

# THE ATHENIAN PRYTANEION DISCOVERED?

## ABSTRACT

The author proposes that the Athenian Prytaneion, one of the city's most important civic buildings, was located in the peristyle complex beneath Agia Aikaterini Square, near the ancient Street of the Tripods and the Monument of Lysikrates in the modern Plaka. This thesis, which is consistent with Pausanias's topographical account of ancient Athens, is supported by archaeological and epigraphical evidence. The identification of the Prytaneion at the eastern foot of the Acropolis helps to reconstruct the map of Archaic and Classical Athens and illuminates the testimony of Herodotos and Thucydides.

The Prytaneion is the oldest and most important of the civic buildings in ancient Athens that have remained lost to us until the present.<sup>1</sup> For the Athenians the Prytaneion, or town hall, the office of the city's chief official, symbolized the foundation of Athens as a city-state, its construction forming an integral part of Theseus's legendary synoecism of Attica (Thuc. 2.15.2; Plut. *Thes.* 24.3). Like other prytaneia throughout the Greek world, the Athenian Prytaneion represented what has been termed the very "life of the polis," housing the common hearth of the city, the "inextinguishable and immovable flame" of the goddess Hestia.<sup>2</sup> As the ceremonial center of Athens, the Prytaneion was the site of both public entertainment for

1. I am greatly indebted to the 1st Ephoreia of Prehistoric and Classical Antiquities, under the direction of Theodora Kyriakou, for permission to examine the site at Agia Aikaterini Square and to publish the excavated remains in the form of a state plan. I am also very grateful to the director of the Epigraphical Museum, Charalambos Kritzas, for assistance in studying several of the inscriptions from the site and its immediate neighborhood. In addition, I would like to

express my heartfelt thanks to a number of scholars who have given generously of their time over the years, including Raymond Van Dam, John Fine, and Traianos Gagos at the University of Michigan and Anthony Karvallis at Ohio State University. I especially thank John Papadopoulos of the University of California at Los Angeles, whose own interest and expertise on the topic is considerable. Finally, I am very grateful to the editors and anonymous *Hesperia* reviewers for their

excellent suggestions for improving this article.

All translations are by the author unless otherwise noted.

2. Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, p. 31. For the sacred flame in the Athenian Prytaneion, see Suda, s.v. Πρυτανεῖον; for this passage and its sources, see Miller 1978, p. 182, no. 264. For Athens more generally, see Parker 1996, pp. 26–27; on the Athenian Prytaneion itself, see most recently Robertson 1998, pp. 298–299.

honored citizens and a law court for homicide trials.<sup>3</sup> In providing the sacred fire for all public sacrifices, the shrine of Hestia in the Prytaneion served as the starting point for many of the city's religious processions, or *pompai*, including the *eisagoge* that initiated the City Dionysia.<sup>4</sup> The Prytaneion, together with all of the state buildings of early Athens, stood next to the city's original civic center, the so-called Old or Archaic Agora, which remained in use long after the foundation of the city's second agora, the Classical Agora of the Athenian democracy.<sup>5</sup> At least for the poetically or aristocratically minded Athenian, this was the Kekropian Agora, the "sacrifice-celebrating omphalos of the city," and the site of the venerable Altar of Pity.<sup>6</sup>

As is the case with the Prytaneion, the location of the city's original agora is unknown.<sup>7</sup> Because this site apparently never received any architectural or monumental embellishment, it will almost certainly remain archaeologically invisible.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, many of the most important episodes or aspects of early Athenian history—such as Solon's resolute outcry against the loss of Salamis, Peisistratos's disarmament of the Athenian populace, and the original setting of the Panathenaic festival—unfold across a blank map of the city.<sup>9</sup> An understanding of the precise whereabouts of the neighboring Prytaneion may, however, provide the best and perhaps the only topographical clue. The discovery of the Prytaneion itself, through the identification of a preserved site, would also be an important contribution to the archaeological record of Greek prytaneia generally, as only three of these buildings have been identified with certainty.<sup>10</sup> Even more importantly, since the establishment of the Prytaneion, with its im-

3. Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 3.5) refers to the official function of the Prytaneion: ὁ δὲ ἄρχων [εἶχε] τὸ πρυτανεῖον ("the archon had the Prytaneion"). For public *xenia* and *sitesis* in the Prytaneion, see, respectively, Poll. 8.140 and 9.40. For the Prytaneion as a homicide court (Poll. 8.120) in the case where no known defendant was available (and as such corresponding somewhat to a modern coroner's court), see Boegehold's discussion in *Agora* XXVIII, pp. 96, 148–150; for full testimonia see *Agora* III, pp. 166–174, nos. 541–571. Miller (1978, pp. 18–19) suggests that the law court was housed in an annex to the site.

4. For religious processions from the Prytaneion, see Arist. *Pol.* 1322b26–29; Parker 1996, pp. 26, 170. For the Prytaneion and the Dionysia procession, see most recently Wilson 2000, p. 97. The Bendis procession also started from the Prytaneion; see Schnurr 1995b, p. 148.

5. See *Ath. Pol.* 3.5, where the Prytaneion is described as being flanked by the Thesmothesion, Boukoleion, and

Basileion. The Boukoleion is recorded as "near" the Prytaneion in *Anecd. Bekk.* 1.19 (499). Pollux (8.111, cf. also 9.44) places the Basileion alongside the Boukoleion. Plutarch (*Quaest. conv.* 7.9 = *Mor.* 714B) speaks of the Thesmothesion and the Prytaneion together; cf. Dem. 21.85. The sources are collected in Milchhoefer [1891] 1977, p. lxix, s.v. Boukoleion, and p. xciii, s.v. Thesmothesion; see also Judeich 1931, pp. 266–268, nn. 11, 12. For recent analysis, see esp. Robertson 1986, pp. 159–168; also Shear 1994, pp. 226–228; Miller 1978, pp. 18–21, 44–45; 1995, pp. 211–212; Wycherley 1978, pp. 45–46.

6. See Schnurr 1995a on the literary evidence for the so-called Archaic Agora. For the Kekropian Agora, see Melanthius, preserved in Plut. *Cim.* 4.6. On the city's omphalos, see Pind., fr. 75, line 3 (Snell), ἄστεος ὀμφαλὸν θυόεντ'. For the Ἐλέου Βωμός, see Stat. *Theb.* 12.481 and Lucian, *Demon.* 57.

7. Travlos 1960, p. 24; cf. Wycherley 1966, p. 291.

8. The statement in Plut. *Cim.* 4.6 that the famed painter Polygnotos

somehow decorated it under Cimon appears to be mistaken (Robertson 1998, p. 297). This may reflect some confusion with either the nearby Anakeion or the Theseion (cf. Harpokration, s.v. Πολύγωντος). Pindar's (fr. 75, line 5 [Snell]) vision of a πανδαίδαλόν τ' εὐκλέ' ἀγοράν ("well-adorned shining agora") is probably a poetic evocation of its rather primitively hallowed atmosphere, as attested in Stat. *Theb.* 12.491–492: "a grove of gentle trees, marked by the cult of the venerable, wool-entwined laurel and the suppliant olive." This passage is discussed by Wycherley in *Agora* III, p. 73.

9. As Wycherley (1966, p. 285) notes, "early Athens still eludes us almost completely."

10. See the most recent list in Hansen and Fischer-Hansen 1994, p. 31. The prytaneia of Delos, Lato, and Olympia have been positively identified; six others have been identified "with some probability," including, most importantly, that of Ephesos (Miller 1978, pp. 98–109).

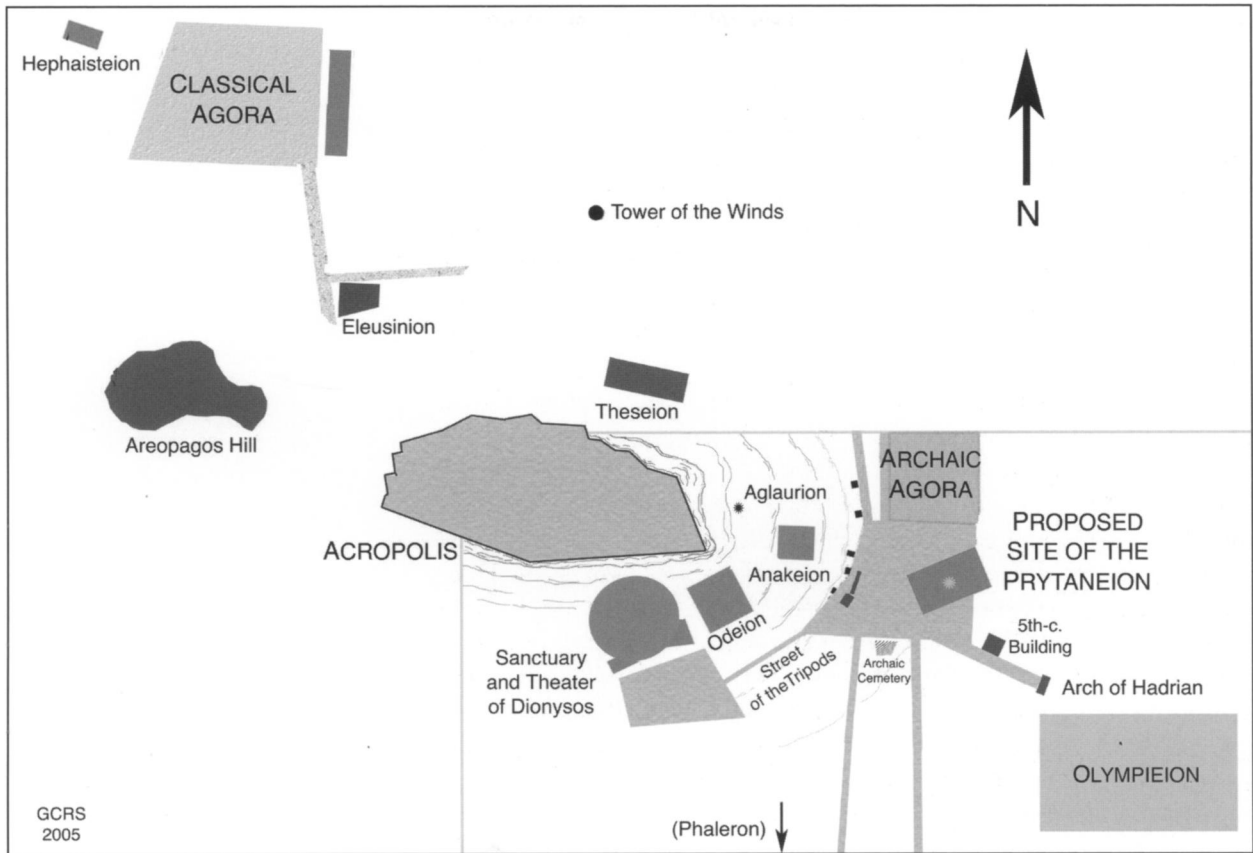


Figure 1. Proposed reconstruction of southeastern Athens. G. C. R. Schmalz

movable sacred hearth, would have occurred early in the initial formation of the Athenian state, its discovery would afford us the exciting possibility of uncovering the earliest layers of the city and its history.<sup>11</sup> The present study aims to recover a significant part of the map of early Athens (Fig. 1), drawing together all possible lines of argument and evidence—historical, antiquarian, archaeological, and epigraphical—in establishing the location of the Prytaneion.

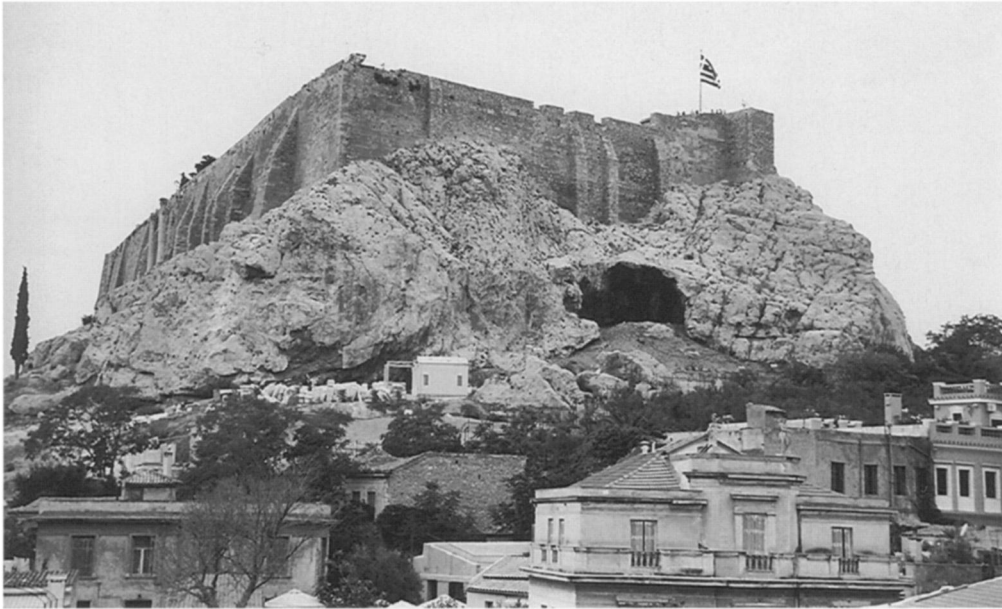
Given the detailed topographical account of the monuments of ancient Athens that appears in the work of Pausanias, it may seem surprising that the location of the Prytaneion has never been securely identified. Depending on how Pausanias's text is read, the Prytaneion has been variably ascribed to the northern or eastern/southeastern sides of the Acropolis. The scholarly consensus of the last two centuries favored a northern location. This view has changed since the 1980s, however, when the shrine of Aglauros, which Pausanias placed directly above the Prytaneion, was discovered in a cave on the eastern slopes of the Acropolis (Fig. 2).<sup>12</sup> Moreover, just below the site

11. As Parker (1996, p. 27) has commented, "were it useful to speak of 'the birth of the polis,' one might identify as the birthday of the polis of Athens that day on which a common hearth was consecrated over which no king presided."

12. For the discovery of the Aglau-

rion, see Dontas 1983; the new epigraphical evidence was initially treated in *SEG* XXXIII 115. For a convenient summary of the scholarly response (by no means uniform) to this discovery, see *SEG* XLVI 137; see also Robertson 1998, pp. 283–288, 298–299, fig. 1; Harris-Cline 1999, pp. 312–313;

Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 283–284. Boegehold (*Agora* XXVIII) speaks of the Prytaneion as standing generally "at the eastern foot" (p. 96) or "on the east slope" (pp. 11, 148) of the Acropolis. This is an opinion shared by European scholars as well; see Schmitt Pantel 1992, p. 146; Hölscher 1991, p. 359.



**Figure 2. The Cave of Aglauros, overlooking the site proposed for the Prytaneion.** Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

of the Aglaurion, the Greek Archaeological Service has partially uncovered an extensive building complex, initially constructed in the 5th century B.C., that is a likely candidate for the Anakeion, the Athenian shrine of the Dioskouroi.<sup>13</sup> The identification of the Aglaurion and possibly the Anakeion, two sites that Pausanias places in close proximity to the Prytaneion, now makes an eastern or, more specifically, a southeastern location far more probable.<sup>14</sup>

It is argued here that the Prytaneion may be identified in the colonnaded remains preserved under Agia Aikaterini Square, only a short distance from the Monument of Lysikrates and the ancient Street of the Tripods (Figs. 3, 4). Situated directly between the Monument of Lysikrates and the Arch of Hadrian, and standing at what must have been one of the most important intersections of Classical Athens, this site has periodically been reconstructed as one of the largest building complexes of the ancient city. Recent salvage work by the Greek Archaeological Service, discussed below, has demonstrated that the site is older and more architecturally significant than previously thought, with some of the remains dating to the Late Archaic or Early Classical period. The adjacent area was embellished with an important public square—an ancient counterpart of the modern Lysikrates Square—which featured prominent buildings, at least one cult center, and many preserved choregic monuments dating from the Classical period onward. Most importantly for the thesis of this study, the epigraphical record of the site consistently reflects the many aspects of the Prytaneion's public life, including a large dedication to Hestia, the only such votive preserved from ancient Athens.

I begin my discussion of the Prytaneion problem with a detailed consideration of Pausanias's description of Athenian topography, the conflicting interpretations of his account, and the implications of recent archaeological discoveries for the reconstruction of his itinerary. Next I examine the archaeological remains of the proposed Prytaneion site, drawing on early antiquarian accounts and recent excavation reports published by the Greek

13. See Korres 1989a; 1989b, p. 13, fig. 2.

14. The two most recent suggestions for the precise location of the Prytaneion place the site within the same general neighborhood as the present study, directly southeast of the Acropolis; see Kalligas 1994, p. 30 (with the Odeion of Perikles); Lippolis 1995, esp. p. 65, fig. 26 (with the ancient structure recently found under modern Thespis Street).





**Figure 3.** View southeast from the Acropolis along Lysikrates Street, toward the Arch of Hadrian and the Olympieion. The Monument of Lysikrates and the proposed site of the Prytaneion, in Agia Aikaterini Square, are in the foreground. Photo Slide Archives, University of Michigan



**Figure 4.** View of Agia Aikaterini Square, with the proposed site of the Prytaneion among the trees and the Arch of Hadrian in the background, looking southeast. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

Archaeological Service. This is followed by an analysis of the archaeological context of those remains, taking into account the finds from the adjacent Street of the Tripods and the square in which the Monument of Lysikrates was located. I then discuss the epigraphical evidence that supports the identification of the Agia Aikaterini site with the Prytaneion. Finally, in my conclusion, I consider the implications of the Prytaneion's proposed location for a broader understanding of early Athenian history.

## PAUSANIAS, THE PRYTANEION, AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Pausanias provides the best and most familiar testimony for the landmarks of ancient Athens. In the monuments and buildings of ancient Lysikrates Square, it is easy to recognize his description of the famous Street of the Tripods and the Prytaneion. As noted above, the proposed location of the Prytaneion below the southeast corner of the Acropolis also accords well with his assertion that the site stood directly beneath the shrine of Aglauros.

Diverse interpretations of early Athenian topography have arisen, however, on the basis of Pausanias's account and prevailing opinions about the location of key monuments. The first mention of the Prytaneion in Pausanias's work is preceded by a description of several other Athenian sites including the Agora, which he introduces without any topographical word link to his preceding tour of the Kerameikos (Paus. 1.3.1). He then points to the Ptolemaion, or Gymnasium of Ptolemy, as "not far" from the Agora and "near" or "hard by" the Theseion.<sup>15</sup> The venerable Anakeion is introduced next; then the Aglaurion "beyond" or "behind" it, while the Prytaneion is said to be "near" the latter shrine (Fig. 5).<sup>16</sup>

After his first mention of the Prytaneion, Pausanias proceeds to the lower part of the city, mentioning the Sanctuary of Serapis and the Temple of Eileithyia. From there he moves on to the Temple of Olympian Zeus and the Ilissos valley (1.18.6, 1.19.1). Following his discussion of southeastern Athens and the Ilissos, Pausanias returns once again to the Prytaneion, telling his readers, "From the Prytaneion there is the so-called Street of the Tripods."<sup>17</sup> He describes the choregic monuments found on the Street of the Tripods and recounts the famous story of one Athenian's obsession over a celebrated satyr statue by Praxiteles that was located there. He ends this tale (1.20.2) by remarking that another statue of a satyr "is in the Temple of Dionysos hard by,"<sup>18</sup> and he introduces the Sanctuary and Theater of Dionysos immediately thereafter (1.20.3).

### LOCATION OF THE THESEION AND THE ARCHAIC AGORA

The position of the Theseion has always been a critical element in any topographical reconstruction of Athens because Pausanias appears to place it relatively close to the Prytaneion in his progress from one site to the next. Between the Theseion and the Anakeion sequences there is, however, as 19th-century topographers often observed, a clear syntactical break, with none of Pausanias's characteristic word links that would indicate that the Anakeion was necessarily located near the Theseion.<sup>19</sup> Their proximity has, nevertheless, often been assumed.

