Bronze Head of Nike. About 425 B.C. (B 30, H. 0.20)
Originally overlaid with sheet gold secured in the grooves.
LUCY SHOE MERITT

quae libris huius scholae per multos annos edendis eandem sollertiam scientiam subtilitatem semper adhibuit quam ornamentis architecturae antiquae explicandis
Our purpose in writing this book has been to present a picture, concise but comprehensive, of the city center of ancient Athens as we visualize it in the year 1970. The story of the Agora proper, which covers a span of less than nine centuries, has been supplemented with brief accounts of the earlier and later history of the area, as well as with some discussion of the residential and industrial districts that impinged closely on the public square. Our evidence is partly literary, partly archaeological, and we have tried to collate the two throughout. We have taken into account the results of earlier exploration in the area by Greek and German archaeologists as well as the findings of the American scholars who have been active on the site since 1931.

As we write, a new phase of the Agora excavations is beginning, its objective the clearance of the north side of the square. Through the generous permission of the Field Director of this new phase, Professor T. Leslie Shear, Jr., we have been able to avail ourselves of a new piece of evidence of vital importance to the understanding of Agora topography, viz. the discovery of the Stoa Basileios in June of 1970. But our account is essentially a record of the state of our knowledge at the end of the first forty years of exploration by the American School of Classical Studies.

In the past the study of Agora topography has been notoriously controversial. Nor have all problems yet been settled. We have tried to warn the reader when in our opinion the available evidence does not yet permit a firm conclusion. We are confident that the continuing excavation will correct and supplement our reading of the evidence at many points, and we shall be happy if our provisional synthesis enables other scholars to achieve a better understanding of the subject. We have not attempted any systematic evaluation of the results of the recent excavations in such fields as epigraphy, sculpture, ceramics or numismatics. For specialized studies in these areas one will turn to other volumes in this same series (pp. xxii–xxiii).

The two authors venture to believe that they were fitted by their respective experiences to play complementary parts in putting together such a book. Thompson, having been an active member of the field staff since the inception of the American excavations in 1931, could claim a fairly comprehensive knowledge of the archaeological findings. Wycherley, not having participated at first-hand in the actual fieldwork, could bring a more objective judgement to bear on the conclusions of the excavators. He has enjoyed the further advantage of an intensive knowledge of the literary and epigraphic evidence as a result of compiling a corpus of testimonia relating to the Athenian Agora, published as *Agora*, III in 1957. The central part of the book has been written mainly by Wycherley. The history of the area, both before and after its use as civic center, as well as the account of the excavations, has been contributed by Thompson. He has also done the sections on law courts, the Arsenal (?), the Stoa Basileios, the Odeion of Agrippa, the Library of Pantainos, and industrial activities. The two authors, however, have been in constant communication over many years, and they accept joint responsibility for the views here expressed.
Our debts to others are many and great. Among the older books Carl Wachsmuth’s *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* (vol. I, 1874; vol. II, i, 1890) has been a constant and still valuable aid not least because of its abundant quotations from the ancient authors. The more summary accounts by Walter Judeich (*Topographie von Athen*, 2nd edition, 1931) and by Ida Thallon Hill (*The Ancient City of Athens*, 1953) have been useful reminders of earlier states of knowledge. We have profited from Roland Martin’s stimulating discussion of many aspects of the Athenian Agora, especially as presented in his general treatise on the Greek Agora (*L’Agora Grecque*, 1951). Miss Margaret Crosby has generously made available to us the full collection of testimonia relating to the law courts of Athens which she has prepared for a later volume of the Agora series.

We would draw particular attention to the new book by John Travlos, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Athens*, published under the auspices of the German Archaeological Institute simultaneously in Germany by Ernst Wasmuth, in England by Thames and Hudson and in the United States by Praeger (1971). Besides its authoritative text and magnificent plans, drawings and photographs, the book contains full bibliographies on the individual monuments. We only regret that the timing did not permit fuller coordination between our two books in the parts concerning the Agora.

For expert opinions on the many different types of material with which we have had to deal in summary fashion we have shamelessly combed the writings and picked the brains of our colleagues of the Agora Excavation staff. We are indebted to them for our borrowings, but we absolve them of all responsibility for the way we have exploited their wisdom.

We are under still more explicit obligation to those colleagues who have furnished illustrations for the book. The great majority of the photographs are by Alison Frantz. Some of the earliest pictures were made by Hermann Wagner, some of the most recent by Eugene Vandervelpool, Jr. John Travlos has provided us with all our general plans and with detailed drawings of many of the monuments. He has furthermore supervised the making, by the skilled technician Christos Mammelis, of the architectural models which, we hope, will greatly facilitate the reader’s study of the site. We also reproduce drawings and watercolors by Piet de Jong, William B. Dinsmoor, Jr., Marian H. McAllister, Aliki H. Bikaki, Hazel Whipple and Weaks G. Smith. We are indebted to Professor George C. Izenour of Yale University for permission to reproduce his perspective section of the Odeion of Agrippa in advance of its appearance in his forthcoming volume on the development of theater design. The work of these talented artists inevitably combines interpretation with recording; their contribution to the book is therefore substantial.

We are grateful for much skillful and devoted technical assistance: to Nikolaos Restakis in the processing of the photographs, to Helen Besi in the readying of the plans, and to our respective secretaries Miss Aziza Kokoni in Athens, Mrs. Jane Marston Jones and Miss Margaret Williams in Bangor and Mrs. Enid Bayan in Princeton in putting the manuscript in shape. Poly Demoulini, Secretary of the Agora Excavations and Keeper of the Records, has responded promptly and cheerfully to innumerable calls for help. Our Index is largely the devoted work of Mrs. Wycherley. In this, as in so many other volumes of the Agora publications, we are grateful to our printer, J. J. Augustin of Glückstadt, and to our engravers, The Meriden Gravure Company, for their unfailing cooperation. Both authors are deeply indebted to the Institute for Advanced Study, Wycherley for a session (1966–67) which enabled him to lay the foundations for his part of the work, Thompson for many facilities over a period of many years.

The first comprehensive report on the work of the American School of Classical Studies in the Athenian Agora must record the School’s great indebtedness to the Government of Greece especially as represented by successive generations of officers of the Archaeological Service. The School regards as a high honor the privilege of participating in the exploration of this most
historic place. The project has enjoyed from the beginning the unfailing support of the Greek authorities, and it now owes the possibility of a significant extension to the vigorous advocacy of the present Inspector General of Antiquities and Restoration, Professor Spyridon Marinatos. To the directors and staffs of the Athenian museums we are indebted for unfailingly courteous assistance in the study of comparative material. We would mention especially the late Christos Karouzos, Semni Karouzou-Papasyridi and Vassilios Kallipolitis in the National Archaeological Museum, Markellos Mitsos and Dina Peppas-Delmosou in the Epigraphical Museum, Yannis Miliadis and Georgios Dontas in the Acropolis Museum, the late George Soteriou and Manolis Chatzidakis in the Byzantine Museum.

The undertaking could never have prospered without substantial financial support. A beginning was made possible by a liberal but initially anonymous grant from the late John D. Rockefeller, Jr., an expression of faith that was literally "the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." Mr. Rockefeller's backing, repeatedly renewed, attracted the support of many other individuals, of universities, societies and foundations whose contributions through the years have assured the continuation of the work. The program of publication, including the preparation of this volume, has been greatly helped by grants from the Bollingen, the Old Dominion and the Samuel H. Kress Foundations. Our grateful thanks go to the heads of those foundations, John D. Barrett, Ernest Brooks, Jr. and Franklin D. Murphy respectively. A recent contribution from the Ford Foundation has made possible the northward extension of the excavation, thus opening a new chapter which promises to be one of the most splendid of all. The exploitation of this new development has been advanced by a generous contribution from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (p. 233).

Among the many individual benefactors of the project we would name especially the late Mr. John Crosby, Miss Margaret Crosby and Mr. Peter E. Demarest. Their generous and repeated contributions have covered the cost, among other things, of much of the definitive exploration in the southern part of the Agora.

In the course of the years many members of the governing bodies of the American School of Classical Studies have given vital support to this department of the School's activities.* The moving spirit in the beginning was Edward Capps, for twenty years Chairman of the Managing Committee. With the scholar's vision of the scientific possibilities of the project Capps combined a great capacity for organization and a gift for attracting financial support. His efforts were ably seconded in Athens by the first Secretary of the Agora Commission, Alexander Adossides and by Aristeides Kyriakides, for many years Legal Counsel of the American School, both distinguished Greek citizens who by their eminent fairness in dealing with the Greek authorities and the local property owners established the cordial relations so

* In the period covered by the Agora Excavations the following have served:

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<td>1968– T. Leslie Shear, Jr.</td>
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essential to the success of the enterprise. In the years following World War II a great effort was needed first to revive interest in completing the excavation and then to provide a suitable museum and working facilities by rebuilding the Stoa of Attalos. These goals were achieved thanks to the united and vigorous support of the three leading figures in the direction of the School's affairs at the time: Ward M. Canaday as President of the Board of Trustees, Charles H. Morgan as Chairman of the Managing Committee, and John L. Caskey as Director of the School. In these same years the enterprise owed much also to the devoted interest of a former Director of the School, Gorham P. Stevens, particularly in convincing others of the practicality of reconstructing the Stoa of Attalos, and in arousing interest in the landscaping of the area. The support for the next important phase of the work, the northward extension of the excavation, has been achieved again by the united efforts of a harmonious triad: Frederick C. Crawford as President of the Board of Trustees, Richard H. Howland as Chairman of the Managing Committee and Henry S. Robinson as Director of the School. We trust that these many well-wishers may draw some reward from a feeling of proprietary satisfaction in the outcome.

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

University College of North Wales, Bangor

February 1, 1971.

Homer A. Thompson

R. E. Wycherley
TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface ........................................................................................................................................ vii
List of Illustrations ................................................................................................................... xiii
Figures ...................................................................................................................................... xiii
Plates ......................................................................................................................................... xiv
Abbreviations of Periodicals .................................................................................................... xx
Select Bibliography .................................................................................................................. xxi
I. Before Solon ............................................................................................................................ 1
II. Historical Development of the Agora ..................................................................................... 19
III. Facilities for Civic Administration ....................................................................................... 25
   The Council ........................................................................................................................... 25
      Oldest Buildings .............................................................................................................. 25
      Bouleuterion and Metroon ............................................................................................... 29
      Eponymous Heroes .......................................................................................................... 38
      Tholos .............................................................................................................................. 41
   Prytaneion ............................................................................................................................. 46
   The Assembly ......................................................................................................................... 48
   The Law Courts .................................................................................................................... 52
      Furnishings of the Courts ................................................................................................. 52
      Buildings at the Northeast Corner of the Agora ............................................................. 56
      The Hellaia ....................................................................................................................... 62
      The South Square ............................................................................................................ 65
      Other Buildings Used by the Courts ............................................................................... 71
   The Magistrates and Boards .................................................................................................. 72
      Early Office Buildings ..................................................................................................... 72
      South Stoa I ..................................................................................................................... 74
      The Mint ........................................................................................................................... 78
   Civic Offices of Roman Date ................................................................................................. 79
   The Arsenal (?) ..................................................................................................................... 80
IV. Stoas ...................................................................................................................................... 82
   Stoa Basilios (= Royal Stoa) ............................................................................................... 88
   Stoa Poikile .......................................................................................................................... 90
   Stoa of the Herms ............................................................................................................... 94
   Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios .................................................................................................... 96
   Stoa of Attalos .................................................................................................................... 103
   Colonnaded Streets .......................................................................................................... 108
TABLE OF CONTENTS

V. CULTURAL BUILDINGS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD ................................................................. 111
   Odeion of Agrippa ............................................................................................................. 111
   Library of Pantainos ....................................................................................................... 114

VI. SHRINES .......................................................................................................................... 117
   Boundary Markers ........................................................................................................... 117
   Cult of the Heroized Dead ............................................................................................... 119
   Leokorion .......................................................................................................................... 121
   Theseion ............................................................................................................................ 124
   Ikria and Orchestra ......................................................................................................... 126
   Altar of the Twelve Gods ................................................................................................. 129
   Apollo Patroos ................................................................................................................ 136
   Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria ................................................................................ 139
   Hephaisteion ..................................................................................................................... 140
   Eleusinion .......................................................................................................................... 150
   Political Heroes: the Tyrannicides ................................................................................... 155
   Transplanted Temples and Altars ..................................................................................... 160
   Some Lesser Shrines ......................................................................................................... 168

VII. COMMERCIAL, DOMESTIC AND INDUSTRIAL QUARTERS ........................................... 170
   Market ................................................................................................................................. 170
   Houses ................................................................................................................................. 173
   Industrial Activity ............................................................................................................ 185

VIII. ROADS AND WATER SUPPLY ................................................................................... 192
   Streets ................................................................................................................................. 192
   Drainage ............................................................................................................................. 194
   Wells, Aqueducts and Fountains ...................................................................................... 197

IX. PAUSANIAS ...................................................................................................................... 204

X. AFTER THE HERULI ..................................................................................................... 208

XI. THE EXCAVATIONS ...................................................................................................... 220

CONCORDANCE .................................................................................................................. 235

INDEX ................................................................................................................................... 287
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

FIGURES

Figure
1. The Agora and Environs in 2nd Century after Christ. Perspective (J. Travlos) .............. opp. 1
2. Mycenaean Chamber Tomb beneath Terrace of Middle Stoa (J. Travlos) ..................... 5
3. Bronze Spearhead from Mycenaean Chamber Tomb (B 1287, L. 0.54. J. Travlos) .............. 6
4. Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on North Slope of Areopagus (J. Travlos) ...................... 7
5. Family Cemetery of 8th Century B.C. at Southeast Foot of Kolonos (J. Travlos) .......... 11
6. Family Cemetery of 6th Century B.C. on West Slope of Areopagus (J. Travlos) .......... 11
7. The Agora from Northwest, Middle of 4th Century B.C. Perspective (J. Travlos) .......... 22
8. Earliest Civic Buildings at Southwest Corner of Agora (J. Travlos) ..................... 26
9. Old Bouleuterion and Environs (J. Travlos) .................................................. 30
10. Hellenistic Metroon, from Northeast (M. H. McAllister) ...................................... 36
11. Monument of the Eponymous Heroes (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.) .................................. 39
12. Tholos, original Plan (J. Travlos) ........................................................................ 42
13. Tholos, 2nd Century after Christ (J. Travlos) .................................................... 42
14. Pryx (J. Travlos) .................................................................................................. 49

