for a second step remain \textit{in situ}. The step blocks exhibit workmanship of high quality and are fastened together with neat hook clamps set in lead, one of which survives in place on the eastern return. The inner edge of the marble blocks has been dressed as a resting surface for a second marble step, and the working of the surface shows that the first step measured 0.25 m in width along the south side and slightly less at the east. Considerable foot wear on the three preserved blocks of the marble step shows that the building was actively used for some period of time and certainly precludes its identification as the base for a large monument. At the writing of this report, there is no specific evidence available to identify its function, but the obviously hydraulic nature of the later buildings to the north suggests at least the possibility that the platform supported a fountain house serving the public at the northwest entrance to the Agora, in a position analogous to the earlier Southeast and Southwest Fountains at two other corners of the square.\textsuperscript{16}

The history and chronology of the poros structure are no less difficult to establish than is its architecture because it is surrounded on all sides by the massive architectural remains of all later periods. The only stratigraphic evidence bearing on the date of construction comes from successive metaled road surfaces at the edge of the Panathenaic Way some 2.50 m to the south. Here, four layers of hard road gravel began at an elevation of 51.44 m and rose with repeated resurfacings of the road to 51.66 m. The lowest of these yielded fragmentary pottery datable to the late 2nd century B.C., and the road level rose rapidly in the last years of the 2nd and the early 1st century B.C.\textsuperscript{17} The elevations of these layers of the Panathenaic Way agree well with the level of the euthynteria under the marble

\textsuperscript{15} The area west of the Roman temple was excavated under the supervision of Ione Mylonas Shear and John McK. Camp II in 1989; Alison Adams Dickey in 1990; and John McK. Camp II in 1990 and 1991.

\textsuperscript{16} The fountain house beside the Dipylon Gate is built on a similar solid stepped platform of poros blocks and is also similar in scale, measuring 8.00 m in depth and 11.00 m in width, although it is dated a good deal earlier, to the beginning of the 4th century B.C.: Gruben 1964, p. 407, figs. 1, 14; Glaser 1983, no. 47, pp. 64–65; Knigge 1991, pp. 74–75.

step, at 51.71 m, and the date that they yield can probably be accepted, with the caveat that the layers of the street are not specifically connected stratigraphically with the poros foundations. A date for the end of the building can possibly be fixed a bit more precisely than can that for its construction. Earth fill of Late Roman date covered much of the preserved foundation, and at the southwest this contained large fragments of smashed pottery dating to ca. 400 and into the early 5th century after Christ.\(^{18}\) With the pottery was found a coin of Honorius struck between A.D. 408 and 423.\(^{19}\) Since this material cannot have been deposited until after the building was stripped down to its foundations, it seems likely that it should be associated with a general horizon of destruction that leveled the whole area at the end of the 4th century after Christ. We shall see presently that all the buildings farther north suffered destruction at the same time, and the occasion can be identified with some assurance as the well-known incursion of Alaric and the Visigoths in A.D. 396.\(^{20}\)

Throughout much of the Roman period the northern area of the excavation was occupied by part of an enormous bathing establishment, other parts of which have been encountered in earlier excavations, conducted by the Greek Archaeological Service, on property 20 m to the north and as much as 50 m to the west.\(^{21}\) Two successive phases in the life of this structure could be distinguished in the architectural remains, and debris came to light from two separate destructions nearly two centuries apart in date. During the first phase, the area immediately north of the Hellenistic building and west of the Roman temple (Fig. 2) was the site of a public latrine. What survives of this building are, of course, the plumbing arrangements deep beneath the original floor of the room. The most characteristic feature is a deep, narrow channel that describes a rectangle oriented north–south and runs around all four sides of the room just inside the walls. The outer dimensions of the rectangular channel are 5.90 m north–south and 3.68 m east–west, and the channel itself varies somewhat in width from 0.35 m to 0.40 m on the north and west to ca. 0.50 m on the east and south. The walls of the channel are built, for the most part, of large poros blocks, with small stones set in the gaps between them. The latrine seems to have been set down in the angle formed by the west flank of the Roman temple and the north wall of the Hellenistic structure, and it made use of the existing earlier masonry for its exterior walls (Pl. 98:b). In places this wall rises to a height of 1.15–1.30 m in three courses of blocks. The lower parts of the walls are still coated with hydraulic cement; the floor is composed of large square tiles set in mortar; and the juncture of wall and


\(^{20}\) See note 25 below.

\(^{21}\) Parts of a caldarium and a frigidarium having the same orientation as the foundations of our building were found farther west at 5 Hadrian Street and Theseion Street: Nikopoulou 1971, pp. 7–8; Alexandri 1976, pp. 24–26. Other foundations with the same orientation have come to light in excavations farther north at 11 Hastings Street (Vanderpool 1959, pp. 295–297) and at 7–9 Theseion Street (Vanderpool and Threpsiades 1964, pp. 99–103).
floor is covered with an extra-thick layer of plaster. The original inlet for the flowing water that flushed out the latrine was found near the northeast corner, where a small poros channel, 0.45 m wide and 0.15 m deep, emptied into the northern channel at a point 0.20 m above its floor. From here the four channels of the rectangle flowed downward toward the southwest corner, whence the waste water must have found egress into one of the main drains lying beneath the Panathenaic Way. By way of corroboration that a latrine occupied this site in the first phase, the excavator noted a fragment of a marble seat block with an opening of keyhole shape characteristic of the interior appointments of Roman latrines. This piece was among the architectural debris forming the aggregate for the concrete of the second phase of the bath, which later filled the original inlet channel.

There is as yet no evidence available to indicate how long the Augustan temple stood in the neighboring sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania before the latrine made use of its western flank wall. The proper respect due to sacred terrain, however, would suggest the elapse of a considerable interval. In any event, there is more precise evidence for the destruction of the latrine and bath of the first phase. The south channel of the latrine was found to be filled with masses of smashed marble revetment obviously from the destruction of the building itself, although the revetment may originally have adorned the walls of the temple next door and been reused in the latrine. The broken marble fragments covered the southeast corner of the poros podium within the rectangular channel of the latrine, and here the poros blocks at the corner had been extracted down to the lowest course before the broken revetment was dumped in to fill up the area. Mixed among the pieces of revetment were considerable quantities of pottery that could be dated to the first half of the 3rd century after Christ, and a date in this period surely marks the end of the first phase of the bath.22

During the Late Roman period, a second phase of the bath complex incorporated the ruins of the earlier latrine and the area to the north and west of it. The architectural remains of the second period consist of massive concrete foundations for a great semicircular hall some 10 m in external diameter (Fig. 2). The semicircle was filled with a solid concrete podium, composed of reused poros blocks, rubble, and mortar, which is still preserved in places to a height of nearly 2 m (Pl. 98:b). Amid the aggregate for the concrete are numerous fragments of tegulae mammatae and the round tiles of hypocaust columns, and similar material was found under the smashed revetment in the south channel of the latrine. All this serves to indicate that during the first phase the latrine was but one part of a larger bathing complex that was later rebuilt on a more massive scale.

When the concrete podium of the second phase was built, a deep narrow channel described the circumference of the semicircle and doubtless lay just within the encircling wall of the apsidal hall. The outer wall of this channel in the northeast quadrant was built of brick-faced concrete, but elsewhere its walls were of rubble and concrete, except at the eastern part of its course, where the new channel made use of the existing eastern channel of the old latrine (Pl. 98:b). The builders of the new channel hacked down the

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poros blocks of the old latrine walls at the south end and at the northeast corner in order to carry the course of the semicircle unbroken through the ruins of the latrine. At intervals, tributary channels branched out from the semicircle toward the center of the hall and northward to other parts of the building. No traces of hydraulic cement were preserved on the newly built sections of the semicircular channel. This, taken together with its lack of uniform construction and the number of subsidiary channels, indicates that the channels are likely to have been ducts for the circulation of hot air to provide heating for this room of the bath.

From the semicircular channel came a mass of broken pottery in great quantity and in a variety of shapes, including amphorae, basins, cooking pots, plates with stamped decoration, lamps, and numerous large fragments of glass vessels. The pottery proved to be unusually homogeneous in date, the great majority of pieces dating late in the 4th century after Christ; that date is corroborated by three identifiable coins from the same destruction debris, of which the latest was struck in the reign of Arcadius (ca. A.D. 388-408). This debris signals a massive destruction that plainly overwhelmed the bath complex in its second phase, for the dumps of smashed pottery cannot have found their way into the semicircular heating duct until after the superstructure was largely demolished and the floor completely stripped of its marble revetment. This closely dated deposit of material thus provides the clearest evidence for a major horizon of destruction that caused widespread damage to this part of the city in the last years of the 4th century after Christ. There can be little room for doubt that the destruction should be attributed to the documented attack on Athens by the Visigoths in A.D. 396. It is equally plain that the building lay in ruins for more than three-quarters of a century after its destruction, since the rubble of its remains was certainly being pillaged for building material as late as the third quarter of the 5th century: a hoard of 431 bronze coins lay closely compacted at the top of the semicircular channel. Since there were no visible traces of a container, it is likely that the coins were carried in a purse of perishable material and dropped on the site by some scavenger. By far the greatest part of the hoard proved to

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25 The sources that chronicle the invasion of the Visigoths under Alaric have been discussed by Alison Frantz (Agora XXIV, pp. 51–53). For the contemporary destruction of other buildings at the northwest corner of the Agora, see Agora XXIV, pp. 53–56. The street stoa that faced our bath complex along the south side of the Panathenaic Way suffered a similar fate at the same time, as revealed by the evidence of its stratigraphy: Shear 1973, pp. 380–381.
be illegible, but of the identifiable coins the latest were 31 examples datable to the reign of Leo I (A.D. 457–474)\(^\text{26}\) and were thus significantly later than the broken pottery from the destruction debris of the building.

**CLASSICAL HOUSE UNDER THE ROMAN TEMPLE**

Under the Early Roman temple in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania it was possible to excavate the stratified levels of the Classical period and thus to gain some understanding of the topography of the area immediately adjacent to the northwest corner of the Agora.\(^\text{27}\) Deep beneath the porch and cella of the temple there came to light the remains of a private dwelling of the Classical period (Pl. 95:b). Only one end of the structure was preserved under the temple, and most of that had suffered greatly both from the construction of the temple itself and from later disturbances of all periods. Nevertheless, the northern, southern, and eastern limits of this part of the house could be established; parts of five small rooms could be differentiated; and in a few places sequences of stratified earth floors could be investigated. The southern exterior wall lay beneath the prostyle porch of the temple a few meters north of the Archaic marble altar (Fig. 4, Pl. 99:a). It consisted of fine polygonal masonry fashioned of Akropolis limestone and probably served as a socle for a superstructure of sun-dried mud brick. On the east the house fronted on the main north–south street. A short section of the east wall, also in polygonal masonry, was found farther north under the cella of the temple, but the original wall had been plundered at the southeast corner and that which was found belonged to a reconstruction of the Early Hellenistic period.\(^\text{28}\) Under the north end of the cella, and almost aligned with the temple itself, was a poros water channel of the kind that would have drained a narrow alley on the north side of the house (Fig. 4, Pl. 95:b, far left), but of the north wall only a few patches of the lowest foundation packing still adhered to the dressed bedrock. The water channel formed a right angle around the northeast corner of the Classical house and continued down the street along its east wall. The eastern end of the house consisted of two roughly rectangular rooms side by side, of which the southern measured 3.50 m in length and 2.00 m in width, while the northern was 2.85 m long and had a maximum width of 2.00 m. The smaller of the two at the northeast corner had the appearance of a courtyard and probably included the principal entrance to the house either from the

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\(^{27}\) The Classical house beneath the Roman temple was excavated under the supervision of Julia L. Shear in 1993.

\(^{28}\) Pottery from fill over the reconstructed east wall, Lot BZ 586. Latest pieces: moldmade bowl, bowl wall, several other Hellenistic small fragments (late 3rd century B.C.)
main street or from the alleyway to the north. That this area was in fact the courtyard has been shown by the subsequent discovery of the household well at its southeast corner.\textsuperscript{29} A narrow room, only 1.15 m wide and possibly to be identified as a corridor, lay to the west of the courtyard. Two more rooms continued farther west beyond the limits of the temple, but these have been mostly obliterated by the temple itself and by later construction to the west of it.