In turn, because the great Temple of Hephaistos overlooking the Classical Agora was universally identified as the Theseion until the latter part of the 19th century, early antiquarians and topographers of Athens often placed the Prytaneion at the northern or northeastern foot of the Acropolis.<sup>20</sup> Furthermore, with the testimony of Pausanias in mind, a scholarly conviction persisted that the agora visited and described by Pausanias was actually the commercial market of the Roman period. The Roman Market

15. Paus. 1.17.2. The Ptolemaion is said to be τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέχοντι οὐ πολὺ . . . πρὸς δὲ τῷ γυμνασίῳ Θησέως ἐστὶν ἱερόν.

16. Paus. 1.18.1–3. See also Papadopoulos 2003, p. 285, for an account of Pausanias's itinerary.

17. Paus. 1.20.1: Ἔστι δὲ ὁδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρυτανείου καλουμένη Τρίποδες.

18. Paus. 1.20.2: Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Σάτυρός ἐστι. One recent scholar has accordingly identified this nearby temple as the Temple of Dionysos itself (Kalligas 1994, p. 28; cf. also Judeich 1931, p. 274). For the more conventional view that this so-called temple is simply a neighboring choregic monument, see most recently Goette 2001, p. 98; also Wilson 2000, p. 212.

19. See, e.g., Leake 1841, vol. 1, p. 262. This lacuna is also observed by Lenormant (1857, p. 116).

20. For the early historiography of the so-called Theseion, see Wachsmuth 1863, pp. 102–103; Dyer 1873, p. 231. The Hephaisteion was first identified as the Theseion in the 1670s by Father Babin, followed by Spon (1678, vol. 1, pp. 188–190) and Wheler (1682, p. 385). This traditional identification was first challenged by Ross (1838), only to be rejected by such leading topographers as Curtius (1843) and Wachsmuth (1863). The Hephaisteion was finally correctly identified as such by Pervanoglu (1870).

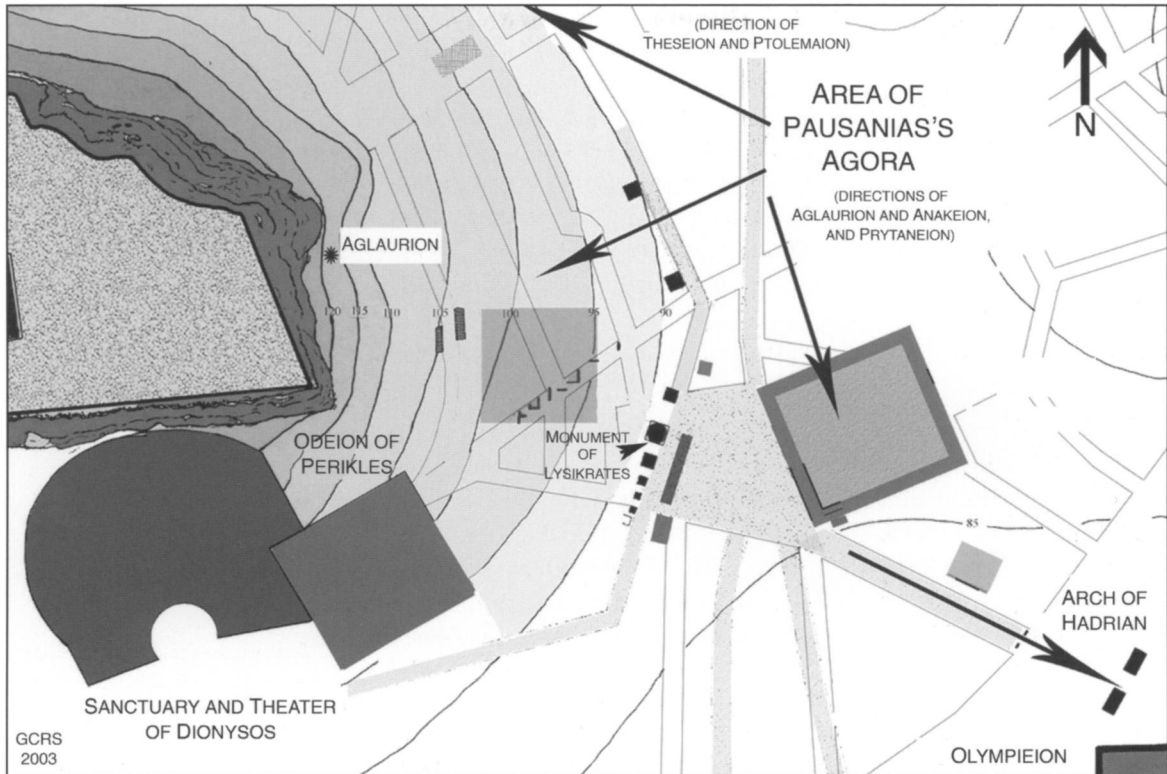


Figure 5. Reconstruction of Pausanias's itinerary around the Archaic Agora. Arrows indicate direction of sites visited, from northwest to south. G. C. R. Schmalz

is located on the northern side of the Acropolis and is sometimes referred to as the Market of Caesar and Augustus. Thus William Leake, for example, argued that "Pausanias . . . referred to the Agora of the Augustan and subsequent ages."<sup>21</sup> The same identification of Pausanias's agora reemerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the Theseion and the Gymnasium of Ptolemy were briefly sought in the Classical Agora itself. Although this identification with the Roman Market originated as a tentative suggestion (with its proponent open to the idea of an alternative site), it has since become the canonical view.<sup>22</sup>

This identification remains a common one despite a number of weighty objections, such as the fact that the extensive and formal peristyle construction of the Roman Market bears no recognizable relationship to Pausanias's bare description of the Archaic Agora. This agora featured only one salient monument, the venerable *Bomos Eleou*, the Altar of Pity.<sup>23</sup> It

21. Leake 1841, vol. 1, p. 253. Similarly, Clark (1816–1824, vol. 6, p. 271) identified the contemporary bazaar occupying the Roman Market as the possible site of Pausanias's agora. This was still the prevailing view later in the century; see Dyer 1873, p. 251; Forchhammer 1874, pp. 113–115. Yet even then this identification had its critics; see Cookesley 1852, p. 102.

22. Vanderpool 1974, p. 309; also noted earlier in Travlos, *Athens*, p. 28. Most recently, this conventional identification has been supported by Shear

(1994, pp. 227–228) and Miller (1995, p. 202); the latter writes that "it is clear that he [Pausanias] is referring to the agora of his own day, the Agora of Caesar and Augustus or, as it usually called today, the Roman Agora."

23. This monument, evidently surrounded by a modest arbor of shade trees (see n. 8 above), was known in literary terms as the "philanthropic agora." The 28 references to the Altar of Pity are conveniently collected under "Eleos" in *Agora* III, pp. 67–74, nos. 163–190. For the most recent

discussion of the evidence, especially from a topographical point of view, see Schnurr 1995a, pp. 133–134; also Robertson 1992, pp. 46–47, 51–52; 1998, p. 286. The only surviving physical evidence for the existence of the altar is preserved in a Claudian era inscription (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 4786), dedicated to Zeus by an exiled Thracian family: "O highest ruling on high, father of rich-fruited Eirene, we supplicate your Altar of Pity" (as translated in Oikonomides 1964, p. 35, no. 36).

is also unlikely that a staunch traditionalist such as Pausanias would ever refer to a commercial market of his own period as a true “agora.”<sup>24</sup> Thus, a number of scholars now seek the city’s original agora at the eastern foot of the Acropolis, close to the proposed site of the Prytaneion.<sup>25</sup> Such a location, against the east slope of the Acropolis, would certainly have been more convenient for the residents of the early city, living (as they evidently did) to the south and the southeast. Moreover, the adjacent hillside would have offered a natural setting for the city’s original theater and assembly area, composing the ἀρχαία ἀγορά before the theater was relocated near the Sanctuary of Dionysos on the south slope.<sup>26</sup>

### LOCATION OF THE AGLAURION AND THE ANAKEION

For nearly two centuries, the Aglaurion was thought to have been located somewhere along the cavernous northern slope of the Acropolis. Through the efforts of George Dontas in the 1980s, however, the sanctuary of the mythical heroine Aglauros was finally identified below the great southeastern cliff of the Acropolis,<sup>27</sup> confirming an earlier interpretation of this very large cave. While 17th- and 18th-century antiquarians generally viewed this site as a shrine of Apollo and the place of Creusa’s abduction and rape, by the early 19th century there were some who maintained that the cave, then a “roosting place of crows and daws,” represented the site of the Aglaurion.<sup>28</sup> Since we know from Pausanias that the Aglaurion was situated above the Anakeion, which in turn looked down over the Prytaneion, Dontas’s discovery helps to establish the relative locations of the sites. As the excavator observes, it is “probable that the Aglaurion, the Prytaneion, and the Anakeion were not far from each other.”<sup>29</sup>

A close spatial relationship between the Aglaurion and the Prytaneion has long been recognized not only in light of Pausanias’s testimony but also because the city’s graduating ephebes took their customary oath of citizenship at the Aglaurion, after having sacrificed to Hestia in the Prytaneion.<sup>30</sup>

24. Cf. Alcock 1995, pp. 337, 339; Habicht 1985, pp. 104–105, 134–137.

25. Schnurr 1995a; Robertson 1992, pp. 51–54; 1998, esp. pp. 299–301. Cf. also Lippolis 1995, p. 51; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 285.

26. This is implied in Schnurr’s (1995b, pp. 140–141) discussion of the ἀρχαία ἀγορά recorded by Apollodoros (in Harpokration, s.v. ἀρχαία ἀγορά = *FGrH* IIB 244 F113). Whether this Archaic Agora should instead be identified with the Peisistratid phase of the Classical Agora is a contentious issue (Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 280–281). For the relocation of the theater, see Photios, s.v. ἵκρια (*Agora* III, p. 163, no. 525).

27. See Dontas 1983 for the in situ discovery and topographical significance of a decree dating to 247/6 or

246/5 B.C. and honoring a priestess of Aglauros (*SEG* XXXIII 115). A convenient summary of scholarly response to Dontas’s publication is provided in *SEG* XLVI 137. In addition, Robertson (1998, p. 287) points out that an earlier decree for a priestess of Aglauros (*IG* II<sup>2</sup> 948) was found reused nearby, between the Odeion of Perikles and the Theater of Dionysos.

28. Wilkins 1816, p. 64. This identification was noted by Leake (1841, vol. 1, pp. 264–265), who rejected it, as it did not conform to his own reconstruction of Pausanias’s testimony, preferring instead an identification with the City Eleusinion; see also Lenormant 1857, p. 113. For the avian popularity of the cave, see Chandler 1776, p. 61. For the Cave of Apollo (and sometimes also of Creusa), see Guillet

de Saint-Georges 1675, p. 303 (no. 8 in the accompanying map of Athens; Fig. 12 here); Spon 1678, vol. 2, p. 168. Broneer (1936) excavated part of the cave itself; a well-cut stairway had been recorded at its northern entrance a few years previously.

29. Dontas 1983, p. 60. For the necessary eastward relocation of these and other monuments, see Papadopoulos 2003, pp. 282–285.

30. According to Martha (1882, p. 145), the Aglaurion “se trouvait enclavé dans l’enceinte générale du Prytaneion” (also cited in Dontas 1983, p. 60). On the ephebic oath and the Aglaurion, see Philochorus in *FGrH* 328 F105. Poll. 8.105–106 records the oath itself, with its divine witnesses. On the nature of the oath, see Merkelbach 1972.

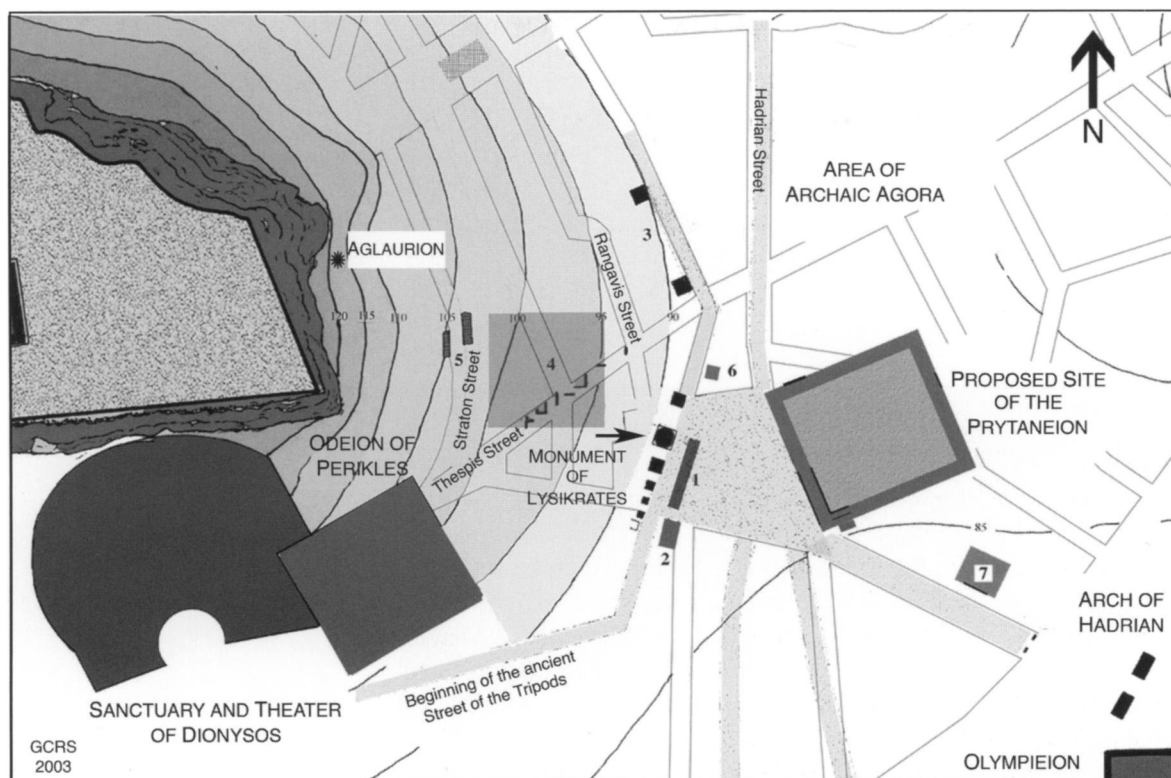


Figure 6. Archaeological and topographical reconstruction of the east slope and foot of the Acropolis:

(1) 4th-century stoa; (2) 5th-century building; (3) choregic monuments; (4) Anakeion; (5) remains of walls recorded in the 19th century; (6) Lantern of Diogenes; (7) Classical building. G. C. R. Schmalz

The Prytaneion may also have been involved in the *deipnophoria* in honor of Aglauros.<sup>31</sup> Accounts of ancient ritual also indicate a close proximity between the Prytaneion and the Anakeion; evidently the *Anakeia* festival included a primitive *theoxenia*, in which the Dioskouroi were hosted in the Prytaneion.<sup>32</sup>

As for the Anakeion itself, its remains may well have been discovered under the upper course of modern Thespis Street, directly below the shrine of Aglauros. In 1982 the Greek Archaeological Service uncovered the remains of two contiguous building terraces (Fig. 6, no. 4) that date as far back as the Classical period, with evidence for continuous use down through Roman times. The southern limit of the complex was found to extend for a total of more than 30 m, from the east side of Straton Street all the way down Thespis Street to the corner of Rangavis Street (Figs. 6–8). The principal structure on the uppermost (western) terrace, constructed with a complex series of north–south walls, features a spacious recessed room built with well-dressed orthogonal masonry and a deep well used over a number of centuries. Fronting onto this main space is a seemingly sizable anteroom or porch.<sup>33</sup>

31. See Philochoros in *FGrH* 328 F183.

32. See Poll. 1.37. On the *theoxenia*, see Ath. 4.137e; Simon 1983, p. 68; Shapiro 1999, pp. 100–101 (with relevant iconographic evidence). For the physical proximity implied, see Shear 1994, p. 247, n. 20. It should be noted,

however, that the literary evidence for celebrating the Anakes is considered “spurious” by Robertson (1999, p. 180, n. 9).

33. For an account of the excavation, see Korres 1989a, 1989b; the excavation plan and cross section appear in Korres 1989b, p. 13, fig. 2 (Fig. 7 here).

The well appears to have been in use long before it was deepened sometime in the Roman period. Sited between the 100 and 90 m elevation marks of the east slope of the Acropolis, each of the two main terraces was terraced into two sections.

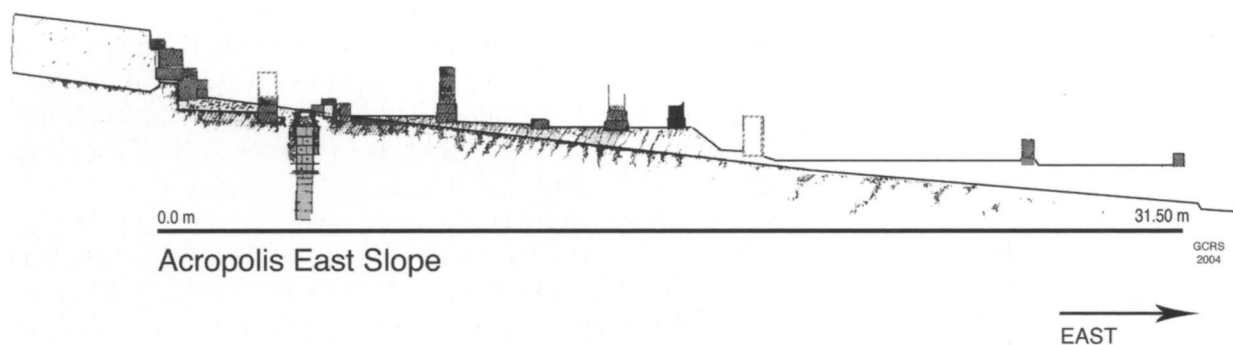


Figure 7. Elevation drawing of terraced complex under Thespis Street. After Korres 1989b, p. 13, fig. 2



Figure 8. View eastward down Thespis Street, with exposed section of the site located in the background, below balustrade and trees (arrow). Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

These remains are easily the grandest ever to have been discovered and reported from the east slope of the Acropolis. They may be part of a site well known until the late 19th century, when substantial remains of a large terraced structure were still preserved on either side of Straton Street under the Cave of Aglauros (Fig. 6, no. 5). As described by Dodwell, these were the “remains of a wall, composed of large blocks, in a direction from north to south. Perhaps the little wreck of the Odeion of Pericles.”<sup>34</sup> Following the suggestion of Leake, Curtius tentatively identified this site as the Eleusinion (Fig. 9, no. 19).<sup>35</sup> The evident significance of the site has even prompted a recent suggestion that it represents the Prytaneion.<sup>36</sup> If this ancient site between Straton and Rangavis Streets should be identified with any historical monument in Pausanias’s testimony, however, the most likely would be the lost Anakeion of the Dioskouroi.<sup>37</sup>

34. Dodwell 1819, vol. 1, p. 301.

35. Curtius and Milchhoefer 1891, p. 324, no. 19, pl. IV; the walls themselves, presumably measuring over 10 m in length as preserved, are pictured in pl. III. See also Leake 1841, vol. 1, pp. 264–265. The walls are also fea-

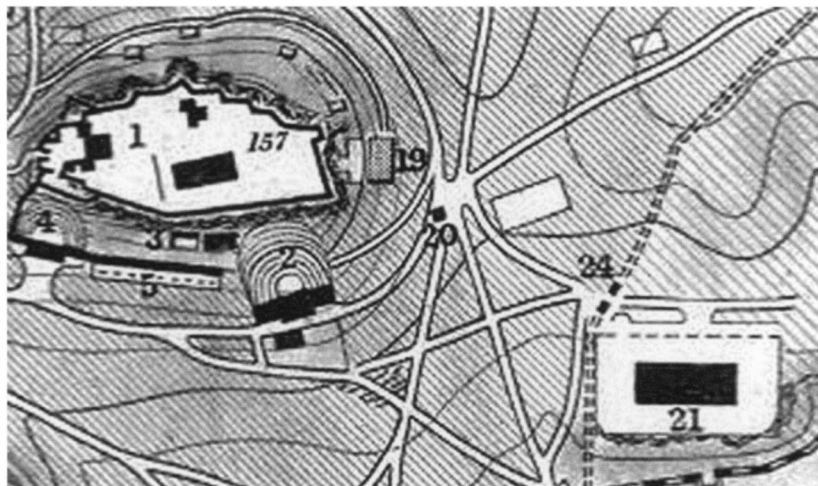
tured in the topographical map of Judeich 1931, end plan 1.