Period I Early 5th Century B.C.
Period II End of 5th Century B.C.
Period III Late 4th Century B.C.
15. Pair of Kleroteria suitable for Use in the Courts (Reproduced with permission of Sterling Dow) . 54
16. Klepsydrai in Use (Piet de Jong) ........................................................................ 55
17. Early Buildings probably used by the Law Courts at Northeast Corner of Agora (J. Travlos) . 58
18. Square Peristyle, from Northwest (J. Travlos) .................................................... 60
20. Wall of Heliaia (J. Travlos) ................................................................................ 63
21. Water Clock in front of Heliaia, from Northeast (J. Travlos) .................................. 64
22. South Square from Northeast. Late 2nd Century B.C. (J. Travlos) ......................... 65
23. Middle Stoa, West End in Original Form, from Northwest (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.) .......... 67
24. Fountain in Back Wall of South Stoa II (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.) .............................. 69
25. Room in South Stoa I designed for Dining Couches (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.) ............. 77
26. Bronze Shield Taken at Battle of Pylos, 425 B.C. (B 262, Diam. 0.97. Piet de Jong) .... 93
27. Stoa of Zeus, South Wing (M. H. McAllister) .................................................. 98
28. Stoa of Attalos, Plans at Three Levels (J. Travlos) ............................................. 105
29. Stoa of Attalos, Northeast Corner of Main Floor (M. H. McAllister) ....................... 106
30. Doodles on Column of Southeast Stoa (J. Travlos) ............................................. 109
31. Odeion of Agrippa, Plans of Periods I, Level of Top of Cavea and II, Ground Level (J. Travlos) . 112
32. Altar of the Twelve Gods, Actual State (J. Travlos) ............................................ 130
33. Altar of the Twelve Gods, Plan of Period I (J. Travlos) ........................................ 131
34. Altar of the Twelve Gods, Period II (M. H. McAllister) ...................................... 133
35. Temple of Hephaistos (J. Travlos) ........................................................................ 141

1 Agora inventory numbers are preceded by the initial letter of the category: A = Architecture, B = Bronze, BI = Bone and Ivory, I = Inscriptions, IL = Iron and Lead, J = Jewelry, P = Pottery, S = Sculpture, ST = Stone, T = Terracotta. Dimensions are abbreviated thus: Diam. = Diameter, H. = Height, L. = Length, T. = Thickness, W. = Width. All dimensions are given in meters.
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

36. Temple of Hephaistos, Cult Images (G. P. Stevens and J. Travlos) ........................................ 146
37. Eleusinion (J. Travlos) ........................................................................................................... 151
38. Pedestal for Portrait Statues dedicated to Demeter and Kore (A. H. Bikaki) ......................... 154
39. Temple of Ares and Altar (J. Travlos) ................................................................................... 162
40. Residential-industrial Area to Southwest of Agora (J. Travlos) ........................................... 175
41. Two Houses of Classical Period to Southwest of Agora (J. Travlos) ....................................... 176
42. Houses of 5th Century b.c. at North Foot of Areopagus (J. Travlos) ...................................... 178
43. Elevation of House Walls, 4th Century b.c. (H. Whipple) .................................................... 180
44. House of the Greek Mosaic. 4th Century b.c. (M. H. McAllister) ............................................. 181
45. House of Roman Period on West Slope of Areopagus (J. Travlos) ....................................... 183
46. House of Roman Period on Northwest Shoulder of Areopagus (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.) ............. 184
47. Casting Pit for a Bronze Statue, 6th Century b.c. (J. Travlos) ............................................... 189
48. Casting Pit for a Bronze Statue, 2nd Century b.c. (J. Travlos) ................................................ 190
49. Bridge over Great Drain (H. Whipple) ..................................................................................... 195
50. Southeast Fountain House. Actual State and Restored Plans (J. Travlos) ............................... 198
51. Pipeline to North of Southeast Fountain House (A 238. Piet de Jong) ..................................... 199
52. Pausanias' Route in the Agora (H. Besi) .................................................................................. 206
53. Large House or School at North Foot of Areopagus, 5th Century after Christ (J. Travlos) ...... 213
54. Water Mill set against Post-Herulian Wall, 5th–6th Century after Christ (J. Travlos) .......... 214
55. Church of Holy Apostles. Restored Plan and Section (J. Travlos) .......................................... 217
56. Church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite and the Archbishop's Palace (J. Travlos) ............... 219
57. Plan of Agora as restored in 1931 (W. Judeich, Topographie, fig. 49) ................................... 225

PLATES

Plate

FRONTISPIEC. Bronze Head of Nike. About 425 b.c. (B 80, H. 0.20)
1. The Agora and Environs in 2nd Century after Christ. Plan (J. Travlos)
2. Early Burials and Wells in the Agora and on the Acropolis (J. Travlos)
3. The Agora. Plan of Actual State (J. Travlos)
4. The Agora about 500 b.c. (J. Travlos)
5. The Agora in Late 5th Century b.c. (J. Travlos)
6. The Agora in Late 4th Century b.c. (J. Travlos)
7. The Agora in Late 2nd Century b.c. (J. Travlos)
8. The Agora in Late 2nd Century after Christ (J. Travlos)
9. The Agora in the Late Roman Period (J. Travlos)
10. The Agora and Environs. Air View from Northwest (Photo by the Royal Greek Air Force, 1968)
11. Model of the Agora, from Northwest
12. Model of the Agora, West Side
   a. From East
   b. From Southeast
13. Model of the Agora, South Side
   a. From West
   b. From East
14. Neolithic Period
   a. Neolithic Jars from Wells on the North Slope of the Acropolis (P 14871, H. 0.196; P 14872, H. 0.204)
   b. Neolithic Marble Figurine (S 1097, H. 0.09)
15. Bronze Age
   a. Middle Helladic Jar, Light on Dark (P 10522, H. 0.158. Watercolor by Piet de Jong)
   b. Middle Helladic Jar, Dark on Light (P 10521, H. 0.12. Watercolor by Piet de Jong)
   c. Trench Grave. Late Helladic III A/B
   d. Vases from the Trench Grave (P 21530, H. 0.165; P 21529, H. 0.187)
16. Mycenaean Tombs
   a. Vases from a Child’s Grave. Late Helladic III A (P 21300–21309, H. of largest 0.185)
   b. Vases from a Chamber Tomb. Late Helladic III A (P 27448–27458, H. of largest 0.38)
17. Mycenaean Tombs
   a. Model of a Chamber Tomb on the Areopagus. Late Helladic III A
   b. Ivory Pyxis from the Chamber Tomb (BI 513, H. 0.052)
   c. Gold Ring from a Trench Grave (J 5, L. of bezel 0.019)
   d. Two Swords and a Razor from a Chamber Tomb (B 781, L. ca. 0.46; B 782, L. 0.19; B 778, L. 0.74)
18. Ivory Pyxis from a Chamber Tomb on the Areopagus (BI 511, Diam. 0.11)
   a. Grave
   b. Vases (P 23556–23560, H. of largest 0.157)
   c. Bronze Jewelry (B 1048–1052, L. of pin 0.195)
   a. Mouth of Burial Pit (to the left a Hellenistic Cistern)
   b. Model of Chest and Granaries (P 27646, H. 0.253)
21. Ash Urn from Woman’s Burial of about 850 B.C. (P 27629, H. 0.715)
22. Jewelry from Woman’s Burial of about 850 B.C.
   a. Bronze, Gold and Glass
   b. Detail of Gold Earring (J 148a, W. 0.0205)
23. Cemetery near the Tholos. 8th Century B.C.
   a. Graves
   b. Vases from a Single Grave (P 4778–4785, Diam. of Largest Pyxis 0.275)
24. Wine Cooler with Scene of Combat. From a Grave near the Tholos. 8th Century B.C. (P 4885, H. 0.228. Drawing by Piet de Jong)
25. Protoattic Amphora by the Nessos Painter. Late 7th Century B.C. (P 1247, H. 0.457. Watercolor by Piet de Jong)
   b. Vases from a Pyre. Late 4th Century B.C. (P 16600–16607, L 4021, ST 339, H. of Alabastron 0.223)
27. Area of the Agora, from Southwest (1964) Cf. Plate 111, a
28. West Side of the Agora, from Southeast (1957)
29. Metroon
   a. Porch of the Metroon with Earlier Foundations beneath. From North
   b. Steps and Column Base of Hellenistic Metroon
30. a. Poros Base near the Tholos
   b. Marble Altar from the Tholos or Bouleuterion (ST 71, Diam. ca. 0.85)
   c. Stamped Roof Tile from the Hellenistic Metroon (A 304, L. of Stamp 0.188)
   d. Marble Basin from the Bouleuterion (I 4869, Diam. ca. 0.62)
31. Marble Statuettes of the Mother of the Gods
   a. Phiale and Tympanum in her Hands, Lion by her Side (S 731, H. 0.338)
   b. Phiale and Tympanum in her Hands, Lion in her Lap, Attendants by her Side (S 922, H. 0.31)
   c. Phiale and Tympanum in her Hands, Lion in her Lap (S 925, H. 0.196)
   d. Unfinished (S 957, H. 0.347)
32. Monument of the Eponymous Heroes
   a. Foundations as Excavated, from Southeast (1951)
   b. Section of Fence Restored (H. above sill 1.25)
33. a. Official Bronze Weights. About 500 B.C. (B 497, W. 0.034; B 492, W. 0.089; B 495, W. 0.064)
   b. Official Bronze Measure. About 400 B.C. (B 1082 bis, H. 0.064)
   c. Flans for Bronze Coins (B 1046, Average Diam. 0.018)
34. a. Official Terracotta Measure. 4th Century B.C. (P 3562, H. 0.185)
   b. Measure for Fruit and Nuts. About 100 B.C. (P 14431, H. 0.105)
35. Tholos
   a. Eaves Tile and Antefix from the Tholos (A 880, 861, Restored H. of Antefix 0.306. Watercolor by Piet de Jong)
   b. Pottery from a Well in the Predecessor of the Tholos. Early 5th Century B.C. (H. of Largest 0.265)
36. a. Dedication of Plants to the Phosphoroi. About A.D. 200 (I 4745, H. 0.21)
   b. Tile Standard. 2nd Century after Christ (A 1183+1288, H. of marble 1.44)
37. Speaker’s Platform on the Pnyx. 4th Century B.C.
38. Ostraka Found in the Agora. Hipparchos (P 2776), Megakles (P 14490), Xanthippos (P 6107), Themistokles (P 9950, 959, 15458), Aristides (P 9973), Kallixenos (P 17919), Hippokrates (P 6086), Kimon (P 18555), Perikles (P 16755), Hyperbolos (P 12494)
39. Law Courts
   a. Klepsydra. Late 5th Century B.C. (P 2084, H. 0.172. Watercolor by Piet de Jong)
   b. Lower Part of a Kleroterion. 2nd Century B.C. (?)(I 3967, W. 0.73)
   c-d. Bronze Symbolon, Obverse and Reverse. 4th Century B.C. (B 1169, Diam. 0.0181)
   e. Bronze Pinakion. 4th Century B.C. (B 822, L. 0.102)
40. Law Courts
   a. Cornice Block from the Square Peristyle (A 3399, W. 1.05)
   b. Bronze Pssephoi, Symbolon and Kybos (?). Found in the “Ballot Box” (B 1055–1061, 1176, Diam. of Pssephoi ca. 0.065)
   c. Room of the “Ballot Box”
41. Law Courts
   a. Site of Heliaia, from Northwest (1967)
   b. Water Clock, from North
42. Heliaia
   a. Wall Blocks from Heliaia (A 1645, 3283, Thickness of Wall 0.48)
   b. Foundations for South Wall of Heliaia
   c. Catapult Balls Found in Ruins of Heliaia (ST 703–708, Average Diam. 0.17)
   d. Terracotta Antefix and Lion’s Head Water Spout from the Heliaia, Latest Phase (A 2284, H. 0.295)
43. South Square
   a. Area of the South Square, from Northeast (1965) (Only the three columns in the foreground were found in situ)
   b. East End of Middle Stoa, Columns in situ
44. Middle Stoa
   a. Middle Stoa, Terracotta Sima and Antefixes (Drawn by W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., painted by Piet de Jong)
   b. Model of Middle Stoa, West End after addition of Stairway, from Northwest
45. South Square
   a. Bedding Block in East Room of East Building (W. 0.98)
   b. Fountain in Back Wall of South Stoa II
   c. Front Foundations of South Stoa II
46. South Stoa I
   a. South Stoa I, Rooms Viewed from the Colonnade
   b. Inscription Found in South Stoa I. Traditio published by the Metronomoi of 222/1 B.C. (I 7030, H. 0.275)
47. a,b,c. Reliefs on a Marble Tripod Support found in the Civic Offices. 2nd century B.C. (S 370, H. 1.09)
48. Stoa Basileios
   a. Stoa Basileios, from South (1970)
   b. Drakon’s Law on Homicide (I.G., I², 115, H. 0.88)
49. Stoa Poikile
   a. Poros Anta Capital probably from the Stoa Poikile (A 1559, H. 0.402)
   b. Anta Capital Restored (Watercolor by Marian Welker)
   c. Wall Block with Nail Holes probably from the Stoa Poikile (A 1560, H. 0.26)
   d. Bronze Shield Taken at the Battle of Pylos, 425 B.C. (B 262, Diam. 0.97)
50. Stoa of Herms
   a. Head of Herm with Traces of Repair (S 211, H. 0.28)
   b. Three Herms on a Pelike by the Pan Painter in the Louvre (Louvre C 10793)
51. Stoa of Zeus
   a. Cornice Block from Interior Angle (A 49, W. 1.00)
   b. Top Drum of Doric Column (A 150, Upper Diam. 0.599)
   c. Head of Nike Akroterion (S 373, H. 0.18)
52. Nike Akroterion from the Stoa of Zeus (S 312, H. above Plinth 1.20)
53. a. Decree against Tyranny. 386 B.C. (I 6524, H. 1.43)
   b. Emperor Hadrian. A.D. 117–138 (S 166, H. 1.52)
54. Stoa of Attalos as Rebuilt, from Northwest (1965)
55. Stoa of Attalos
   a. Rebuilding the Entablature (1955)
   b. Model of North End
   c. Inscribed Base for Statue of Karneades (I.G., I², 3781, H. 0.33)
56. Stoa of Attalos
   b. Stoa of Attalos on Completion of Excavation, from Northwest (1952)

57. Stoa of Attalos
   a. Stoa of Attalos as Rebuilt, Upper Floor, North End
   b. Stoa of Attalos as Rebuilt, Main Floor, from North

58. Odeion
   a. Odeion of Agrippa during Excavation, from South (1935)
   b. Capital from Free-standing Column of Odeion (NM 1469, H. 1.075)
   c. Capital from Interior Column of Odeion (Watercolor by Marian Welker)

59. Odeion
   a. Model of Odeion, Original State, from Northwest
   b. Odeion as Remodelled, against the Middle Stoa (J. Travlos)

60. Odeion
   a. Perspective Section by George C. Izenour
   b. Seating
   c. Female Head from Stage-front of Odeion (S 554, H. 0.23)
   d. Male Head from Stage-front Damaged in Fire of A.D. 267 (S 558, H. 0.24)

61. Head of a Triton from Façade of Odeion as Remodelled (S 1214, H. 0.57)

62. Library of Pantainos
   a. Model, from Southwest
   b. Library Rules (I 2729, W. 0.316)
   c. Dedicatory Inscription (I 848, W. 2.383)
   d. Inscribed Base of Iliad (I 6628, W. 0.90)

63. a. The Iliad (S 2038, H. 1.48)
   b. The Odyssey (S 2039, H. 1.29)

64. Boundary Markers
   a. , b. Horoi of the Agora. About 500 B.C. (I 5510, W. 0.31; I 7039, W. 0.315)
   c. Perirrhanterion from Southeast Corner of the Agora (A 2115, H. 1.095)
   d. Horos of the Sacred Way to Delphi (I 5476, W. 0.339)

65. Cult of Heroized Dead
   a. Stone-curbed Repository beside Panathenaic Way
   b. Votive Material from Repository

66. a. Monument Base commemorating the Victory of an Apobates (S 399, H. 0.49)
   b. Horos of Triangular Temenos outside Southwest Corner of Agora (I 7012, W. 0.27)
   c. Circular Base under North End of Stoa of Attalos (Diam. 1.35)