The room at the southeast corner provided the best sequence of stratified floors, although for the later phases of the house the floors were only preserved in a narrow strip along the foundation for the crosswall of the temple (Fig. 4). Here a series of several earth floors extended from the middle to the last quarter of the 2nd century B.C.\textsuperscript{30} The three centuries from the middle of the 5th to the middle of the 2nd century were completely absent from the stratigraphy in this room, for just beneath a floor of the 2nd century came several that dated to the second quarter of the 5th century B.C.\textsuperscript{31} The house seems to have been badly damaged at the time of the Persian destruction of the city in 479 B.C.: under a layer that could be closely dated \textit{ca.} 475\textsuperscript{32} there was found a layer of burned destruction debris that had all the characteristic hallmarks of the Persian sack and its aftermath. The fill consisted of masses of stones, disintegrated mud brick, and broken roof tiles from the superstructure of the building, and mingled with the debris was an unusual quantity of badly broken household pottery datable to the first two decades of the 5th century.\textsuperscript{33} In the southeast room, three floors were found below the destruction layer, all datable to the last quarter of the 6th century B.C.\textsuperscript{34}

Leveling of the site preparatory to the construction of

\textsuperscript{29} Well J 2:4. For preliminary publication of its contents, see Camp 1996, pp. 242–252. For the relation of the well to the courtyard and to the walls of the Classical house, see the plan, \textit{ibid.}, p. 243, fig. 5.


\textsuperscript{31} Pottery from the highest stratified floor of the second quarter of the 5th century B.C., Lot BZ 600: Attic skyphos foot, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, nos. 342, 343; cup rim Type C, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 413; Vicup foot, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 434; stemless rim, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 456; lekanes foot, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 1787; lekanes rim, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 1793.

\textsuperscript{32} Pottery from beneath the first post-Persian floor, Lot BZ 616: cup rim Type C, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 401; Vicup rim, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 435; cup-skyphos rim, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 572; banded one-handler, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 737.

\textsuperscript{33} Pottery from the layer of destruction debris, Lots BZ 618–621 (4 tins): Corinthian type skyphoi, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 312; 6 Vicup feet, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 434; cup-skyphos foot, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 573; banded one-handler, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 735; black one-handler, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 745; stemmed dishes, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 973; lekanes foot, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 1771; lekanes rim, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 1766. For the characteristic pottery found in immediately post-Persian deposits, see Shear 1993, pp. 413–415.

\textsuperscript{34} Pottery from beneath the three pre-Persian floors, Lot BZ 624: black-figure skyphos rim and wall, cf. \textit{Agora} XXIII, no. 1490; Corinthian skyphos lower wall, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 309. Lot BZ 625: Corinthian skyphos lower wall, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 310; cup rim, Type C, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 401. Lot BZ 626: cup foot, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 401; cup-skyphos rim, cf. \textit{Agora} XII, no. 564.
the building disturbed a burial of a much earlier period. Set down in a shallow pit under the lowest floor of the southeast room was the lower half of a small amphora dating to the Submycenaean period. This vessel contained the skeletal remains of a young child buried without funerary offerings of any kind.

In the northern courtyard a small section of stratified floors was preserved at the southeast corner. This yielded much the same evidence as the southern room. Two floors were as late as the middle of the 5th century, although there was no substantial accumulation of debris from the Persian destruction comparable to that found farther south. The four lowest floors all belonged to the last quarter of the 6th century, the first of which seems to have been laid down shortly after ca. 525 B.C. It was only here that any evidence was found concerning the functions of any of the spaces of the building. Above one of the clay floors in the corner of the courtyard were found four separate layers of working chips from the cutting of island marble, and interspersed among them were some chips from the working of fine, tan poros. The island marble can scarcely be associated with the construction of the house itself and in the last quarter of the 6th century is more likely to have been used for sculpture than for architecture. This material does suggest, however, that during the early years of its occupation at least one part of the building housed a shop for the working of marble.

THE ERIDANOS RIVER

Some of the most important results from the fieldwork of recent years concern the topography on the north side of the Agora. At the southeast corner of the excavated area it was possible to explore for the first time a section of the Eridanos River, which we now know to have traversed the northern edge of the market square and to have affected the architectural development of the area in all periods.

35 Cremation burial, P 32307: Submycenaean neck-handled amphora. PH. 0.236 m; Diam. 0.252 m. Cut off at bottom of neck. Two horizontal bands just above point of widest diameter; a wider band lower down. At shoulder, above bands, on front and back, two simplified linked spirals forming figure eight placed horizontally. Below both handle attachments, lower half of similar motif placed vertically. Dark reddish brown glaze; pale pinkish buff clay. The spirals are more simplified than on the similar amphora P 30196 (Shear 1975, p. 373, pl. 84:j). Cf. Alexandri 1968, pp. 92–93, pl. 85 (Tomb LXX).


38 The area of the Eridanos River channel was excavated under the supervision of Ione Mylonas Shear from 1991 to 1993.
one of the principal natural landmarks of the ancient city. Plato, in a famous and fanciful passage (Kritias 112A), named the stream as one of the natural boundaries of his primordial Akropolis, together with the Iliissos River and the hills of Lykabettos and the Pnyx. Since the Iliissos ran south of the Akropolis and the two hills stand at the city's eastern and western poles, it is plain that Plato thought of the Eridanos as forming the northern boundary of his mythical town. In the time of Strabo (9.1.19, p. 397) its sources were still visible and yielded pure and potable water outside the Gates of Diochares near the Lykeion. These gates at the eastern limit of the ancient city were located in all likelihood at the southwest corner of the city block bounded by Metropolis, Penteli, Apollo, and Vouli Streets. Recently, the riverbed of the Eridanos has been found farther east under Syntagma Square in excavations for the new city subway system, and the ultimate sources probably rise near the foot of Lykabettos. The river's course through the heart of the city is less certain. It is known to pass near the Metropolitan Cathedral and beneath the modern Pandrosos Street, and at the west it debouched into the outer Kerameikos in a stone-built channel that passed through an opening in the city wall beside the Sacred Gate. But all previous topographical maps of the ancient city have placed the Eridanos far to the north of the Agora between the modern Hephaistos and Hermes Streets, a situation that needs now to be corrected in light of recent work.

The Eridanos River passes through the Agora in a covered masonry channel running northeast–southwest until it crosses the line of the Panathenaic Way (Pl. 100:a, b), where it then swings northwestward beside the Stoa Basileios and follows the processional route toward the Kerameikos Cemetery, some half kilometer distant (Figs. 1, 2). We shall see presently that the riverbed was not canalized until the Classical period, whereas the Panathenaic Way was a well-traveled thoroughfare from the early 6th century onward. Just how it negotiated the river crossing in early times is impossible to say at present because the modern Hadrian Street obscures the exact point of intersection. It seems certain, however, that a bridge of some sort carried the street across the streambed at all times. The great canal through which the Eridanos flows across the Agora has an overall external

39 See Frazer 1913, pp. 198–201, commentary on Pausanias 1.19.5, who merely states that the Eridanos was a tributary of the Iliissos. See, generally, Dörpfeld 1888.

40 Quoted below, p. 518.

41 On the location of the Gates of Diochares, see Travlos 1971, pp. 159–160. Apart from Strabo's location of the gates "near the Lykeion", they are mentioned by name in IG II2 2495, line 6 (ca. 334 B.C.): Ἀθηνᾶς τέλμα πρὸς ταῖς [πυλαῖς] ταῖς παρὰ Διοχάρῳ[ν] [κ. ι. .] βαλανδόν, which defines in this way a piece of property to be leased. The τέλμα of Athena refers to the dry moat that surrounded the circuit wall of the city's fortifications, as is clear from the discovery of a boundary stone, inscribed ὅρος τέλματος Ἀθηνᾶς, beside the moat outside the Dipylon Gate: Gruben 1964, p. 414; Travlos 1971, p. 158, fig. 229. IG II2 2495 was found beside the church of Agia Dynamis at the corner of Metropolis and Penteli Streets. A section of the moat was excavated in that same city block, but the moat was found to be interrupted at the southwest corner of that block (corner of Apollo and Penteli Streets), presumably where its line was crossed by a street leading outward from a city gate.

42 For the complex history of the Eridanos channel as it passes through the city wall at the Sacred Gate, see Knigge 1991, pp. 56–67.

width of 4.55 m and a depth of 2.08 m in its deepest section. It is divided down its center by a median wall, thus forming two parallel channels, both of which were found covered by large flat slabs resting on one side wall and on half the median wall (Pl. 100). Most of the cover slabs remained in place over both channels, except where a deep manhole had penetrated into the south channel from the 19th-century house above it; but a few of them had cracked and subsided into the mud filling the channel. The slabs varied in size, thickness, finish, and level, so that many appeared to be later replacements of original slabs. This was obviously the case for the two or three inscribed marble stelai used to cover some repair of the south channel in late antiquity, if not as late as the 19th century. Except for the obvious replacements, most of the cover slabs were of hard, tan poros, but some were very smooth on their upper surfaces whereas others retained a rough-picked finish. Some had their undersides hollowed out to reduce their weight. A few cover slabs of uniform thickness had dimensions approximating 2.00 m by 0.95 m; they may well have been installed at one time and survive from an early period of construction on the channel. It is worth noting that some of these slabs over the north channel had waterproof cement still sealing their joints, whereas the slabs over the south channel lay at a higher level, as if an attempt had been made at some period to deepen that half of the canal. Generally, the cover slabs of the south channel presented the appearance of haphazard repair and random replacement; this was especially true toward the eastern limit of the excavation, where both the cover slabs and walls of the channel showed signs of serious subsidence and repair probably as late as the 19th century.

The construction of the two channels reveals a complicated history that is not yet fully understood because it has been possible to clear only a short section of the river, about 18 m of the south channel and only 6 m of the north. If past experience with such subterranean hydraulic installations is a reliable guide, however, the exact history of alteration and repair to the great canal will be found to differ every few meters of its length. In the section so far exposed, the walls of both channels are constructed of beautifully squared poros ashlar blocks set in several courses, which rested on poros pavement slabs that were originally 0.20 m thick but are now almost completely eroded away in the south channel and heavily scored in the north by centuries of continuously flowing water. The depth of the south channel is 1.36 m, and it has an internal width to the median wall of 1.61 m. It is to be noted that this dimension is narrower than the width of 1.75 m measured in this same channel farther west, beside the Stoa Basileios. The widening of the channel observed there may be due to the fact that the Great Drain of the Agora emptied into the south channel at just that point (Fig. 1). The walls of the south channel consist of two courses of large, squared blocks totaling 1.16 m in height and topped by a third, lower course, 0.20 m high. Fragments of the original pavement slabs of yellow poros are preserved along the foot of the walls. Along the south wall the floor slabs were set adjacent to the face of the wall; those on the north side of the channel extended beneath the masonry of the median wall. Down the center of the channel the poros pavement had been completely eroded away, thus exposing the soft, bluish gray bedrock of the natural streambed.