36. See Lippolis 1995, esp. p. 65, fig. 26, no. 14, which shows the site partially restored as a peristyle structure.

37. Built during the time of Cimon in the 460s B.C., the Anakeion is known

to have been a relatively large sanctuary. In 415 B.C., a large company of Athenian *hippeis*, or knights, occupied the sanctuary in an emergency levy, while a few years later, in 411 B.C., the city’s hoplites marched on the shrine in a counterrevolutionary coup; see

Figure 9. Sites within the area of Pausanias's itinerary, as identified by Curtius in 1891: (19) Eleusinion; (20) Monument of Lysikrates; (21) Olympieion; (24) Arch of Hadrian. After Curtius and Milchhoefer 1891, pl. IV



### LOCATION OF THE PRYTANEION AND THE STREET OF THE TRIPODS

Returning from the Ilissos valley, Pausanias (1.20.1) revisits the Prytaneion, describes the Street of the Tripods, and then turns his attention to the Theater of Dionysos (Fig. 10). It would be logical, therefore, for the theater and the Prytaneion to have been situated relatively close together. Dörpfeld accordingly located the Prytaneion next to the theater on the south slope of the Acropolis.<sup>38</sup> For this reason, two new suggestions for the location and identification of the Prytaneion place the site at the southeastern corner of the Acropolis.<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, Pausanias's testimony has often been interpreted in a less than straightforward fashion. The beginning of the ancient Street of the Tripods is located on the southeastern side of the Acropolis. In his explanation of the name of the street, with its dense collection of choregic monuments, Pausanias presumably describes the antiquities preserved in and around the modern Lysikrates Square. Yet because the Prytaneion and the Aglaurion were sought for so many years along the northern slope of the Acropolis, a considerable distance needed to be introduced between the Street of the Tripods at the Prytaneion and the choregic monuments that gave the road its name. Hence Pausanias's report has been interpreted by some to mean that the Prytaneion marked the beginning of the ancient Street of the Tripods somewhere north of the Acropolis.<sup>40</sup> In effect, Pausanias would then have taken his orientation from the Classical Agora (the universal modern perspective), rather than from the street's actual point of origin.

Thuc. 8.93.1–2 and 6.61.2, respectively; cf. Robertson 1998, p. 296. If the site in question is indeed the Anakeion, then we have new evidence for Cimon's building program on and around the Acropolis.

38. Dörpfeld 1895, pp. 188–189.

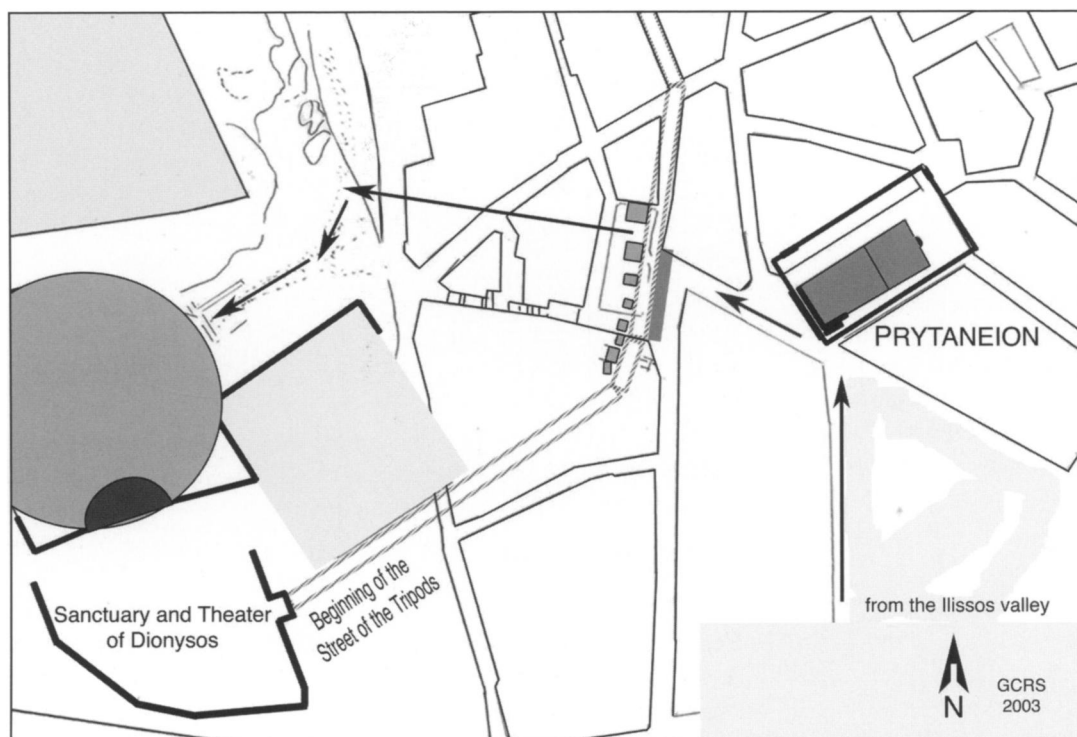
39. In one view, the Odeion of Perikles is identified as the Prytaneion:

Kalligas (1994, p. 30) states that it is situated at the beginning of the Street of the Tripods (cf. *SEG* XLVI 137; see also Lippolis 1995, esp. p. 65, fig. 26, showing the ancient east slope building under modern Thespis Street). Although this suggestion may be rejected as intrinsically untenable (Robertson 1998, p. 286, n. 16), its under-

lying topographical logic should be viewed as correct.

40. This argument has been most forcefully advanced by Choremi-Spetsieri (1994, pp. 33, 35, 39–40, fig. 2) in the first comprehensive archaeological study of the street's remains. See also Schnurr 1995b, p. 147.





**Figure 10.** Reconstruction of Pausanias's route from the Ilissos valley to the south slope of the Acropolis, via the Prytaneion and the Street of the Tripods. G. C. R. Schmalz

Such a topographical interpretation, however, produces a notably awkward and circuitous itinerary for Pausanias after his tour of the Ilissos valley. Having returned to the eastern city to survey the south slope of the Acropolis, Pausanias would have had to have first walked north, without comment, past the choregic monuments along the Street of the Tripods, only to turn back to them immediately after reaching the Prytaneion for a second time. At this point, he would have been introducing the street at a location where there is, despite many recent investigations, no evidence for any choregic monuments.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, now that the Aglaurion has been discovered, there is no longer a reason to see any great distance between the Street of the Tripods at the Prytaneion and the choregic monuments of Lysikrates Square.<sup>42</sup>

Through the centuries antiquarians and scholars have often related Pausanias's description of the ancient Street of the Tripods to modern Lysikrates Square. In the formulation of one 19th-century antiquarian, the

41. As yet, the northernmost choregic monument found along Tripods Street is at no. 28; for a brief discussion of Choremi-Spetsieri 1994, see *SEG* XLVI 137. As reconstructed by Choremi-Spetsieri 1994 (followed in Schnurr 1995b, p. 148, fig. 5, "G"), the ancient northern course of the Street of the Tripods is improbably reconstructed as taking a sharp, upward turn onto the northeastern spur of the Acropolis, linking there with modern Prytaneion Street. This reconstruction is based on that street's

recently published archaeological remains, especially the identification of the lost ruins of the Panagia Vlastiki Church as a choregic monument. Those ruins (as pictured in Breton 1868, p. 261), however, are clearly of the church itself, carefully built from a great deal of spolia. The ancient blocks still visible as curb blocks along the street have now been published as belonging to the medieval Rizocastro; see Makri, Tsakos, and Vavyloupoulou-Charitonidou 1987–1988, pp. 362–363, figs. 57–58. These roadside blocks,

however, are more likely the remains of ancient terrace work. Schnurr's (1995b) view explicitly reflects one initially held, but now evidently excluded, by Hans Goette (there is no mention of these remains in Goette 2001, pp. 54–55).

42. A similar argument (in Kalligas 1994, with an improbable conclusion) has already been dismissed because, in the conventional view, it "turns backward Pausanias's phrase" (Miller 1995, p. 225, n. 7).



route of Pausanias's return to the Prytaneion went "through the street of the tripods, between the theatre and choregic grotto."<sup>43</sup> Yet, until recently, the same logic has rarely been applied to the location of the Prytaneion. According to one new analysis, modern Lysikrates Square "is the most probable beginning of the ancient Street of the Tripods, comprising the Prytaneion and the Odeion of Perikles."<sup>44</sup> Archaeological evidence demonstrates that the ancient street began at the eastern entrance of the Sanctuary and Theater of Dionysos (Fig. 10). Here, Manolis Korres's excavations have revealed the initial course of the ancient street, flanked by some 15 choregic monuments built along the west and south sides of the Odeion of Perikles. These converge upon a large hall at the southwest corner, directly opposite the propylon.<sup>45</sup>

There is now a growing consensus that the Prytaneion was indeed located along the Street of the Tripods on the east side of the Acropolis below the Aglaurion.<sup>46</sup> The location of the Prytaneion here makes topographical sense, for it is only here that the front or eastern slope of the Acropolis levels off enough to permit any convenient, extensive building activity.<sup>47</sup> Although scholars from the 19th century onward often assumed that the Prytaneion was terraced along one of the slopes of the Acropolis, adjacent to the cave shrine of the Aglaurion, it is difficult to imagine why the early Athenians would have elected to construct their first civic building on such an incline. Presumably they would have preferred a more accessible and centralized location, on the same relatively level ground occupied by their early agora.

## PROPOSED SITE OF THE PRYTANEION

The proposed site of the Prytaneion is in the Plaka (Fig. 1), under the modern *plateia* of Agia Aikaterini, which serves as a courtyard for the Middle Byzantine church of St. Catherine.<sup>48</sup> The *plateia* itself is notable in the present context as the findspot for the only votive dedication to Hestia preserved from ancient Athens.<sup>49</sup> The archaeological remains are situated directly between the Monument of Lysikrates and the Arch of Hadrian along Lysikrates Street, a very significant street in antiquity (Figs. 3, 4).

43. Wilkins 1816, p. 64.

44. Lippolis 1995, p. 48, fig. 4 under no. 7. See also Wilson 2000, pp. 209–213 (with a consequent shortening of the Street of the Tripods).

45. Korres 1988a, esp. p. 12, fig. 1; 1988b. For Korres's investigations in the early 1980s, see reports in French 1990–1991, p. 5; Pariente 1990, p. 705. Korres's new archaeological plan of the sanctuary is also reproduced in Schnurr 1995b, pp. 147, 151, fig. 2 (with feature no. 7 as the aforementioned hall). Thanks to its new red stone grading, the ancient course of the street, starting from the sanctuary's eastern propylon,

can now be experienced by the modern tourist.

46. Harris-Cline 1999, pp. 312–313; after Robertson 1992, pp. 43–45; 1998, pp. 283–288, 298–299, fig. 1. See also Hölscher 1991, p. 359; Papadopoulos 2003, p. 284.

47. There is a moderate 11% gradient as opposed to the steep 20% slope that terminates on the other side of the Street of the Tripods. For the 11% gradient to the southeast of the monuments, around the proposed Prytaneion site, see Welter 1922, p. 75. For the 20% slope between the Street of the Tripods and the top of the Theater of

Dionysos, see Choremi-Spetsieri 1994, esp. pp. 32–33; cf. also Robertson 1998, p. 292, n. 49. The best topographical map of the area is in Judeich 1931, end plan 1.

48. For the church, whose original form "has been entirely distorted by reconstruction," see briefly Mackenzie 1992, p. 237; for its date, see also Megaw 1932–1933.

49. See below, pp. 71–72. Apparently for this reason, the tourist literature on modern Athens has begun to identify this site with an ancient sanctuary of Hestia; see *Time Out*, p. 86, under "Church of St. Catherine."



Figure 11. Exposed remains in Agia Aikaterini Square, looking southeast.  
Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

The preserved section of an Ionic colonnade, forming the southwest corner of a large peristyle complex, has served as a well-known landmark in Athens from the time of Stuart and Revett in the 18th century (Fig. 11). Over the centuries, the site has been variously regarded as the Athenian Basileion, Hadrian's Panhellenion, the Palladion, the Theseion, and the Serapeion. Yet because most of the exposed remains appear to be Roman in date, for the last hundred years the building complex has been thought to have relatively little archaeological or topographical significance. Today it is generally considered to be part of a neighboring *balaneion*, or bath building, of the Late Roman period.<sup>50</sup>

Recent salvage excavations at the southwest corner of the modern square have begun to change this view, however. An architecturally grander, and almost certainly earlier, section of the building, described by the Greek press as a propylon, has been discovered.<sup>51</sup> Only a small section of the ancient complex has been excavated, but it is apparent that some of the archaeological remains date as far back as the Archaic period. The salvage work, described in detail below, has demonstrated that the modern square preserves much of the original dimensions of the site, making the proposed Prytaneion site one of the larger architectural spaces in ancient Athens.

50. See Travlos, *Athens*, p. 181, fig. 221, for *Balaneion* H: "The hypocaust of a Roman bath under Lysikrattous Street probably belongs to the large building in front of the church of St. Aikaterini; columns of either the peristyle or this stoa of this building are still standing."

51. See Catling 1982–1983, p. 8, summarizing a report in *Ta Nea*, January 14, 1983.

## ANTIQUARIAN INTEREST IN THE AGIA AIKATERINI SITE

Throughout the Ottoman period, the Plaka was a popular and prominent district of the city. It was the first *platoma*, or quarter of Athens, serving as the center of government under the rule of the Sardar, whose palace stood at the top of the northeast slope of the Acropolis. As in the Archaic period, the Plaka neighborhood marked the principal point of entrance into the city, and some of the era's most notable Athenian families resided there.<sup>52</sup> Perhaps most importantly, just across the street from the proposed site of the Prytaneion stood the famous hospice of the Capuchin order. At its foundation in the 17th century, this small monastic community published the first study and plan of the archaeological remains of Athens, thereby ushering in the modern antiquarian era. Later it would offer hospitality to such renowned antiquarians as Edward Dodwell and the influential artist Don Battista Lusieri.<sup>53</sup> The neighborhood of the proposed Prytaneion site therefore served as the starting point for all the early guidebooks to the ancient and modern city.

In the first of these, a highly influential work published in 1675 by Guillet de Saint-Georges, the Monument of Lysikrates (the so-called Lantern of Demosthenes) was first formally identified with Pausanias's description of the ancient Street of the Tripods (Fig. 12).<sup>54</sup> Guillet de Saint-Georges even ventured to claim that the Prytaneion must be located directly to the east of the Monument of Lysikrates.<sup>55</sup> This suggestion was additionally inspired by the fact that the Street of the Tripods was then known locally as the Street of Hestia.<sup>56</sup>

Antiquarian interest in the proposed site of the Prytaneion probably goes even further back into the 15th century. Cyriacus of Ancona appears to have been the first visitor to take notice of its remains, describing the site as a gymnasium.<sup>57</sup> After mentioning the "marble throne" of the Monument of Lysikrates, whose dedicatory inscription he transcribed, Cyriacus

52. The palace of the Sardar was then situated on the northeast slope of the Acropolis, next to the Jesuit Mission and the Hospice of the Calogers Medelli. The chief Christian official of Athens, the Vecchiados Capitanakis, lived across the street from the Monument of Lysikrates and the Hospice of the Capuchins, which he supervised, and next door to the Greek Orthodox monastery of the Calogeres. See Guillet de Saint-Georges 1675, pp. 283–284, 298–300, 333.

53. See Laborde 1854, pp. 74–76. The Capuchin Plan of Athens (dating to ca. 1670) is preserved in the Bibliothèque National in Paris; it is conveniently republished in Omont 1898, pl. XXXIX; see also Laborde 1854, p. 78, pl. I (with discussion of its influence on pp. 76–79). The many subsequent treatments of the plan include

Spon 1678, vol. 2, between pp. 416 and 417; Coronelli 1687, p. 197; Omont 1898, pp. 15–17, pls. XLII and XLI. For Lusieri's residence, see Clark 1816–1824, vol. 6, p. 205.

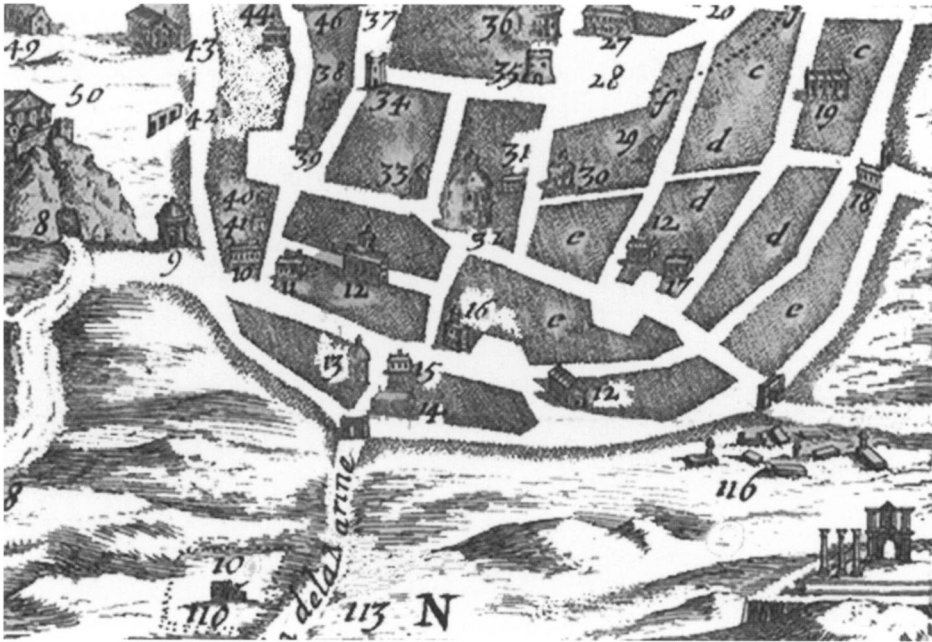
54. In Guillet de Saint-Georges 1675, esp. pp. 209–333. This work was immediately followed by the visit and similarly influential publications of Spon (1678) and Wheeler (1682).

55. Guillet de Saint-Georges 1675, p. 300.

56. Guillet de Saint-Georges 1675, pp. 209–211. In the 18th century it came to be known as the *Kandila*, or "Lamp Street," after the establishment of a church and convent to the Holy Lady of the Lamp, the Agia Kyra Kandili, on the site of the so-called Lantern of Diogenes (as recorded by Dodwell 1819, vol. 1, p. 289). Presumably these names were inspired by the

long-held belief that the victory tripods once surmounting the choregic monuments served as lighted lanterns. Yet for all we know, there may also have been some faint memory of the past existence of a shrine to Hestia, perhaps inspired by the preservation of the ancient Hestia dedication in the exterior wall of the church of the Holy Lady of the Lamp. If not, the later worship of the Hestia-like figure of the Agia Kandili would make for a remarkable historical irony.

57. The text of Cyriacus reads: *Ad aliam gymnasii sedem exornatam* (excerpted in Bodnar 1960, pp. 37–38; see n. 3 for an explanation of Cyriacus's terminology). The only other choregic monument still standing in medieval and early modern Athens was that of Thrasyllus, which Cyriacus afterward visited.



immediately noted another such choregic seat in the gymnasium.<sup>58</sup> This second choregic monument was almost certainly the Lantern of Diogenes, which once stood across the street from the Monument of Lysikrates and immediately adjacent to the site under investigation.

A few decades later an anonymous Greek visitor to the city took similar note of the Monument of Lysikrates and alluded, more fancifully (but perhaps presciently), to “the great agora of the city” nearby.<sup>59</sup> He described an ancient site situated directly between the Lantern of Demosthenes and the Arch of Hadrian, recording what he took to be the remains of the city’s Basileion, or royal hall. This site, which can only be that under discussion, featured a “great bath-building,” which he imaginatively identified as the royal bath for the *archon basileus*. Although written with a disarming combination of fact and fancy, this anonymous account has been given serious consideration in the past.<sup>60</sup>

By the mid-18th century, the Agia Aikaterini site had been turned into an olive-oil mill. It was at this time that the indomitable antiquarians Stuart and Revett first measured and recorded the standing remains of the site (Figs. 13, 14). At that time, three columns stood in place, with two supporting (as still today) an Ionic architrave. Stuart and Revett particularly

Figure 12. Detail of the Capuchin Plan as annotated by Guillet de Saint-Georges: (8) Cave of Apollo; (12) church of Agia Aikaterini; (13) Lantern of Demosthenes (Monument of Lysikrates); (16) Lantern of Diogenes and Analogeion. After Guillet de Saint-Georges 1675, plan following p. 338.