67. The Twelve Gods
   a. Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, from West
   b. Base of Statue dedicated by Leagros to the Twelve Gods (I 1597, W. 0.56)

68. Civic Cults
   a. Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos, from Northeast (1969)
   b. Altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria (I 3706, W. 0.75)

69. Apollo Patroos by Euphranor (S 2154, H. 2.54. Seen against the Fire-damaged South Wall of the Stoa of Attalos)

70. Temple of Hephaistos, from Northwest (1957)

71. a. Miniature Copy of Apollo Patroos (S 877, H. 0.29)
   b. Hephaistos on a Lamp in National Museum, Athens
   c. Part of Expense Account for making Statues of Athena and Hephaistos (I.G., I², 371, H. 0.50)

72. Temple of Hephaistos
   a. East Front
   b. Easternmost Metope on South Side, Theseus vs. the Minotaur
   c. Easternmost Metope on North Side, Theseus vs. Prokrustes

73. Temple of Hephaistos, East Frieze
   a. Battle Scene
   b. Athena, Hera and Zeus
74. Temple of Hephaistos, West Frieze
   a. Centauromachy
   b. Kaineus Assailed by Centaurs

75. Temple of Hephaistos
   a. Theseus in East Frieze
   b. Theseus in West Frieze

76. Temple of Hephaistos
   a. Ancient Planting Holes on South Side
   b. Ancient Flower Pot as Found
   c. Two Ancient Flower Pots (P 7261, H. 0.185; P 7054, H. 0.188)

77. Demeter and Kore
   a. North Slope of Acropolis from Northwest (1959). Arrow points to Eleusinion
   b. Ruins of Late Archaic Temple in Eleusinion, from Northeast (1959)

78. Demeter and Kore
   a. Kernei from the Eleusinion (P 12132, 12291, 12188, 12146, 12148, H. of largest 0.145)
   b. Fragment of "Attic Stele" recording Prices Paid for Slaves of Alkibiades (I 236bb, H. 0.23)
   c. Dedication to Demeter and Kore with Signature of Praxiteles (I 4165, H. 0.672)

79. The Tyrannicides
   a. Fragment from Base of Tyrannicides (I 3872, H. 0.104)
   b. Harmodios and Aristogeiton on a Late Red-Figured Oinochoe in Boston (Acc. No. 98.936; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Pierce Fund)

80. Zeus and Ares
   a. Altar of Zeus Agoraios (?), from Southwest (1951)
   b. Foundations of Temple of Ares, from Northwest (1951)

81. Temple of Ares
   a. Column Drum re-used as Millstone (A 2257, H. 0.78)
   b. Triglyph re-used as Millstone (A 2277, H. 0.83)
   c. Painted Ceiling Coffer (Watercolor by Piet de Jong)
   d. Crowning Member of Altar (A 1651, spacing of eggs 0.095)

82. Temple of Ares
   a. Female Head from a Frieze (S 1538, H. 0.132)
   c. Male Head from a Frieze (S 1459, H. 0.14)

83. Temple of Ares, Figures from a Frieze (S 870, 679, 1072, 676, Restored H. of Figures ca. 0.85)

84. Ionic Columns re-used in Post-Herulian Wall
   a. High and low Shafts (A 2970, 2971)
   b. Capital (A 2972, W. 0.794)
   c. Watercolor of Capital by Piet de Jong
   d. Base (A 2891+2892, Max. Diam. 1.11)

85. Hekataia
   a. S 1277, H. 0.60
   b. S 852, H. 0.397
   c. S 1145, H. 0.83

86. From a Well at Southwest Corner of Stoa of Attalos
   a. Pottery from Well in course of Mending
   b. Clearing Well (1954)
   c. Lekythoi from Well

87. Red-Figured Cup from Well at Southwest Corner of Stoa of Attalos. About 500 B.C. (P 24113, Diam. 0.18)
   a. Duel of Achilles and Memnon in presence of Thetis and Eos
   b. Youth with Rabbit
   c. Revel with Dionysos, Satyrs and Maenad

88. House of Simon
   a. Site of Simon’s House at Southwest Corner of Agora, from Northeast (1970)
   b,c. Hobnails found in Ruins of Simon’s House (IL 1861)
   d. Foot of Simon’s Cup (P 22998, Diam. 0.073)
PLATES

89. House to South of Areopagus
   a. Street to South of Areopagus, looking South (1964)
   b. House to South of Areopagus, looking Southwest. Late 4th Century B.C.
   c. House to South of Areopagus, Dining Room
   d. Mosaic in Dining Room

90. Mosaic Floor of House
   a. House between Areopagus and Pnyx with Mosaic of 2nd Century after Christ
   b. Detail of Mosaic. Parakeets at a Wine Cup (Watercolor by Weaks Gardner Smith)

91. a,b,c,d. Typical Wall Decoration in Houses to West of Areopagus. 2nd and 3rd Centuries after Christ
   (From Watercolors by Marian Welker)

92. Potters' Works
   a. Potter's Kiln of about 700 B.C. near Tholos
   b. Trial Pieces from a Potter's Dump. 7th Century B.C. (P 26569, 26571, 26580, 26581)
   c. Potter's Kiln in Heliaia. 1st-2nd Century after Christ

93. a,b,c,d. Typical Wall Decoration in Houses to West of Areopagus. 2nd and 3rd Centuries after Christ
   (From Watercolors by Marian Welker)

94. Plastic Vase in shape of Kneeling Boy. About 540 B.C. (Ribbon is Modern. P 1231, H. 0.255)

95. Moulds
   a. Mould of 4th Century B.C. and Modern Cast (T 2059, H. of mould 0.067)
   b. Ancient Impression in Clay of Belt Ornament, Reverse and Modern Cast: Mourning Odysseus.
      About 480 B.C. (T 3893, H. 0.118)
   c. Mould for making Megarian Bowls and a Bowl from this Mould, both Ancient. Early 2nd Century
      B.C. (P 18688, 18683, H. of mould 0.088)

96. Marbleworking
   a. Unfinished Marble Statuette (S 918, H. 0.207)
   b. Unfinished Marble Bowl with Traces of Early Lettering (ST 532, Diam. 0.227)
   c. Abrasive Stone used in finishing Sculpture (ST 456, L. 0.075; ST 464, L. 0.077)
   d. Pit Coated with Emery Powder for polishing of Marble

97. Bronzeworking
   a. Casting Pit for Bronze Statue near Temple of Apollo Patroos. 6th Century B.C.
   b. Mould for Archaic Bronze Statue (S 741, H. 0.75)
   c. Casting Pit for Bronze Statue on West Slope of Areopagus. 2nd Century B.C.

98. Bronze Head of Nike. About 425 B.C. (B 30, H. 0.20). Originally overlaid with Sheet Gold Secured
      in the Grooves

99. Panathenaic Way
   a. Upper Stretch from North. Post-Herulian Wall to Left of Paving
   b. Paving outside Southeast Corner of Agora

100. Drains
    a. Great Drain on West Side of Agora (W. of channel 0.90)
    b. Succession of Drains issuing from Tholos, from East

101. Waterworks
    a. Pipeline leading to Southeast Fountain House
    b. Detail of Pipeline showing Bend
    c. Y-junction in Drain from Southeast Fountain House (A 2663, Inside Diam. 0.28)

102. Waterworks
    a. Aqueduct leading to Southwest Fountain House
    b. Interior of Aqueduct showing Inset Pipes
    c. Water Carrier of "Venus Genetrix" Type from Nymphaeum (S 1654, H. 0.93)

103. The Herulian Sack
    a. Destruction Debris of Odeion of Agrippa
    b. Kitchen of a House destroyed in A.D. 267

104. Post-Herulian Wall to South of Stoa of Attalos
    a. Inner Face
    b. Outer Face
    c. Interior of Wall
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

105. Late Roman Industrial Establishments
   a. Water Mill set against Post-Herulian Wall. 5th–6th Century after Christ
   b. Mill Stones for grinding Olives
   c. Bed-block of an Olive Press

106. Central Part of Agora, from North; the “Giants” in the foreground (1969)

107. Late Roman Gymnasium
   a. Late Roman Gymnasium, Vaulted Room in Southeast Part
   b. Triton in Entrance to Late Roman Gymnasium (H. of figure 2.76)
   c. Portrait of a Distinguished Official. 5th Century after Christ (S 657, H. ca. 1.33)

108. Terracottas of 3rd-4th Centuries after Christ
   a. Muse (T 9444, H. 0.136)
   b. Isis (?) (L 3017, H. 0.221)
   c. Matrona (T 511 + 519, Restored H. ca. 0.18)
   d. Mask of Comedy (T 478, H. 0.27)
   e. Relief of Comedy and Pylades (T 2404, H. 0.12)
   f. Birds and Animals from a Child’s Grave (T 1421–1424, H. of Largest 0.115)

109. Church of Holy Apostles after Conservation, from Southwest (1965)

110. a. Area of Agora after War of Independence (Watercolor by J. J. Wolfensberger, 1894. Athens, Private Collection)
    b. The Agora as envisaged ca. 1880, View from Northwest (Drawing by J. Bühlmann)

111. a. Area of Agora, before Excavation, from Southwest (1931)
    b. Courtyard in Excavation House, Asteroskopeiou Street (1957)

112. a. Excavation Staff and Work Force (1933)
    b. Plaque in Honor of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in Agora Museum

ABREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

A.J.A. American Journal of Archaeology
A.J.P. American Journal of Philology
Ant. Denk. Antike Denkmäler
'Αρχ. 'Αναλ. 'Αθ. Αρχαιολογικά Ανάλεκτα εξ Αθηνών
Arch. Anz. Archäologische Anzeiger (accompanying Jahrbuch)
'Αρχ. 'Εφ. Αρχαιολογική Εφημερίς
Ath. Mitt. Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
B.C.H. Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
B.S.A. Annual of the British School at Athens
Cl. Phil. Classical Philology
Cl. Quart. Classical Quarterly
ΔΔλτ. Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον
D.O.P. Dumbarton Oaks Papers
'Εργον Εργον τῆς Αρχαιολογικῆς Εταιρείας
Gr.Rom.Byz.St. Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies
H.S.C.P. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology
J.H.S. Journal of Hellenic Studies
Jahrb. Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts
Πρακτικά Πρακτικά τῆς Ἐταιρείας Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
Rev. Arch. Revue archéologique
R.E.A. Revue des études anciennes
R.E.G. Revue des études grecques
Röm. Mitt. Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
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d. Guide book

Fig. 1. The Agora and Environs in 2nd Century after Christ. Perspective (J. Travlos)
I. BEFORE SOLON

The open area at the northwest foot of the Acropolis which was to be occupied by the Agora of classical times was not particularly inviting to the earliest inhabitants of Athens (Pls. 1, 10). Exposed to the cold north wind, lacking readily accessible water, remote from the early roadstead of Phaleron, this region suffered by comparison with the district that lay to the southeast of the Acropolis, between the Acropolis and the Ilissos River. Thucydides in a familiar passage (II, 15, 3) observed "In earlier times the Acropolis as it now is was the city, together with the area at the foot of the Acropolis, especially the part which was turned toward the south." The truth of this statement has been fully borne out by the discoveries of the past fifty years. 1 Already in the Neolithic Period the caves and sheltered ledges on the south slope of the Acropolis were thickly inhabited. From that time onward habitation was continuous and intense throughout the southern area, as shown by the innumerable domestic deposits, wells and graves that have come to light and that continue to be found either through systematic exploration or through chance finds made in the course of building.

In historical times the balance as between the southeast and the northwest areas was gradually redressed. When Eleusis with its fertile plain and famous sanctuary came under Athenian domination greater importance attached to the roadway that led northwestward from the Acropolis toward Eleusis. 2 Traffic through the northwest area was swollen also by the development of the harbor of Peiraeus which was, and still is, readily reached by a road leading out from the west side of our area. 3 This district, moreover, was found to lie so low that it could be supplied by gravity pipelines bringing in water from outside the city to supplement the yield of the local wells (cf. below, p. 199). When the time came for substantial public buildings there was available here a large stretch of land regular enough so that it could be levelled with a minimum of outlay and with just enough slope toward the northwest to assure good natural drainage.

But we are getting ahead of ourselves. Let us glance back to see what can be recovered of the history of the northwestern area in the long centuries before it was chosen as the site of the civic center.

The evidence for this early chapter is limited in both quantity and kind. In the first place, virtually no architectural remains exist. There is no reason to believe that any substantial building had stood in the area before the 6th century, and such slight houses or shrines as may

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1 For a judicious discussion of the Thucydides passage cf. A. W. Gomme, A Historical Commentary on Thucydides, II, Oxford, 1956, pp. 49–61. The recent archaeological finds are summarized and assessed by John Travlos, Π.Ε.Α., Ch. I: 3500–600 B.C.

2 Athenian tradition put the subjugation of Eleusis in the time of Erechtheus while admitting that its effective incorporation into the city state of Athens came about only with the synoikismos by Theseus: Thucydides, II, 15, 1–2; Pausanias, I, 5, 2; I, 27, 4; I, 36, 4; I, 38, 3; Apollodorus, III, 15, 4f; Plutarch, Theseus, 10, 3. For a general discussion of the wars between Athens and Eleusis cf. G. E. Mylonas, Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries, Princeton, 1961, pp. 24–29, 53, 63, 284.

3 The systematic development of Peiraeus was initiated by Themistokles during his archonship in 492/2 B.C. (Thucydides I, 93, 3); but it is hard to believe that the sheltered inner harbor had remained completely unexploited until that time. Cf. Judeich, Topographie, pp. 69, 430.
have existed were destroyed by the Persians in 480/79 B.C. or by the Athenians themselves as they rebuilt their city. Early habitation is attested, however, by the presence of household wells which prove the existence of dwellings in their vicinity. The earliest wells are of the Neolithic Period, and all subsequent periods are represented save only the Early Bronze Age. Another fruitful source of information on these early periods is the series of graves which begins with a single example in the Middle Bronze Age, continues with significant numbers of burials in the Late Bronze Age and comes to an end in the late 6th century B.C. In addition to illustrating burial customs and the state of arts and crafts, these burials help in defining the lines of the roadways that served the area; the graves appear to have been placed normally in small family groups at the sides of the roads (Pl. 2).

NEOLITHIC PERIOD

We may now proceed to a brief historical review, beginning with the Neolithic Period. This period, the earliest yet attested for Athens, is best represented in our area by household rubbish recovered from a score of shallow wells clustered around the northwest shoulder of the Acropolis. The wells indicate the existence here of a hamlet before 3000 B.C. The bleak site was chosen, no doubt, because of the ease with which water could be tapped as it emerged through artesian action from between the fractured geological strata of the Acropolis. Among the best preserved objects are several water jars of Red Burnished ware, shaped by hand, simple but well proportioned (Pl. 14, a). Potsherds illustrate other ceramic techniques of the period in both red and black wares, polished and incised. A highly stylized marble statuette of a female figure attests the sophisticated tastes of the Athenians already at this time (Pl. 14, b).6

BRONZE AGE

The first phase of the Bronze Age, i.e. the Early Helladic Period (roughly the 3rd millennium B.C.) is almost a complete blank in our area. It is represented only by a handful of potsherds, among them a couple of fragments of the sauceboats so characteristic of the age.