The north channel of the masonry canal has been cleared only where its cover slabs had not been preserved, at the point where the river passes under the scarp of Hadrian Street. At this point the channel has an internal width of 1.52 m, but it was possible
to observe that immediately to the east of the excavated portion the channel has been reduced in width to 1.24 m. The narrowing of the channel was caused by the insertion of a secondary wall beside the median wall, which still supports a cover slab of shorter-than-normal length from some late repair. The north wall of the canal proved to be of even finer construction than the south and median walls (Pl. 102:a). It consisted of ashlar blocks of poros laid in four regular courses with carefully spaced joints, unlike the other walls, in which the blocks varied somewhat in size and the courses were not so regularly laid. The lowest course projected 0.12 m forward from the face of the wall and rested on poros pavement slabs laid with equal care and clearly uniform in construction with the north wall. In the limited area thus far exposed, this original pavement was found to be everywhere intact, and it formed an overall depth for the north channel of 2.08 m (Pl. 101:b). At both ends of the excavated part of the channel, poros floor slabs forming a later, secondary floor were preserved at a level 0.44 m higher than the original pavement. A layer of silt and gravel, which had gathered between the two sets of paving slabs, produced pottery of the last quarter of the 5th century B.C., by which date the raised floor of the channel should have been installed.\(^{44}\)

As the north wall of the channel is now preserved, the top of its uppermost course lies at a higher level (51.74 m above sea level) than the original ground level in front of the Stoa Poikile (51.60 m), which stands barely 4.00 m to the north. It seems likely that the highest course of the wall was added at the same time as the raised pavement slabs, in order to maintain the depth of the channel. This conclusion was corroborated by a trench dug between the steps of the stoa and the Eridanos canal to study the stratigraphic relation of the two monuments. The highest course of the wall proved to be much wider than the second course immediately below it. Moreover, the north face of the lower course was packed with clay, and the earth beside the wall appeared to be the refilling of a trench that disturbed a layer of waterproof cement found farther north extending to the steps of the stoa. The stratigraphy suggests that the area between the stoa and the river channel was carefully sealed with a layer of waterproof cement in the original construction. When the cement was disturbed in the later alteration, clay was packed against the north face of the channel and the wall was raised one course in height. The pottery recovered from the earth fill adjacent to the north face of the wall also dated to the late 5th century B.C.\(^{45}\)

It has already been observed that the ashlar masonry of the south and median walls is not so carefully constructed as that of the north wall. Although in the south channel some of the poros floor slabs have been completely eroded away by the running water, we have seen that sections of the pavement survived in a few places along the walls. Comparison of these with the floor slabs of the north channel reveals an interesting anomaly. In the south channel, the poros pavement was found to lie at an elevation of 50.38 m above sea level, that is, 0.28 m higher than the raised secondary floor of the north channel, which lies at an elevation of 50.10 m. That elevation in turn is precisely level with the natural bedrock

\(^{44}\) Pottery from the silt under the raised pavement, Lot BE 1388: 119 sherds dating to the last quarter of the 5th century B.C.

\(^{45}\) Pottery from fill adjacent to the north face of the north wall, Lot BE 1379: over 600 fragments, mostly coarse and nondescript, but a few pieces datable to the end of the 5th century B.C.
as exposed beneath the middle of the south channel. These circumstances suggest that what survives of the original canalization of the river, in this section of its course, are the lower three courses of the north wall and the earlier, lower pavement adjacent to it. By the late 5th century B.C. the river channel was greatly increased, perhaps nearly doubled, in width. The median wall was inserted down the middle of the widened canal to reduce the huge span otherwise required of the cover slabs, and the floor levels of the two channels, thus formed, were brought into closer conformity.

The Eridanos channels were evidently kept clear of silt throughout much of antiquity so that the river could flow freely. Below the mud and silt that clogged both channels was a layer of water-washed gravel partially covering the poros floor slabs at the bottom of the channels, and in the middle of the south channel the gravel was found to descend below the level of the poros pavement. This layer of gravel in the northern channel produced pottery exclusively of the 5th and 6th centuries after Christ. At that time the northern channel appears to have been filled in and abandoned, at least in this section of its length. It should be emphasized that the pottery fragments recovered from the river gravel had no admixture of Hellenistic or Classical sherds. This total absence of earlier pottery, taken together with the heavy water wear on the surface of the poros pavements in both channels, indicates that the canal was periodically cleaned in ancient times. The southern channel, on the other hand, although it produced nothing earlier than the Late Roman period, also yielded numerous Byzantine sherds in the lower part of its fill. There can be no doubt, then, that water still flowed freely through the southern channel in Byzantine times. Despite apparent efforts to keep the canal free from accumulating silt and debris, the water of the Eridanos was notoriously foul by the late Hellenistic period. Strabo, writing shortly after the turn of the millennium, quoted an earlier Hellenistic author on the subject (9.1.19, p. 397):

ότεν ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν πωταμών ὁ Καλλίμαχος γελανίων φησῖν, εἶ τις τοιούτως ἐγράφειν τὰς τῶν Ἀθηναίων παρθένους ἀναφέρων καθαρὰν γάλακτον Ἱριδανίου, οὔ οὖν τὰ βασικῆματα ἀπόσχοιν ἰδίως μὲν ἐν αἷς πηγαί καθαροὶ καὶ ποτίμοι ὑδάτος, ὡς φασίν, ἐκτός τῶν Διοχάρων ἐχαλθομένων πυλῶν, πλησίον τοῦ Δυσκελοῦ.

For example, in his Collection of the Rivers, Kallimachos says that it makes him laugh if anyone makes bold to write that the Athenian virgins “draw pure liquid from the Eridanos,” from which even cattle would hold aloof. Its sources are indeed existent now, with pure and potable water, as they say, outside the so-called Gates of Diochares, near the Lykeion.

This indictment of the river’s water, in contrast to Strabo’s remark about the springs at its source, forms an illuminating, if unsavory, commentary on the squalid conditions that must have obtained in some of the residential neighborhoods through which the Eridanos made its course across the ancient city. On the whole, the modern excavators were inclined to share the judgment of antiquity. Manholes of the early 19th century show

46 Pottery from the gravel layer at the bottom of the north channel, Lot BH 101: all Late Roman, mostly wall fragments of coarse ware, combed ware, spirally grooved ware, and various kinds of wheel ridging. No earlier pieces found.

47 Pottery from the gravel layer at the bottom of the south channel, Lot BH 102: mostly Late Roman coarse wares, but a few pieces of Byzantine brown and green glazed ware.
that the Eridanos still flowed with water until after the Greek War of Independence, and
the southern channel did not fill up until the latter part of that century. In fact, at the
time of excavation a small trickle still moved through the accumulated silt just beneath the
southern cover slabs. The nature of that silt, however, made it all too obvious that in the last
few centuries of its life the Eridanos channel had become one of the city’s principal sewers.
Excavation of the channel made it equally obvious that it had not been built as an ancient
cloaca but rather to canalize a constantly flowing watercourse beneath the city of Athens.
Strabo went on to argue that because the river was befouled with filth in Kallimachos’ day
did not mean it had always been that way, and his comments may be on the mark. When
the excavators had cleaned the silt from the southern channel, the water again flowed clear,
cold, and in great quantity. In order to carry out our exploration of the river channels,
it was necessary to employ constantly four electric pumps. These removed 30 cubic meters
of water per hour both day and night (720 m$^3$ per day) throughout the excavation season,
which coincided with the driest months of the year, between June and August.

The great masonry canal of the Eridanos River determined the siting of the Stoa
Poikile, which was laid out almost exactly parallel to it and barely 4.00 m distant from
its northern edge (Figs. 1, 2, Pl. 101:a). It is now clear that the stoa took its peculiar
orientation, northeast–southwest, from the preexisting line of the natural watercourse.
The close relation of the two structures, taken together with the fine masonry of the
channel, suggests that the river was first canalized as early as the second quarter of the
5th century B.C., at the same time as the heavy foundations for the stoa were being laid.
Whether or not the cover slabs of the channel were originally exposed to view is not clear,
but by the Early Roman period the slabs came to be covered by several layers of hard
road gravel forming the well-traveled street in front of the Stoa Poikile. 48 Between the stoa
and the river channel a sequence of stratified layers of gravel documented the history of
that street from the 5th century B.C. through late antiquity. After the 5th century B.C. there
were four principal chronological periods represented in the stratigraphy. A layer of the
late 4th century B.C. may represent a general raising of the ground level when the gate was
constructed at the southwest corner of the stoa. 49 Above this a layer of the 1st century B.C.,
which produced masses of Late Hellenistic pottery, is possibly to be associated with the
siege and conquest of Athens by Sulla in 86 B.C. 50 The Roman period was represented

48 Pottery from the layers of road metal over the cover slabs of the south channel, Lot BH 90: mostly
small fragments, including several pieces of Eastern Sigillata A (“Pergamene”) and other Early Roman
red wares datable to the 1st century B.C. or the 1st century after Christ. Lot BH 91: mostly small, much
broken fragments, including long-petaled moldmade bowls; Eastern Sigillata A; one rim, cf. Agora V, M352
(almost certainly intrusive). Lot BH 92: mostly nondescript Late Hellenistic but includes Coin BH-48:
AE, Athens, mid to late 20’s B.C. Athena r.; Rev. Athena striding r., to r., snake. Cf. Svoronos 1923–1926,
pl. 80, nos. 33–35.

49 Pottery from road layers of the late 4th century B.C., Lot BE 1377: kantharos handle, ribbed lower wall,
cf. Agora XII, no. 711. Lot BE 1378: small coarse sherds; lekane rim, cf. Agora XII, no. 1819. Lot BE 1383:
mostly late 5th century but includes lamp fragment, cf. Howland Type 25 A’. For description of
the Hellenistic gate at the corner of the stoa, see Shear 1984, pp. 19–24.

50 Pottery from the road layers of the Late Hellenistic period, Lot BE 1267: rim and wall Eastern Sigillata
by a layer of the 1st century after Christ and by numerous layers that gathered during the Late Roman period. At least one of the Early Roman layers of road metal in front of the stoa was composed of rounded cobblestones, and in the paved surface that they formed the passage of heavy wheeled traffic had worn deep ruts.

Lying on the preserved cover slabs of the north channel was a small section of foundations laid out in a circular arc (Pl. 99:b). These did not extend south of the median wall in the river channel and they disappeared beneath the north side of the excavation after describing an arc of about fifty degrees. The foundations were 2.45 m in thickness and consisted of two concentric bands of heavy concrete enclosing a series of rectangular poros blocks, almost certainly reused from some earlier monument. The structure appears to have been semicircular in plan, with its center at the south edge of the median wall. If this is correct, it would have had an internal diameter of 7.40 m (12.30 m on the exterior), and the outer circumference of the semicircle would pass 1.00 m south of the steps of the Stoa Poikile. The semicircular shape of the structure, its enormously heavy foundation, and its siting in obvious relation to the river channel all point to its identification as a nymphaeum. This is suggested also by an upright slab of reused marble built into the median wall about where the center of the semicircle would fall. The slab is pierced with three semicircular openings and appears as if it could form an egress directly into the south channel of the river for water overflowing from a fountain. Within the arc of the foundations was found a fill of dark earth mixed with broken bits of concrete that possibly represents debris from the pillaging of the monument in Byzantine times. The foundations lay partially over the cover slabs of the channel, but at the north they rested on layers of road gravel datable to the 3rd to 4th century after Christ. A disturbance in the surface of the road metal at this point may possibly have been caused by a foundation trench for the construction of the semicircular structure. This stratification points to a date in the 5th century after Christ for its construction, contemporary with the massive Late Roman remains of similar date encountered farther to the west.

At the eastern limit of the Eridanos channel within our excavation, a number of cover slabs of the south channel had been disturbed in the late 19th century, when this section of the river was still in use as a sewer for the houses of the neighborhood. Removal of these slabs in 1992 shed light on an interesting episode in the history of the Eridanos. The early German archaeologist Ludwig Ross explored the southern channel of the river in 1832

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and has left a vivid account of his adventure.\(^{53}\) Having descended seven meters deep in a manhole near the Metropolitan Cathedral, Ross traversed the canal beneath Pandrosos and Hephaistos Streets until he was forced by a collapse to surface near the church of Agios Philippos. Another manhole farther west, in the vicinity of what he calls the "Theseion Gardens", enabled him to reach the river again and thence to move eastward. At a point which he specified as under the first houses west of Agios Philippos, Ross described seeing a row of some twenty poros column drums of the Doric order set vertically in the north wall of the channel, spaced about 1.50 m apart. Our excavators have now exposed the first columns of this series. One drum, evidently dislodged by later digging in the 19th century, was removed from the channel. Two others are visible exactly as Ross described them at the eastern end of the exposed channel (Pl. 100:a). Two more were seen and recorded in place by intrepid excavators who crawled, like Ross, beyond the limit of the excavations. The Doric columns are of appropriate stone, dimensions, and workmanship to have come from the Stoa Poikile, and they were undoubtedly lifted from the stylobate of the stoa, not eight meters distant, and reused in late antiquity to support the median wall of the Eridanos canal.