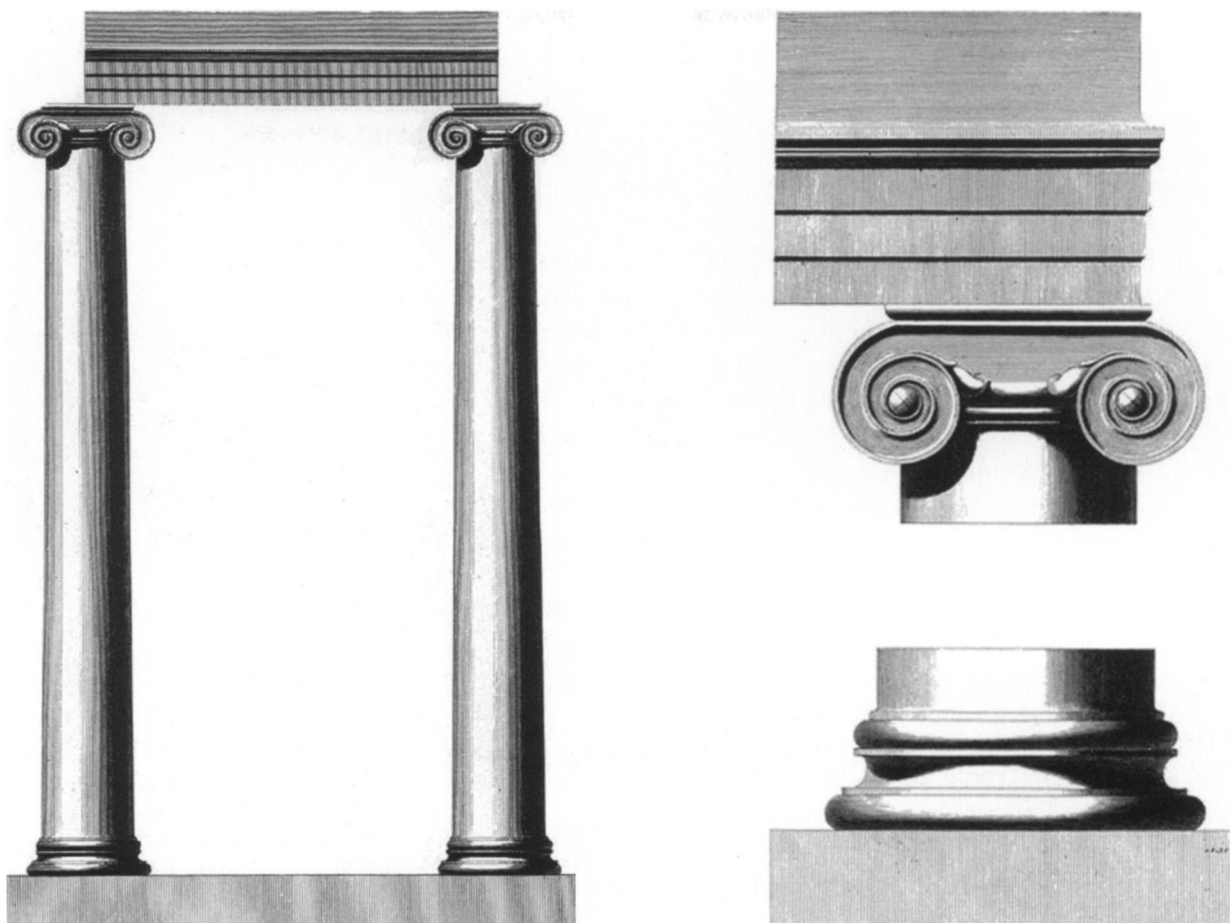
58. Bodnar suggests that Cyriacus’s gymnasium “may refer to the theater-area” (1960, p. 162), but the Theater of Dionysos was deeply buried and remained unknown until the 19th century.

59. Laborde 1854, p. 18.

60. This passage is transcribed in Laborde 1854, p. 18, section 5 (near the Lantern of Demosthenes): καὶ βαλα-  
νεῖον μέγιστον ἐκεῖ ὑπῆρχε καὶ τὸ βασι-

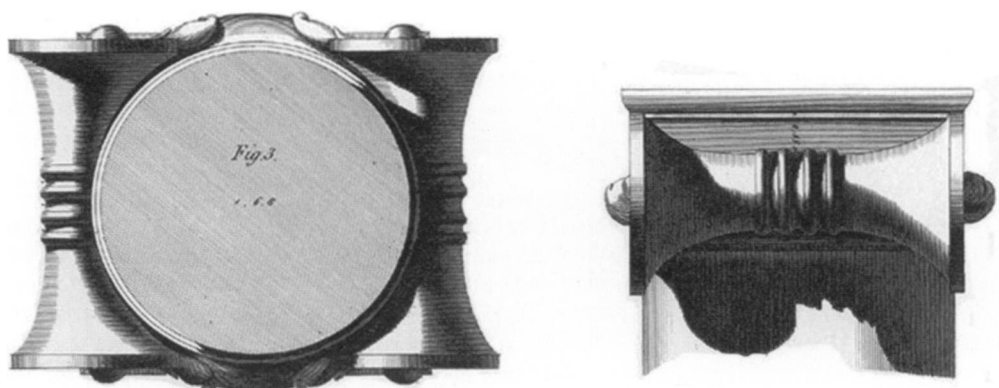
λικὸν λουτρόν, ἐν τῇ τὸν μέγαν βασι-  
λειον διὰ πατάγων φοβῆσαι ἠθέλησαν·  
ἐνθα καὶ ὁ τοῦ μνηστάρχου οἶκος.  
The visit to the Arch of Hadrian im-  
mediately follows (section 6): Ἰσταται  
δὲ κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τούτου κτλ. In this  
context, the house of the Mnēstarchos,  
the nuptial- or bride-official, should  
almost certainly be understood in  
connection with the ritual *hieros gamos*  
that took place between the *basilinna*

(the wife of the *archon basileus*) and  
Dionysos in the Basileion on the  
last day of the Anthesteria festival  
(contra Laborde 1854, p. 25, where  
the word is taken as a personal name).  
Laborde (1854, p. 28) places the site  
far outside of its topographical context  
with the suggestion that “the small  
Panagia Vlastiki perhaps marks (its)  
location.”



**Figure 13.** Measured drawing (*left*) and detail (*right*) of the standing section of the west colonnade.

After Stuart and Revett [1762–1794] 1968, vol. 3, ch. XI, pls. I:1 and II



**Figure 14.** Study of the Ionic capitals from the west colonnade. After Stuart and Revett [1762–1794] 1968, vol. 3, ch. XI, pl. I:3

admired the elegant classicizing style of the Ionic capitals, which they compared closely and favorably with those of the 5th-century Ilissos Temple on the south bank of the Ilissos River. Although they could not offer any identification for the building, Stuart thought that it was “undoubtedly a part of a considerable edifice.”<sup>61</sup>

In 1835, the epigraphist Kyriakos Pittakis recorded the existence of numerous Ionic capitals preserved in the walls of the adjacent church of the Agia Kyra Kandili, the Holy Lady of the Lamp.<sup>62</sup> There were so many that he believed a temple must once have stood upon the site. Most significantly, Pittakis also discovered a large dedication to Hestia. Consequently, he believed that this now-demolished church marked the proximity, in ancient times, of the shrine of Hestia. As for the proposed site of the Prytaneion, Pittakis noted its “numerous ruins,” supposing them to represent the remains of an ancient temple, perhaps the Theseion.<sup>63</sup>

European topographers were similarly drawn to comment on the site. In his early 19th-century plan of Athens, Ferdinand Stademmann tentatively identified it as the Palladion, presumably because of an architectural dedication to Athena Pallas built into the church and convent of Agia Kyra Kandili.<sup>64</sup> Leake believed that the exposed remains represented an important public building of the Hellenistic period.<sup>65</sup> For a time in the mid-19th century the site was identified as the Temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios.<sup>66</sup>

As depicted in the 1860s, the preserved colonnade of the site was partly buried, and the third standing column had just begun to collapse (Fig. 15). An archaeological plan of Athens from the 1870s depicts the site with a fourth column preserved two intercolumniations away.<sup>67</sup> Toward the end of the 19th century, Curtius tentatively reconstructed the structure as a very large peristyle complex.<sup>68</sup> Soon afterward, Walter Judeich included the site in his monumental *Topographie von Athen*, where the structure is regarded as a “colonnaded building of the Roman period.”<sup>69</sup> Judeich nonetheless believed that the location of the site was significant, pointing to the nearby remains of a substantial building of Archaic and Classical date, partially excavated some years earlier.<sup>70</sup>

61. Stuart and Revett [1762–1794] 1968, vol. 3, p. 64. The comparison with the Ilissos Temple was followed in 1827 by Inwood's ([1827] 1972, p. 137, pls. 24, 25) architectural studies of the city's classical remains. See also Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 112–120, figs. 154–163.

62. Pittakis 1835, pp. 171–172; see also Mommsen 1868, p. 60, under no. 52.

63. Pittakis 1835, p. 173; Pittakis locates it as follows: “Vis-à-vis de ce temple on voit l'arc de triomphe d'Adrien.”

64. See Stademmann [1841] 1977, end plan.

65. Leake (1841, vol. 1, pp. 272–273, with pl. II) writes: “the three Ionic columns, which in the time of Stuart formed part of an olive-mill, and two of which support an architrave, belonged probably to the temple of Sarapis; their style not being that of an early age, nor so late as Roman times.” See also Milchhoefer [1891] 1977, p. 189.

66. See the “Temple de Junion et Jupiter Panhellénien” with accurate measurements in Breton 1868, p. 217. The site is also identified as such by Wordsworth 1853, plan facing p. 190.

67. See Wachsmuth 1874–1890, vol. 1, end plan.

68. See Curtius and Kaupert 1881–1903, fasc. 5, pl. I:a; as tentatively reconstructed, the complex would measure some 70 m long (east–west) by 40 m wide (north–south).

69. Judeich 1931, p. 339.

70. Located to the northwest of the Olympieion, it was excavated by the Greek Archaeological Service in 1888 (briefly mentioned in Dörpfeld 1889, p. 414). Two large and successive walls are described: an older polygonal wall of limestone and an ashlar wall of conglomerate, which reinforced or modified the earlier one.

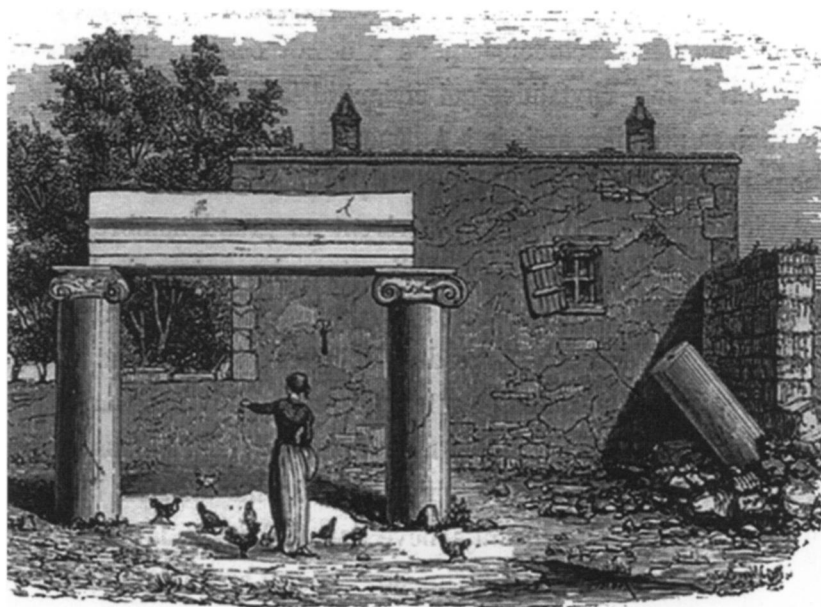


Figure 15. Standing section of the west colonnade as it looked in the 1860s. After Breton 1868, p. 217

#### STANDING ARCHITECTURE IN AGIA AIKATERINI SQUARE

The best documentation of the standing architecture in Agia Aikaterini Square continues to be the studies made by Stuart and Revett more than two centuries ago. The surviving twin columns, Ionic architrave, and capitals of the west colonnade (see Figs. 11, 16) are precisely drawn, and measurements can be scaled from the drawings; the preserved colonnade, for example, stands over 5 m in height from column base to architrave, while the interaxial spacing of the columns is a standard 2.5 m (Figs. 13, 14).<sup>71</sup>

All of the architectural elements, from column base to architrave, are notably full and well proportioned. In these characteristics, the Agia Aikaterini remains contrast with those from Roman buildings in Athens, which typically have “pancaked” capitals with narrow volutes, pinched leafed bolsters, and neck moldings with lean and compacted profiles.<sup>72</sup> Moreover, virtually all the preserved Ionic capitals from Roman Athens favor a central egg-and-dart motif on the echinus, but the ovolo echinus on the Agia Aikaterini columns is plain. This is reminiscent of the early Attic Ionic capital, on which the central motif was painted. Furthermore, the echinus-volute angle is ornamented not only with a conventional palmette leaf, but

71. As derived from Stuart and Revett’s ([1762–1794] 1968, vol. 3, ch. XI, pls. I, II) measured drawings, the elevation of the surviving colonnade is 5.36 m; the interaxial spacing is 2.50 m; the intercolumniation is 1.72 m. The Ionic bases measure 0.783 m in diameter at bottom (0.575 m at top) and 0.206 m in height; the architrave-epistyle block is 0.587 m in height and 0.53 m in

width. Keramopoulos (1911, p. 260) gives the height of the columns as 4.35 m, rising to 4.55 m with the column base.

72. Cf. the examples of reportedly Late Hellenistic and Roman Imperial date in Meritt 1996, pp. 169–172, nos. 22–24, and the Ionic capitals from the Roman Market in Orlandos 1967, p. 19, fig. 23. In these the overall

length–height ratio is 1:2.4, as compared with the more Classical, high profile of those from the Agia Aikaterini site, which have a ratio of 1:1.7. The Ionic bases, though less diagnostic in date, also differ from the typically flattened bases from Roman buildings in Athens; their diameter–height ratios are 1:4.7 as compared with 1:4 in the Roman examples.



**Figure 16.** Standing section of the west colonnade, exterior view, looking west. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

also with an unusual fillet above.<sup>73</sup> The flanking volutes of the capital are nicely proportioned in relation to the necking element; they feature a large, raised boss for the eye of the volute, while the side bolsters are ornamented in classical fashion with four bands of round astragals at the center. The form and style of the Ionic capitals from Agia Aikaterini Square indicate a particular and carefully studied classicism, as if they were closely styled after earlier models on site. While typically Augustan in their classicizing style and general craftsmanship, they share a close affinity with Classical prototypes in their sculpted details and generous proportions.

Elsewhere in Roman Athens, the only close parallels for these architectural characteristics are to be found in the Ionic capitals from the City Asklepieion, which probably belong to the rebuilding of the late-4th-century east stoa (Fig. 17).<sup>74</sup> There the sculpted ornamentation is very similar to that on the capitals from Agia Aikaterini Square, although the volute angle is decorated with the more typical triple-leafed palmette and lacks a fillet above. The surface of this capital is also less well finished, having been simply roughed out with a toothed chisel. The capitals of the Asklepieion were clearly created as replicas of their 4th-century predecessors.

73. An excellent 5th-century B.C. comparison, particularly for the single palmette leaf, has recently been published from the collection of the British School of Athens; see Tomlinson 2000, p. 474, no. 22 (without provenance). The unusual surmounting fillet, meanwhile, finds a parallel with the Ionic capitals from the Periklean Temple of Athena at Sounion; see the figure in

Dinsmoor 1971, p. 48. For two representative examples of the more typical Ionic capital of the Roman era, see Tomlinson 2000, pp. 474–475, nos. 23, 24.

74. See “Chapiteaux II” in Martin 1944–1945, pp. 343–345, figs. 3–5, pl. 27; the best-preserved capital is characterized as belonging “aux meilleures époques de l’architecture athénienne.” For an alternative attribution

of these capitals to the sanctuary’s Augustan stoa, see Walker 1979, pp. 243–244. Tomlinson (2000, pp. 474–475, no. 23) compares an Ionic capital of “1st–2nd c. A.D.” with the Asklepieion example, although the carved ornamentation is more elaborate, with the triple-leafed palmette and central egg-and-dart motif favored in the Roman period.



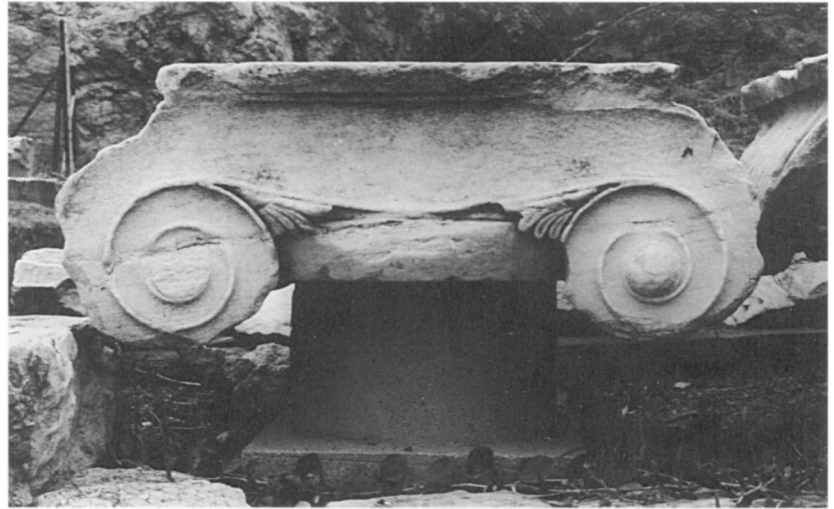


Figure 17. Ionic capital from the City Asklepieion. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

The proportions of the standing architrave, which is roughly slotted at the back to receive wooden beams, are also unusual for the Roman period. As a combined epistyle block, with a frieze over an architrave having triple fasciae, it is typical of the Late Hellenistic through Julio-Claudian periods.<sup>75</sup> It is distinct from the form of epistyle that became popular in Athens in the 2nd century A.D., when the profile of the architrave course assumed a sinuous form. It also has a rather old-fashioned proportional ratio between the frieze and architrave courses, one more typical of the Late Classical and Middle Hellenistic periods.<sup>76</sup> Here again it may be suggested that the partially preserved building still visible in Agia Aikaterini Square may have been copied from an earlier phase of the complex.

### THE WEST COLONNADE

The exposed southwest corner of the site (see above, Fig. 11) was first identified as a large peristyle complex in 1911 when the western corner of the southern colonnade was cleared by Antonios Keramopoulos during a brief salvage operation (Fig. 18). The ancient courtyard of the complex was also sounded under the modern *plateia*, where a well and later cistern were discovered.<sup>77</sup> The length of the standing (west) colonnade was exposed down to the building level of its stylobate, where it was found to have been partially walled in, probably sometime in the Late Roman period. The colonnade was cleared to an extent of just over 14.5 m from the southwest corner of the complex to the northern balk of the excavation, under which the colonnade presumably continues roughly to the modern intersection of Chairephon Street and the southern end of Hadrian Street (Fig. 22, below).

75. For examples from the Augustan period, see the epistyle blocks from the Roman Market (Orlandos 1967, p. 18, fig. 22) and the so-called Augustan Stoa in the City Asklepieion (Versakis 1908, p. 278, pl. 9, no. 24; 1913, p. 69, fig. 25).

76. As with earlier epistyle blocks

(e.g., those from the 2nd-century Metroon in the Classical Agora; Thompson 1937, p. 184, fig. 110), the blocks from the proposed Prytaneion site have an approximately 1:1 ratio between their two courses.