The Middle Helladic Period (about 2000-1550 B.C.) is more fully represented. Interspersed among the Neolithic wells on the northwest shoulder of the Acropolis were five wells of this time, shallow, irregular pits filled with broken pottery, animal bones, stone tools (Pl. 15, a, b). The remains of habitation are now much more widely dispersed. Throughout the whole area of the recent excavations the clearing of bedrock has yielded a random sprinkling of sherds of typical Middle Helladic pottery, especially Gray Minyan with its soapy, silvery fabric and Matte painted ware decorated with the simplest of geometric designs. Here and there, notably on the northwest and northeast slopes of the Areopagus, small domestic deposits have been

4 All the material relating to the Neolithic and Bronze Ages is presented by Sara A. Immerwahr in Agora, XIII to which the reader is referred for details.
5 Hesperia, VII, 1938, pp. 339-338; VIII, 1939, pp. 221, 226. In addition to the work of the Agora Excavations on a limited sector of the North Slope, important discoveries of prehistoric material were made in the more extensive exploration conducted in this area in the 1930's by Oscar Bronner under the auspices of the American School of Classical Studies. Excavation reports have appeared in Hesperia since 1932 with detailed presentation of important lots of prehistoric material in Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 599-570 (Hazel D. Hansen, "The Prehistoric Pottery on the North Slope of the Acropolis, 1937") and VII, 1939, pp. 317-438 (Oscar Bronner, "A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis"). Bronner has summarized his historical conclusions in Antiquity, XXX, 1956, pp. 9-18, "Athens in the Late Bronze Age."
found. At two points stratified road deposits begin with gravelly layers of the Middle Helladic Period immediately above bedrock: in the line of the road that ran, and still runs, east to west at the north foot of the Areopagus, and again in the line of a road running from northwest to southeast beneath the southern part of the classical Agora. In the Middle Helladic Period, therefore, we may assume for the first time widespread, though sparse, habitation. The earliest burial yet known in the area of the Agora is likewise of Middle Helladic date; it came to light beneath the west edge of the Agora. The burial was made in a small irregular pocket approached through a vertical well-like shaft; the offerings comprised a cup and a bowl of very crude hand-shaped pottery.

It was only well on in the Late Helladic or Mycenaean Period (about 1550–1100 B.C.) that Athens became a place of consequence. The scale of her development is most clearly indicated by the massive fortifications of Cyclopean masonry by which the top of the Acropolis was encircled in the 13th century. These walls are comparable both in extent and in the quality of their masonry with those of the more famous and richer contemporary towns such as Mycenae and Thebes. Of the palace that stood on the Athenian hilltop only slight vestiges remain, and the private houses that were discovered on the north slope in the 1930’s appear to be the unpretentious dwellings of refugees. In the open land beneath the classical Agora there is only a very little evidence, and that dubious, for habitation in the Mycenaean period proper. Several shallow wells scattered at random throughout the area were in use in the final phase of the Bronze Age (Late Helladic III C) and in the Submycenaean Period. They are enough to indicate a revival of settlement at that time. Clearly the main settlement of the Mycenaean period is to be sought elsewhere, probably to the south and southeast of the Acropolis.

Although the area to the northwest of the Acropolis was little esteemed in the Bronze Age as a place to live, or perhaps for that very reason, it was then a popular place for burial. Forty-six tombs of Mycenaean date have been encountered thus far, and many more undoubtedly exist in places where excavators have stopped short of bedrock (Pl. 2). The great majority of the burials, some thirty, took place in Late Helladic III A 1–2, i.e. in the 14th century B.C.; but three are as early as Late Helladic II B (ca. 1450–1425 B.C.), while several are as late as III C, i.e. the 12th century. The burial places are of two kinds, simple trench graves with single interments, and chamber tombs that might be used repeatedly for successive burials by the same family.

The Mycenaean tombs are widely and irregularly scattered. There are, however, several compact groups. One such is a row of four chamber tombs on the north slope of the Areopagus. Another concentration has been noted beneath the northeast corner of the Agora where chamber tombs and trench graves occur in close proximity to one another. A small group has come to light beneath the western part of the main Agora square and a sprinkling beneath the south central area. In view of the fragmentary nature of our evidence speculation as to the basis of distribution is not profitable. We may assume, however, that here, as in other Mycenaean settlements, the grouping was by family or clan; in some cases series of tombs probably bordered

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8 Hesperia, XXV, 1956, p. 49.
10 T. L. Shear, Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 20f. The two vases and with them the burial itself were assigned in the original publication to the Neolithic Period. But the shaft, which was the only means of access to the tomb, was certainly closed in the Middle Helladic Period as shown by the Gray Minyan and Matte-painted potsherds in the filling; it would be hard to separate the burial from the filling. Agora, XIII, pp. 92-93, pls. 27, 28, 71.
12 Convenient summaries of the distribution of Mycenaean tombs in the Agora have been given by Emily Townsend Vermeule in Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pp. 187-189 and XXXV, 1966, pp. 55f. For a more detailed account the reader is referred to Sara A. Immerwahr, Agora, XIII, pp. 97-110.
roads. A surprising phenomenon is the occurrence of so many chamber tombs in comparatively level places despite the fact that this type of tomb was more suited to hillsides. The cause may have been a desire to maintain family associations. After a modest beginning with trench graves in level ground a family whose pretensions had risen to the point of opening a chamber tomb may have preferred to keep to the original burial place.

The single graves were simple pits sunk in the soft bedrock. They were large enough to accommodate the body laid out on its back with a vase or two at head or foot. No trace of coffins has been observed in such graves, but the mouth of the pit was sometimes covered either with small stones or with rough stone slabs. A typical adult burial found beneath the northeast part of the Agora is shown in Plate 15, c. Above the head lay two vases of Late Helladic III A or B date, one a three-handled jar, the other a round-mouthed pitcher, and a small bronze knife (Pl. 15, d). The group of ten small vases of Plate 16, a, comes from the simple trench grave of a child beneath the north central part of the Agora. Particularly attractive is the lily bowl with its three rim handles for suspension. Among the other offerings in this grave were a handful of seashells, a comb and a pin of ivory, a necklace of glass-paste beads, and a small gold pendant; it was evidently the grave of a girl. The pottery indicates a date in Late Helladic II B, making this one of the earliest burials of the Mycenaean Period yet found in Athens.

The chamber tombs, roughly rectangular in plan, were hollowed out of the living rock and approached through a rock-cut passage (dromos). In level places the floors of these passages sloped steeply down toward the door of the chamber and were sometimes provided with shallow steps cut in the rock. The actual doorway was blocked with rubble masonry after each burial and was further protected by filling the dromos with the spoil from its own digging, finely broken and packed so hard as to be distinguished only with difficulty from the living rock. In none of the Agora tombs was the doorway given any architectural embellishment. The size of the chamber was limited by the faulty nature of the local geological formation which is little more than solidified clay. The largest of the tombs (below, p. 6) measured on the floor 4.30 x 5.90 m., but few had a floor area greater than six square meters. The bodies were normally laid out on the floor of the chamber. In one tomb (below, p. 5) each of two bodies had been enclosed in a simple wooden coffin, a rare practice in Mycenaean times and perhaps to be explained in this instance on the hypothesis that the bodies had been brought home from distant parts, possibly a battle field. When more space was required for newcomers the skeletons of the ancestors were shoved to one side. In only one case was a burial pit found below the floor of the chamber (p. 6). In one instance also niches for child burials were opened in the sidewalls of the dromos. Several of the tombs had been used only once; others had been re-opened for successive burials up to a total, in one case, of fourteen or more spread over a period of almost three hundred years. The tomb offerings consisted chiefly of vases with a little jewelry for the women, an occasional weapon and bronze razor for the men.

A brief account of a couple of the Mycenaean chamber tombs will serve to illustrate the type. Both date from Late Helladic III A, i.e. early in the 14th century B.C. Our first example came to light in 1965 beneath the terrace of the Middle Stoa toward its east end (Fig. 2, Pl. 16, b). The builders took advantage of the sloping bank of a gully, but nevertheless they

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were obliged to step down the floor of the dromos. The chamber was large enough (1.75 × 2.72 m.) to accommodate two burials on either side. Four interments were in fact made, two to the left of the door, then two to the right. All were found in order by the excavators.

The skeleton marked A on the plan was that of a woman, the mother of several children. She had been provided with a single vase, a pyxis-alabastron, and a conical bead of purple steatite. The woman's remains had been covered to a depth of a foot by rock crumbled from the ceiling before Burial B was made. The new arrival was a slightly built boy of thirteen to fifteen years. He too was accompanied by only a single vase, a small, two-handled jar.

Burials C and D, actually made before A and B, were so similar to one another in all respects as to suggest that they had been made on one and the same day. Long shreds of much decayed wood attested the use of coffins for both these burials, simple rectangular boxes barely big enough to hold the body. Burial C was recognizable as that of a tall man about fifty-three years of age. At his feet, outside the coffin, had been placed a handsome ewer decorated with spiral argonauts and flowers. Burial D comprised the earthly remains of a man aged about twenty. Of all four he had been most generously treated by his family. On his left wrist he had worn two almond-shaped beads, one of amber and one of carnelian, strung no doubt on a cord. On top of the coffin had been laid a bronze spearhead, delicately profiled and exceptionally long (Fig. 3). A large krater decorated with argonauts had also rested on top of the coffin. Five other vases lay beside or beneath the coffin. Two were complete, a two-handled and a three-handled jar decorated with spirals. Three were both broken and incomplete, a red mottled
cup, a kylix, and a krater with strap handles. These vessels had perhaps been used at the funeral ceremony. A fragment of the cup was found in the dromos together with a broken kylix, evidence, perhaps, of a parting libation for the dead.

Those who blocked the doorway after the last burial used among other stones a rough slab of river conglomerate, a type of stone not found naturally in the area of the Agora. This may be recognized as part of a gravestone which may originally have stood above the tomb to mark the entrance for the convenience of those who had to re-open it from time to time for subsequent burials. As such it would have been a very modest equivalent of the well known sculptured stelai which stood above the royal shaft graves at Mycenae.

The rock roof of the tomb collapsed, probably already within the late Mycenaean Period, making additional burials impossible. No account was taken of the old tomb when the area was levelled in the early 6th century B.C. to become part of the Agora. By a happy chance the foundations of the Middle Stoa, erected in the 2nd century B.C., straddled and protected the tomb. For centuries thereafter the throngs who promenaded on the stoa terrace trod unknowingly above their sleeping ancestors.

The second Mycenaean chamber tomb over which we may pause was the largest of a series of four set into the steep northeastern slope of the Areopagus (Fig. 4, Pl. 17, a).18 Thanks to the sloping terrain the floor of the long dromos could be practically level. The chamber, measuring ca. 4.30 × 5.90 m., had fully five times the area of the first tomb. This permitted a more lavish use of space. The body, instead of being laid out on the floor, was lowered into a deep pit in one of the inner corners of the room. The cover of the pit was a massive stone slab. Across each of the short ends of the chamber a bench was hewn out of the living rock; here were placed most of the offerings so that the middle of the room was free for the funeral rites. After the funeral the doorway was walled up in the same simple way as in the other tomb, and the dromos was filled with the spoil from the original quarrying. Some six centuries later a simple grave of the Geometric Period was unwittingly sunk into the top of this filling.

The offerings found in the chamber were numerous, varied and rich; they date from soon after 1400 B.C. Inside the door to the left stood two large jars and a long-handled copper lamp, employed no doubt in the funeral ceremonies. On the stone bench to the left of the door rested six terracotta vases and a large casket of ivory. A smaller ivory box (Pl. 17, b) was found on the floor of the tomb near the grave pit together with a number of bone pins and a bronze mirror. Also on the floor, heaped in three places, lay about one hundred thin gold ornaments of the kind familiar in richer Mycenaean graves; their edges were perforated for stitching to

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18 T. L. Shear, Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 274–291, figs. 12–32. The tomb was roofed soon after excavation in 1939 in the hope that it might remain accessible, but the rapid deterioration of the bedrock through exposure to the atmosphere necessitated refilling after World War II. Agora, XIII, Tomb I, pp. 158–169, pls. 29–33, 65, 67, 75, 77, 80.
cloth. A little ash near the middle of the floor marked the place of a fire, kindled perhaps for light, heat or fumigation.

The stone cover slab of the grave pit was found lying to one side; the earth fill of the pit yielded no trace of human remains. Yet the presence of the offerings and the gold ornaments from the grave clothes leave no doubt that a burial had been made. The remains of the deceased must therefore have been removed. The modern excavators in fact observed a dis-

![Fig. 4. Mycenaean Chamber Tomb on North Slope of Areopagus (J. Travlos)](image-url)

turbance in the fill directly above the grave pit. We may suppose that the roof of the excessively large tomb had collapsed soon after the interment and that the family, knowing the exact position of the grave pit, had dug down and removed the body.

The most precious among the furnishings of the tomb is the larger ivory casket (Pl. 18). The main part of the box, 0.112 m. in diameter, was hollowed from a single tusk; top, bottom, and lug handles were cut from separate pieces. In the carved band that encircles the box griffins, with the bodies of lions, the heads and wings of eagles, pull down deer in a rugged landscape studded with windblown pine trees. In its power and pathos, its technical virtuosity, and its good preservation, this piece takes a high place among all known carvings of the Mycenaean Period.\textsuperscript{19} The ivory, of course, came from abroad, from Egypt or from Syria.

Further evidence of contact with the eastern Mediterranean is provided by the large plain jar that stood in one of the front corners of the tomb chamber (Pl. 17, a). This vessel has been shown to belong to a type that was produced in Canaan and widely exported. It was filled surely with some characteristic product of the Near East, conceivably myrrh, incense or balm that might be useful in funeral rites.20

The rich furnishings of this tomb combined with its location tempt one to associate it with the royal family who dwelt on the Acropolis. In this period, however, a royal tomb would almost certainly have been round and vaulted, of the tholos type which is known elsewhere in Attica, e.g. at Marathon, Menidi and Thorikos. Another objection is the lack of continuity. Our tomb was certainly used only once, and the neighboring tombs were much too modest for royalty. We shall do better, therefore, to think of the large chamber tomb as belonging to a noble family that flourished long before Theseus and longer still before the Trojan War.

The three smaller and less well preserved chamber tombs that came to light on the north slope of the Areopagus may well have belonged to the same family or clan. One of these lesser tombs yielded among other offerings a set of bronzes (Pl. 17, d). They comprised a rapier of the horned type, 0.74 m. in length, a shorter sword, an instrument with a convex and finely drawn cutting edge that is hesitantly but probably rightly identified as a razor, and a one-handled bowl. All these had been placed on a wooden table beside the body of the last of three persons to be buried in the tomb.21

In the other tombs of the Mycenaean Period weapons are rare, an occasional bronze dagger, a broken sword, arrowheads of obsidian or bronze. Only one other bronze vessel has been found, a small, spouted bowl. Nor were the women’s burials of this cemetery more generously furnished: a few beads of semi-precious stone or glass paste, an occasional steatite pendant, a simple comb of ivory. Gold is conspicuous by its rarity. Apart from the thin shroud ornaments found in the richer chamber tombs on the Areopagus, the only significant piece is a signet ring from a disturbed tomb of the early 14th century (Pl. 17, c).22 In the lively but enigmatic scene on the bezel a male figure with staff in hand hastily leads off a pair of long-skirted women, perhaps to captivity.