**MIDDLE BYZANTINE BUILDINGS**

Throughout the area of the excavations, the latest surviving remains belonged to buildings of the Byzantine period that ranged in date from the 9th to the 13th century after Christ. Complex groups of small rooms, sharing party walls, bordered both sides of the north–south street, which is now known to have traversed the district from Archaic times to the end of the Middle Ages (Fig. 7). Some of these structures were certainly private dwellings, as is indicated by several courtyards with household wells, but others may possibly have been at least in part commercial or industrial in character. One building was undoubtedly a church, while part of another served at one period as a small chapel, both of which could be recognized with certainty on the evidence of burial cists beneath their floors. The Byzantine remains sprawled out in all directions beyond the limits of the excavations and thus gave the impression of a densely crowded urban environment to this district of mediaeval Athens. The newly excavated areas increased greatly in both size and complexity the Byzantine structures that had been explored in 1980–1982.\(^{54}\) In one or two instances, new rooms combined with others found previously to form more or less complete floor plans of houses, but in general it was not easy to tell where one building stopped and the next began. This was especially true in the central part of the area, along the east side of the street, where the Byzantine builders had frequently founded their walls upon the existing remains of earlier walls and so perpetuated the plans of buildings that receded back in time not only to late antiquity but to Roman and even Classical times as well.

\(^{53}\) Ross 1855, pp. 154–156.

\(^{54}\) For the Byzantine houses explored in 1980–1982, see Shear 1984, pp. 50–57.
Fig. 7. Actual-state plan of the excavated area, Byzantine levels
Houses West of the North–South Street

Along the western side of the street lay the remains of two small houses of which the walls were well enough preserved to yield restored plans with a considerable degree of probability.\textsuperscript{55} They occupied the eastern part of an isolated block that bordered the Panathenaic Way to the south and was bounded to the east and north by the main street of the district and a narrow passage running westward from it. In all their phases, of which at least three (and several subphases) could be clearly distinguished, the two houses were separated from each other by a party wall that divided the area roughly in half. The southern house (Fig. 9, Rooms 1–6, 13–15)\textsuperscript{56} consisted of small rooms, measuring 3–5 m in length and 2–3 m in width, ranged around the sides of an open central courtyard of irregular shape, which occupied the largest space of the house (Room 1). In an earlier phase, the courtyard had measured as much as 4.80 × 8.50 m (Fig. 8), but it was later subdivided and its northern end enclosed to form Room 6. Preserved thresholds indicated the positions of doorways giving access to the courtyard from Rooms 2 and 4, and the other rooms undoubtedly communicated through similar doorways, although their walls had not survived to sufficient height at the critical points for this to be determined with certainty. It is likely that the building had its principal entrance directly from the Panathenaic Way through Room 2 or 3, but unfortunately the southern exterior wall, though preserved at the southwest corner of the house, disappeared beneath the scarp of Hadrian Street before reaching Room 2.

The walls, which were roughly 0.50 m in thickness, were built uniformly of rubble masonry consisting of unworked field stones set in clay, and they occasionally incorporated a few squared blocks reused from some ancient building. The floors, where they were preserved, consisted of tamped earth or clay with no particularly firm surface. Only in the courtyard did the excavators encounter a long sequence of hard-packed clay floor levels. There was little in the way of interior installations to bear witness to the function of any given room. What survived were the ubiquitous pithoi, great coarse-ware jars, buried to their rims beneath the floors of rooms and used for the storage of commodities. Three such pithoi, measuring 1.15 m deep and 1.00 m in greatest diameter, formed a row along the north wall of Room 15, while single examples had been excavated earlier in all the rooms around the court except Rooms 13 and 14. A tile-lined well in the courtyard seems almost certainly to have functioned with the house, to judge by its position, but the tile lining suggests that the shaft had been sunk in Roman times, while at the time of excavation it was found to be full of Late Turkish pottery as a result of subsequent cleaning and reuse.

The earliest phase of the house was represented architecturally only by the southern and western walls of Room 13, as reused in Period II (Fig. 8), and by a parallel wall 0.60 m

\textsuperscript{55} The Byzantine remains along the west side of the street were excavated under the supervision of John Mck. Camp II (1980–1981, 1989–1990), Alison Adams Dickey (1980–1981, 1990), and Ione Mylonas Shear (1989).

\textsuperscript{56} The room numbers (1–10) shown on the plan, Shear 1984, p. 51, fig. 17, have been retained for convenience of reference both in the narrative account of the text and on the restored plans (Figs. 8, 9). The newly excavated rooms of both houses have merely continued the series in order, Rooms 11–15.
Fig. 8. Restored plan of western houses, Period II, showing preserved remains
Fig. 9. Restored plan of western houses, Period III, showing preserved remains
to the north found under the floors of Room 13. With these could possibly be associated a mass of broken roof tiles found at a similar level beneath Rooms 13 and 14, probably attesting the destruction of the house at this period. A general date for this first phase was provided by coins of Leo VI (A.D. 886–912), one of which was found amid the destruction debris under Room 14, while a similar coin came to light beneath one of the early floor levels of the courtyard (Room 1).57 In its second phase, the house was heavily rebuilt, and most of its interior partitions were realigned. At this point in its history, it is possible for the first time to recover something like a complete floor plan, and a suggested restoration of that plan is shown in Figure 8. Now the earthen floors of the house were established at a general elevation of 53.25–53.35 m above sea level. Floors corresponding to these levels were encountered in Rooms 1, 13, 14, and 15, while the lower, earlier doorway in the east wall of the courtyard had a threshold at 53.24 m. The reconstruction of the house took place sometime in the third quarter of the 10th century, as is indicated by coins of that date found under the floors of Period II in Rooms 2 and 15 and under the floor in Room 13, which covered the foundations of the first phase.58 Evidence for some alterations to the house, forming subphases of Period II, comes from earth floors in the courtyard and Room 13, which were raised to a level of 53.40–53.60 m.59 As a part of this intermediate phase, the east wall of the courtyard was shifted 1.00 m to the east, and thresholds in the doorways giving access from the court to Rooms 2 and 4 were raised to 53.58 m and 53.59 m respectively.

The architecture of Period III (Fig. 9) shows the realignment and rebuilding of walls at the southwest corner and in the western rooms (13–15). The courtyard was probably subdivided at this time to form Room 6, but its east wall, established anew in the remodeling of Period II, now apparently retained its earlier alignment. The doorways just mentioned were found blocked with rubble masonry, a sure indication that their thresholds were now


59 In Room 1, pottery from beneath floor at 53.52 m, Lot BE 9: brown-glazed brazier and jug; bowls with yellow glaze on white fabric; yellow glaze with incised decoration; coarse jar fragments. In Room 13, pottery from beneath yellow clay floor at 53.62 m, Lot BZ 78: Byzantine brown-glazed and coarse wares.
raised to accommodate the higher floors of Period III, but the doors remained in the same positions. The floor of the third phase rose nearly a meter above that of Period II and was now established at a general elevation of 54.20–54.30 m. Only in the three western rooms of the house did floors at that high level actually survive,\(^60\) for the whole eastern section had suffered drastic disturbance from the deep modern basements. As a result, precise evidence for the date of reconstruction in Period III was not found, but it is likely that Period III in the southern house was roughly contemporary with the later phase of the northern house, where the floors were raised to the same general level. It was in Period III that the group of three storage pithoi was set down into the raised floor of Room 15. One of the pithoi had its flat flagstone cover in place at the time of excavation, and its contents included parts of two late sgraffito bowls (Pl. 104:a, b) and a coin of Achaia struck by Guillaume de Villehardouin (A.D. 1245–1278).\(^61\) Although these objects probably did not find their way into the pithos until the abandonment of the house in the late 13th century, their presence here shows that it continued to be inhabited for some time after the Frankish occupation of Athens. The dwelling was evidently in ruins before the end of the 13th century, however, because the remains of the southern wall of Room 15 were covered by a clear robbing trench filled with soft, dark earth and debris that included an Athenian coin of Guillaume I de la Roche (A.D. 1280–1287).\(^62\)

The neighboring house to the north was roughly the same size as that just described, although it consisted of fewer rooms (Fig. 9, Rooms 7–12). The alignment of its walls and the stratigraphy of its floors reveal a sequence of phases closely analogous to that of the southern house. Its construction, too, was in every way similar. This house also bordered the main street to the east and a narrower alleyway of irregular shape on its northern side, from which a wide doorway gave access to the interior at the northwest corner of Room 10. During the earlier of its two architectural phases, which was evidently coeval with Period II of the south house (Fig. 8), the principal space of the building was a large, roughly trapezoidal courtyard (Room 8) measuring 8.90 × 6.00 m (Pl. 102:c). This was flanked on two sides by four small, roughly rectangular rooms (7, 9–11). A preserved

\(^{60}\) In Room 13, pottery from beneath floor at 54.30 m, Lot BZ 76: brown-glazed and coarse wares, industrial debris. In Rooms 14 and 15, pottery from Layer A beneath floor at 54.30 m, Lot BZ 51: Byzantine yellow-, green-, and white-glazed wares.

\(^{61}\) (a) P 31819: H. 0.055 m; est. Diam. 0.23 m. Sgraffito bowl. Full profile and about one-third of vessel preserved. Shallow bowl with broad outturned rim, low ring foot. In the center, a bird, crudely drawn, facing left; a leaf ornament in the field; several incised circles on rim. Yellow glaze over white slip; white slip on outside. Dark reddish buff clay. Cf. Frantz 1938, A74, p. 453. (b) P 31820: Max. p. dim. 0.07 m; Th. 0.011 m. Fragment of sgraffito bowl. Fragment from base, broken all around, foot broken. Inside, head of bird to right. Yellow glaze over white slip; unglazed outside. Dark reddish clay. Cf. Frantz 1938, A72, p. 452.


doorway gave access to the courtyard from Room 11 (Pl. 103:b), and the elevation of its threshold, 53.25 m, gave evidence that the floors of the earlier phase functioned at levels similar to those of Period II in the house next door. Earth floors at a general level of 53.20–53.30 m were preserved in Room 11 and badly disturbed in the area of the courtyard, while the threshold of the exterior doorway in Room 10, at 53.31 m, shows that this room also must have had its floor at a corresponding level during this phase of the house. The builders of the later phase had demolished the east wall of the courtyard to a level too low to preserve any evidence of doorways communicating with Rooms 7 and 9 during its first period, although the rebuilt western wall of Room 9 bordering Courtyard 8 had a wide doorway in Period III (Pl. 102:b). The south and west walls of the court, however, which served both periods of the house, stood to sufficient heights to be certain that no doors opened southward or westward. It is true that the northwest corner of the house lay buried beneath the high scarp of the excavation and could not be completely exposed, and so the possibility remains that another room might once have lain to the west of Room 11.

The principal feature of the courtyard during the earlier phase of the northern house was a well that provided abundant evidence for the use and destruction of this phase of the house. The well was covered by a large, squared, poros wellhead and a marble pulateal, both of which were found in situ (Pl. 103:a). Carved with fascia and ovolo at its rim, and with cyma reversa and half-round moldings at its base, the pulateal was obviously reused from an earlier Hellenistic or Roman well. Indeed, the inner circle of its rim was deeply scored with rope marks, some 25 in all, and they bear silent witness to the thousands of water jars that had passed its mouth over the centuries. In fact, as excavation of the stratified well deposit made clear, the mediaeval builders had found the well on the site with its headstone and pulateal intact, and they no doubt chose to build on the premises specifically in order to incorporate its ready water supply into their house. At a point 1.37 m below the Byzantine floors, the excavators encountered a cement bedding of appropriate size and shape to support the wellhead in its Roman position. Thus the mediaeval tenants of the site had simply to raise the wellhead to their new floor level, to line the top of the well with a collar of masonry supporting the raised wellhead, and to clean out the shaft to sufficient depth in order to draw water. When the well had been cleared to bottom, its shaft proved to be 0.75 m in diameter and 8.30 m deep, of which the upper 2.20 m below the mortar bedding was built up of rubble masonry, while the remainder of the shaft was lined with ten rows of circular terracotta well tiles, 0.38 m high, each row of tiles being separated from the next by a single course of brick work.