77. Keramopoulos 1911, p. 260,

fig. 5. The well is numbered as feature γ, with the mouth covered by a large wellhead; the cistern, feature δ, was found to have a mortared mouth and waterproofed earthen sides. The excavations are now briefly reviewed in Lippolis 1995, p. 62, fig. 18.

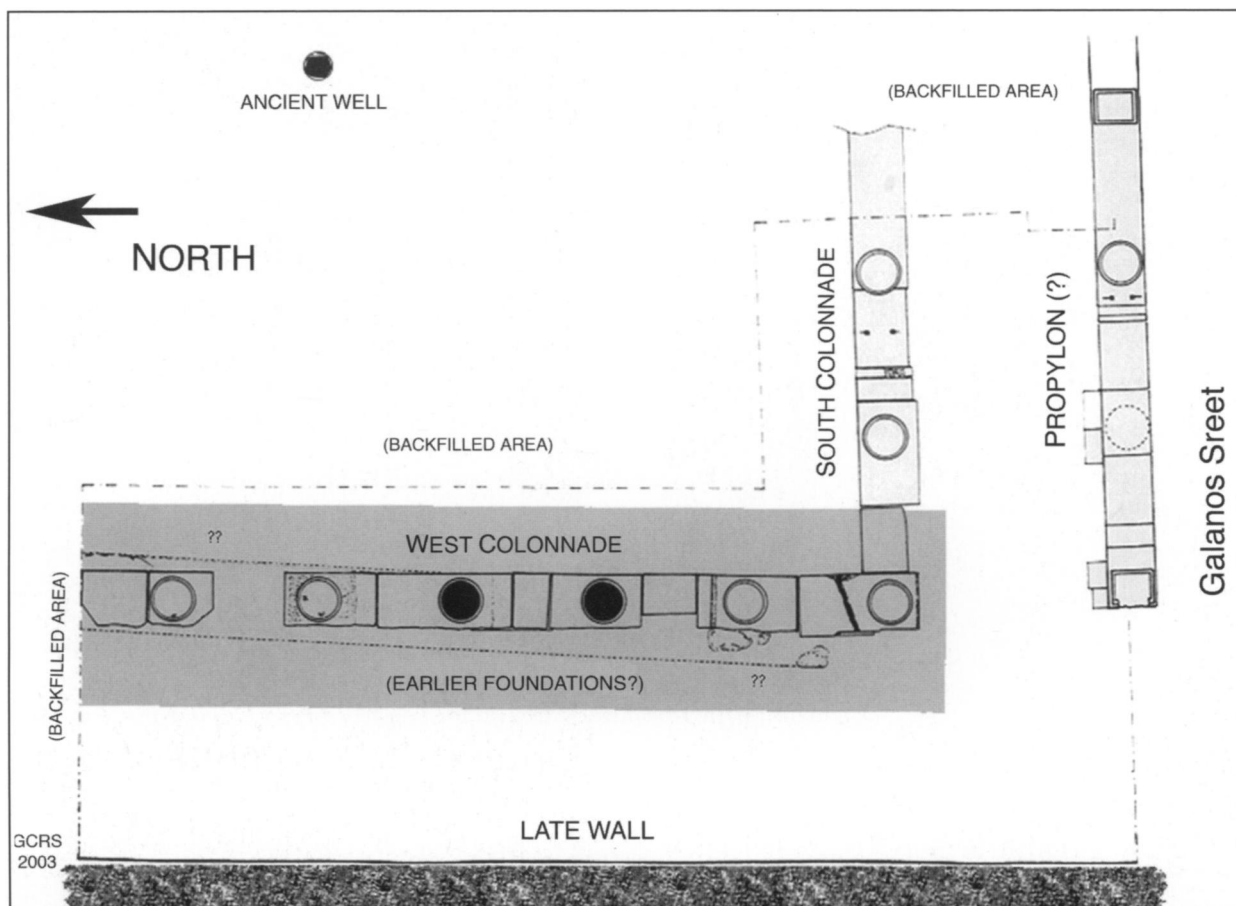


Figure 18. State plan of the exposed southwest corner of the proposed Prytaneion site in Agia Aikaterini Square, as excavated in 1911 (gray area) and 1982. G. C. R. Schmalz

Keramopoulos's trench was excavated just deeply enough to reveal probable sections of an earlier foundation course of conglomerate. As partially exposed still at the southern and northern ends of the west colonnade, this wall was laid along a slightly different orientation relative to the surviving colonnade (Figs. 18, 19). Although the wall would appear to be significant evidence for an earlier phase of the complex, excavation is required to be certain.

A fallen column of the west colonnade was also discovered (Fig. 20), probably the leaning column in Breton's portrait of the site (Fig. 15, above). This column is particularly noteworthy because it features cuttings typically indicative of the display of votive plaques. Perhaps significantly, Keramopoulos's excavation uncovered a votive plaque depicting an enthroned female deity receiving the offering of a small torch or a cornucopia (the attributes of Hestia and Eirene, respectively) from a maiden or young woman accompanied by three men.<sup>78</sup> Such evidence suggests that an important hall or cult room, facing east, was once situated behind the west colonnade. Further support for the reconstruction of this west hall comes from a finely molded cornice block of white Pentelic marble recovered by Keramopoulos from the partial walling-in of the west colonnade (Fig. 21).

Like other aspects of the architectural remains, the coloring of the west colonnade, with its combined use of Pentelic and Hymettian marbles in the

78. This plaque is pictured in Keramopoulos 1911, p. 261, fig. 8. I thank Evelyn Harrison for discussing this evidence with me.



Figure 19 (*left*). View of the west colonnade, with possible remains of earlier construction in foreground, looking northwest. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz



Figure 20 (*right*). View of the west colonnade and aisle of the site, looking south. Traces of fixtures for votive plaques are visible on the displaced column. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

Ionic order, is most typical of Hellenistic and Early Roman construction in Athens. The first attested use of the twin marbles dates to the beginning of the 4th century B.C. in the east stoa of the Asklepieion.<sup>79</sup> In terms of workmanship, the stylobate blocks are irregularly hewn, measured, and finished. They may thus have been converted from a prior use on the site, perhaps having been cut down from wider step blocks of an earlier stylobate.<sup>80</sup> Keramopoulos believed that the section of the west colonnade extending northward from the standing architrave, where the stylobate blocks take on an even more irregular appearance, represents a second rebuilding.<sup>81</sup>

The most direct evidence for an ancient restoration of the west colonnade is provided by the existence of mason's marks on the top surface of its two northernmost column bases (Fig. 18). Here the architectural members of the colonnade seem to have been carefully reassembled after its repair or remodeling. Both column bases were carved with a lunate epsilon, while the southern column base is additionally marked by the Greek letter nu, which could stand for νότιος (south).<sup>82</sup> The epsilon probably represents

79. For this and the Roman rebuilding, see Allen and Caskey 1911, pp. 34–39. For the original use, which begins in the 5th century B.C. and is well known from the 4th-century Theater of Dionysos, see Thompson

1937, pp. 46–47; for the employment of Hymettian steps in the Hellenistic Metroon, see also Thompson 1937, p. 181, fig. 108.

80. Such a reuse is evident in the east stoa of the Asklepieion; Allen

and Caskey 1911, pp. 34, 36.

81. Keramopoulos 1911, pp. 259–260.

82. On such mason's marks, see Martin 1965, pp. 225–231; for their use in cardinal orientation, see esp. p. 230.



Figure 21. Cornice block from the “west hall” of the site. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

a numerical mark for five, which would then indicate that these columns stood fifth in line from the north and south ends of the colonnade. As it happens, the column base marked “ε-ν” stands fifth from the south end of the colonnade, so the twin marks could stand for “fifth from the south.” If this interpretation is correct, the west colonnade would have extended for a length of 10 columns, just over 25 m. The north–south dimension of the complex, restored with interior aisles or rooms, would then have had an estimated length of ca. 45 m.

#### THE NORTHERN PERIBOLOS WALL AND 6TH–5TH CENTURY FINDS

Although 19th-century scholars theorized that the *plateia* of the Agia Aikaterini church preserved approximately the original dimensions of our site, it was not until the 1960s that salvage excavations succeeded in determining its extent.<sup>83</sup> Sections of heavy ashlar walls measuring a meter in width were unearthed precisely where the north and east flanks of the complex’s outer wall, or peribolos, had earlier been projected. A section of the east wall was discovered just outside the northeast corner of the *plateia* (Fig. 22, no. 1). Reported as the remains of a sizable ancient structure, the peribolos wall was excavated along its outer face for a distance of more than 3 m and it appeared to continue past the limit of the excavation trench.<sup>84</sup>

An evidently significant section of the northern peribolos wall was found just outside of the northwest corner of the square, under the southernmost block of Hadrian Street (Fig. 22, no. 2). The latter road probably reflects the placement and orientation of the site’s northern colonnade. Here the excavators brought to light a substantial complex of rooms built on deep foundations, along with an impressive quantity of architectural and sculptural debris.<sup>85</sup> Although the cross walls had been largely robbed away, apparently in the Byzantine period, the large outer wall was found well preserved, running east to west, parallel to the northern flank of Agia Aikaterini Square. The robbed cross walls appear to represent a series of

83. See the reconstruction in Travlos, *Athens*, p. 171, fig. 221; also *Agora* XXIV, pl. 2.

84. Briefly published in *ArchDelt* 17, B’1 (1961–1962 [1963]), p. 28, no. 12, as “τμήμα τοίχου ἐξ ἀρχαίου κτηρίου.” The surviving height of the walls, excavated for a distance of 3.14 m, was 0.68 m.

85. *ArchDelt* 17, B’1 (1961–1962 [1963]), pp. 27–28, no. 11; these remains were excavated under the houses of Hadrian Street 146, 148, and 150.

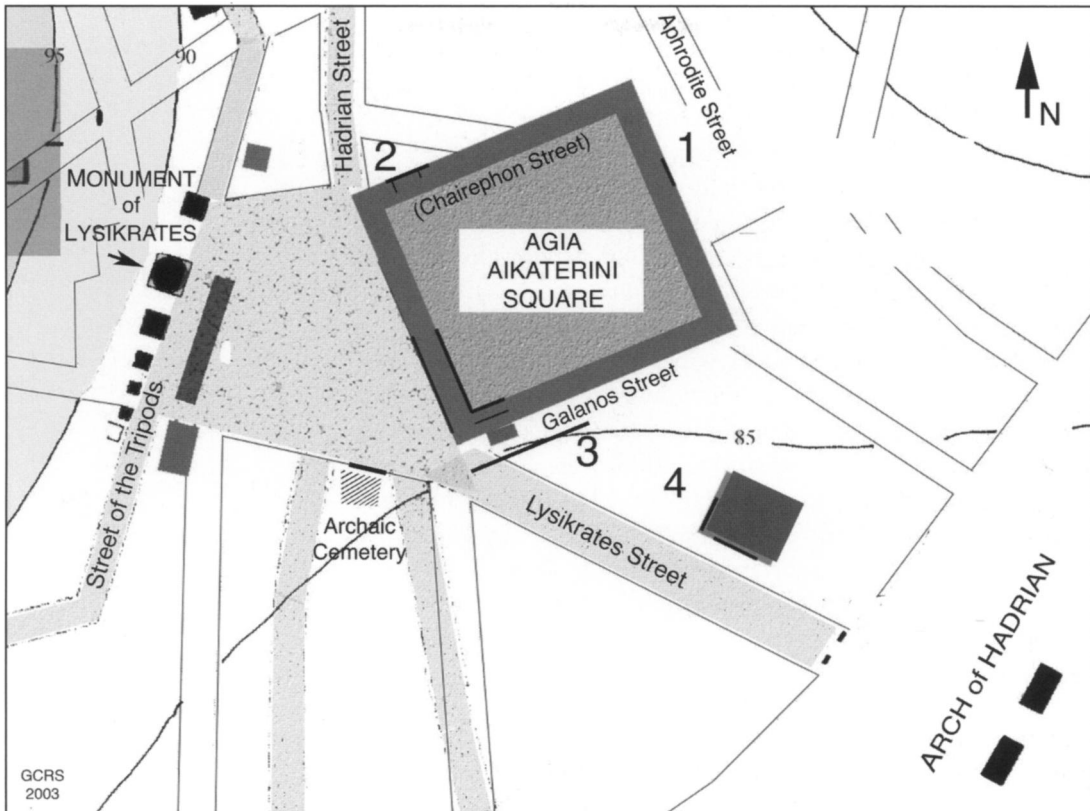


Figure 22. Topographical plan of the proposed site of the Prytaneion and related areas: (1) east peribolos wall of the Prytaneion(?); (2) building remains over 6th-century B.C. deposit; (3) north wall of 2nd-century A.D. building; (4) Classical building remains. G. C. R. Schmalz

rooms facing south toward the inner courtyard of the ancient complex. A deep well attributed to the “Graeco-Roman period” was found just beyond the northern side of the peribolos wall. Within the excavated rooms, the excavators encountered scattered deposits of architectural and sculptural debris from postoccupation levels. Among these remains were part of a monolithic column and some smaller Ionic column bases, all of white Pentelic marble. The recorded sculpture was dated mostly to the Graeco-Roman period; the finds, including a small altar (or *bomiskos*), statuettes, a statue base, and a Herm, appear to have been largely votive in nature.

For the excavators, the most exciting result of their investigation was the discovery that the robbed cross walls of the rooms were built directly over a deep primary deposit belonging to the mid-6th century B.C. This rich fill was packed with mendable Attic black-figure ware of excellent quality. The forms were predominantly drinking cups, including both kylikes and skyphoi. One mended kylix is recorded as measuring 40 cm in diameter.<sup>86</sup> This deposit is likely to represent the debris of repeated, large-scale dining activity dating to the Peisistratid era. Significantly, the excavators found that the overlying features remained in continuous use from the Late Archaic or Early Classical period through the Roman era.

Looking beyond the limit of the site for a moment, it is probably significant that the road against which the western and southeastern flanks of this ancient complex were built was well developed by the 5th century B.C. This road, which stretched from the lower eastern slope of the Acropolis to the area of the Olympieion, is represented today by Lysikrates Street. Just

86. The ware from the Archaic deposit (0.5 m in depth) was reported to be uniformly excellent in quality, with depictions of aristocratic equestrian scenes and popular Dionysian motifs of satyrs and maenads; *ArchDelt* 17, B'1 (1961–1962 [1963]), p. 28.

one block to the east, and on the same (northern) side of the road, remains have been uncovered of a substantially constructed building that originally dates to the Classical period (Fig. 22, no. 4).<sup>87</sup> On the other side of the same road, just across the street from our site, a cemetery of the 6th century B.C. has also been discovered.<sup>88</sup> Clearly, the urban area directly around the site proposed for the Prytaneion had been fully developed by the 5th century B.C., with the ancient counterpart of Lysikrates Street dividing a built-up area to the north and an undeveloped patch of land, perhaps the “Field of Famine” (Zen. 4.93), along with the cemetery, to the south.

This line of urban demarcation apparently remained more or less in place until as late as the 2nd century A.D., when both sides of the road were heavily redeveloped.<sup>89</sup> Some of this later building activity has been linked to the proposed Prytaneion site, but most of it should probably be regarded as distinct. A very large 2nd-century structure, built of well-dressed ashlar masonry and aligned with the southern flank of Agia Aikaterini Square, probably stands too far away (at a distance of some 10 m) to have formed part of the site, unless it represents a substantial annex (Fig. 22, no. 3).<sup>90</sup> Moreover, it was the discovery of an adjacent, Late Antique hypocaust under Lysikrates Street that resulted in the relegation of the site to the rather undistinguished list of the city’s Roman baths.<sup>91</sup>

## THE SOUTH COLONNADE AND THE “PROPYLON”

In 1982 the Greek Archaeological Service investigated the site proposed for the Prytaneion once again during the course of a brief salvage campaign.<sup>92</sup> One part of this operation entailed clearing the backfill from Keramopoulos’s 1911 excavation in order to expose and conserve this section of the site (Fig. 18). A new trench reaching behind the west colonnade revealed a parallel backing wall of substantial proportions, preserved to a height of 2.3–3.2 m. From the southwest corner of the complex the east or inner face of the wall was exposed for a length of 15.6 m. Built from rubble and employing a large number of reused ashlar blocks of poros limestone (presumably from the earlier phases of the complex), this wall probably represents a final rebuilding of the complex in the Late Antique period, perhaps contemporary with the partial walling-in of the west colonnade. The existence of this later backing wall may indicate that the west precinct wall of the complex was sited still further back, fully under Lysikrates Street,

87. The building was found at 15 Lysikrates Street and briefly published in *ArchDelt* 34, B’1 (1979 [1987]), p. 33, no. 43, with end plan; see also a notice in Catling 1987–1988, p. 7.

88. The cemetery is noted in *ArchDelt* 18, B’1 (1963 [1965]), p. 37, no. 17. Four well-built but very narrow graves were found 3 m from the modern sidewalk. A coin hoard dating to the 6th century B.C. was found in one of the graves.

89. The cemetery was evidently

built over only in the Roman period, while the building at 15 Lysikrates Street was substantially rebuilt in the 2nd century A.D.; see *ArchDelt* 18, B’1 (1963 [1965]), p. 37, no. 17. Between the latter site and the proposed site of the Prytaneion, an extensive structure was found at 7 Lysikrates Street, extending more than 7 m from the modern sidewalk and built on a deep foundation of red conglomerate; *ArchDelt* 28, B’1 (1973 [1977]), p. 34, no. 16.

90. The evidence for this building is

extracted from two related field reports on neighboring excavations, under 6 Galanos Street and under Lysikrates Street just before it intersects Galanos Street; see *ArchDelt* 34, B’1 (1979 [1987]), pp. 32–33; *ArchEph* 1973, pp. 61–62, fig. 5, wall ξ. The two published 2nd-century A.D. walls appear to be sections of the same wall, measuring ca. 20 m long.

91. See n. 50, above.

92. Vasilopoulou 1989.

**Figure 23.** View of southwest corner of the complex, showing stylobate of south colonnade. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz



which would allow for the reconstruction of an original aisle or halls along the west flank of the complex.

The salvage excavations of 1982 also uncovered and conserved the entire southwest corner of the ancient complex under the intersection of Lysikrates and Galanos Streets.<sup>93</sup> This work revealed that the corner of the building had been laid out at 86°, or slightly less than a true right angle. The colonnaded features and the built interior are more refined in terms of materials and craftsmanship than later constructions on the site. Perhaps most significantly, the excavated portion of the interior displays a feature reported in the Greek press as a propylon, or entranceway (Fig. 18).<sup>94</sup> Although only the inner (north) side of the feature remains exposed, enough of it has been cleared to suggest that it led out from the complex. In addition, various spolia from the site were recovered, including enough epistyle blocks to represent the entire expanse of the exposed west and south colonnades. Several large, molded toichobate blocks of Pentelic marble, presumably from the interior of the propylon, were also found.

The south colonnade of the complex was excavated for a length of 8.7 m. It features a finely built stylobate with two Ionic bases (Fig. 23). Two monolithic columns were also recovered, one broken and the other carefully cut down. The latter column, which has since been erected at the southwest corner of the interior peristyle, has a distinctly different coloration from all the others along the west and south colonnades, and it may in fact belong to the interior stylobate of the complex. As excavated, this section of the south colonnade was found adapted to its final phase of use, the second intercolumniation having been walled in with rubble and a reused funerary column.