The vases that accompanied the burials of the Mycenaean Period are also modest both in number and in quality. The total collection, numbering just over two hundred pieces, contains few outstanding examples, the majority being good run-of-the-mill products of their time. Occasionally the potter betrays a hankering after vessels of precious metal as when a two-handled goblet is shaped and colored to simulate a gold cup or when a set of tall-stemmed clay drinking cups are covered with tinfoil to give the appearance of silver.23

From the meager evidence of these few tombs and their furnishings one may venture on a few cautious generalizations. Already by 1400 B.C. Athens was a fully integrated part of the Mycenaean world, sharing the widespread koine in burial practices, in pottery shapes and

23 Cf. Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pp. 202–204 for an appraisal of the vases from the Chamber Tomb under the Temple of Ares; many of Miss Townsend’s observations apply to the Agora collection as a whole. The subject is dealt with at greater length by Mrs. Immerwahr in Agora, XIII, pp. 114–147. F. H. Stubbings’ study of the Mycenaean pottery of Attica came too early to take account of much of the Agora material (B.S.A., XLII, 1947, pp. 1–75).
decorative motives, in weapons and jewelry. Some of the vases are so similar in clay and shape to those of the Argolid as to suggest importation, but the majority may be presumed to be local Athenian products. We have sure instances of importation from the eastern Mediterranean in the Canaanite jar and the ivory used for the pyxides from the great chamber tomb. But not a single object of Cretan manufacture has been recognized, a curious gap in view of the close connections suggested by the legends of Theseus, Minos, Ariadne and the Minotaur. If the ivory caskets, the bronze rapier, and the long spearhead from the chamber tombs were made in Athens, as is quite possible, they indicate local craftsmanship of a high order; if these objects were imported, they are evidence of very discriminating taste among Athenians of the period. The high proportion of chamber tombs that were intended for repeated use, some of which did in fact continue to be employed by generation after generation, may be taken to indicate a settled and fairly peaceful state of affairs. The scale of the tomb furnishings, if one may argue from such evidence, suggests a society not in affluent but in comfortable circumstances. The tombs of the reigning family, should they one day come to light, may be expected to yield furnishings of a style more in keeping with the grandeur of the fortifications on the Acropolis.

SUBMYCENAEAN PERIOD

Habitation in the area of the classical Agora began, as we have seen, toward the very end of the Mycenaean Period. Burials, however, continued to be made in the district in the Submycenaean Period, the twilight years of the Bronze Age (11th century B.C.). Because of their simple form and the frequent absence of furnishings, the graves of this period cannot always be recognized as such. Only seven burials in the area have been assigned with certainty and ten others with probability to Submycenaean times. They are widely scattered: on the top of Kolonos, beneath the northeast corner of the classical Agora, and to the south of its southeast corner. In all cases these groups of tombs undoubtedly bordered roads. The burials of this period are all single. They were made in trenches like the simpler graves of the Mycenaean period proper. Now, however, the trench was commonly walled and was sometimes also covered with rough stone slabs. The furnishings, when present, normally consist of one or two simple vases laid at the head or feet of the outstretched body. The period is best known, in fact, from the character of its pottery which is nothing but a debased and weary survival of the Mycenaean.

The absence of chamber tombs in the Submycenaean Period, the meagerness of the grave offerings, and the inferior quality of the pottery indicate an economic and cultural decline even in Athens which, according to the credible ancient tradition, was spared the direct ravages of the invading Dorians. This same tradition informs us that Athens, in fact, became a place of refuge for people driven from their homes in other parts of Greece by the invaders. Some such movement may account not only for the resumption of habitation in the area of the Agora but also for the sudden establishment of a new burial ground about a half kilometer to the northwest of the Agora in the area later to be occupied by the Dipylon and Sacred Gates. This new cemetery was to have a continuous history until well down in the Christian period, and through

most of this long span it was to be the principal burial ground of the city. Nevertheless burials continued to be made in the area of the Agora until the end of the 7th century and, under special circumstances, until the end of the 6th.

**PROTOGEOMETRIC AND GEOMETRIC PERIODS**

After about a century in the doldrums of the Submycenaean Period the craft of ceramics recovered in Athens. A new spirit re-invigorated both the shapes and the decoration of vases. Starting in the early 10th century the new style persisted through various stages for some three centuries. The style and the period also have taken their name from the "Geometric" decoration of the vases, the earliest, incipient phase being termed Protogeometric. Once more the evidence for the study of the period comes chiefly from graves, supplemented in increasing degree, however, from other sources, especially from the debris recovered from household wells.¹⁵

The period is represented by seventy-eight burials and thirty-five wells. In the Protogeometric phase there were marked concentrations of burials on Kolonos Agoraios and beneath the northeast corner of the Agora, evidently in continuation of the Submycenaean cemeteries in those areas. The majority of the burials of the Geometric Period proper have come to light at the north and northwestern foot of the Areopagus where they seem to have been placed in relation to ancient roads. For the most part the graves occur in small groups of three or more, clearly family plots, although normally there is no trace of enclosing walls.

In two instances we have to do with larger family burial grounds that remained in use for long periods of time; these were protected by walls. The first lay at the southeast foot of Kolonos Agoraios, between the steep hillslope and the early road that skirted the east foot of the hill.²⁶ The plot measured about 6 x 17.50 m. and was bounded on three sides by a massive stone wall, on the fourth side by the steep natural scarp (Fig. 5). Of the total of twenty-two burials twenty formed a continuous series made over a period of about sixty years or two generations in the second half of the 8th and the early 7th century B.C.; the remaining two graves were of infants laid away in the ancestral burial ground at the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 6th century. Ten in all of the burials were of infants, the rest of adults. Significant similarities in the shape of skulls and jaws indicated close family relationships such as might be inferred also from the orderly placing of the graves. These graves contained no weapons and only a few modest pieces of jewelry of bronze and iron, but the number and high quality of the vases indicate a family of distinction. The same is evident from the fact that the old cemetery, though it lay at the very edge of the busy square of classical times, was never overlaid by a building; it appears to have been respected, perhaps as a sacred place, throughout antiquity (below, p. 73). One of the individual graves is described below, p. 14.

A second walled family burial plot lay on the steep west slope of the Areopagus, again at the side of an age-old road (Fig. 6).²⁷ The enclosure was an irregular rectangle in plan with overall

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²⁶ R. S. Young, *Late Geometric Graves*, *Hesperia*, Supplement II; Young's absolute dating of Late Geometric has been repeatedly challenged and should probably be raised by as much as a quarter of a century. The graves have been listed in summary form with revised dating by E. Brann in *Agora*, VIII, p. 111 and "Index of Deposits."

Fig. 5. Family Cemetery of 8th Century B.C. at Southeast Foot of Kolonos (J. Travlos)

Fig. 6. Family Cemetery of 6th Century B.C. on West Slope of Areopagus (J. Travlos)
dimensions of about 16 × 36 meters. Slight remains of a rough stone wall survive on all four
sides. Within this area at least forty-eight burials had been made. Twenty-two were inhumations, twenty-one cremations, two burials of infants; three were indeterminate. The earliest
interment dates from the late Geometric Period, i.e. the late 8th century B.C., but the majority
were of the 6th century, extending down to its end. The grave furnishings in this plot were
more modest than those of the first, consisting almost entirely of small and ordinary vases.
But the fact that burials were allowed to be made here near the middle of the city until such
a late date suggests that the plot belonged to some powerful family. For a typical grave see
below, pp. 15–16.

We may consider briefly the various types of burial practised within the Protogeometric and
Geometric Periods. The most striking innovation of this age was the practice of burning the
body. A few instances of cremation were observed in the cemetery by the Dipylon already in
the Submycenaean Period. Thereafter burning was to be regular for adults throughout the
Protogeometric Period and through early Geometric times until about the end of the 9th
century. Then inhumation was revived, and the two rites persisted together in varying pro-
portions until Christian times. Even in the Protogeometric Period, however, the corpses of
children were normally buried in graves. From the 8th century B.C. infants were laid away in
large vases (pithoi, amphorae or pitchers) set down in pits in the ground.

The reason for the change from inhumation to cremation is obscure. It may have been due
simply to a desire in an unsettled and perilous age to prevent the body of a loved one from being
ravaged by hostile man or beast. However uncertain the cause, the procedure is clear, and it
remained remarkably uniform for centuries. The body was burned on a wood fire after which
the charred bones were carefully gathered and placed in a large terracotta jar, usually an
amphora. This was set down in a small pit sunk in the floor of a larger rectangular pit into
which were dumped the ashes and the remnants of offerings that had passed through the fire
along with the body. Charred figs and grapes found among the ashes in one grave may be
remnants of a funeral meal. Personal ornaments were placed in the urn together with the
charred bones. Around the urn were stacked terracotta vessels suitable to hold the food and
drink for the journey to the other world or for the life beyond the grave. Other needs of the
journey might also be met. Beside the urn in a woman’s grave of about 900 B.C. were deposed
terracotta models of two pair of heavy travelling boots. In the corresponding position in a
man’s grave his family would place tools and weapons, sometimes bending his iron sword into a
hoop to be set like a wreath on the shoulder of the urn. The mouth of the ash urn was normally
closed with a small vessel such as a mug. The upper part of the urn pit was carefully packed
with earth and sometimes given further protection by a covering of stones or sun-dried brick.
The upper levels of the graves in the area of the Agora were too disturbed to yield any evidence
of grave markers. But the existence of markers of some sort is implied by the careful spacing
of the graves in relation to each other. In the better preserved cemetery at the Dipylon rude
stone grave markers have survived above a number of burials, and these were accompanied in

28 A sarcophagus (A 1129) of island marble and late archaic date was found built into the wall of a drain below the ceme-
tery, ibid., pp. 75–77. If this is to be associated with the cemetery, as suggested by Young, it adds to the distinction of
the family, for it is unmatched in Athens of that time in the richness of its material and the beauty of its workmanship.
Cf. V. R. d’A. Desborough, The Last Mycenaenae, p. 71 for occasional instances of cremation within the latest Mycenaean
Period.
31 R. S. Young, Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, p. 282.
32 Ibid., pp. 282f., 296f., fig. 19, pls. 67, 70.
33 For a particularly illuminating example cf. C. W. Blegen, Hesperia, XXI, 1962, pp. 279–294, pls. 73–78.
some cases by fragments of the large vessels into which libations to the dead were presumably poured. Similar arrangements no doubt existed above the Agora burials.

The nature of the various types of burial practised in the course of the Protogeometric and Geometric Periods may best be illustrated by brief accounts of several characteristic examples. We start with a girl's grave of about 1000 B.C. (Pl. 19). This was one of a group of three closely contemporary graves found beneath the north end of the Stoa of Attalos; it is now displayed in the gallery of the Agora Museum. One of the three burials had been made in a simple trench cut in the soft bedrock. In the other two cases the floor and walls of the trench had been lined with thin stone slabs to produce a "cist," a type of grave that came into common use at the close of the Mycenaean Period. The tops of the graves below the Stoa were protected only by a layer of field stones. In the girl's grave the body had been laid out full length on its back, head to the south. Over each shoulder was a long pin for fastening the peplos, one of bronze, the other of iron with a bronze ball near its top. The girl had worn a simple bronze bracelet on either wrist, a bronze ring on a finger of the left hand. Beside the body had been placed three small and one medium-sized oil flasks and a medium-sized wine pitcher. The vases are good but modest examples of the Protogeometric class; the scale was adapted to the tender age of the dead.

An adult body in the period of the girl's grave would undoubtedly have been cremated. We may illustrate a cremation burial of a woman over a century later in date (ca. 850 B.C.). It was found in 1967 at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (Pls. 20–22). An intrusion of the classical period had shaved away the upper covering of earth down to the crude bricks that overlay the urn pit. Some of the ash from the pyre had survived near by. Among the ashes were many fragments of vessels that had gone through the fire, most of them small, handmade bowls and lidded jars with pointed bottoms, all decorated with incised designs, a curiously primitive type of ware reserved for funerary use; it was perhaps intended to symbolize the coarse kitchen vessels with which the woman had had to do in her lifetime and of which she might have need in the other world. The burnt debris also included fragments from a number of small, openwork baskets (kalathoi) skillfully shaped in terracotta; they resemble the wool baskets to be seen beside spinning women on vase-paintings of the classical period. Such symbols of the woman's life on earth would have been appropriately consigned to the flames together with her earthly body.

A number of intact containers stacked around the ash urn (Pl. 20, a) may be supposed to have held supplies for the journey to the other world or perhaps for sustenance in that new world. They comprised an amphora of medium size, a globular, lidded box (pyxis), two small and one medium-sized pitchers, i.e. vessels suitable for food, oil and wine. These are normal offerings. More lavish provision is symbolized by an unusual terracotta object (Pl. 20, b). The lower part is evidently a model of a wooden dowry chest intended for the storage of household linen. The lid, however, supports five unconnected and unrelated containers. These are marked by their conical tops and trapdoors as granaries of a type that can be traced back to the Old Kingdom of Egypt. The two small holes at the base of each cupola may have served for fastening some adjunct of wood, a lower door for the withdrawal of the grain or perhaps a ladder to permit access to the trapdoor above. The basic symbolism, we may suppose, once again pertained to the future: a supply of grain for bread-making on a generous scale. There may be other implications. Did our lady come of a landowning family which made some symbolic display of its wealth and its status even at the funeral?

34 Kerameikos, V, i, pp. 7 f., 34 f.; Διαλ., XX, 1965, B1, p. 40.
35 H. A. Thompson, Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 68, pl. 16, a, c.
The large ash urn from the woman’s grave is evidently the work of one of the ablest Athenian potters of the time (Pl. 21). The proportions are pleasing; the profile is beautifully clean; the geometric patterns are effectively placed and meticulously executed. The urn was filled to half its height with charred bones which proved to be those of a middle-aged woman of light build. With the ashes had been deposited some of the dead woman’s precious and more personal belongings (Pl. 22). A pair of delicately carved pyramidal ivory seals attested her status as the mistress of a wealthy household. Four long pins (three of bronze and one of iron) and a pair of bronze fibulae made up a set for fastening the dress. A triple necklace of over eleven hundred disk-shaped glass beads and a massive glass pendant was undoubtedly a product of Egypt, Syria or Phoenicia and an exceedingly rare instance of an import at this early date. There was also jewelry of gold. A set of rings comprised three narrow and three broad hoops, the latter engraved with simple crisscross patterns. Our lady’s chief treasure was surely her pair of earrings (Pl. 22, b). A trapezoidal plate of heavy gold is decorated front and back with geometric patterns in filigree. To the lower edge are attached three pomegranates, the clustering leaves done in granulation. A broad strap made of twisted gold wires rises from the top of the plate. The straps were found hooked over in such a way as to suggest that on a gala occasion these magnificent jewels might have been hung from simple wire rings set permanently in pierced ears. This is a very early instance (in post-Mycenaean times) of the use of granulation and filigree work, yet the delicate techniques have been competently handled.

The wealth and discriminating taste attested by the furnishings of this grave mark the deceased as a member of one of the leading families of Athens. It is little wonder that the area of her grave, in the environs of which some nine other burials of about the same period have been found, was treated as a holy place throughout later antiquity (below, p. 120). The regular practice of burning the bodies of adults fell off, as we have seen, about 800 B.C. In the large family plot to the south of the Tholos which was in use in the second half of the 8th and the early 7th centuries (above, p. 10) inhumation prevailed. Infants were here laid away in large jars. Adult bodies were placed on their backs at the bottom of trench graves dug down through the earth sometimes into the soft bedrock. Ledges were left at an appropriate level to support the ends of rough cover slabs of slate. In Plate 23, a, we see an infant burial at the upper left, an adult skeleton already exposed in the lower left, and an adult grave with cover slabs still in place to the right. In this last burial, a woman’s, seven vases had been placed over the chest of the corpse and beside the head. A simple bronze ring was found on one of the fingers and two more on the floor of the grave together with a round terracotta bead. In one of the jars were four fibulae of iron with sail-shaped catch plates and one of bronze.