Within the well shaft, the stratified deposit produced two dumped fillings of debris that resulted from two distinct destructions, and these were separated by a filling that had accumulated during the Byzantine period of use. A smaller amount of fill at the very bottom of the shaft gave evidence for an earlier period of use of latest Roman date. The destruction of the Byzantine house left unmistakable signs at the top of the well shaft, where masses of stones and broken roof tiles, mixed with ash, crumbled lime mortar, and

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63 Room 11, pottery from beneath two earth floors at+ 53.22 m. and 53.10 m, respectively, Lots BZ 142, 143: brown-glazed ware; yellow- and green-glazed wares; yellow glaze on white fabric; coarse ware.
large chunks of broken household pottery, clogged the well to a depth of 3.00 m. Similar
debris also covered much of the central part of the courtyard (Room 8) to a depth in places
of 1.00 m above the earlier floor level, and layers of ash were found at a similar level in
Room 9. Characteristic of the fine ware from the dumped fill at the top of the shaft is
the bowl, Plate 104:f. Among the loose destruction debris, 1.10 m below the top of
the well, was found a coin datable to the period ca. A.D. 1030–1042, which must have
fallen in after the well had ceased to be used and had already filled with the debris of
the ruined house. The coin thus provides a firm terminus ante quem toward the middle of the
11th century for the end of the earlier phase. The life of the northern house in this
form seems to have covered somewhat less than a century, as is suggested by a coin of
Constantine VII, struck ca. 950–959, which was found under the early floor of Room 11
and yields a terminus post quem for its construction. Such a date for the construction of
the northern house agrees well with the numismatic evidence for the rebuilding of the
southern house in its second phase during the third quarter of the 10th century. During
this period of about 50 to 75 years, the courtyard well supplied the household with water,
and some two and a half meters of fill gradually accumulated in the lower shaft (~4.20
to ~6.75 m). The fill produced 20 whole pots to be associated with the period of use,
mostly amphorae, jugs, and canteens (Pl. 104:c, d) suitable for drawing water, as well as
a few lamps (Pl. 104:e). That they were found intact is, of course, a sure sign that
they fell into the well when it was full of water, whereas the 60 tins of broken fragments

Pottery from the destruction debris and ash in the courtyard, Lot BZ 185: brown-glazed ware; yellow-
and green-glazed wares. Shapes include lamps, chafing dishes, cooking pots, jars; much coarse ware with
large white inclusions. Pottery from the ash layer in Room 9, Lot BE 154: brown-glazed ware; yellow-
and green-glazed wares; coarse ware.

The well in the courtyard (Room 8) is Deposit J 3:4. P 31900 (depth 3.00 m): H. 0.10 m; Diam. 0.27 m.
Bowl. Full profile and over half the vessel preserved. High flaring foot; deep, incurving wall. Inside, light
yellowish green glaze; outside unglazed, decorated with incised squiggles. Porous white to light buff fabric,
with inclusions.

Coin BZ-131: AE follis. Byzantine Anonymous, Class B (ca. 1030/35–1042[?]). Bust of Christ facing;

This date, it should be noted, is just slightly earlier than the earliest material from the period of use of
the well in East Rooms 2 and 3 (Deposit J 3:1) immediately across the street. The period of use of Well J 3:1
was closely dated by numismatic evidence to the quarter century 1065–1092: see Shear 1984, pp. 55–56.
The pottery from these two well deposits is closely related.

facing; to r., bust of Romanus II; Rev. 4-line inscription. Cf. Grierson 1973, pp. 568–569, no. 27. Found
with pottery from beneath Floor 2, Room 11, Lot BZ 143.

(e) P 31839 (depth 6.78 m): H. 0.30 m; Diam. 0.235 m. Amphora. Intact. Globular body, rounded
bottom with dimple at center. High neck; flaring mouth; two vertical strap handles. Coarse, dark red clay
with large inclusions, mottled dark gray on surface. Cf. P 31260: Shear 1984, p. 55, note 113. (d) P 31850
(depth 4.83 m.): P.H. 0.25 m; Diam. (flat side) 0.20 m; Th. 0.16 m. Canteen. Complete except for lip.
Flat bottom; round body, flat on one side; the other side globular with dimple at center, surrounded by
a wavy line and four concentric grooves. Narrow cylindrical mouth; two strap handles. Coarse, reddish
brown clay with large white inclusions. (e) L 5943 (depth 4.65–4.85 m): H. 0.175 m; Diam. (base) 0.10 m.
Lamp. Complete except for chips. Single open saucer with pinched spout; high tapering stand with broad,
upturned base. Vertical strap handle. Saucer covered with brown glaze. Orange clay with gritty inclusions.
probably represent chiefly debris from the final destruction. The lower part of the well gave evidence of a much earlier destruction in the form of a second layer of broken roof tiles, including large pieces of cover and pan tiles of Late Roman type, which came to light at a depth of \(-7.00\) to \(-7.20\) m. The lowest meter of the shaft documented a previous period of use during the 6th century after Christ when a few water jars had gathered at the bottom. Once again, numismatic evidence provided an accurate indication of the date of the deposit. A coin of Justin I (A.D. 518–527) was found adhering to one of the broken roof tiles, while another coin of Justinian I, minted after A.D. 542, came from near the very bottom of the well.\(^{70}\)

A second phase of the northern house had its floor a meter higher than the first, and this agrees well with the floors of Period III in the southern house (Fig. 9). Floors at a general elevation of 54.30–54.35 m were found in Rooms 10 and 11, while in the courtyard (Room 8) the destruction debris of the earlier phase had been leveled off at about the same elevation and completely covered the puteal of the well.\(^{71}\) Most of the walls showed signs of rebuilding, and part of the courtyard was walled in at this time to form another room (12). The doorways in Rooms 10 and 11 were found blocked with rubble masonry, which probably indicates that they had new thresholds installed at a level corresponding to the new floors. The south wall of the courtyard, which stood in both periods of the house, received a new coat of stucco that was well preserved on the upper part of its north face and stopped at a point just below the level of the raised floor (Pl. 103:c). At this time, too, the great storage pithos was installed in Room 10, with its rim level with the new raised floor (Fig. 4). The jar itself, measuring 1.25 m deep and 1.00 m in greatest diameter, was of the same size and type as those buried beneath the floor of Room 15 in Period III of the southern house. Of a different type was the contemporary pithos sunk beneath the floor of Room 9 (Fig. 4, Pl. 102:b). This enormous storage bin was built up of masonry walls, 0.35 m thick, to a depth of 2.90 m from its rim and to a maximum diameter of 1.15 m. Lined with a thick coat of waterproof stucco, it probably served for the storage of olive oil or other liquid commodities. With respect to the date at which the reconstruction of the house was carried out, two coins datable to the last quarter of the 11th century provide a firm *terminus post quem*, since they came to light beneath the latest floors in Rooms 10 and 11.\(^{72}\) This is the most precise evidence available for the date of reconstruction of both houses in their last phases. It may be combined with the evidence for the abandonment of


\(^{71}\) Pottery from beneath floors at 54.30 m, Room 10, Floors II and III, Lots BZ 18–19: black and green painted ware. Room 11, Lot BZ 13: black and green painted ware, sgraffito, coarse ware. Courtyard (Room 8), ash layer below 54.20 m, Lot BZ 89: sgraffito, green-glazed ware, black and green painted ware.

the southern house in the late 13th century to suggest that their final period of occupation spanned almost two centuries altogether.

Houses East of the North–South Street

The north–south street that bisects the excavated area veers slightly westward in its northerly course, and this oblique line determined the orientation of buildings along the eastern side of the street from Classical to Roman times. The mediaeval structures in this area for the most part followed the orientation of the earlier buildings and in fact often made use of the well-constructed concrete walls of late antiquity. The orientation of the buildings ensured that only parts of some Byzantine rooms fell within the excavation. Other rooms had been completely destroyed by the deep basements and foundations of 19th-century buildings, and this modern disturbance caused the large barren area covering much of the northern part of the mediaeval plan (Fig. 7).

At the northernmost end of the section, however, just within the scarp of Hastings Street, there chanced to be preserved a complex of two rooms bounded on the northeast and northwest by graveled streets or alleyways. The principal room was large and rectangular, measuring 5.50 m in length and 2.60 m in width (Pl. 105:a), and the well-built rubble foundations for its northern angle plainly formed the exterior corner of the building. A second room to the southwest was equal in length to the first but only 2.00 m wide at its southeast end. An angle of wall projecting into the room from the southeast made the space L-shaped in plan, but its limits on the northwest fell beyond the excavation. This second area was evidently a courtyard, doubtless entered from the northwest alley, and was provided with two successive floors cobbled with smooth river pebbles. The higher floor, lying at an elevation of 55.06 m above sea level, corresponded with the terracotta lid over a large storage pithos set below the floor at the southern edge of the court. The lower floor, at a level of 54.97 m, was evidently raised and renewed after a short time, since so little fill had accumulated between them.

The adjacent room had access from the courtyard through two broad openings, each 1.55 m wide and separated by a square masonry pier 0.85 m wide. The dimensions are too great for ordinary doorways, and they were in all likelihood covered by open arches. In a later phase of the building the southeast opening was walled up, as can be inferred from the rubble foundation that filled the space between the supporting piers of the arch. The room functioned primarily as a storeroom, for the interior space was completely filled below the floor level with three enormous pithoi (Pl. 105:a). The northernmost, 1.55 m deep and 1.20 m in diameter, was very substantially built of thick, hard, lime mortar. The central storage bin was constructed of tile in its upper part and rubble masonry sealed with mortar below. It was so large, 2.45 m deep and 1.60 m in diameter, and set so close to the first pithos that the builders could not complete the circular plan at the bottom, and the

73 The northernmost area on the east side of the north–south street was excavated in 1992 under the supervision of John McK. Camp II.
74 Pithos 3 had a depth of 0.70 m and maximum internal diameter of 0.85 m.
75 Pottery from beneath cobbled floor at 55.06 m, Lot BE 1316: all coarse ware. Pottery from beneath lower cobbled floor at 54.97 m, Lot BE 1317: 3 fragments of brown-glazed ware; 3 white ware; 3 coarse ware with incised decoration.
circular wall of the first pithos bulged awkwardly into the circumference of the second. At the time of excavation the two pithoi contained little except fragmentary pottery, of which the latest pieces from the northern pithos were datable to the 12th century. Although it is difficult to imagine that the two were not in use at the same time, the latest pottery from the central pithos came down in date to the late 13th century. A third pithos filled most of the available space in the southern part of the room. Its mouth and upper part had been completely destroyed, and only the lowest meter survived of its masonry wall, 1.30 m in diameter and sealed with mortar. The fill of the southern pithos gave a more accurate indication of the date of its abandonment because it produced an unusual number of coins, 17 in all. Of this number 6 were legible, 1 coin of John II (A.D. 1118–1143) and 5 coins of Manuel I (A.D. 1143–1180). The dates suggest that this handful of coins probably found its way into the pithos by the late years of the 12th century.

It is difficult to know whether the three pithoi were ever in use at the same time, but if so, together they represent a very significant capacity, probably used for the storage of cereals in bulk. This purpose was greatly facilitated by the wide archways of the façade, which made it easy to transport the crops from the fields in large containers and to deposit them for storage within. The room is possibly to be understood as the principal storeroom on the ground floor of a two-story house, and living rooms on the floor above might have been approached by a stairway rising in the narrow space at the southeast side of the courtyard, where a light foundation was parallel to the exterior wall. Interpreted in this way, the building represents a type commonly seen in Greek vernacular architecture of all periods and still used in Greek villages until the last quarter century. As elsewhere among the Middle Byzantine structures in this area, both architecture and stratigraphy suggested at least two phases in the life of the building. The clearest indication was the two superimposed foundations for the exterior northeast wall of the storeroom. It is difficult to be precise about the chronology of these phases, however. The floor of the storeroom that functioned with the pithoi lay at an elevation of 55.08 m. Fragmentary pottery from above this floor descended into the 13th century; a date that seems to agree with the evidence of the pithoi. Below the floor none of the pottery appeared to be later than the 11th century. This date may be corroborated by the evidence of a coin that establishes a

76 Pottery from Pithos 1 (northern), Lot BE 1304: black and green painted ware, fine sgraffito, slip-painted wares, yellow- and green-glazed wares. Pottery from Pithos 2 (center), Lots BE 1305–1308: late sgraffito and incised wares, plain glazed wares, lamp fragments, coarse ware.