While the dimensions of the south colonnade column bases and columns are the same as those belonging to the adjoining west colonnade, the intercolumniation is notably broader (by 0.2 m). The stylobate, constructed from a blue-gray, ostensibly Hymettian marble, also differs distinctly from its western counterpart. Its quality is markedly superior, and the blocks under the columns are more regularly drawn and assembled (as seen in

93. Vasilopoulou 1989.

94. See p. 46 and n. 51, above.



**Figure 24. View of the exposed southern interior of the complex, with reported propylon.** Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

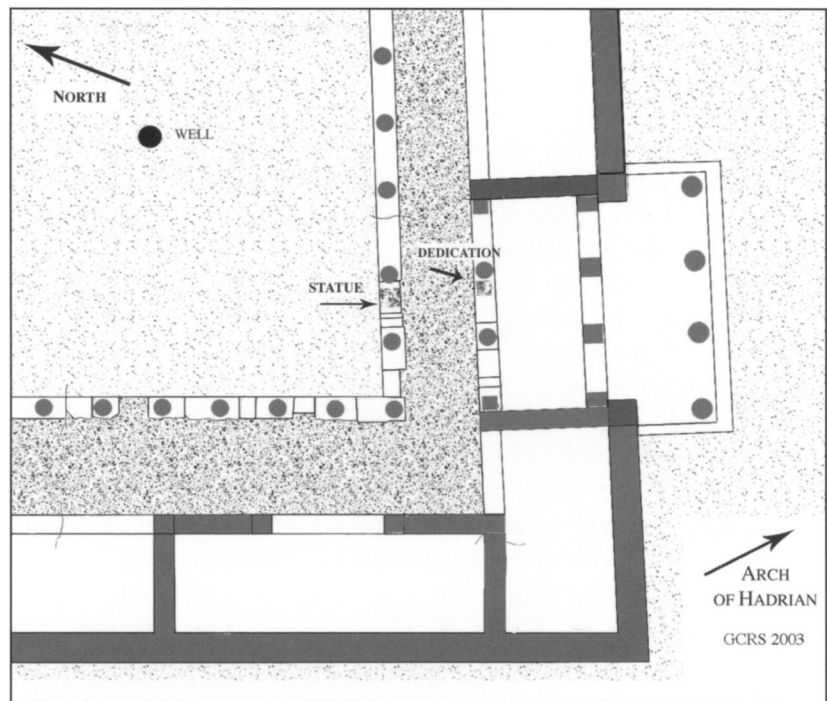
Fig. 18). The stylobate seems to have undergone some remodeling in antiquity, as the blocks of the intercolumniations are far less uniform in dimension than those beneath the columns, and they appear to have been reused. Within the second intercolumniation two blocks are used; one has a carefully filled water channel joined to the other with a pi-shaped iron clamp. The surface of the adjoining stylobate block has twin dowel holes for the fixture of a stone pedestal, indicating that it once supported a stele or small statue base. These largely aesthetic considerations suggest that the preserved west and south colonnades may well represent two different architectural phases of the peristyle complex.

The south colonnade was found to back onto a finely constructed built interior, occupied at its west end by the so-called propylon and an adjoining room that would have constituted the far corner of the complex here (Figs. 24, 25). The breadth of the propylon along its interior stylobate measures just over 10 m; unlike other architectural elements of the site, it is constructed from Pentelic marble. This inner (north) face of the propylon is framed by two well-carved, bottom-molded antepiers, the west one found in situ. The distance between the two antepiers is 7.65 m, while the intercolumniation is the same as that of the south colonnade, with columns and antepiers in alignment. The west face of the surviving antepier was roughly chiseled to receive an abutting structural element that shared the same foundation block. This may be identified with the tall doorjamb found among a number of displaced architectural members, presumably forming the doorway into the adjoining corner room.<sup>95</sup>

Although the interior of the propylon (now backfilled under the northern sidewalk of Galanos Street) was apparently cleared to a sufficient extent to determine its function, no details have been published. Equally unfortunate, the circumstances of the salvage work did not permit the excavator to explore much beyond the eastern limit of the propylon. Although the excavation report indicates that the southern flank of the complex featured a built interior that extended eastward from the propylon,

95. In addition, a doorpost was found in the same place; this is similar to those in the probable prytaneion at Ephesos, for which see Miller 1978, pl. IX:c.





**Figure 25.** Tentative reconstruction of the southwest corner of the complex, with reported propylon.  
G. C. R. Schmalz

it remains unknown whether it was constructed as an open-plan aisle or as a series of adjoining rooms.

In its reconstructed form (Fig. 25), the propylon calls to mind the modest type of structure used as an auxiliary entranceway for colonnaded markets and stoa complexes. In size it is not much smaller than the east gate of the Roman Market of Caesar and Augustus, which is sited in the same fashion. Before the construction of the adjacent 2nd-century A.D. building found beneath the southern block of Galanos Street, the location of the propylon would certainly have provided a convenient point of access from ancient Lysikrates Street, which brought traffic to and from the lower city around the Olympieion.

Since the exposed remains of the site's southwest corner have yet to be properly excavated, their dating can only be based on stylistic considerations and the varying qualities of workmanship and material. It appears, nonetheless, that this corner of the building complex underwent a great deal of rebuilding over several centuries. At the very least, the salvage excavations of 1982 have demonstrated that the remains at the site proposed as the Prytaneion are a good deal older and more architecturally sophisticated than once thought. Certainly the newly exposed southern features of the complex have every appearance of being pre-Roman in date, while the propylon, with its excellent materials and uniform use of Pentelic marble, would not seem out of place in a Late Classical context. A notably large peristyle complex of civic significance is now clearly attested under Agia Aikaterini Square. With an estimated size of ca. 45 m (N–S) by 65 m (E–W)—slightly less than half the size of the Roman Market of Caesar and Augustus—the Prytaneion represents the third largest structure of its kind known from ancient Athens.

## WIDER ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

### THE STREET OF THE TRIPODS AND LYSIKRATES SQUARE

In antiquity the proposed site of the Prytaneion was across from the Street of the Tripods, sharing a moderately large square with the Monument of Lysikrates and its choregic neighbors (as reconstructed in Fig. 26). The modern Lysikrates Square occupies much of this area. As with the ancient counterpart to Lysikrates Street, documented to have run from the old section of the city to the Olympieion,<sup>96</sup> this square was developed as early as the 5th century B.C. At that time, a substantial building already stood at the southwest corner of the ancient *plateia*,<sup>97</sup> while to its north (along the west side of the square), a significant cult area was in regular use. Choregic monuments of relatively modest size had also begun to make their appearance along the Street of the Tripods in this vicinity. It is possible, but by no means certain, that all of these features were associated with the administration and celebration of the nearby cult of Dionysos.

By the late 4th century B.C., the square was further embellished with a long, rather shallow stoa, perhaps forming part of the Lykourgan building program. Most famously, the Monument of Lysikrates, along with eight surviving counterparts (including the lost Lantern of Diogenes), now dominated this civic center.<sup>98</sup> The sculpted superstructures of these monuments must have been sufficiently raised to be seen above the roofline of the fronting stoa.

This square probably marked a significant intersection in antiquity. The road from the Archaic harbor at Phaleron (found under the modern road of that name, with pavements dating as far back as the 5th century B.C.) would have had its terminus here, meeting the Street of the Tripods and the ancient counterparts of Hadrian and Lysikrates Streets below the front of the Acropolis.<sup>99</sup> Indeed, anyone arriving in Archaic Athens by sea and passing through the city's south gate would have entered the heart of the city at this point.<sup>100</sup> The Archaic Agora was presumably situated just beyond. Investigations of these ancient streets (especially the Street of the Tripods and Hadrian Street) by the Greek Archaeological Service have

96. Travlos, *Athens*, p. 253.

97. On this development, see Wilson 2000, p. 209.

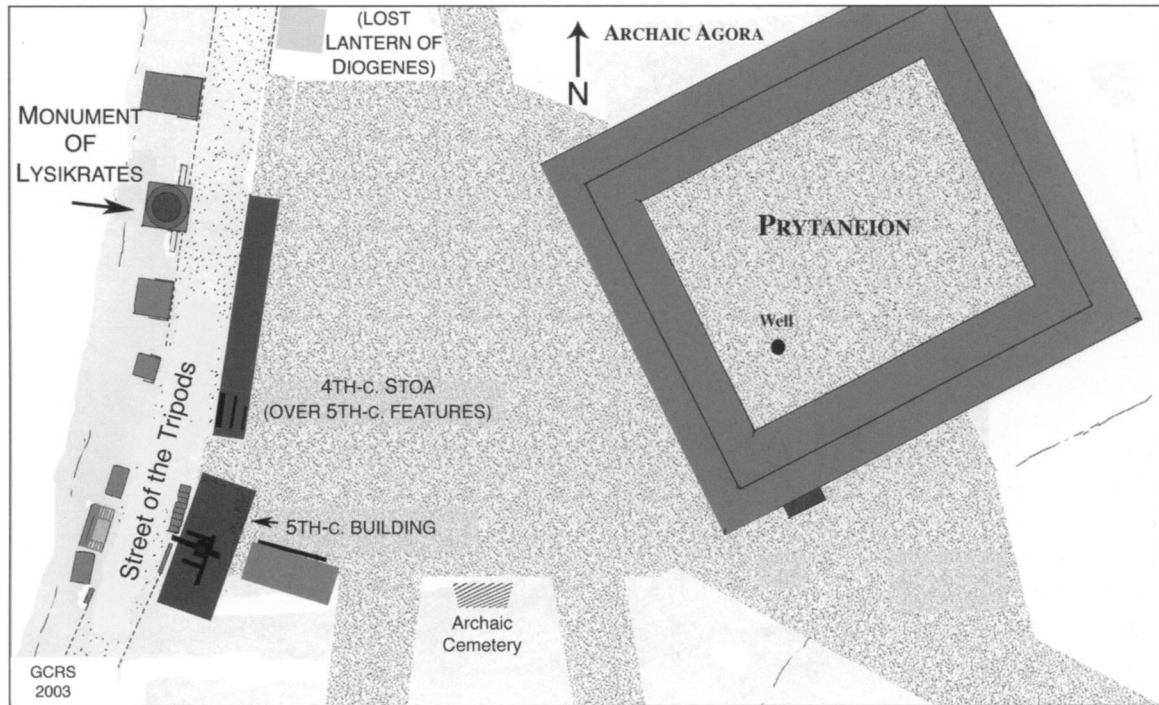
98. See Choremi-Spetsieri 1994, pp. 32–34, fig. 2. Travlos, *Athens*, p. 567, fig. 710, still provides the best archaeological plan of the square, with the choregic monuments numbered from north to south. Nos. 1–4 represent the first or northern group (with the Monument of Lysikrates out of order as no. 1); nos. 5–8 represent the second or southern group. Welter (1922) was the first to enumerate the four northern choregic monuments, numbering them from the south so that the Monument

of Lysikrates is no. 3. This group includes the foundations of two other choregic monuments located one block north of Lysikrates Square, just past the intersection of the Street of the Tripods and Kydathenaion Street (at 28 and 34 Tripods Street). For the monument at 28 Tripods Street (now the headquarters of the Hellenike Hetaireia), see Choremi-Spetsieri 1994, pp. 34–35, fig. 2 (giving no street addresses). The first formal publication of the existing monument foundation at 34 Tripods Street may be found in Miller 1970, pp. 223–227; see also Schnurr 1995b. The original report for

the monument at 28 Tripods Street appeared in *ArchDelt* 44, B'1 (1989 [1995]), pp. 18–19, fig. 2; see also French 1989–1990, p. 5; Tomlinson 1995–1996, p. 4.

99. A new section of the Phaleron road was recently excavated at 18 Cavallotti Street, revealing successive pavements from the 5th–4th centuries B.C.; see *ArchDelt* 37, B'1 (1982 [1989]), pp. 21–23; French 1990–1991, p. 7.

100. For the road and the south gate in general, see Travlos, *Athens*, pp. 160, 169–170, fig. 219 (Gate X); cf. also Papadopoulos 1996, pp. 109, 112; 2003, pp. 285–288.



**Figure 26. Reconstruction of ancient Lysikrates Square.** G. C. R. Schmalz

confirmed 19th-century reconstructions of the area (e.g., Fig. 27).<sup>101</sup> Like the Phaleron road, ancient Lysikrates Street must have formed a cardinal line within the southeastern quarter of Athens, taking its orientation from the visually dominant Cave of Aglauros, which overlooked the early shrines of the Ilissos river valley. Today the Arch of Hadrian still expresses the importance of this line, standing in monumental fashion as “an urbanistic hinge.”<sup>102</sup>

In the early 1980s the Greek Archaeological Service, under the direction of Korres, excavated in Lysikrates Square and established that the upper course of the Street of the Tripods had been repeatedly repaved from the 4th century B.C. to the 1st century A.D.<sup>103</sup> The substantial remains of a 5th-century B.C. building just to the south of Korres’s excavation had already been partially excavated by Ioannis Miliades in 1955. Although this ancient structure was initially regarded as a private house, its walls, extending more than 6 m in length, were remarkably substantial (Fig. 26).<sup>104</sup>

101. For the ancient Street of the Tripods, see Choremi-Spetsieri 1994, p. 33, fig. 2. Following the work of Korres, the course of ancient Hadrian Street has been fully plotted in this neighborhood from the corner of Flessa Street to Aphrodite Street; see Korres and Skilardi 1989, fig. A (end plan). Running southward, the street veers steadily westward 1.5–3 m from the course of the modern street; see Korres 1989a; French 1990–1991, p. 6. For

the 19th-century reconstructions, see Curtius and Milchhoefer 1891, p. 105, fig. 18; Curtius and Kaupert 1881–1903, fasc. 5, pl. I.a.

102. Post (1998–1999, pp. 173–174; see also *SEG XLVIII* 238) writes, “dem isolierten Bauwerk kam also die Funktion eines urbanistischen ‘Scharniers’ zu.”

103. See Korres 1988c, p. 6, fig. 1; French 1989–1990, p. 5. According to Korres (1988c, p. 5), the successive

pavements have a total depth of 0.5 m.

104. Miliades’ excavation was never published, although it was briefly reported by Vanderpool (1957, p. 281). See also Travlos 1960, p. 81, n. 3; *Athens*, pp. 566–567, fig. 710, no. 10; also Kazamiakes 1994, p. 43, n. 4; Choremi-Spetsieri 1994, p. 32, citing the “remains of a monument.” Schnurr (1995b, pp. 146–147) still regards it as a “private house.”

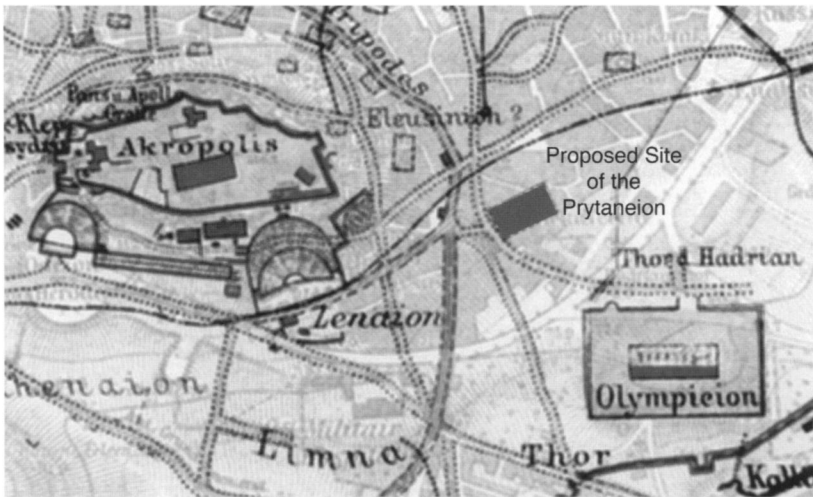


Figure 27. Detail of Curtius's plan of ancient Athens, depicting the proposed Prytaneion site and ancient roadways. After Curtius and Kaupert 1881–1903, fasc. 5, pl. I:a

Korres's investigations revealed that subsequent, extensive building activity of the 4th century B.C. was carried out in a way that did not interfere with this building, which must therefore have remained in use at the time and may well have been something more than a private residence.

Korres has further demonstrated that Miliades' building stood next to a significant cult site in the 5th century B.C. Under the 4th-century stoa, the excavator discovered a large Classical ritual deposit (*apothetes*) of lekythoi, or libation jars. All of the lekythoi were decorated with Dionysian ivy leaves. Next to this *apothetes* a formal space was found, featuring a ritual well and surrounding floor area, around which were strewn more cult vessels dating to the 5th century, including both lekythoi and kyathoi, or special cups. Korres suggested that these and other finds were indicative of cult use.<sup>105</sup>

Yet another large and relatively early building had previously been discovered just across the street from Korres's excavation. At the corner of Tripods Street and Lysikrates Street, the Greek Archaeological Service excavated the remains of a substantial ancient wall running parallel to Lysikrates Street for a length of 7 m.<sup>106</sup> This wall, constructed on a deep foundation of red conglomerate, may represent the north end of the building, as a terracotta drainage pipe was found along the north side of the structure. As it extended to the northwest, this structure may nearly have adjoined the building excavated by Miliades.

In the 5th century B.C., Lysikrates Square thus featured a significant complex of public buildings including an important cult space. These would have faced the west side of the proposed Prytaneion site, only 10–15 m

105. This deposit was initially reported by the Greek press in 1982 and 1983; see the notice and quotation in Catling 1982–1983, p. 8; Touchais 1983, p. 750. On the *apothetes*, see *Mesemvriini*, November 27, 1982. On the floor with well and cult deposit, see *Vradyni*, February 18, 1983. On the

significance of the cult sites, see also Papadopoulos 2003, p. 284, n. 81.

106. At 7 Lysikrates Street, and briefly mentioned in *ArchDelt* 28, B'1 (1973 [1977]), p. 34, no. 16. The excavators found insufficient evidence for dating the remains precisely.

away. It may be tentatively suggested, therefore, that these structures were civic offices in the neighborhood of the Prytaneion. With the Sanctuary and Theater of Dionysos very close to the ancient square, this area would have been an eminently logical location for the Boukoleion of the *archon basileus*. The Boukoleion also served as the headquarters of the four *phylobasileis*, or early Athenian tribal kings, who supervised the court in the Prytaneion. If the ritual vessels excavated by Korres are in fact Dionysian in character, then the festivals of the City Dionysia and the Anthesteria, including the sacred marriage between Dionysos and the wife of the *archon basileus* (*basilinna*), may also have taken place here.<sup>107</sup>

### THE REBUILDING OF LYSIKRATES SQUARE

Korres's excavations have further revealed that the whole of ancient Lysikrates Square underwent a dramatic remodeling in the 4th century B.C. It is quite likely that this program belongs to the wide-scale building program of Lykourgos between 338 and 326 B.C., when virtually all the major public spaces of Athens were rebuilt, often with stoas and colonnaded enclosures.<sup>108</sup> The embellishment of Lysikrates Square principally entailed the construction of a relatively long and narrow stoa facing east onto the ancient square and the Prytaneion site (Figs. 28, 29).<sup>109</sup> To judge from the quality of its building material and construction technique, the stoa must have been a fairly lavish public work. Its back wall stood along the east side of the Street of the Tripods, which was over 8 m broad at this point. It was carefully constructed of limestone, with well-dressed toichobate and orthostate courses, resting on a solid foundation of conglomerate blocks (Fig. 29). Two of the limestone blocks are exposed in situ. Against the excavated section of this back wall, cuttings in the 4th-century pavement indicate the presence of a small monument that once faced the street. A deep foundation wall for a colonnade was discovered east of and parallel to the back wall.

With a breadth of ca. 4 m for the stoa, its single aisle is notably shallow in depth (just over 3 m). Yet given the scale of the remains and its materials, Korres has suggested that the building's other dimension, running along the length of the road, must have been large. The 4th-century stoa could have extended some 10–20 m north along the Street of the Tripods, thus delimiting the west side of the ancient square.

The redevelopment of the ancient square involved a great deal of landscaping and some demolition, with many of the earlier, 5th-century features being filled in. Additionally, the steep slope along the west side of the Street of the Tripods was radically cut back, at least in parts, and terraced with a retaining wall, while a new road surface was laid out over a relatively deep fill. The water runoff along the west side of the road was

107. This evidence evokes the previously noted imaginings of the anonymous 15th-century visitor; see p. 48 and nn. 59–60, above.

108. For the Lykourgan building

program in general, see most recently Camp 2001, pp. 144–154; Mitchel 1973, pp. 196–197, 203–204.

109. Korres 1988c, p. 6, fig. 1.



Figure 28. The Street of the Tripods. View to the north, toward the Monument of Lysikrates, with remains of 4th-century stoa in the foreground.

Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

drained southward through a newly installed, U-shaped terracotta pipe. A modest commemorative monument, placed against the excavated section of retaining wall, was discovered south of the Monument of Lysikrates.<sup>110</sup> The larger choregic monument immediately to the south of the monument was found, meanwhile, to rest on the remains of an earlier monument of the 5th century. In addition, excavations just to the north, closer to the center of the modern *plateia*, revealed a rectangular structure built of large conglomerate blocks, also dating to the 4th century.<sup>111</sup>

The presence of the 4th-century stoa would help to explain the great height of the contemporary choregic monuments. In order for their commemorative superstructures to be seen from the square, they would have to have been raised above the level of the stoa's roof. The top of the pedestal for the Monument of Lysikrates would have been nearly level with the stoa's roofline (Fig. 29). If this reasoning is correct, the stoa would then have to have been built before 335/4 B.C., when the Monument of Lysikrates was dedicated.

In antiquity, Lysikrates Square was clearly an important locus within the city of Athens. It remained so for the rest of antiquity, as the 4th-century B.C. stoa was built over only in the 5th century A.D., when much of this neighborhood apparently underwent another period of major redevelopment. In this later period, much formal or perhaps even ritual dining appears to have gone on nearby; a deep rubbish pit, filled with a considerable quantity of animal remains, was found behind the 4th-century B.C. retaining wall.<sup>112</sup> As for the newly discovered stoa, the fact that it is one of

110. The retaining wall is referred to as T 1 and the monument plinth as *bathro* VI in Korres 1988c, pp. 5–6, fig. 1. The east slope was cut back to a height of almost 2.5 m, with the retaining wall built directly on the newly exposed bedrock at an absolute elevation

of 80.43 m. The road, meanwhile, was leveled with a deep fill of 0.5 m above bedrock (at an elevation of 80.80 m).

111. See Catling 1982–1983, p. 8; Touchais 1983, p. 750.

112. For the rubbish pit, see Korres 1988c, p. 7; see p. 7, fig. 1, for the

4th-century wall (unnumbered), built between the back wall and colonnade of the stoa at a slightly different angle; also Touchais 1983, p. 750. On the contraction of Athens beginning in the early 5th century A.D., see Thompson 1959, esp. pp. 66–67.

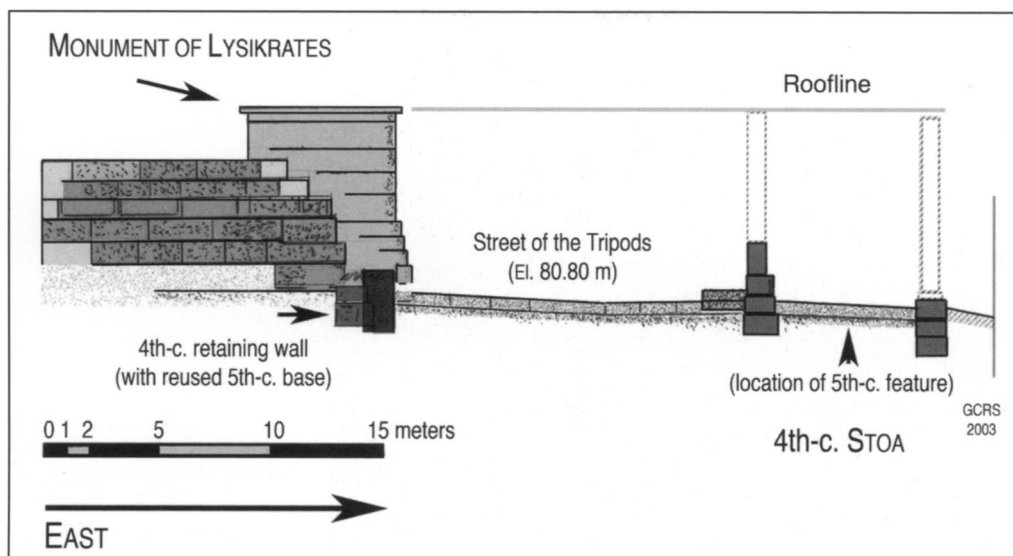


Figure 29. Archaeological cross section of the Street of the Tripods at Lysikrates Square, with 4th-century stoa. After Korres 1988c, p. 6, fig. 1

only two completed in Athens during the 4th century B.C. further underscores the significance of this area of the city.<sup>113</sup>

With its modest depth the stoa may well have been designed as a decorative backdrop for the square. It would have provided shelter not only for passersby, but also for the statues and other public monuments that undoubtedly crowded the square. Korres's excavations uncovered a life-sized, Hellenistic statue of a draped male figure.<sup>114</sup> The stoa also would have been an appropriate setting for the famous statue of Agatha Tyche that Lykourgos set up by the Prytaneion to mark his creation of a civic cult of good fortune. A votive dedication to Agathe Tyche has indeed been found nearby.<sup>115</sup> The stoa also served to terrace the gently sloping ground here, so that the Street of the Tripods, running behind the stoa, could be leveled more easily. Korres's excavations have revealed that the natural slope of the area increases dramatically on the east side of the stoa, dropping 10 cm over a distance of only 1 m.<sup>116</sup>

This reconstruction of ancient Lysikrates Square, bounded to the east by the site of the Prytaneion, would explain the remarkable concentration of large choregic monuments along this short section of the avenue. In antiquity, these monumental trophies would have been clustered in prominent and possibly related locations, around the entrance to the Theater of Dionysos and in the nearby square, where the city's Dionysian processions may have taken place. Against this background, it is easy to picture Demetrios of Phaleron, the late-4th-century tyrant of Athens, taking (as an old anecdote records) his customary afternoon stroll down the Street of the Tripods, beset by crowds of boys ambitious to become one of his favorites.<sup>117</sup>

113. The only other stoa completed in the 4th century B.C. was the so-called east stoa of the nearby Asklepieion; see Coulton 1976, p. 46.

114. This was reported by the Greek press in 1983; see Catling 1982–1983, p. 8; Touchais 1984, p. 742.

115. See *ArchDelt* 21, B'1 (1966 [1968]), p. 39, pl. 61:a. The statue is described by Aelianus (*VH* 9.39) as standing *πρὸς τῷ πρυτανείῳ*; cf. Plin. *HN* 36.23. On this statue and its relationship to the Prytaneion, see Gerhard 1849; Tracy 1994.

116. See Korres 1988c, p. 6, fig. 1. The rapid drop in absolute elevation is from 80.8 m to 80.7 m.

117. Ath. 543a. A similar image first struck Welter (1922, p. 75); more recently, see Schnurr 1995b, p. 146.

## THE EPIGRAPHIC RECORD

Much of the epigraphic record from the vicinity of the Agia Aikaterini site reflects directly upon the Prytaneion and its long and diverse public life. The inscription on the Arch of Hadrian (*IG II<sup>2</sup> 5185*) alluding to the “City of Theseus” is just one of a suggestive corpus of epigraphic material. Altogether, more than 30 inscriptions, ranging in date from the 5th century B.C. to the late 4th century A.D., have been found in the immediate neighborhood. To judge from their excellent state of preservation, most of these inscriptions would seem to have been moved only a short distance from their original contexts. The earliest epigraphical finds include choregic dedications and, most significantly, inscriptions concerned with the civic life of the Prytaneion. The later material includes a series of archon lists that may have originated in the Prytaneion and a number of statue dedications, the most important of which is a dedication to Hestia. The Late Antique inscriptions in the corpus clearly indicate the public significance of this area, which is one of five contemporary locations in Athens where there is evidence for intensive dedicatory and building activity.<sup>118</sup> Indeed, with the destruction and demise of the Classical Agora in the late 3rd century A.D., it is likely that the political and administrative activity of Athens reverted back to this part of the city.

### CLASSICAL AND HELLENISTIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE PRYTANEION

The earliest inscriptions from ancient Lysikrates Square are choregic monuments. Two such dedications have been found here, both dating to the later 5th century B.C. One of these, built into the foundations of a house on lower Hadrian Street once belonging to the philhellene George Finlay, has recently been republished as part of the epigraphical collection of the British School at Athens.<sup>119</sup>

The other extant, early inscriptions from around modern Lysikrates Square pertain to the civic and ritual life of the Prytaneion. Significantly enough, one 4th-century inscription, discovered intact in the first modern excavation of the Monument of Lysikrates, appears to deal with public maintenance in the Prytaneion.<sup>120</sup> Even more compelling is the so-called Prytaneion Decree of the 2nd century B.C., honoring the holder of a new office for the Prytaneion. This magistrate is praised for having given proper sacrifices to Eirene, the Goddess of Peace, whose cult image was located in the Prytaneion, as well as offerings for “the health and safety of the council and the people, the women and children [of the city], the allied Romans, and friends and benefactors.”<sup>121</sup> The Prytaneion was the traditional location for

118. The corpus of inscriptions from the area is conveniently summarized by H. Riemann in *RE* Suppl. VIII, 1956, cols. 882–887 (a–t), s.v. *tripodes*. For the Late Antique examples, see Sironen 1994, with fig. 2:b (end plate).

119. *IG I<sup>3</sup> 959* (= *IG I<sup>2</sup> 771*), mis-

leadingly identified as *ad Lysicratis monumentum*. The other 5th-century choregic monument is *IG I<sup>3</sup> 961* (= *IG I<sup>2</sup> 669*) (*haud procul a Lysicratis monumento*).

120. See *IG II<sup>2</sup> 608*, with analysis in Osborne 1981, p. 154, n. 4. This

inscription was discovered during the 19th-century French restoration of the Monument of Lysikrates; see Pottier 1878, p. 415, no. 1.

121. See *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1000* and analysis in Osborne 1981.



such public observances relating to the city's allies, benefactors, and general external well-being. Similarly, public sacrifice on behalf of the Romans was also a regular rite during the 2nd century B.C. in the prytaneion at Delphi; as one inscription reads, "They granted it to him to go into the prytaneion for the sacrifice of the Romans."<sup>122</sup> There is also evidence that during the 2nd century B.C. Athens created a new office in the Prytaneion to supervise the public reception of the city's friends and allies.<sup>123</sup>

### THE ROMAN ARCHON LISTS AND RELATED INSCRIPTIONS

During the course of the past century, a series of well-preserved archon lists of the Augustan and Julio-Claudian periods have been found at or near the Monument of Lysikrates, and scholars have speculated that the corpus may have originated in a neighboring public building.<sup>124</sup> The most logical source would be the Prytaneion, in its venerable function as the office of the eponymous archon. Korres's excavation of the square turned up another example, an intact list dating to the 2nd century A.D.<sup>125</sup>

Most of the archon lists are early to mid-Augustan in date. They consist of small marble stelai commemorating the appointed members of the city's annual board of nine archons and their functionaries. Given the long association between the office of archon and the Prytaneion, their significance is obvious.<sup>126</sup> Of the six archon lists that have come to light in the immediate vicinity of Lysikrates Square, some were found at the Monument of Lysikrates, others along Lysikrates Street by the proposed site of the Prytaneion; another list (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1717) was found on the site itself.<sup>127</sup> Evidently, these inscriptions were not moved far from their original commemorative setting, for only this particular group of archon lists is so well preserved. Those from the other major findspot of archon lists, the Acropolis, are extremely fragmentary. They were probably broken up and transported there as ready building material at a much later date.<sup>128</sup>

122. Miller 1978, p. 188, nos. 293, 296.

123. The epigraphic evidence is presented in Vanderpool 1971, p. 441; see also Miller 1978, p. 170, n. 203. For the new office, charged with "the reception of friends and allies," see Miller 1978, p. 21, and esp. Osborne 1981, p. 156.

124. *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1717–1719, 1723, 1727. Dragoumis 1915, p. 6; Dow 1934, pp. 183–184.

125. The discovery in 1983 of this archon list within the cemetery of the Byzantine and Turkish periods is reported in Touchais 1987, p. 525.

126. As noted above (n. 3), "the archon had the Prytaneion" (*Atth. Pol.* 3.5). See also Miller 1978, pp. 44–45;

Shear 1994, p. 228; and Robertson 1998, pp. 298–299.

127. The list found in Korres's excavations (n. 125, above) has been dated to ca. A.D. 125–150: Touchais 1987, p. 525; Pariente 1990, p. 706. For the findspots of the previously known lists (n. 124, above), see esp. Dow 1934. Those found *ad viam Lysikratis* include *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1717 (on the north side of the street; see Dragoumis 1905; 1915, p. 6) and *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1718; *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1719 was found *ad viam Lysikratis, ubi olim odeum Periclis erat* (on the slope above the Odeion of Perikles, where it presumably fell while being carted off to the Acropolis from the southeast; see Kastriotis 1914, pp. 165–166, fig. 22). Those found *prope monumentum Lysikratis* include

*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1723 and 1727; for the latter, see Philadelphus 1921, p. 90. From further to the southeast comes *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1721, which was found in the First National Cemetery (Fimmen 1914).

128. Six archon lists are poorly preserved from the Acropolis: *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1720 and 1724 (Dow 1934, p. 159), *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1730 and 1731 (Graindor 1927b, p. 292, no. 68), and *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1735 and 1736. For their state of preservation, see Dow 1934, pp. 154, 162, 171, figs. 4, 8, 9, 13. The fragments of two other lists were uncovered near the Tower of the Winds; Dow 1934, p. 184. The beautifully preserved list *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1722 was removed to Paris, via Istanbul, at an early date and is now lost; see Dow 1934, pp. 158–159, fig. 7.

Two of the relevant local archon lists (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1717 and 1727) are so close in workmanship, wear patterns, and provenance (by the Monument of Lysikrates) that Sterling Dow suggested that “they were set up, as they were found, near together, in the Street of the Tripods”; he also argued that, in view of their lack of explanatory headings, “we must infer that [their] purpose was universally understood, or perhaps was clear from their being set up in some obvious location near a public building or monument.”<sup>129</sup> An earlier scholar had already argued from this and other epigraphical evidence that an important public building once stood on the ancient course of Lysikrates Street.<sup>130</sup> Thin and diminutive in size, these stelai were clearly designed for display on a wall, and they were probably set up as a series of such inscriptions. At least one (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1721), like a modest votive offering, was “cut to be set in some given aperture.”<sup>131</sup> Dow was the last scholar to wonder why these archon lists were displayed in this locale. The most probable answer now seems to be that as late as the Roman period, the board of archons shared an official or commemorative space in this area, presumably centered in the Prytaneion itself.

Individual members of the Athenian board of archons are also commemorated in the neighborhood’s epigraphical record. Found together with one of the archon lists (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1727) was a commemorative herm, erected at the beginning of the 3rd century A.D. by the archon Claudius Phocas of Marathon. It was dedicated to Agathe Tyche, whose famous image by Praxiteles stood by the Prytaneion itself.<sup>132</sup> Additionally, the base for an honorific statue dedicated to the archon *thesmothetes* M. Ulpus Flavius Teisamenos was recovered from the church of the Agia Kyra Kandili, which formerly stood between the Monument of Lysikrates and the proposed Prytaneion site.

This inscribed base is especially significant, for it would appear to be the remains of the bronze statue once awarded to Teisamenos in the Prytaneion. The statue was part of the package of honors decreed for his father, the consular M. Ulpus Eubiotos Leuros of Gargettos, the great 3rd-century Athenian benefactor.<sup>133</sup> Interestingly, the statue of Teisamenos remained in place during the following centuries, being reused twice in contexts appropriate for the Prytaneion. It was first reinscribed to honor a 4th-century archon who also held “the office of the president of the [Eleusinian] *panegyris* festival” and probably enjoyed family ties to the sanctuary and priesthoods at Eleusis.<sup>134</sup> Two other monuments relating to the priesthoods

129. Dow 1934, p. 184, n. 1, and p. 183; cf. p. 149.

130. Dragoumis 1915, esp. p. 6 (the Sanctuary of Pythian Apollo).

131. Dow 1934, p. 142; the inscription commemorates the archonship of Polyainos of Sounion (14/13 B.C.). Two distinct methods or phases were observed by Dow in the fashion of their display: the earlier stelai (e.g., *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1717, 1718, 1720) were placed with clamps set low on their sides, while *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1721 had clamps set into the

sloping roof of its crown molding; see Dow 1934, pp. 150 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1717), 157 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1718), 158 (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 1720, 1721), and 183 (generally).

132. See the dedication, *prope monumentum Lysicratis*, in *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3681; it was excavated by Philadelphus (1921, p. 91).

133. See the dedication to Teisamenos in *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3701 (EM 10512); for Eubiotos’s statue in the Prytaneion, cf. Miller 1978, p. 17. On the duplicate decrees for Eubiotos, A.D. 229–231,

see Miller 1978, pp. 176–177, nos. 236, 237; see also *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3697–3700. The statue bases for Teisamenos’s brother, M. Ulpus Pupienus Maximus, are also preserved (*IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3702, 3703). For the original analysis of these honorific decrees, see Oliver 1951 (esp. p. 353, no. A.2, for the bronze statues).

134. *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3692. For the corrected date and especially for the Eleusinian connection, see the excellent discussion in Sironen 1994, pp. 26–28, under no. 11.

of Eleusis were found a block away, around the Arch of Hadrian. One of these was a dedication by a late member of the great dadouchic clan of Roman Athens, the Lysiades/Leonides family of Melite; the other was a commemorative herm for an early-3rd-century *dadouchos*.<sup>135</sup>

The second reuse of the statue for Ulpian Eubiotos represents a particularly important document for Late Roman Athens. It commemorates Plutarchos, perhaps the famous 5th-century neo-Platonist who became scholarch of the Academy. The city awarded this statue to honor his patronage of the Panathenaic festival, noting that he “rode the sacred ship and brought it near to the Temple of Athena three times, thus spending his entire fortune.”<sup>136</sup>

Certain Eleusinian officials and the chief officers of the Panathenaia were traditionally allowed privileges of maintenance in the Prytaneion. If nothing else, these dedications demonstrate that the immediate area of Lysikrates Square remained a prominent monumental space into late antiquity. This is further attested by the base of another important 4th-century statue preserved in the nearby church of Agia Aikaterini. The statue was dedicated on behalf of the city to Theodoros, the popular provincial governor under Theodosios I (A.D. 379–395). Replacing an earlier marble statue for the official, the base reads, “You see the leader Theodoros, who saved all the Greeks and their cities with [his] law, well and gently administered.”<sup>137</sup> The Theodoros dedication suggests that this quarter of the city served as the political center of Late Antique Athens, with the site of the Prytaneion possibly representing the chief civic building.

### DEDICATIONS TO THE GODS: HESTIA AND OTHER DEITIES

The most suggestive inscription from the site proposed for the Prytaneion is a dedication to Hestia, originally found in the now-demolished church of the Agia Kyra Kandili and later moved to the Middle Byzantine church of Agia Aikaterini (Fig. 30). The inscription records the dedication of a large bronze votive statue erected by a late Julio-Claudian family.<sup>138</sup> Although it was a private offering, it was officially sanctioned by the city *epimeletes* of Athens, the chief civic official in charge of the general use of sacred spaces in the 1st century A.D. The involvement of this magistrate would therefore seem to indicate that the statue was erected in an important public sanctuary, most logically the Prytaneion itself.<sup>139</sup> The monument evidently enjoyed a long life as a votive, for the base of the statue preserves an earlier

135. See *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3613 and 3684, respectively. Also found near the Arch of Hadrian is the ephebic catalogue *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 2042, dating to ca. A.D. 135.

136. See *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3818, shown in *Agora XXIV*, pl. 47:c. For this inscription as important late evidence for the Panathenaia and the course of the Panathenaic Ship, see *Agora XXIV*,

p. 63; Nagy 1980, esp. pp. 109–111; also Thompson 1959, p. 65. For a full discussion of the historical context, see Sironen 1994, pp. 26–28, no. 11, and pp. 46–48, no. 29 (*IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3818).

137. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 4223; see *PLRE I*, p. 898, Theodoros 16. It remains in the church, where it serves as an altar support; Sironen 1994, pp. 31–32,

no. 15; also Keramopoulos 1911, p. 259, n. 1.

138. *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3185 (EM 10613).

139. In the prytaneion on Delos, for example, dedications of images of Hestia were common from the 4th century B.C. onward; see Miller 1978, pp. 185–187, nos. 286, 287.