The set of vases in the woman’s grave, as normally in these early burials, included containers for both food and drink (Pl. 23, b). They are good representatives of the Attic Geometric style at the height of its development in the third quarter of the 8th century. Characteristic of the grave offerings of this time are the large, cheese-shaped pyxides. Shape and decoration are patently derived from basketry, a circumstance which accentuates the incongruity of the horses which are occasionally attached to the lids either replacing the knob or standing above the knob. Here, as with the granaries from the earlier grave, some symbolism may be intended. From Aristotle’s discussion of the classification of citizens in early Athens it appears that the original criterion of rank, viz. the volume of one’s farm produce, was supplemented subsequently by the number of horses that one could maintain. If this be so, our lady, with

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37 R. S. Young, Hesperia, Supplement II, p. 93, fig. 64.
38 Ibid., pp. 87-93, figs. 58-61 (Grave XVIII). The grave was dated by Young in the last quarter of the 8th century. For an up-dating to the third quarter of the century cf. E. Brann, Agora, VIII, p. 127.
the three spirited horses on her largest pyxis, may be supposed to have come of a knightly family, a rating that is suggested also by the number and quality of her grave offerings.

The absence of weapons among the graves in this family plot and their paucity in Athenian graves of the 8th century B.C. in general may be indicative of more peaceful and settled times. Equally suggestive is the appearance on Athenian Geometric vases from the second half of the 8th century of the first scenes that can with any degree of probability be related to epic poetry. Among the most interesting of such vases is an oinochoe from a man's grave in the family plot near the Tholos (Pl. 24). The vase is a technical curiosity. Two tubes of terracotta pass through its body crossing at right angles; they are open at the ends, but they do not communicate either with the interior of the vase or with one another. This was evidently a device to speed the cooling of wine when the jug was placed in a vessel of cold water; hence the vase may be regarded as an ingenious but impractical ancestor of the wine cooler (psykter) of classical times. In the midst of the battle scene that encircles the jug is a pair of linked figures who share a great square shield. The figures have been plausibly identified with the Moliones, the twins against whom Nestor contended both in battle and in sport. The figure-of-eight or "Dipylon" shields that are carried by other warriors on the vase are perhaps a deliberate touch of archaism intended to suggest the heroic times of long ago. We may venture to believe that the vase painter was inspired by epic poetry though probably by some poem earlier than the Iliad itself.

Excavation in the deeper levels here and there in the region of the Agora has brought to light remnants of stately amphorae that must once have stood exposed above graves of the 8th and 7th centuries in this area as in the cemetery by the Dipylon. We are fortunate in having one such vase in a fairly complete state (Pl. 25). This amphora was recovered from a mass of debris in a deep rectangular shaft in the northeast shoulder of Kolonos Agoraios (see below p. 186). The dumping took place about 540 B.C., but the shape of the vase and the style of its painting point to a date near the end of the 7th century. The hand has been recognized as that of the first great master of the black-figure style, a man who took his name, the Nettos Painter, from a scene of Herakles killing the centaur Nettos on another monumental grave amphora that stood in the Dipylon cemetery. The faded and weatherbeaten state of the Agora vase is doubtless due to long exposure to the elements. The great, somber sphinxes that fill the two sides of the vase will have held guard for a generation or more above the grave of some well-to-do person. The amphora must have seemed old-fashioned when taken down. The new graves were now being marked by tall stelai of limestone or of marble on top of which sphinxes were carved in the round.

The burial customs of the 6th century may be illustrated from one of the graves in the family cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus (pp. 10-12). Let us choose No. 10, the grave of a boy of 16 or 17 years who died soon after the middle of the century. His body was laid on its back on the floor of a deep pit measuring about 0.68 x 1.70 m., head to north. There was no trace of coffin or of covering apart from the earth filling of the pit. The offerings had been

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40 R. S. Young, Hesperia, Supplement II, p. 69, fig. 43 (Grave XIII); E. Brann, Agora, VIII, no. 44, p. 36; no. 304, p. 65 with bibliography.
41 Iliad, XI, 706-761; XXIII, 688-642. This interpretation was first proposed by R. Hampe, Frühe griechische Sagenbilder in Böotien, Athens, 1936, pp. 87-88. Among subsequent discussions cf. especially T. B. L. Webster, "Homer and Attic Geometric Vases," B.S.A., L, 1955, pp. 59-60; K. Friis Johansen, The Iliad in Early Greek Art, Copenhagen, 1967, pp. 29-25.
42 E. Vanderpool, Hesperia, VII, 1938, pp. 867-871, figs. 1-4; K. Kübler, Altattische Malerei, Tübingen, 1950, p. 26, fig. 16, pl. 88; J. D. Beazley, The Development of Attic Black-Figure (Sather Classical Lectures, XXIV), 1951, p. 15; idem, A. B. V., p. 5, no. 2.
44 R. S. Young, Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 991f., fig. 5, pl. 40, a.
placed around head and feet. They comprised seven small vases (Pl. 26, a): four oil flasks (lekythoi) and three unguent jars (lydia). The oil flasks were presumably still conceived of as receptacles for sustenance on the journey to the other world. They would also have been appropriate for the olive oil used as a rubdown by an athlete, and the scenes on the two decorated flasks do in fact suggest the athletic activities of a young man, on one a runner between two instructors, on the other a pair of nude riders. The ointment jars are of the distinctive shape known as the lydion from their place of origin, Lydia. The small size and massive walls suggest costly contents, perhaps again a dressing for anointing the body after exercise.

This was one of the most generously furnished of the many graves in the cemetery on the west slope of the Areopagus. Since we are undoubtedly dealing with the burial ground of a prominent family, we may take this economy as indicative of greater restraint in the archaic period in such forms of honor to the dead. At this time families who had the means and the inclination lavished their attentions not on the offerings to be buried in the grave but on the carved marble monument to be placed above the grave.

We may conclude our review of burial customs with a note on a series of small deposits that have some sepulchral implications but that were probably not actual graves. About a score of such deposits have been found more or less intact in the residential and industrial districts bordering the Agora to south and west, while the existence of perhaps as many again is attested by the occurrence of their characteristic furnishings in disturbed contexts. The practice flourished in this part of Athens throughout the 4th century; an occasional instance may be slightly earlier or later. The remains normally consist of a shallow depression two or three feet in diameter full of ash and charcoal and numerous small vases usually broken and damaged by fire. The baked state of the earth shows that the fire took place on the spot. The group of vases illustrated in Plate 26, b, from such a pyre in the courtyard of a house at the west foot of the Areopagus, is characteristic. It comprises a couple of shallow banded saucers with rim handles, a pair of drinking cups (skyphoi), a small lidded bowl (pyxis), a little pitcher, two casseroles, an alabastron made of soft limestone, and a lamp. The date is late 4th century B.C. Most of these vessels are of types familiar from domestic deposits, but the alabastron and the banded saucers are ritual objects that are found in graves. On the other hand, no human bones have been identified with certainty in the pyres; the shallowness of the deposits and the absence of markers also count against their being burials. In the light of our present knowledge they may be thought of as the residue from memorial services comprising ritual meals.

So much for the evidence to be drawn from graves. The other significant source of information for the history of pre-Solonian times in our area is the household wells. We have already seen that enough wells of the latest Mycenaean and of the Submycenaean Period have been found to indicate a beginning of habitation. From the Protogeometric Period onward the number and the topographical distribution steadily increase. In the periphery of the classical Agora wells continued to be dug and used throughout antiquity. Beneath its central part, however, the sequence breaks off early in the 6th century B.C. Since extensive levelling operations occurred at the same time we may connect both phenomena with the formal establishment of the Agora as a public place for community life.

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46 Ibid., pp. 117–119, pl. 51, a.
47 Similar pyres are known also from the excavations at the Kerameikos and at Trachones to the east of Athens, but no precise clue to their significance has yet been obtained from either archaeological or literary evidence. Cf. Agora, XII, pp. 45, 1981.
48 For a good summary of the state of the area in the 8th and 7th centuries cf. Agora, VIII, pp. 107–113. The distribution of graves, wells and roads is illustrated by the plan, ibid., pl. 45.
49 Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 96 (area of the Heliaia); XXXV, 1966, p. 45 (area of Middle Stoa); XXXVII, 1968, p. 68 (area of Eponymous Heroes).
The close spacing of the wells suggests that habitation was already quite dense in our area in the 8th and 7th centuries. Of the houses themselves, however, only the merest shreds have survived, beneath the Tholos, the Heliaia and the Southeast Fountain House. In no case is enough preserved to yield a complete plan. The buildings were certainly modest both in scale and construction. The remains consist of short lengths of light, stone wall socles and clay flooring.50

The one activity apart from mere living and dying that is attested in our area in pre-Solonian times is the making of pottery. A well of the Protogeometric Period beneath the very middle of the classical Agora has yielded a quantity of rubbish from a potter's workshop, notably trial pieces for testing the progress of firing (p. 186). Beneath the southwest corner of the square, deep below the level of the Classical Period, are the remains of a small potter's kiln of the 7th century B.C. (p. 186), while a small pit outside the southeast corner of the square was filled with debris from the making of pottery and terracotta figurines of the same period.51

The lines of the principal thoroughfares serving the area remained remarkably constant throughout antiquity for the simple reason that they were dictated by the terrain. Several of these roads are now well established through the discovery of stratified deposits of road gravel. Excavation in 1939 at the north foot of Kolonos Agoraios revealed continuous stratification from the level of the modern street down 12 meters to bedrock.52 The lowest pottery overlying bedrock was of the Neolithic period; from that time onward traffic has been passing this prominent point in a northwest-southeast direction. Much of the traffic originated near by in the valley of the Kephissos River and in the plain of Eleusis, but this was also the natural approach from central Greece and the Peloponnese. On entering the area of the classical Agora the roadway forked. One branch, or rather the main line, made for the Acropolis. Its course through the area of the Agora shifted slightly from age to age in a direction from west to east. The westernmost and earliest section thus far observed (beneath the middle of the South Square) was already much used in the Middle Helladic Period.53 Its latest course, familiar to us as the Panathenaic Way, was established after the construction of the Middle Stoa and the Stoa of Attalos in the 2nd century B.C. Another branch of the main artery, diverging beneath the northwest corner of the Agora, ran almost due south, skirting first the east foot of Kolonos and then the west slope of the Areopagus to take one into the southern parts of the city. The course of this road is clearly defined by deposits of road metal at several points going back to the 7th and 8th centuries.54 Both the walled family burial plots that we have discussed above had been placed in relation to this thoroughfare. We may assume that already in pre-Solonian times, as was certainly the case in the classical period, a third branch of the main artery took a course slightly south of east from the point of divergence beneath the northwest corner of the Agora. The extensive prehistoric cemetery beneath the northeastern corner of the Agora was presumably served by this road.

Another almost equally important thoroughfare ran from west to east at the north foot of

50 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 3–8, Building A: potter's establishment of the 7th century B.C. below the Tholos; XXIII, 1954, p. 36: house walls beneath the Heliaia demolished early in the 6th century B.C.; XXV, 1956, p. 48: houses to the south and north of the Southeast Fountain House dating from the late 7th and early 6th century B.C. The "Oval House" of the 8th century B.C. excavated in 1932 at the north foot of the Areopagus may be an enclosure related to an early cemetery rather than, as first proposed, a dwelling; D. Burr, Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 542–640; E. Brann, Agora, VIII, pp. 109f.; Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, p. 60.
51 Agora, VIII, pp. 110f., 131.
52 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 388ff.; IX, 1940, pp. 299ff.
53 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 46.
54 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 4f., 120, fig. 64 (area of Metroon); Supplement II, pp. 6–8, figs. 1, 2 (south of the Tholos); Supplement IV, p. 106 (east of the Tholos).
the Areopagus and the Acropolis.55 On this line traffic entered from the lower valley of the Kephissos and from Peiraeus. At the northwest foot of the Areopagus the road bifurcated; one branch continued eastward at a low level toward the eastern parts of the settlement, the other angled steeply upward on a southeasterly course towards the entrance to the Acropolis. The high antiquity of these roads too is attested by stratified deposits of gravel, in one case, at the northeast foot of the Areopagus, reaching back into the Middle Helladic Period. Additional evidence of early use is provided also by the groups of graves, Mycenaean to Geometric, that were evidently placed in relation to these roads.

II. HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE AGORA

The Agora as a great center of community life developed slowly in the course of the 6th century B.C. (Pl. 4). Athens presumably had a simple agora before this time, but we know almost nothing about it. Apollodoros in his work On the Gods recorded that the title Pandemos was given to Aphrodite in her shrine "in the neighborhood of the ancient Agora," because all the Demos gathered there of old in their assemblies (ekklesiai). No other writer mentions a primitive agora, and we can surmise that most Athenians had never heard of it. The suspicion arises that Apollodoros' learned note involves confusion between Aphrodite Pandemos, placed by the evidence of Pausanias (I, 22, 3) and inscriptions on the western approach to the Acropolis, and Aphrodite Leader of the Demos, whose shrine stood at the northwestern approach to the known Agora (pp. 160, 223). But even if one doubts Apollodoros' testimony, the west end of the Acropolis, not far from its entrance, would be appropriate for a simple prototype of the Athenian Agora, and the saddle between the Acropolis and the Areopagus, where the ground is comparatively level, is perhaps the most suitable spot.

We can conjecture that the "ancient Agora" was comparatively small in extent and modest in form, probably containing little except a few simple shrines; one should not imagine extensive public places or substantial and well-developed public buildings in the early archaic city. In the later city it may have continued to exist as a minor carrefour and a subsidiary religious center; but by the end of the 5th century the new Agora had already become highly venerable, and the old had apparently been forgotten. Thucydides does not mention it, though it would have been relevant to his purpose, in his account of early Athens (II, 15).

The place chosen for the classical Agora was where the steep hillsides below the rocks of the Acropolis and the Areopagus yield to more level ground, leading gently downwards to the bed of the Eridanos brook on the north (Pl. 27). It was in the district known as Kerameikos or Potters' Quarter (p. 186) and possibly in the deme called Kerameis, though this is not so clear. On the west the contours rose more steeply again to the low but dominant hill which came to be called the Kolonos Agoraios (Pl. 28). The site was still within easy reach of the Acropolis and its western entrance, but it offered ample room in which the agora of a great city could grow. One is tempted to associate the adoption of this site and the early development of the Agora with the man whom the Athenians thought of as the father of their democracy, and to call it the Agora of Solon, but in fact we cannot tell who was responsible. Burials in the central area ceased at the end of the 7th century, though they continued on some of the neighboring hillslopes into the 6th (pp. 10, 12); at about the same time domestic wells and other evidence for habitation

1 Jacoby, F.G.H., II B, no. 244, frag. 113; Agora, III, 751, p. 224; cf. Judeich, Topographie², pp. 69, 285f.; Martin, Agora Grecque, pp. 255ff.; Travlos, H.E.A., pp. 24, 28, 34. A. N. Oikonomides, in The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens, places the old Agora below the Acropolis to the southwest (more finds relating to a cult of Aphrodite have been made at the foot of the Acropolis in this direction). This is a possible site, though not so appropriate; but Oikonomides completely disregards the archaeological evidence when he says that the move did not take place till after the Persian Wars. For further discussion of this elusive and unprofitable subject see Phoenix, XXI, 1966, pp. 285-293. On Aphrodite Pandemos cf. now E. Simon, "Aphrodite Pandemos auf attischen Münzen," Schweizerische numismatische Rundschau, II, 1970, pp. 5-19.
came to an end. Bedrock over a large area in the southern and middle part of the square was levelled and dressed; minor ridges and gullies were smoothed out. Pottery in the earliest layer of gravel shows that this was done at about the turn of the century, but how far the treatment extended is not clear. Ancient streets on the north, west and south provided a framework; a diagonal street running northwest to southeast (the Panathenaic Way or dromos) formed an axis (pp. 17, 192–193); the east side was at first less clearly defined.