78 Pottery from fill above the floor at 55.08 m, Lot BE 1297: late sgraffito and incised wares, plain yellow- and green-glazed wares. Pottery from fill under the floor at 55.08 m, Lots BE 1299–1300: 7 brown-glazed fragments; 4 yellow glaze on white fabric; coarse ware with gouged and incised decoration.
terminus post quem in the first half of the 11th century for installation of the pithos at the southeast end of the courtyard.79

At the edge of the alley along the northeast wall of the building, there came to light a well that provided water for the neighborhood (Pl. 105:a). That the well was indeed located in a public passage, even if most likely a cul-de-sac, is plain from the sequence of hard-packed gravel surfaces that formed the unmistakable stratigraphy of a metalled road. The impression of public use will also emerge presently from the deposit within the well shaft, which seems incompatible with the goods of a single household. As was repeatedly the case in this district of mediaeval Athens, the Byzantine builders were spared the arduous task of sinking their own well shaft by the chance discovery of an earlier Roman well that could be cleaned out and restored to use as a source of water. This particular Roman well had first been used in the 3rd century after Christ, and its original wellhead of Hymettian marble was found in place. When the shaft was partially emptied for reuse in Byzantine times, its upper part was lined with a collar of rubble masonry, 0.90 m deep, in order to bring the top of the shaft up to the Byzantine ground level. The marble pateal of the Roman well was found reused upside down at the top of the collar. Below the wellhead the shaft was lined with 18 courses of circular well tiles, each measuring 0.60 m in height. Three such tiles, held together with lead clamps, enclosed the circumference of the shaft with a diameter of 0.78 m. Upon excavation, the well proved to have an overall depth of 15.00 m, including the 0.90 m of the Byzantine masonry collar at the top and 2.10 m below the tile lining at the bottom, which was sunk in the natural bedrock.

At a point 2.85 m below the marble wellhead the excavators began to remove the tumbled debris of a filling deliberately dumped into the shaft to put the well out of use. Great masses of broken bricks and tiles, mixed with ash and bits of crumbled plaster, alternated with layers of building stone. Rubble of this kind clogged the shaft for a depth of 4.00 m, and its great quantity implied the violent destruction of nearby buildings. The pottery also was broken into small fragments, as is characteristic of such dumped fills. Large amounts of black and green painted ware (Pl. 105:b, c) and of fine sgraftio ware show that the well was closed and abandoned by the second half of the 12th century.80 This date also agrees well with that given by the coins of Manuel I recovered from the southern pithos in the storeroom beside the well. Below the destruction debris was the filling that had accumulated in the shaft, to a depth of 6.00 m, during the Byzantine period.


80 The well is Deposit K 1:2. From the dumped fill at the top of the shaft, (b) P 32113 (depth 1.00–1.65 m); P.H. ca. 0.10 m; est. Diam. 0.27 m. Bowl, black and green painted ware. Nine joining fragments, one nonjoining, preserve about half of rim and part of wall. On a white ground, green and black spirals around the inside of the rim. Unglazed outside. Dark buff clay with inclusions. Cf. Frantz 1938, A18, p. 442. (c) P 32112 (depth 1.00–3.00 m); H. 0.048 m; Diam. 0.20 m. Plate, black and green painted ware. Eight joining fragments, three nonjoining, preserve full profile and about half of vessel. Low foot, vertical rim. On a white ground, green and brown spiral pattern on floor; a brown line at juncture of floor and rim; inside of rim green. Thin yellowish green glaze. Unglazed outside. Dark pinkish buff clay, with inclusions. For the shape cf. Frantz 1938, A33, p. 446, fig. 33; for the decoration on floor cf. Shear 1984, p. 56, note 116, pl. 16:i.
of use. This was quite different in character from the dumped fill, consisting of mud and water with few stones and no debris, but this section of the shaft was almost solidly packed with literally dozens of coarse-ware water jars of various shapes. Round-bodied amphoras (Pl. 106:a, b) predominated in the assemblage, and there were also a number of jugs (Pl. 106:c), flasks, and pitchers (Pl. 106:d). The shapes were almost exclusively limited to those that are useful for drawing water. Many pots emerged intact from the watery mud, and many others were lacking a single broken handle, which had served no doubt to lower the jar on the end of a rope and which broke under the weight of the water as the full vessel was being withdrawn. The fill was so deep and the jars so numerous that it seemed possible to discern a clear development in their shapes from lowest to highest. Detailed analysis of the material should provide close dating for this sequence of development, because a group of 30 coins was found scattered at various depths through the period-of-use fill. Twenty coins were in good condition and readily identifiable, and it was a remarkable piece of good fortune that, with a single exception, they were stratified in correct chronological sequence. All proved to be follies of Anonymous Byzantine type ranging in date from the late 10th century through almost the full length of the 11th century. Highest and latest was a group of 3: 1 each of Class K (A.D. 1085–1092) found at –8.15 m, Class I (A.D. 1075–1080) found at –8.45 m, and Class G (A.D. 1065–1070) found at –8.65 m. Lower down was a group of 5 coins found between –9.65 m and –11.35 m, of which 3 examples belonged to Class C (A.D. 1042[?]–1050) and 2 examples to Class B (A.D. 1030/35–1042[?]). From the lowest part of the period-of-use fill, between –11.50 m and –12.75 m, came the earliest coins, all 11 of Class A2 (A.D. 976[?]–1030/35). On the basis of this excellent

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81 From the Byzantine period of use, (a) P 32092 (depth 6.90 m): H. 0.275 m; Diam. 0.214 m. Amphora. Intact but cracked. Round bottom with central dimple; body cylindrical at midpoint; rounded shoulder. Neck wheel ridged. Vertical strap handles. Coarse, dark reddish brown clay with numerous inclusions. Closely similar to P 31260, Shear 1984, p. 55, note 113, pl. 16:e. (b) P 32099 (depth 12.60 m): H. 0.325 m; Diam. 0.23 m. Amphora. Complete except for part of one handle and rim; small hole in bottom. Rounded bottom with central dimple; slightly flaring body; rounded shoulder. Neck and rim vertical. Grooves on neck and shoulder. Coarse brown clay with large inclusions. (c) P 32084 (depth 7.15 m): H. 0.205 m; Diam. 0.147 m. Jug. Intact except for chips from the rim. Flat bottom, rounded body and shoulder; narrow neck flaring to plain rim. Vertical strap handle. Coarse, dark reddish clay with numerous large inclusions. (d) P 32077 (depth 8.15 m): H. 0.242 m; Diam. 0.175 m. Pitcher. Intact. Recessed bottom; ovoid body; trefoil rim; vertical strap handle. Incised grooves on shoulder; ridging on rim. Coarse, dark reddish brown clay with inclusions.


numismatic evidence, it is clear that the Byzantine use of the well began about the turn of the millennium or a little later and continued until nearly the end of the 11th century. Since the destruction debris at the top of the shaft was probably more than half a century later than this, one presumes that the upper 7.00 m of the well were periodically cleaned out.

At the very bottom of the well, and separated from the Byzantine fill by 0.30 m of mud, was a small amount of undisturbed accumulation, 0.85 m deep, from the original Roman period of use. Once again the character of the assemblage made it plain that the fill had gathered during use. Noteworthy items from the Roman deposit were several micaceous water jars (Pl. 106:e), 2 lamps (Pl. 106:f, g), 7 bone dice, and some two dozen coins. The coins ranged widely in date across the 2nd and 3rd centuries after Christ. Earliest were 3 sestertii of Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), worn almost flat, and a denarius of Marcus Aurelius; but the Roman period of use continued until late in the 3rd century, as indicated by an Athenian coin in unworn condition and datable to the period A.D. 264–267.

The Unidentified Byzantine Chapel

Farther to the southeast along the main north–south street was a small two-room structure of Middle Byzantine date, whose builders made use of preexisting walls built in the solid rubble and concrete fabric of late antiquity (Figs. 7, 10, Pl. 107). These two parallel Late Roman walls became the exterior side walls of the building, but the interior was divided by a partition of much cruder rubble construction without any use of mortar. The plan consists of two adjacent rooms of equal width, of which the eastern was slightly deeper than the western, although not so well preserved. The western room


87 The remains of the Byzantine chapel were excavated under the supervision of John McK. Camp II in 1992 and Catherine Keesling in 1993. For earlier exploration of Byzantine houses farther to the southeast, see Shear 1984, pp. 50–57.
measures 3.30 m in width between the reused Roman walls and 2.45 m in internal depth. A tile pavement was partly preserved in the western room at an elevation of 54.32 m above sea level, and where the tiles themselves had been broken and lost, some of the cement bedding in which they were laid survived (Pl. 107:a). Against the north wall of the room and in the southeast corner were two tile-lined cists, about 0.40 m deep, both of which had been set down through the preexisting tile floor of the room. At the time of its discovery, the cist against the north wall was covered at floor level with large pieces of roof tiles. Both receptacles were ossuary cists and contained a wide variety of human bones representing the skeletal remains of several individuals, including children. Deep beneath the southwest corner of the room, and nearly 1.00 m below the tile floor, was another burial of a single individual placed in extended position with the head oriented toward the west. This burial was completely covered with curved roof tiles propped against each other, and the interment seems to have been made before that phase of the building which used the tile pavement.

The discovery of human burials leaves no doubt about the identity of the building as a small chapel. Its structural remains should, therefore, be interpreted in terms of the

88 Beneath the tile floor, another floor of white lime mortar, dating to a slightly earlier phase of the building, was preserved in places at an elevation of 54.23 m.
simplest components of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture. Thus the western room can be recognized as the narthex, with entrance directly from the north–south street. To the east of the interior partition were the naos and bema in diminutive form. The east end of the chapel was terribly mutilated by all manner of late disturbances, but it was possible to recognize a small segment of foundation for a single semicircular apse, which would have formed the eastern termination of the little building and would have given it an overall length of about 7.00 m. It will be observed that the church is oriented with its walls aligned considerably north of east, but this is satisfactorily accounted for by the builders’ decision to make use of preexisting Roman masonry for its exterior walls. On either side of the apse and against the exterior walls were found rectangular footings for masonry piers, as if buttresses had been erected to shore up the structure of the chapel during the later years of its existence. The only architectural feature to survive in the eastern half of the building was another large stone-built burial vault that had been greatly disturbed in later times. Traces of plaster on the rubble face of the foundation separating the narthex from the naos gave evidence of a vaulted cist, 1.15 m wide and with its floor 1.36 m below the floor of the church (Pl. 107:b). Near the bottom, its side walls were partially preserved and extended eastward for at least 1.55 m. Thus the burial vault occupied most of the available space under the floor of the naos, and the bema, from which burials were excluded, was confined to the space of the apse alone. No doubt the stone-built cist was once filled for most of its depth with the bones of the dead, but only the burials laid directly on its plastered floor chanced to survive at all. Here was found a mass of human bones, much broken and disturbed and preserved in very brittle and friable condition.

Some slight traces indicated that the building had at least two architectural phases. The interior partition certainly revealed two periods of construction with slightly different alignments. The tiled pavement of the narthex, at a level of 54.32 m, agreed closely with the floor levels of the third period in the houses across the street to the west; beneath this floor were found two clay floors, one of mortar and one of clay, 0.10 m and 0.15 m deeper, respectively. Not much can usefully be said about its date of construction, however. All the pottery recovered from beneath the floor of the narthex was either coarse ware or the plain brown-glazed ware characteristic of 10th-century deposits, but the structure can hardly have been in use that early as a church. Among the bones in the burial vault under the naos were some fragments of the late 13th or early 14th century. This date may possibly be corroborated by a coin of Charles II d’Anjou (A.D. 1285–1287) that was found on the south side of the narthex but in a spot where the tile floor had not been preserved.