Figure 30. Statue base for a dedication naming Hestia, Apollo, the *Theoi Sebastoi*, and the Athenian state, *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3185. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

inscription, a dedication of the 4th century B.C. in honor of a certain Epikleides of Acharnai, perhaps an agonistic victor of that period.<sup>140</sup>

The statue was dedicated not only to Hestia, but also to Apollo, the imperial house, and the governing bodies of Athens. The inclusion of Apollo is directly relevant, since his worship, too, was part of the religious life of the Prytaneion.<sup>141</sup> The statue base, along with its inscription, was first recorded by Jacob Spon in the 1670s, who found it built into the church of Agia Kyra Kandili, constructed over the recently demolished Lantern of Diogenes.<sup>142</sup> In the early 19th century, Pittakis recorded the dedication in the same location. Given the nature of the dedication, together with the fact that the church itself celebrated the Holy Lady of the Lamp, Pittakis ingeniously concluded that in antiquity a shrine to Hestia was located nearby.<sup>143</sup> Such a shrine would necessarily have been situated in the Prytaneion. In the early 20th century, the same dedication and its findspot prompted another scholar to suggest that the Sanctuary of Pythian Apollo was to be found somewhere along modern Lysikrates Street.<sup>144</sup>

Pittakis also saw an inscribed architrave block built into the same church that records a dedication of an image of Pallas Athena to “the gods and the city.”<sup>145</sup> This statue, which probably dated to the 2nd century A.D., was supervised by the ancient “Bouzyges and Priest of Zeus in the Palladion” and installed with formal permission from the oracle of Apollo at

140. See *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3833 (EM 10613); this individual is otherwise unknown to Athenian prosopography. Such a simple text might well imply the commemoration of some earlier civic hero. The foot cuttings would appear to indicate that the statue exhibited some movement. The deme of Acharnai was notable for its athletes, as well as its hoplites (see, e.g., Pind. *Nem.* 2).

141. This is attested in *IG I*<sup>3</sup> 137

(= *IG I*<sup>2</sup> 78), lines 5–6 (a ceremonial throne for Apollo in the Prytaneion).

142. Spon 1678, vol. 3, pp. 205–207, no. 153, “proche l’Église d’Agia Kyra.”

143. Pittakis 1835, p. 172; the findspot is given as the church of Agia Aikaterini by Mommsen [1868] 1977, p. 60, under no. 52; perhaps the inscription had been moved there in the intervening decade.

144. Dragoumis 1915, p. 6.

145. *IG II*<sup>2</sup> 3177; the block was noted slightly out of context by Pittakis (1835, p. 169), with precise provenance given in Mommsen [1868] 1977, p. 60, no. 52. The Augustan date (in Graindor 1927a, p. 140) is almost certainly incorrect; the priest (Polyainos of Marathon) is mistakenly identified with the archon of 14/13 B.C., Polyainos of Sounion, and the lettering appears much later.

Delphi.<sup>146</sup> Hence the new statue may have replaced the original cult image, which was traditionally worshipped in the Palladion Sanctuary of Zeus. Yet one would imagine that such a heavy architectural member would not have been removed very far from its original setting. It is probably more likely that the dedication took place in the Prytaneion, since the city's common hearth was also "a place sacred to Pallas."<sup>147</sup> The inscribed epistyle block could then represent the architectural remains of a 2nd-century A.D. shrine in the Prytaneion.

### THE DEDICATION OF THEOPHILOS OF HALAI

A final noteworthy inscription from the vicinity of the proposed Prytaneion site is the well-known dedication of an Augustan *epimeletes* of the Prytaneion, Theophilos of Halai (Fig. 31).<sup>148</sup> Until recently stored in the Roman Market, on the porch of the Fethiye Tzami, the Mosque of Mehmet II the Conqueror, the dedication had been built into a neoclassical house at 20 Tripods Street.

Θεόφιλος Διοδώρου  
Ἀλλαιεύς ἐπιμε[λη]τῆ[ς]  
γενόμενος πρυτανεῖο[υ]

Theophilos, son of Diodoros,  
of Halai, the *epimeletes*  
of the Prytaneion [dedicated it].

The votive was offered to commemorate Theophilos's *euergesia*, or benefaction, at the conclusion of his service as special project supervisor. Recent studies have consistently regarded this findspot as an approximate marker for the location of the Prytaneion, and in one instance, the Prytaneion is claimed to have been located precisely at this spot along the Street of the Tripods.<sup>149</sup> As it turns out, however, this provenience merely represents the inscription's final reuse in the modern period. The dedication was first seen and transcribed by the site of the Prytaneion proposed here. In 1678, the inscription was published by Spon, who found it next to the house of the French consul and pioneering antiquarian Giraud, whose residence stood near Agia Aikaterini Square.<sup>150</sup> That modern square is therefore the findspot for two dedications from the Prytaneion: Theophilos's votive and the late Julio-Claudian offering to Hestia.

Although every study of the Prytaneion and the Archaic Agora of Athens has invariably cited the Theophilos inscription, a great deal remains to be said about it. The simple offering was likely to have been in

146. The priesthood is recorded in the Delphic letter *SEG* XXX 85 (= *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 1096).

147. See Miller 1978, pp. 180–181, nos. 257, 258 (= *scholion* on Aelius Aristides 103.16 [A226]); the relationship derives from the tradition of Ionian colonists, as suppliants of Athena, taking their sacred fire from the com-

mon hearth in the Prytaneion. For the connection between the Palladion image and the *genos* Bouzygai, see *RE* XVIII, 1972, cols. 171–189, s.v. Palladion (L. Ziehen), esp. col. 176, where the dedication *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 3177 is cited.

148. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2877 (= *Agora* III, p. 173, no. 571).

149. Robertson 1998, esp. pp. 298–

299, fig. 1; this is cited in *SEG* XLVIII 195, along with notice of Schmalz 1998. See also Dow 1937, p. 192, no. 117; Robertson 1986, p. 160; Miller 1978, pp. 45, 171, no. 209; Shear 1994, p. 227; Schnurr 1995b, p. 147.

150. It is described as "près de chez le Consul Giraud" in Spon 1678, vol. 3, pp. 86–87.



Figure 31. The Prytaneion dedication by Theophilos of Halai, *IG II<sup>2</sup> 2877*. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz; drawing after K. S. Pittakis, *ArchEph* 1839, p. 170, no. 141

the form of a statuette or symbolic torch, the latter being a common type of dedication in Greek prytaneia.<sup>151</sup> Theophilos himself was a member of one of the most prominent families of Augustan Athens. After traveling as an envoy to Delphi for the *genos*, or clan, of the Gephyraioi, he served as both eponymous archon and chief magistrate (the hoplite general) in the mid-20s B.C.<sup>152</sup> Probably at about this same time, he undertook the *epimeleteia* of the Prytaneion. This office is otherwise unattested and has long been regarded as unusual. Although often characterized as a permanent custodial position for the maintenance of the Prytaneion,<sup>153</sup> it more likely represents the sponsorship and supervision of a restoration program there. In Roman Athens an *epimeleteia* was generally related to the *euergesia* of a specific civic project. The Market of Caesar and Augustus and the Neronian restoration of the Metroon are two such examples.<sup>154</sup> Like the Augustan

151. A torch is suggested by the relatively small size of the base and the existence of only a small dowel hole at the center of its top. For a good example of a comparable torch offering from an ephebic lamp-racing victory of the Roman period, see Pantos 1973, pp. 176–180, no. 2, fig. 1. A much larger example of such dedications in prytaneia is that of the Syracusan tyrant Dionysios the Younger in the prytaneion at Taranto, which held “as many lighted lamps as there are days in the year” (Ath. 15.700d).

152. On Theophilos and his family, see most recently Lazzarini 1984, pp. 330–337; Geagan 1992, esp. pp. 40–42 (though with some prosopographical confusion). On Theophilos as archon, see *FdD* III.2, no. 62, lines 2–3, and possibly *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1713*, line 30, ascribed to 11/10 B.C. (although that traditional date would seem too late). On Theophilos as hoplite general, see *SEG XXVIII* 94, lines 44–48. On the Delphic mission, see *SEG XXX* 85, a new edition of *IG II<sup>2</sup> 1096*.

153. Miller 1978, pp. 36, 45. More

correct, in general terms, is A. G. Woodhead’s interpretation of “a short-lived office *ad hoc* or *ad hominem*,” noted in Traill 1978, p. 297, under lines 46–48.

154. See *IG II<sup>2</sup> 3175* for the Market’s dedication, with Eukles of Marathon as the *epimeletes*. For the Metroon, with Tib. Cl. Diotimos of Besa, see *SEG XXIII* 12 (= *IG II<sup>2</sup> 3580*); see also the dedication *IG II<sup>2</sup> 4174* in honor of the emperor Claudius.

*epimeletes* Eukles of Marathon, who supervised the construction of the Roman Market, Theophilos of Halai almost certainly helped to initiate and oversee some major remodeling or restoration of the Prytaneion. The nature of the dedicatory base itself indicates such a major reconstruction. It was clearly made from a recycled stylobate block (a common practice in this period),<sup>155</sup> and it could well represent an earlier architectural element of the Prytaneion, displaced by the Augustan restoration program.

Finally, Theophilos's advertised connection to the *genos* Gephyraioi might be significant in the context of his *epimeleteia*, for the members of this clan included the famous tyrant slayers Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Since their descendents received permanent maintenance in the Prytaneion, perhaps Theophilos's act of euergetism was intended, at least in part, to promote his claim of celebrated descent. Such claims were quite characteristic of the revival of Attic *gene* during the Late Hellenistic and Early Roman periods. Theophilos's brother Diotimus served simultaneously nearby as the "Bouzyges and the Priest of Palladian Zeus." This distinguished priesthood of the Palladion oversaw the annual plowing of the Bouzygion, a sacred field that may well have been close to the Prytaneion.<sup>156</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS AND HISTORICAL IMPLICATIONS

The grand architectural scale and prominent location of the Agia Aikaterini site were recognized by many antiquarians of centuries past, including the great 19th-century topographer Ernst Curtius. Even so, attempts to relate the site to the Prytaneion and other landmarks discussed by Pausanias were long sidelined because of the mistaken notion that the Aglaurion was located on the north slope of the Acropolis. At last, however, with the discovery of the Aglaurion on the east side of the Acropolis, the archaeological and epigraphical remains from Agia Aikaterini Square may be plausibly reconsidered as evidence for the location of the Prytaneion.

The site under Agia Aikaterini Square clearly represents a significant civic building of ancient Athens and, indeed, one of the city's largest building complexes. The archaeological finds from one section of the site further suggest that it is one of the earliest civic buildings yet discovered in Athens, going back to the 6th century B.C. That it remained in use well into the Roman period, with evidence of periodic rebuilding, is also indicative of its public importance. The surrounding neighborhood, with its dense collection of choregic monuments and a contemporary stoa that remained in use for almost a thousand years, was also a center of civic and ritual activity. Korres's excavations have demonstrated that the remains in

155. The height of the block, the only original dimension preserved, is 0.2 m. This is a fairly standard height for a stylobate block; the anathyrosis is preserved on the left side. Its present width and depth (0.53 m and 0.5 m) represent its phase of reuse. For this

salvage practice, compare the reuse of architrave blocks from the Erechtheion for (inter alia) the base of a statue honoring Queen Glaphyra of Mauretania, ca. A.D. 4; see *IG II<sup>2</sup>* 3437/38, newly edited in *SEG XXXVII* 148.

156. Plut. *Mor.* 144b records the

existence of the field of the Bouzygion. See also n. 146 above for the priesthood. On the revival and problematic status of the Gephyraioi, see Parker 1996, pp. 288–289; for the Tyrannicides, Hdt. 5.57.61.

that area date back to the 5th century B.C. or earlier. We should therefore at least entertain the possibility that ancient Lysikrates Square was the location of such early public offices as the Boukoleion, the Basileion, the Prytaneion, and the neighboring Sanctuary and Theater of Dionysos.

The public prominence of the Agia Aikaterini site and its immediate neighborhood is well attested by epigraphical finds dating from the 4th century B.C. to the 4th century A.D. Preserved from around the site are decrees directly related to the civic functioning of the Prytaneion, as in the 4th-century B.C. maintenance decree and the so-called Prytaneion Decree of the 2nd century B.C. From a later period, the Prytaneion's role as the official headquarters of the city's eponymous archon is reflected in fully preserved archon lists. The civic and ritual stature of this locality is further demonstrated by statue dedications for public officials and gods, including the only example preserved from ancient Athens honoring Hestia herself.

The proposed identification of the Prytaneion on the southeastern side of the Acropolis has important implications for our understanding of early Athenian history and topography in general (Fig. 32). Unlike other ancient Greek city-states, which had a single pole or axis between agora and civic sanctuary, Athens had two such axes, one represented by the Archaic Agora, the other by the Agora of the Classical Athenian democracy, Pausanias's "Kerameikos" Agora. While the location of the later axis has been known precisely for more than 70 years, the original one has only recently been recognized and understood. The discovery of the Aglaurion in 1980 revealed an important eastward emphasis in the city's early settlement pattern. The proposed Prytaneion site and adjacent Lysikrates Square, located at the intersection of a number of the city's earliest streets, mark one end of the critical route leading east from the heart of the ancient city to the shrines and sanctuaries of the Ilissos valley and south toward the harbor at Phaleron.

The proposed location of the Prytaneion helps to establish a more coherent account of Pausanias's itinerary, moving back and forth between the eastern, southeastern, and southern parts of Athens. It clarifies the Prytaneion's historical and spatial relationship to all of the public spaces and shrines noted by Pausanias: the Archaic Agora, the venerable shrines of the Aglaurion and the Anakeion on the east slope of the Acropolis, the lower city around the Olympieion, the Street of the Tripods, and the Sanctuary and Theater of Dionysos.

This study also offers a number of new insights into other topographical references known from the ancient literary record, most importantly those of Herodotos and Thucydides. Herodotos describes the Persian assault of 480 B.C. as taking place on the "front of the Acropolis," situated "behind the Gates (*pylai*) and the way up (*anodos*)."<sup>157</sup> According to Dontas, the front of the Acropolis would have overlooked the city center, so Herodotos must have been standing at the Prytaneion and looking toward the Acropolis, "facing its gods."<sup>158</sup> From this perspective it now makes much more sense to understand Herodotos's *pylai* not as the famous Propylaia, but rather as a contemporary structure. This was probably the enigmatic Archaic gateway, known from other sources, that stood below the Acropolis

157. ἔμπροσθε ὧν πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλιος, ὅπισθε δὲ τῶν πυλέων καὶ τῆς ἀνόδου (Hdt. 8.53.1); see also Paus. 1.18.2.

158. Dontas 1983, pp. 60–61. Leake (1841, vol. 1, p. 264) had previously noted that "the two temples of Minerva fronted the east." This particular reading of Herodotos was prevalent in the early 19th century, inspiring the accurate location of the Aglaurion by Wilkins (1816, pp. 61–64).



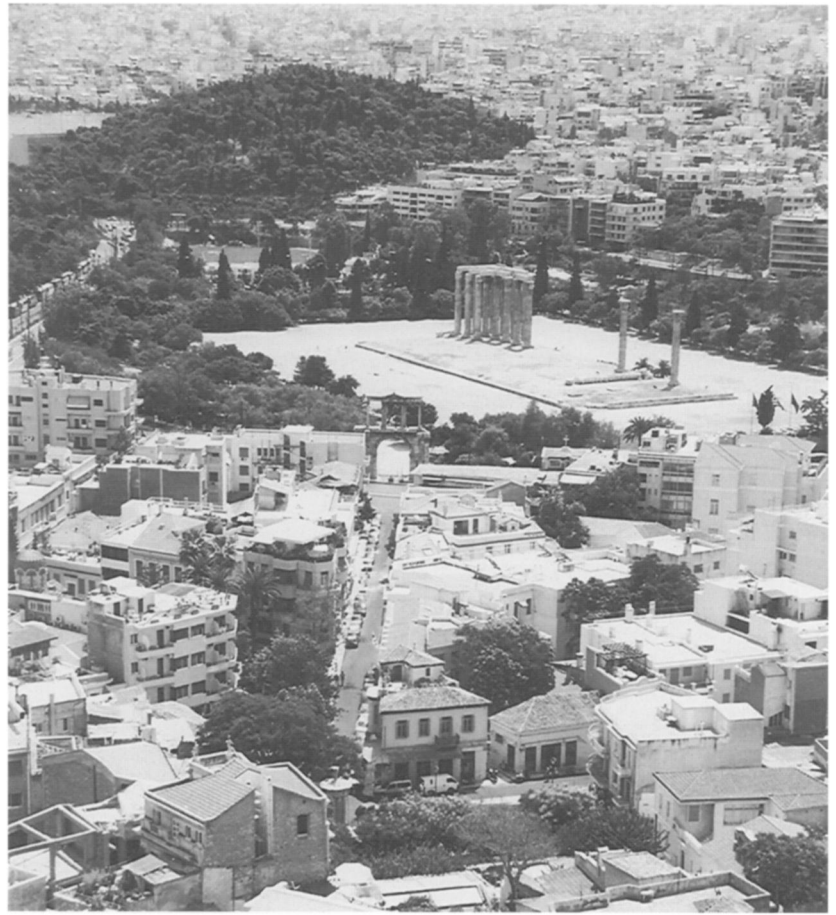


Figure 32. View southeast from the Acropolis. Photo G. C. R. Schmalz

and the Aglaurion and symbolically marked the front of the citadel and its eastward-looking temples.<sup>159</sup> Thus, in reference to the *pylai* and the *anodos*, Herodotos would have been describing two adjoining landmarks on the east slope of the Acropolis.<sup>160</sup>

From this perspective, Thucydides' famous account (2.15.3) of the early development of Athens may also be clarified. According to Thucydides, before the synoecism of Theseus, "the polis was in essence the Acropolis and the part below it facing rather to the south."<sup>161</sup> Thucydides can now be understood to have referred to the city's southeastern quarter, with

159. These are Philochorus's "*propylaia* of the *polis*" in *FGrH* 328 F105, implicitly above the Anakeion in Polyaeus *Strat.* 1.21.2. For this "propylon" or "propylaia," see esp. Robertson 1998, pp. 292–295; for the relevant sources, see also Judeich 1931, p. 272, n. 16.

160. Such an interpretation has the virtue of saving Herodotos from an otherwise awkward form of topographical expression; see Miller 1995, p. 236, n. 83. The lower course of Herodotos's

*anodos* (Hdt. 8.53.1), more or less on an axis with the Acropolis, may have existed a block to the north of the Monument of Lysikrates, preserved in a series of broad, rock-cut steps under the modern Thespis Street where it meets Tripods Street (see Korres 1989a, p. 10; 1989b, p. 13, fig. 2; French 1990–1991, p. 6). Alternatively, following the early antiquarian view (e.g., Roque 1876, p. 168), the ancient *anodos* could be identified with the broad pathway on the north side of the Monument of

Lysikrates; this route continued in use until the redevelopment of the area following the Greek War of Independence. If the orientation of Thespis Street is any guide, these two courses could well have converged farther up on the east slope of the Acropolis, where the proposed Anakeion site stands.

161. Thuc. 2.15.3: τὸ δὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἢ νῦν οὐσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον.

“below the Acropolis” meaning below the “front” or east of the Acropolis and “rather to the south” meaning the southeast.

The topographical orientation of the growth of Athens stretched from the Cave of Aglauros down the line of ancient Lysikrates Street, with its ancient square and the site of the Prytaneion, to the sacred region of the Olympieion and the Ilissos river valley.<sup>162</sup> Clearly, the visually dominant cave above the Aglaurion inspired a southeastern line of orientation between the Acropolis and the Ilissos river valley (see Fig. 32). This important topographical axis, encompassing both ancient and modern Lysikrates Streets and the site of the Prytaneion, was clearly marked in Roman times by the monumental Arch of Hadrian, which looks directly westward toward the Aglaurion. Indeed, in its famous backward reference to the city of Theseus, the Arch seems to commemorate the very locus of Thucydides’ early city.<sup>163</sup> If the site under discussion does in fact represent the remains of the ancient Prytaneion, then that commemoration would have had the utmost immediacy, for the Prytaneion was the architectural and ritual embodiment of Theseus’s city.

162. See Hölscher 1991, pp. 358–361; Papadopoulos 1996, pp. 127–128.

163. Papadopoulos (2003, p. 284) also attributes a topographical significance to the Theseus inscription. See also Post 1998–1999. The arch rests over the remains of a small cemetery dating to the Late Bronze Age; see locations 9 and 10 in Mountjoy 1995, pp. 17–18, 33–34, 35–36, 48, 53–54. This burial ground and, presumably, its associated settlement date to the 15th–12th centuries B.C.

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