Architectural development, as far as we know, began modestly in the southwestern sector, which later came to be known as the Archaisia (public offices) and at the northwestern corner. By the early 6th century (Pl. 4) a series of public buildings and shrines had accumulated along the street on the west side; at the south end were buildings probably intended for the use of the Council and its committee the Prytaneis; at the north end was the first of the stoas, the Basileios, and in between were shrines probably of Zeus, Apollo and the Mother of the Gods (the cult of the Mother was closely associated with the Bouleuterion or Council House). The venerable pre-democratic Council on the Areopagus continued to meet on its hill to the south. General assemblies were probably held in the Agora in the 6th century, and there seems to have been a primitive theater; but by the turn of the century these activities had moved to specialized sites elsewhere, to the Pnyx hill, southwest of the Agora, and to the south slope of the Acropolis. The architects of the tyrants, Peisistratos and his sons, were much occupied on the Acropolis; but they built a fountain house southeast of the Agora, fed by an aqueduct on which the water supply of the region was to be based for many centuries; and the civic buildings continued to develop in their time. In 521 B.C. the younger Peisistratos, grandson of the tyrant, when holding the office of archon, established the Altar of the Twelve Gods on the north side of the Agora; it was soon to become what Pindar calls the omphalos, the navel-stone of the city. The formal limits of the Agora were marked by boundary stones; and from the time of Kleisthenes, who at the end of the 6th century after the expulsion of the tyrants carried the development of democratic institutions a stage further, though its monuments were still modest and sparse and its buildings somewhat primitive in character, this spacious square was unmistakably the focus of Athenian life, the seat of the main institutions of law and government (except the Ekklesia itself). The law courts no doubt met in or near the Agora, and the probable purpose of the large square enclosure, built early in the 5th century in the southwestern area, was to house the most important of them. At the same time the Agora was a major religious center and, together with the immediately adjoining regions, the scene of the market and of multifarious commercial and industrial activities.

In the early years of the 5th century (Pl. 5) the greatest efforts of the Athenians and the most lavish expenditure of their funds had to be devoted to defense, and before worthy public buildings and temples could be fully provided the Persian invasions intervened. The year 480 B.C. marks a violent break. The invaders left the old buildings burnt and dilapidated. For a time potters from Kerameikos and metalworkers from Kolonos encroached on the western side of the Agora. Reconstruction was slow at first, and like the original development it began at the southwest corner, which remained a key point in political life; here the Tholos was built for the committee of fifty Prytaneis, while the old Bouleuterion, or Council House, and the court building were restored. Kimon beautified the square by the comparatively inexpensive means of planting trees and laying out walks; but the Poikile or Painted Stoa too was probably built in his time, and the shrine of Theseus, not far from the Agora, was refurbished to

2 The discovery in the Agora of bits of several pedimental groups (head of a large poros lion, fragments of lion and bull from a small poros pediment, marble fragment of a man struggling with a lion; see Agora, XI, pp. 31 ff.) raises the possibility that there were other temples on unknown sites in or near the archaic Agora; but it is also possible that the fragments have strayed from elsewhere.

3 Plutarch, Praecepta ger. reip., 24; Kimon, 13, 8. On trees in the Agora see Agora, III, pp. 219–221; and Index s.v. Trees.
receive the hero's bones. From the middle of the century, under the direction of Perikles and Pheidias, the Athenians devoted a great part of their resources to a splendid restoration of their shrines. The Hephaisteion on the hill to the west transformed the aspect of that side, but its completion was delayed in favor of the Parthenon, and in the square itself no more temples were built for a hundred years. Shrines of less imposing form multiplied. The Altar of the Twelve Gods remained a focal point and with its enclosure was rebuilt about a century after its original construction. In the later decades of the 5th century, after the great effort on the Acropolis had slackened, the Agora received a bigger share of attention, and several important public buildings were erected there — the Stoa of Zeus on the northwest, the South Stoa, and a new Bouleuterion; but architectural achievement was handicapped and limited by the distractions of war and civil strife. The Stoa of Zeus, on the northwest, a splendid companion to the old Basileios, may be considered a worthy appendage of the Periclean building schemes, though not completed till after 421 B.C.; the South Stoa, containing magistrates' offices, was a practical building, economical in construction; it belongs to a later and more difficult phase at the end of the century. The Peace of Nikias in 421 B.C. had brought a hopeful renewal of building activity, but the Sicilian Expedition and the resumption of the war with the Peloponnesians placed a fearful strain on the city's resources, and by the end of the war (404 B.C.) Athens was near exhaustion. Not much was added to the Agora in the early part of the 4th century, except that a handsome new fountain house was built in the southwest corner, and the old terracotta aqueduct was reconstructed in stone and extended.

The Agora of the 5th and early 4th centuries was architecturally simple and informal (Fig. 7). Plato makes Sokrates in the Gorgias (517 b) condemn Kimon and Perikles for indulging the Athenians' taste for affluence and grandeur. These strictures now seem strangely misdirected; but in any case we may note that Sokrates has to look beyond the Agora for his illustrations. The machinery of government was becoming increasingly complex, and great numbers of citizens took part in various ways; but the physical provision for their political activities remained remarkably limited and unpretentious. The Agora was not, like the Acropolis, a show-piece, a symbol of the wealth and power of Athens. In Perikles' time it was still an open tree-lined square, with comparatively modest architectural adornment here and there. It was subject to no master plan; its growth was spasmodic, and the result was not a complete and coordinated whole. One sees no trace of the hand of Hippodamos, the architect from Miletos who planned Peiraeeus, where the local agora was named after him Hippodameia. Of the major buildings, most notably the stoas, each had a highly individual character, matching its peculiar function in the life of Athens. In spite of some important additions the Agora of Alkibiades and even of Lykourgos was essentially the same in form and spirit.

Athens recovered from her defeat and humiliation, and in time architectural activity was renewed (Pl. 6). Lykourgos, who played an important part in the economy of the city in the third quarter of the 4th century, was a great builder, honored for his work at the theater, the gymnasia and elsewhere. The rebuilding of the Temple of Apollo Patroos on the west side was finally carried out in his time; but the one major project in the Agora which belongs to this period, the large peristyle on the northeast, probably designed to provide more satisfactory accommodation for some of the law courts in place of certain simpler structures of earlier date, was never finished.

This was an ominous failure. The Athenians were to create no more great buildings in their own manner and out of their own resources. The Agora subsequently underwent two major transformations, each of which radically changed its character, but neither of these would have taken place without the patronage of wealthy foreign powers. During the troubled years of the century and a half after the Macedonian conquest and the death of Alexander (323 B.C.) the
Fig. 7. The Agora from Northwest, Middle of 4th Century B.C. Perspective (J. Travlos)
situation remained unchanged. Then the kings of Pergamon, splendid patrons of Hellenic culture, took Athens in hand (Pl. 7). In the Agora Attalos II, grateful for his Academic education, donated to the city the great two-storeyed stoa on the east side. Across the whole of the southern part of the Agora the Middle Stoa was built, single-storeyed but vast in extent, the largest element in a complex of old and new buildings apparently intended as a consolidation of the facilities for the law courts. The original square court building was incorporated in a modernized form; but the South Stoa was obliterated and replaced by a single-aisled colonnade, South Stoa II. In its scale and non-Athenian architectural style the Middle Stoa too smacks of royal patronage. No specific name can be associated with the building, but we know that in this period Hellenistic kings vied with one another in bringing gifts to the venerable city. The Agora was now an interesting mixture of old and new. In spite of the rebuilding of the Metroon, the ancient shrine of the Mother of the Gods in which records were housed, with a long colonnade facing east on to the square, the north and west sides retained much of the character of an early Greek agora; the east and south with their long stoas were thoroughly Hellenistic.

The city suffered with the rest of Greece under Roman republican rule. Athens unfortunately took the side of Mithridates King of Pontos in his war against Rome, and in 86 B.C. Sulla made a successful and violently destructive assault on the city. Many of the monuments of the Agora were severely battered; the south side suffered worst, and for a long time metalworkers and marbleworkers established themselves in this area. The Middle Stoa survived, but the buildings further south were not restored till the time of Hadrian.

Under Augustus the Agora entered another new phase. A great new market building, situated a little to the east, was initiated by Julius Caesar and completed by his successor. Hitherto the main square, though well studded with altars, statues and other smaller monuments, had remained free from large buildings. Now a covered theater, with which the name of Augustus' great minister M. Agrippa was associated, was placed prominently in the middle of the south side, towering above the stoas; and as if the vacuum was still not thought to be adequately filled, a temple similar in size and style to the Hephaisteion was built in the northwestern part of the square. This temple was one of several much older buildings, erected outside Athens in the country demes in better days and now threatened with dilapidation, which wholly or partly were transplanted for the embellishment of the Agora. One can attribute these developments, which gave the Agora something of the aspect of a Roman forum, to the patronage of the imperial family, to whom the Athenians showed their gratitude and homage by the installation of appropriate cults, with numerous altars and statues. Most of the old monuments were still standing, though somewhat overshadowed, and it was on these that Pausanias concentrated his attention when he examined the site in the middle of the 2nd century after Christ (Fig. 1; Pl. 8).

"Though Athens suffered in the Roman wars," says Pausanias (1,20,7), "it flourished again in the reign of Hadrian." The great benefactions which Hadrian lavished on his beloved Athens were mostly in other parts of the city, though his library was not far away, to the east, just north of the Roman market. In the Agora, the Nymphaeum, an ornate fountain house at the southeast corner, was the terminal of a branch of the new system of water supply which he gave the city. In the same period a basilica was built with its front on the eastern part of the north side; and southwest of the Agora, on the slope of the Areopagus, a bathing establishment, originally built in simple form in the 2nd century B.C., was given the more complex and luxurious character typical of the age.4

For another century the Agora retained its elaborate and composite form with little change. Then in A.D. 267 barbarian invaders, the Heruli, sacked the city and reduced the Agora to ruins. Very soon afterwards a new city wall was hastily built, enclosing a small area north of the Acropolis; the western stretch of this wall ran along the eastern edge of the Agora and southwards to the Acropolis; fortunately for the archaeologist many precious bits and pieces from the debris were incorporated. Athens was to revive yet again and burst its narrow bonds; but although the Hephaisteion still stood and the Tholos was crudely patched up, and on the southern part of the site a great gymnasium was built, for the Agora as political center of Athens the year 267 was the end (Pl. 9).

Before we proceed, a note of warning must be sounded. Continuous and precise correlation between the material remains and the history of Athens as presented by our literary authorities must not be expected. The archaeological evidence is often complicated and yet incomplete and difficult to interpret; often it provides a fairly clear sequence, but without secure absolute dates. With due caution we can associate certain stages in the development of the Agora, as of the city in general, with particular events and particular personages — Solon, the Peisistratidai, Kleisthenes, Kimon, Perikles, Lykourgos — but the association must at many points remain tentative and somewhat nebulous. Even when we have special evidence for connecting a certain name with a monument — Peisianax with the Poikile for instance (p. 90) — we cannot always say just what part that person played. He may have provided leadership and inspiration in a project; he may have carried the necessary proposal by his eloquence; in some cases he may have provided funds from his own resources. One thing we can say with more confidence — at least from the time of Kleisthenes onwards the Athenian Demos itself, in the Ekklesia and the Boule, given a lead no doubt by enterprising or ambitious individuals and served by democratically chosen boards of officials, was the true creator of the architecture of the city, and of the Agora in particular, in its greatest days, approving each project, scrutinizing its progress, and checking the expenditure of every drachma.5

5 See J. S. Boersma, Athenian Building Policy from 561/0 to 405/4 B.C., Groningen, 1970, p. 104; this useful book was received too late for anything more than brief reference. The same applies also to Fordyce W. Mitchel, Lykourgan Athens: 338–322 B.C., Louise Taft Semple Lectures for 1968, University of Cincinnati, 1970.
III. FACILITIES FOR CIVIC ADMINISTRATION

Athens had a double center: Acropolis and Agora. Historically, the Acropolis was the nucleus around which the city grew, and it remained dominant in religious sanctity and architectural splendor. In political life and administration the Agora was the focal point. The Assembly was transferred to the Pnyx at an early date (pp. 20, 48), but the meeting place on the hill can still be regarded as an offshoot or appendage. The popular law courts, representing the Demos in its legal capacity, continued to sit in the Agora. The Council and its standing committee the Prytaneis were provided with appropriate buildings in the southwestern part, and most of the magistrates and boards of officials had their offices near by. In fact this area was popularly known as "the archeia" (public offices). The stoas too, besides being places for general social contact, were available for various political and forensic purposes. Thus in one way or another the various elements of the Athenian constitution were accommodated; but characteristically the administrative quarter remained throughout a miscellaneous assemblage of peculiar buildings rather than a well coordinated scheme.

THE COUNCIL

Oldest Buildings

In the course of the 6th century, beginning perhaps in the time of Solon, the Athenians erected a series of obviously important buildings at the southeastern foot of the Kolonos. There can be little doubt that these belong to the Agora, and one may reasonably regard them as the archeia (p. 20) or public offices of the city of Solon, Peisistratos and Kleisthenes. They include buildings substantial for their time. Though odd and irregular in shape, in a manner characteristic of early Athens, they seem to form a fairly coherent scheme. They are on the site where later the Tholos, the Metroon, and the Bouleuterion stood, and in spite of radical differences of form a significant continuity can be observed here and there. And they are clearly within the area defined in late archaic times by the boundary stones of the Agora which are still in place at the southwest corner (p. 117). Particular identifications are difficult, if only because of the many uncertainties about the working of the constitution of Athens in the 6th century; but the general identification is probably right, and it was the presence of such buildings which more than anything else designated the site as city-center (shrines, altars, fountains and so forth were to be found elsewhere too) and provided a nucleus from which the Agora could grow.

The buildings were nearly all of the same general mode of construction (Fig. 8, Pl. 29, a). The remains are principally foundations or lower walls made of blocks of Acropolis limestone, for the most part only roughly worked; the upper walls would be of unbaked brick; the floors

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2 The weights and measures discovered in the area also indicate a continuity (p. 44).
3 A few traces survive; *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 119, 121.
are of firmly packed clay. Earliest is the building marked C in the plans4 (there are also slight remains of earlier houses, one a potter's shop, one a metalworker's, in the region of the Tholos5). It is on the northern side of the area and is in the form of a rectangle 6.70 m. north to south by 15 m. east to west, divided into two rooms opening to the south. The east wall was continued southwards to support a terrace; similarly on the west side a retaining wall was built continuing the line of the western end of the building. The walls were made of Acropolis limestone, with blocks of various sizes in rough polygonal style and smaller fragments filling the interstices. Pottery from the associated fillings dates the construction in the first quarter of the 6th century.6

Some time later a similar but smaller rectangular building was placed on the south side of the terrace, so that the two faced one another across a sort of courtyard, entered apparently from the street to the east by a gate in the terrace wall. Building D consisted of one large room between two small ones, of which the western seems to be a later addition.7 The foundations are in similar style to those of C, but rather more carefully fitted. Pottery from the clay packing of the floor and from a pit filled before construction dates the new building in the third quarter of the 6th century.