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89 Pottery from beneath the tile floor of the narthex, Layer A (54.32 m), Lot BE 1290: 4 brown-glazed fragments; pieces of wall plaster. Layer B (54.23 m), Lot BE 1291: brown-glazed ware; one white-ware fragment; one yellow-glazed fragment. Layer C (54.15 m), Lot BE 1292: brown-glazed ware, white ware, incised coarse ware, Late Roman combed ware; thick, white wall plaster.

In the extreme southeast corner of the excavated area, the Middle Byzantine levels brought to light the remains of another small church. A glance at the plan of its surviving foundations (Figs. 7, 11) reveals at once that the church had a long life beset by many vicissitudes. Although several phases in its history can be distinguished, the architectural remains were so exiguous that a detailed reconstruction of the building in any period must remain highly conjectural. The preserved remains at the time of excavation were in every case the lowest foundations, well beneath the floor of the building, which had been completely destroyed, as will be seen, by the builders of the deep basement of a 19th-century house (Pl. 108:a). Everywhere within the foundations rectangular stone-lined cists, their sides and floors plastered with stucco, honeycombed the interior space. The excavators cleared eight of these structures, which were plainly of different sizes and periods, but all had served as burial vaults and were found packed with masses of neatly arranged human bones, representing in every instance the skeletal remains of many
different individuals (Pl. 108:c). In fact it was the discovery of the ossuary cists that first alerted the excavators to the likely presence of a church on the site.91

What survived of the architecture of the building consisted of part of a central apse on the east side, walls evidently defining part of the nave, and a broad narthex on its west side. The northern part of the church chanced to lie directly above the channel of the Eridanos River, evidently unbeknown to the Byzantine builders; this happenstance caused the northern part to be heavily destroyed because the 19th-century builders sank their foundations to the cover slabs of the river channel. The southern side of the church extended beneath the scarp of Hadrian Street and thus could not be cleared. It is to be noted that the burial cists in the west half of the nave, as well as its north foundation, all share an orientation a few degrees north of east, whereas the foundations for the apse and narthex were oriented exactly with the compass points. These differences in orientation plainly distinguish two principal phases in the architectural history of the building, but as will emerge presently, it will be necessary to divide each of those major phases into two separate subperiods, which thus give rise to the four restored plans in Figure 12.

The principal Middle Byzantine church is in fact the second period of the building, representing an enlargement of the structure and designated as Phase II in Figure 12, where it is restored on the analogy of numerous contemporary examples still standing in Athens. The overall length from the west wall of the narthex to the projection of the apse was 11.00 m, and it is here restored as 9.20 m wide from north to south. The small scale of the building and its rectangular plan, with dimensions tending toward square, are typical features of Athenian churches of this period. Closely similar are the oldest sections of the Agioi Asomatoi (exterior dimensions 10.50 × 7.50 m) and the Katholikon of Moni Petraki (exterior dimensions 11.30 × 9.00 m).92 The west wall of the nave preserves the foundation for a projecting pilaster, and in an answering position at the south side of the bema is the footing for a heavy masonry pier. The alignment of these two piers suggests the restoration of a single freestanding column midway between them, although any masonry base to carry such a column has been obliterated by the digging of a later ossuary cist. The column and piers would doubtless have carried arches separating the central nave from a narrower side aisle to the south, and an identical side aisle has been restored on the north side of the nave. The scheme of the plan, with a single column between piers, finds close analogy in the little church of Agios Ioannis o Theologos or in the original form of the church of the Taxiaruchs.93 Unlike those churches, however, ours can hardly be restored with a superstructure of cruciform shape and central dome, for the supporting piers and columns cannot be restored so that they fall at the corners of a perfect square,

91 The remains of the church of Agios Nikolaos were excavated under the supervision of Ione Mylonas Shear during the seasons of 1990–1992.
92 For the Agioi Asomatoi, see Soteriou 1929, p. 92, fig. 100; Mommsen 1868, no. 117, p. 101; Biris 1940, no. 88. For the Katholikon of Moni Petraki, see Orlandos 1933, pp. 125–128, fig. 158.
93 For Agios Ioannis o Theologos, see Soteriou 1929, p. 74, fig. 68; Mommsen 1868, no. 74, p. 71; Biris 1940, no. 24. For the original form of the Taxiaruchs, see Soteriou 1929, p. 92, fig. 102; Mommsen 1868, no. 101, p. 85; Biris 1940, no. 105. Cf. also the same plan in the church of unknown dedication, Soteriou 1929, p. 87, fig. 91.
Fig. 12.Restored plans of the church of Agios Nikolaos
as is uniformly the case with such domed cruciform churches. The surviving segment of foundation for the central apse might be thought from the plans to have been polygonal on the exterior, but the apparent angles are actually far too wide to restore it with the three-sided exterior most frequently found in Athenian churches. In fact the preserved foundation is more easily restored as carrying a semicircular apse, in which case the smaller subsidiary apses of the side aisles should likewise be restored with curvilinear exteriors. Although this form of apse is far rarer in Athenian churches of this period, several examples of churches with three semicircular apses may be cited as parallels for the reconstruction here proposed. This arrangement is found on buildings smaller than ours, such as the Metamorphosis tou Soteros on the north slope of the Akropolis and the refurbished Agios Nikolaos Rangavas. It was used also on the much larger church of Agia Aikaterini and in the original section of the Katholikon of Moni Petraki.

As noted above, the church in this form comprised a second, enlarged phase in the life of the building. This conclusion emerges from the fact that the earliest burial lay beneath the west wall of the narthex. That wall covered the eastern half of the grave in such a way as to leave no room for doubt that the interment preceded the construction of the wall (Fig. 11). Unlike the later ossuary cists within the church, this early burial was a single interment. The deceased was laid at the bottom of a deep trench evidently dug down from above, for the skeleton of a male lay directly on the flat stone cover slab of the Eridanos channel. At the bottom of the trench, the deceased was placed on his back with forearms folded across his waist, his feet pointing due east and his head due west (Pl. 108:b). The burial was then covered with large terracotta roof tiles before the trench was filled up. Sometime after the construction of the narthex wall, a second individual burial, with the skeleton in a similar extended position, was made at a higher level just west of the wall and laid out parallel to it, with the feet pointing south and the head pointing north. Although no independent evidence was found for the date of the first burial, fragmentary pottery found in association with the second consisted of sgraffito ware and black and green painted ware characteristic of the 12th century. Further evidence for the chronology of the church came from the fabric of the narthex wall itself. As was the case with many walls of 12th-century date in the area of the Agora, the builders of the narthex incorporated in their structure ancient marble blocks evidently scavenged from the ruins of nearby Classical buildings. At the northwest corner of the narthex and at the midpoint of its west wall were a Doric column drum and a Doric capital. Both were complete blocks, the drum being the uppermost in a shaft of which

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94 Metamorphosis (exterior dimensions 10.50 × 6.50 m): Soteriou 1929, pp. 74–75, fig. 71; Mommsen 1868, no. 2, p. 16; Biris 1940, no. 110. The original eastern part of Agios Nikolaos Rangavas measured ca. 10 m by 7.80 m: Soteriou 1929, p. 94, fig. 106; Mommsen 1868, no. 24, p. 27; Biris 1940, no. 21.

95 The old original core of Agia Aikaterini measures 15.00 m by 9.25 m: Soteriou 1929, p. 94, fig. 108; Mommsen 1868, no. 65, p. 65; Biris 1940, no. 7. For the Katholikon of Moni Petraki, see Orlandos 1933, pp. 125–128, fig. 158.

96 The early burial covered with roof tiles is Deposit K 4:1. Pottery from around the grave, Lot BH 89: mostly Late Roman; some Byzantine coarse ware; one fragment of green-glazed ware possibly dating to the 11th century. Pottery from around the later burial (parallel to the narthex wall), Lot BH 14: mostly coarse ware but includes one fragment of sgraffito ware and one fragment of black and green painted ware.
the upper diameter conformed perfectly to the diameter of the capital; on the basis of their dimensions both blocks could be assigned to the Temple of Ares. A date in the second half of the 12th century, suggested by the use of such ancient spolia, is corroborated by the fragmentary pottery likewise recovered from the fabric of the narthex walls during their demolition. From both the west and north walls came sherds of sgraffito and incised wares, among the latest of which should be the medallion of an incised bowl depicting an animal, possibly a horse, running left (Pl. 108:d). Two coins found immediately under the Doric column drum at the northwest corner provide a definite terminus post quem in the last quarter of the 11th century.

The evidence of both burials and of the stratigraphy shows that the original foundation of the church should be dated to the earlier part of the 12th century or even to the very end of the 11th, but little can usefully be said about its original architectural scheme. In Figure 12, this hypothetical first phase is restored with the simplest elements of Byzantine ecclesiastical architecture: a single aisle without interior supports for the nave and a single semicircular apse for the bema. This restoration makes use of the foundations for the west wall of the nave, for the central apse, and for the pier at the south side of the bema; if this is correct, the external dimensions of the little church would have been 7.80 m by 4.75 m. Simple chapels of this type and scale abound in Athens and throughout the country districts of Attica, although most of the surviving examples are of later date. Close parallels are to be found in the church of Agia Dynamis on Metropolis Street (external dimensions 9.00 × 5.00 m) and Agios Demetrios Loumbardiaris on the Pnyx Hill (external dimensions 7.80 × 4.20 m). It must be emphasized, however, that

97 A 4805: H. 0.48 m; W. of abacus 1.18 m; H. of abacus 0.16 m; H. of echinus 0.22 m. Doric capital. Most of capital and full profile preserved, badly broken on one side. Vertical abacus; echinus almost straight sided with curve at top; at bottom of echinus, four annulets above top of flutes. On top, a circular cutting from secondary reuse in mill or olive press. (Capital apparently set in Byzantine wall and both sides hacked off in place. Many joining fragments found built into wall and in associated fill.) White Pentelic marble.

A 4806: H. 0.795 m; upper Diam. 0.815 m; lower Diam. 0.88 m. Doric column drum. Complete, including all twenty Doric flutes. In top surface, later cuttings from secondary use; at center, circular cutting, 0.22 m in diameter; flanked by two rectangular cuttings (0.15 × 0.04 m); at edge of top surface, two deep rectangular cuttings (0.19 × 0.12 × [depth] 0.25 m) equidistant between smaller rectangular cuttings and opposite each other. White Pentelic marble. Cf. McAllister 1959, pp. 12–16, 57, fig. 23.

98 P 31971: Diam. of medallion 0.069 m.; max. dim. 0.086 m. Medallion of incised bowl. Broken all around. Trace of ring foot on underside. In medallion, a horse(?) running to left; stylized leaves in front and behind head. Pale orange clay; pale yellow glaze inside; dark mustard yellow on incised background. The style of drawing similar but somewhat earlier than Frantz 1938, A88, p. 455, dating to the mid 13th century. Found with pottery from demolition of the west wall of the narthex, Lot BH 82: sgraffito ware and many other glazed fragments. Pottery from the fabric of the north wall, Lot BH 83: many glazed-ware fragments; black and green painted ware; coarse ware.


100 Agia Dynamis: Soteriou 1929, p. 99, fig. 117; Mommsen 1868, no. 146, p. 122; Biris 1940, no. 53. Agios Demetrios Loumbardiaris: Soteriou 1929, p. 103, fig. 126; Mommsen 1868, no. 51, pp. 52–54; Biris 1940, no. 127.
this conjectural restoration comprises the architectural minimum. It may well be that the two side aisles, as shown in the restoration of the second phase, were actually part of the original plan, and the only subsequent enlargement was the addition of the narthex at the west end of the building. Whatever may have been the exact date and architectural form of the first church, it is of no little interest to observe that its foundations were everywhere set down on the ruinous remains of earlier domestic architecture. Scraps of earlier walls with different alignment from the church came to light at several points around the narthex, beneath the south side of the nave, and in the area of the apse. The foundation for the apse actually rested on the partially demolished wall of an earlier pithos, while a large, round pit below the northeastern part of the bema may have resulted from the destruction and removal of a similar pithos.

At some time in the 13th century the church evidently suffered such grievous damage that it had to be rebuilt from its lowest foundations. For this third period in the history of the building, the local congregation evidently did not avail themselves of the expert services of a master builder. The crude realignment of its walls, the jarring asymmetry of its plan, and the miserable construction of its rubble foundations probably speak all too accurately of the low estate to which the fortunes of Athens had fallen in the early years of the Frankish occupation. The basic scheme of the plan was carried over from its predecessor, a nave with central apse and two side aisles at north and south separated from the nave by single columns centered between projecting masonry piers (Fig. 12). Only the central section of the west wall and the pier at the south side of the bema retained their original alignment, however. All other walls and piers show an awkward reorientation by several degrees, so that a noticeable change of direction was introduced into the line of the west wall. Foundations for the piers and column of the north side aisle in this phase were incorporated in the later rubble wall that closed the openings, and they exhibit a reasonably careful replication of the earlier plan. The preserved masonry footing for the southern column was awkwardly misaligned with its eastern pier, and the effect of the reorientation of the building appears most drastically in the asymmetry of the southern side aisle. There is no evidence to suggest how the apse was handled in the third phase, but the curious doubled foundation for the east wall might have supported a semicircular apse of greatly reduced scale, as shown in the restored plan (Fig. 12).

The five largest burial vaults, across the western half of the church and in the eastern half of the south side aisle (Pl. 108:c), all were constructed and filled during the third phase. Their stone-lined walls conform to the reduced size and reoriented alignment of the building, and together they occupy nearly all the available space outside the bema. Unfortunately, the repeated opening of the ossuary cists, carried out as it was beneath the pavement of the standing church, did not occasion the intrusion of broken pottery, coins, or other objects that could shed any light on the chronology of this phase. A layer of the street west of the church produced a single coin of Achaia struck by Guillaume de Villehardouin during the years A.D. 1256–1259, and this was found at an elevation appropriate to the third phase.101

layer of the street and the foundations of the building. There is some slight evidence to show that the burial vaults were already in use during the mediaeval period. The cist under the eastern half of the south side aisle produced among its bones two fragmentary glazed bowls of a type found in Athenian contexts of the late 13th or beginning of the 14th century. The glaze on the inside of the bowls had been discolored in a way that suggested their use for burning incense at the time of one of the burials. Their presence here in association with a time of use is important because it establishes a *terminus ante quem* for the construction of the church in the third period.

Subsequent alterations to the fabric of the building appear as a fourth and final phase in the restored plan (Fig. 12), although there is no certainty that all of these were carried out as a single refurbishing of the little church. Indeed, the foundations tell a story not of refurbishing at all but rather of creeping decrepitude interrupted by occasional improvised repairs, which sought to hold off the inexorable march of dilapidation, perhaps over the course of several centuries. The visible structural changes all appear to have been intended to aid in shoring up the weakened fabric of the walls and roof. A rubble wall was carried across the openings between column and piers of the north side aisle, and a transverse wall seems to have divided the former aisle into two separate side chapels. A square footing of heavy masonry plainly supported a column or pier roughly aligned with the transverse wall and with the south side of the apse. Placed as it was at about the midpoint of the reduced nave, this foundation appears to have carried the only interior support in the last phase of the life of the building. Although it possibly staved off the total collapse of the roof, its builders abandoned any attempt to maintain the architectural integrity of the building as a Byzantine church. Construction of this masonry footing disturbed the east end of an earlier burial vault in the middle of the nave, and after this repair three smaller cists were opened up so as to store the bones of the dead in almost every available space beneath the floor of the church.

There is no evidence available to indicate at what date the last repairs were introduced into the church. What is certain, however, is the long, hard life of the building after the reconstruction of the fourth period. As will be seen presently, the church continued to function in some form and on the same site for more than five and a half centuries before it met with its final destruction. That destruction was a violent one and is to be attributed to one of the most devastating episodes in the history of Athens, the year-long siege of the Akropolis from June 1826 to June 1827 during the Greek War of Independence. The Turkish forces under Reshid Pasha "Kiutayhe" had recaptured the lower town north of the Akropolis and driven the Athenians, including women and children, to seek refuge

pl. XII, no. 6; *Agora* II, no. 1933. Found together with pottery from Layer IA, Lot BH 13: wide variety of Byzantine glazed wares, including sgraffito and incised wares.

102 P 32067: Max. dim. 0.136 m; P.H. 0.033 m; Diam. (foot) 0.072 m. Fragmentary bowl. Foot and center of floor preserved. Ring foot concave on underside; flaring lower wall. On inside, poorly preserved yellow glaze. Coarse, orange fabric. P 32068: Max. dim. 0.116 m; P.H. 0.048 m; Diam. (foot) 0.075 m. Fragmentary bowl. Foot and center of floor preserved. Ring foot concave on underside with central nipple; flaring lower wall. On inside, green glaze. Near center of floor, graffito: Z inscribed before glazing and firing. Coarse buff clay. I am indebted to Eric A. Ivison for examining both pieces from the burial cist and for suggesting their chronology and interpretation.
with the Greek garrison on the citadel under the command of Gouras. During the
desperate defense, the Greek cannon repeatedly raked the abandoned houses of the town
in an effort to break the Turkish siege. Much of the quarter north and west of the Akropolis
was laid waste in these harrowing months, and among the many buildings that the Greek
gunners reduced to rubble was the little church that has now come to light in our most
recent excavations. A grim reminder of the destruction wrought by the siege is an iron
cannon ball found beside the north wall of the church. In order to have been found in
this position, the cannon ball was probably fired from one of the guns on the Akropolis and
very likely scored a direct hit on the roof of the church.

The destruction of the church and, indeed, the identification of the saint to whom
it was dedicated find further documentation on the earliest plans of Athens. The surveying
for these plans was done in the 1830’s for the government of the newly independent Greek
state, which sought to turn a devastated village into a suitable European royal capital for
King Otho of Bavaria. The earliest plan was the project for the new capital prepared by
Stamatios Kleanthes and Edward Schaubert in 1831, which carefully recorded the ancient
monuments and many churches in the area of the old town around the Akropolis and laid
out the boulevards of the new city farther to the north and east. This plan marked
the position of a church on the western corner of Hadrian Street and St. Philip’s Square,
just opposite the church of Agios Philippos, and it bears the label Agios Nikolaos. More
precise documentation comes from the plan of Friedrich Stauffert of 1836. This plan was a
detailed topographical survey of existing Athenian property lines, drawn at 1:1,250, in order to determine which private properties needed to be expropriated for
the new straight lines of Hermes, Metropolis, Aiolos, and Athena Streets. Stauffert’s
survey paid special attention to the condition of Athens’ 149 known churches, and
distinguishing marks indicated those which were left in ruins by the War of Independence
and those which came through unscathed or could easily be repaired. At the same
corner of Hadrian Street and St. Philip’s Square, which Kleanthes and Schaubert had
labeled Agios Nikolaos, Stauffert’s plan indicates a ruined church, which is plainly to be
identified with the newly excavated foundations. The condition of the churches was a

103 For a vivid eyewitness account of the siege, of the various failed efforts to raise it, and of the final
capitulation of the Greek garrison, see Finlay 1877, pp. 398–438; Phillips 1897, pp. 204–222.
104 IL 1790: Diam. 0.16 m. Weight 14.250 kgs. Cannon ball. Intact, with slight rust and corrosion.
Spherical iron ball.
105 On the devastation of Athens and the conditions in the town during the first years of independence, see
Biris 1966, pp. 9–18.
106 For the characteristics of the original plan (now lost), the extant copy at 1:2,000, and a variant at
1:4,000, see Biris 1933, pp. 11–15; Biris 1940, pp. 10–15. The careful labeling of the churches and ancient
monuments on both the original and the copies was a primary source for Mommsen’s catalogue: Mommsen
1868, pp. 9–12. The plan is well illustrated and its vicissitudes discussed in Biris 1966, pp. 26–36.
107 Extant versions of the plan by Kleanthes and Schaubert show a church in this position and are inscribed
ΑΓ ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ: Mommsen 1868, no. 126, p. 106; Biris 1940, no. 93, pp. 36, 51.
108 The plan is described by Biris (1940, pp. 16–17), and the four sheets on which it is drawn are illustrated
(Biris 1966, pp. 54–57). The sheet covering the quarter north and west of the Akropolis appears, ibid., p. 55.
109 The known mediaeval churches of Athens are catalogued by Biris (1940, pp. 45–54) and listed by
subject of special interest at this time because the government planned to raise funds for the expropriations by the sale of ecclesiastical properties that had been totally destroyed during the war. In order to assist the implementation of this program, Stauffert annotated his plan with dimensions for the ruined churches that were candidates for sale. Thus the ruined church on Hadrian Street is recorded as 7.50 m by 8.50 m, dimensions which agree well with the excavated foundations of our church in its final form. Moreover, this plan to sell off parcels of land occupied by destroyed churches explains how it came about that a private house of the mid 19th century was built on land on which a church had stood for seven hundred years. At some time in the 1830's or early 1840's, the ruins of the church were completely obliterated by the excavation of a deep basement for the new house, and the little church of Agios Nikolaos on Hadrian Street became one of 84 Athenian churches that disappeared in these years.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS


110 See Biris 1940, p. 36. The church is marked as ruined and as having these dimensions, but no name appears on the site.

111 It is worth noting that the land on which the church had stood was sold off before 1846. In that year another topographical survey was carried out for the government by a group entitled the Committee of Officers and Architects ("Επιτροπή Αξιωματικών και Αρχιτεκτόνων): Biris 1940, pp. 17–18. On that plan, no church is shown in the block west of St. Philip's Square on Hadrian Street, since the ruins of the building had evidently disappeared (ibid., p. 36).
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Sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania from the south, showing Early Roman temple aligned with Archaic altar

a. Foundations for prostyle porch from the south, with Archaic altar in foreground

b. Foundations for prostyle porch from the west

a. Southeast corner of temple from the east, showing return of podium steps

b. Foundations of temple from the west, showing west flank in foreground and rubble footing for crosswall

a. Detail of preserved steps at southeast corner of temple, from the southeast

b. Detail of preserved steps, from above, showing weathering lines on corner block of second step

c. Ionic column shaft A 4643

d. Ionic column base, in situ, in secondary position of late antiquity

a. Agora A 4643, detail of anthemion

b. Erechtheion, column and capital of north porch

c. Temple of Roma and Augustus, detail of anthemion

d. Erechtheion, column and capital of east porch
a. Poros podium at southwest corner of temple, from the south

b. Roman latrine, detail of southeast corner, from above, with later semicircular channel

a. Polygonal south wall of Classical house beneath Roman temple, from the southeast

b. Eridanos River canal from the south, showing concrete foundations for semicircular nymphaeum

a. Eridanos River canal from the southwest, showing cover slabs in place over north channel

b. Eridanos River canal from the northeast

a. Eridanos canal (foreground), showing relation to west end of Stoa Poikile (background)

b. Detail of north channel, showing superimposed pavement slabs of two periods

a. Detail of north channel, original masonry of north wall

b. North Byzantine house, Room 9 from the west

c. North Byzantine house, courtyard (Room 8) from the southwest

a. Marble puteal of Well J 3:4

b. Detail of doorway from courtyard to Room 11

c. South wall of courtyard from the north, showing stucco of later phase

a, b. Sgraffito ware from pithos in Room 15

c, d, e, f. Pottery from courtyard well, J 3:4
a. Byzantine storeroom with pithoi, from the northwest; Well K 1:2 at upper left

b, c. Pottery from Well K 1:2, upper dumped fill

a, b, c, d. Pottery from Well K 1:2, Byzantine period of use

e, f, g. Pottery from Well K 1:2, Roman period of use

a. Byzantine chapel from the northwest, showing tiled floor of narthex at lower right

b. Byzantine chapel, foundation for east wall of narthex from the east, with stucco lining of burial cist

a. Church of Agios Nikolaos, foundations from the south

b. Burial K 4:1 under narthex wall

c. Burial cist under south side aisle

d. P 31971