The whole complex occupies the northern part of the site subsequently occupied by the older Bouleuterion (pp. 29–30) and the ground immediately to the north. One might conjecture that

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4 Ibid., pp. 118ff.; Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 8ff.
5 Ibid., pp. 3–8.
6 Ibid., pp. 9ff.; the 7th century date first suggested in Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 124ff. was revised in the light of further evidence.
7 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 12ff.; a small building of which only the southwest corner of the foundations survives lies a little to the north of D, built probably after D had been abandoned.
it was in some way connected with the operation of the contemporary Boule, the Solonian Council of Four Hundred. But it was hardly the Bouleuterion of the time. Even the central courtyard would scarcely provide room for a gathering of 400. In any case, Building D was destroyed after only a few years, and the large space between C and the curious house-like building to the south (F) was left open in the latter part of the 6th century. The terrace was reconstructed at a higher level, with a new retaining wall built in more elegant polygonal style, swinging out further eastwards, and a stair leading up from the street. The terrace wall continued southwards and no doubt linked with a northward extension of the east wall of Building F. The Boule of the period may well have sat somewhere within the open area thus provided, perhaps making use of the slope of the Kolonos to the west. Just at this point the hillside has been cut away to form a rough semicircle. The date of the cutting is not clear, except that it precedes the late 5th century Bouleuterion, by which it is partly overlaid; but it is difficult to see why such an arrangement should have been contrived after the construction of the older Bouleuterion (pp. 29–30), which provided an admirable assembly place. It would not be rash to assume that we have here the archaic meeting place of the Boule, where wooden seats could be disposed in a theatrical scheme.

Building F is the most remarkable of the group. It takes the form of an unusually large and elaborate house, unparalleled amongst archaic or classical houses at Athens. It is set in the angle where the ancient street on the west side of the Agora turns westward. The site slopes down from west to east and more gently from south to north and was not levelled before construction. The building as a whole is highly irregular in shape and so are individual rooms; the overall dimensions are 27 m. east to west and 18.50 m. north to south. The rooms are arranged around a large colonnaded court on the east and a small court or yard on the west.

The walls are of irregular blocks of Acropolis stone, supplemented by small field stones, and bedded in a brown clay mortar. The upper walls were certainly of unbaked bricks. A section of the existing wall on the east is levelled off to receive these at a height of 0.35 m., and disintegrated brickwork has been found at some points. The main walls are about 0.50 m. thick, the subsidiary walls only half of this. The rooms are floored with a layer of brown clay; the courts are surfaced with a fine gravel.

In the main courtyard several column bases are in situ, consisting of single blocks of Acropolis stone. The columns were no doubt of wood, seven on the north side and seven on the south, converging slightly towards the east end. The largest room in the whole building lay behind the eastern part of the north colonnade. West of it were three small rooms, of which the middle one, with doors both north and south, served as an entrance, approached from the street by a gate in the terrace wall with a small room behind. Behind the southern colonnade were three rooms of odd shapes and sizes. The principal room is in the middle; its eastern doorjamb, a carefully worked stone, is still in situ.

In the subsidiary block to the west, the principal room, on the north, opens on to a very small court through a simple porch with one column only, of which the base survives. The south side of the court was closed by a short wall with a gate at either end. On the west was a long narrow building divided into two rooms which were probably for storage; holes cut in

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8 Some have doubted the very existence of this Boule; see Hignett, Athenian Constitution, pp. 92–96, 399; but it is accepted by most historians, e.g. N. G. L. Hammond, History of Greece, Oxford, 1967, p. 161; A. G. Woodhead, Historia, XVI, 1967, p. 135; and the remains give them a little support. Cf. also V. Ehrenberg, From Solon to Socrates, London, 1968, p. 66.

9 Hesperia, Supplement IV, p. 43.

10 Ibid., pp. 15–33; it could not be fully explored for fear of damaging the remains of the Tholos above it; but enough is known to make most of the plan clear.

11 With a diameter of 0.30 m.; ibid., p. 21.

12 Ibid., p. 22.
the bedrock in one of them may have been for jars. A narrow passage between this and the main northern room provided an entrance from the north.

It seems likely that this western section of Building F served for cooking and menial functions. Just outside the passageway to the north two long fire-pits have been discovered. Their sides were coated with brown clay, and they contained bones of many kinds of animals. No doubt the meat was cooked in the manner still in use in Greece (especially at Easter time), impaled and turned on a spit which was supported over a long bed of hot charcoal burning in the pit. A tile broken and discarded when the Tholos was being built (p. 43) was found in the northern pit, which must have been open and in use till shortly before this time. It is probably not altogether a coincidence that the pits are precisely on the site of the annex of the Tholos (pp. 43–44) which can best be explained as its kitchen. A tiny rectangular structure, standing detached near the southwest corner of the little court, also bears the marks of fire and may well have contained an oven for baking bread.

Building I (Fig. 9) is a more or less detached structure, though fitted in neatly at the southwest corner, and is probably contemporary with F. There is nothing to determine its purpose; possibly it housed one of the cults of the neighborhood. It is separated from F by a broad passageway with a gate, and a prolongation of its east wall bends round eastward to continue this passageway along the south side of F, where it ends in a second gate. A considerable area to the west of the whole complex was enclosed by a wall.

Building F may be dated, on the evidence of pottery found beneath its floors, not long after the middle of the 6th century. It was probably built soon after D, which now became superfluous. Built at this time and in this place, on such a scale and in such an elaborate form, it can hardly be explained as an ordinary, private house. One can assume with confidence that it was intended for the use of official personages and their entourage. The allocation of part of the building for the preparation of meals would be quite in keeping. Communal dining was a regular feature of Athenian public life. The main rooms may have been used for this purpose and for deliberation. The Tholos, built not long after the Persian destruction, stood on the western part of the same site. But one can hardly consider the Tholos as the direct replacement of Building F. It was simple in form and was built for a single purpose, to house the committees of fifty Prytaneis as organized by Kleisthenes. Who or what the Prytaneis were before his time is problematical. Building F was more complex in design and it may have been more varied in function. But in any case we can think of it as a vital element in the archeia of Athens.

The building underwent several modifications which need not all be described in detail here. In particular, the northern range of rooms in Building F was demolished, and partly to compensate for the loss, a new range (J) was now built to the south, separated from F and I by a narrow passage (Fig. 9). It consisted of a long room with a colonnaded northern front and, further west, a suite of four small rooms, one of which served as an entrance porch, and one large room. Construction was of the same type as in the older buildings, the lower walls being of

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13 Ibid., pp. 25–27. An original long pit was later shortened and a second pit added; cf. Figs. 8 and 9.
14 Ibid., pp. 24–25.
15 Ibid., pp. 33–34.
16 Ibid., pp. 28ff. R. Nichols, Hesperia, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 131f. tentatively assigns two antefixes to F.
17 O. Bronner (A. J. A., XLV, 1941, pp. 127–129) has questioned the public nature of the early buildings below the Old Bouleuterion and the Tholos, preferring to regard them as private houses or workshops. They can not be paralleled, however, among the indubitably private establishments that have come to light elsewhere around the Athenian Agora. Increasing acquaintance with the history of Athenian institutions, moreover, only increases the conviction that the striking superposition of the later buildings over the older here implies continuity of function. This is especially true of the relationship between Building F and the Tholos where there are so many correspondences as to leave little doubt of continuity.
18 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 27ff.
irregular blocks of Acropolis stone bedded in clay. The columns of the eastern room, no doubt of wood, stood on blocks of the same stone, with a round bearing surface 0.40 m. in diameter. Light screen walls were built between them. This porch, conveniently placed at the southern entrance, may have been where officials arriving on horseback tethered their mounts.19

A curious monument, relic perhaps of some local cult, has been found just in front of the western end of Building J.20 It consists of a drum of coarse brown poros, with a lower diameter of 0.795 m., tapering sharply upwards, and a second smaller drum of gray poros, superimposed perhaps at a later date when the ground level had risen (Pl. 30, a). The base thus provided probably carried a small altar, the predecessor perhaps of the one which later stood not far away on a square poros base just southeast of the Tholos (p. 45).

The evidence of pottery, notably from the later of two wells in the southwestern part of the site,21 shows that Building F and its adjuncts continued in use till the time of the Persian sack, when they undoubtedly suffered severe damage. Some sections at least were repaired in a makeshift manner.22 In the middle part of the south wing of what had been the main court a large room was built running north and south, probably with a columnar porch on its west front. After a few years, however, all attempt to restore the old buildings was abandoned. Work on the Tholos began, and the archeia of Athens took on a very different form, though with curious archaic survivals.

**BOULEUTERION AND METROON**

The Council of Five Hundred instituted by Kleisthenes at the end of the 6th century was to be the principal instrument of democratic government at Athens.23 The Athenians recognized the need for worthy accommodation, and after the archaic structures which we have been examining, their first great public building was probably the square hall found in the southwestern part of the Agora, which can hardly be anything but the Bouleuterion (Fig. 9, Pl. 29, a).24 The date of the building which it replaced, its relation to the Great Drain (p. 194), and its material and technique combine to give a date early in the 5th century.25

The foundations of the chamber measure 23.30 m. east to west by 23.80 m. north to south. Naturally deeper on the east than the west, they rest on bedrock except at the northeast, where there is a firm early filling below them. They are composed of massive blocks of Acropolis limestone, of irregular size, giving in places a polygonal effect; much re-used material is incorporated. Only working chips provide any evidence of the upper structure and these are of a granular yellow poros. At a distance of 6.20 m. from the south side runs a foundation for a crosswall, consisting of re-used wall blocks of the same poros, irregularly laid, except for four blocks of soft gray poros, specially cut and more carefully laid, at the west end.26 The roof of

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19 Ibid., p. 42.
20 Ibid., pp. 39ff., 141.
21 See note 16.
22 Ibid., pp. 27ff., 36.
25 The evidence for dating is far from precise. The absence of any indubitable evidence of Persian destruction, combined with the free use of old material in the inner foundations, might be taken to imply a post-Persian date. But these considerations appear to be outweighed by the character of the foundations of the Old Bouleuterion and by the consistently early date of the associated pottery. Another argument for a pre-Persian date for the Old Bouleuterion may be drawn from the history of the early temple to the north. It may be taken as virtually certain that the temple no longer existed when the long poros benches were laid on the slope of Kolonos fairly soon after the construction of the Temple of Hephaistos (p. 71), since the temple would have been an intolerable obstruction to the view from the benches. The only plausible occasion for such an early destruction of the temple is the Persian sack. This implies a pre-Persian date for the temple; from the structural relations between the two buildings the Old Bouleuterion appears to be a trifle earlier than the temple.
26 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 190–192.
the main chamber had five supports in the scheme shown in the plan (Fig. 9). The two on the east have been obliterated by the front wall of the Metroon, but there are remains of the foundations for the other three; these too are of re-used poros blocks. Material from the superstructure may survive in the Hellenistic foundations, but none can be safely identified. There is no trace of seats; but they can be restored with probability as rectilinear tiers of wooden benches, rising on the east, north and west. There was ample accommodation for the Five Hun-

Fig. 9. Old Bouleuterion and Environs (J. Travlos)

dred, more generously provided in fact than in the later Bouleuterion. The entrance or entrances were no doubt on the south, the narrow room serving as a vestibule; the new building would thus have been readily accessible from Building F, which presumably continued to serve its original function. The ground level to the south rose so much in course of time that whereas originally two steps upward must have been required, by the time the building went out of use there must have been two steps downward.\(^{27}\) From this building comes a marble basin (Pl. 80, d).

Why it should have been so except for reasons of mere proximity one cannot say, but the Council House and later the record office too were in the precinct and under the protection of the Mother of the Gods.\(^{28}\) Under the northern part of the large north room of the Hellenistic Metroon (p. 36) are the remains of a small temple, presumably dedicated like its successor to the Mother (Pl. 4).\(^{29}\) Its orientation was precisely the same as that of the Old Bouleuterion, 8.50 m. to the south. Acropolis limestone was used in its foundations as in those of the Bouleuterion, though with less careful construction. Two limestone blocks and a cutting in the bed-

\(^{27}\) For the curious post beddings in front of the building see \textit{ibid.}, p. 134, and p. 94 below.

\(^{28}\) See further p. 35.

\(^{29}\) \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 135–140.
rock show that there was a crosswall running south on the line of the east wall of the temple, dividing the space between the buildings into a lower eastern and a higher western area.\(^{30}\) The temple must have been built at the same time as the Bouleuterion or a little afterwards, and thus a good deal later than the simpler shrines of Zeus and Apollo to the north (pp. 96, 136–137).

The north foundation lies under the north wall of the Hellenistic Metroon; it consisted of blocks of Acropolis limestone, roughly fitted and levelled on top, resting on a packing of field stones. On the west is a similar course of limestone, with one block of a second still in position. In the extant section of the southern foundation, at the east end outside the crosswall mentioned above, the bottom course is of limestone, but above it are two courses of a granular brown poros, obviously meant to be seen. The difference of construction is due to the variation of ground levels. A stylobate block of hard gray poros, built into the north foundation of the Hellenistic building, probably belongs to the archaic temple; chips of the same stone were found along the west side.\(^{31}\)

The front of the porch was exactly on the line of the later (Hellenistic) front wall and was completely obliterated. However the plan of the temple is clear enough. The overall dimensions, at the lowest level, were 6.90 m. by about 18 m.; the interior dimensions of the cella (the line of the front wall is fixed by beddings) were 5 m. by 10.50 m. Since the south foundation is not widened at its eastern end to receive a return of the front steps, it is assumed that the façade was not prostyle; there may have been two columns in antis.

No trace of a cult statue or its base survives. If, as seems probable, the temple was pre-Persian and was destroyed in 480 B.C., the famous statue attributed by Arrian and Pausanias to Pheidias, by Pliny to his pupil Agorakritos, cannot have stood in it and must have been housed in the Old Bouleuterion, restored after the defeat of the Persians, or in a tiny naïskos, as the goddess is represented in many of the small marble and terracotta dedications found in the Agora (Pl. 81).\(^{32}\) Arrian’s account implies that the goddess was seated, with a tympanum in her hand and a lion or lions at her feet. The dedicatory statuettes give variations on the theme; in some a small lion is curled like a cat in the goddess’ lap.

Toward the end of the 5th century an entirely new Council House was built just behind and to the west of its predecessor, and the two now stood side by side, the old building perhaps serving as an annex and a repository for archives (Pls. 5, 12, b). This important development is known only from recent archaeological investigation — it is remarkable how much even copious literary sources can conceal from us. The scanty remains of the building were mostly uncovered by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1907–1908, but their character was not understood\(^{33}\) until the excavation was completed in 1934–1935.\(^{34}\)

The evidence of associated pottery and other minor finds, supplemented by the less precise criteria of architectural technique, dates the building safely in the closing decades of the 5th century.\(^{35}\) Most interesting is a superfluous trench which someone opened, fortunately for the

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30 A massive capping block of hard yellow poros probably belongs to this wall; ibid., p. 140, fig. 76.
31 A more fragmentary block was built into the interior foundations of the north room of the Hellenistic building.
33 The lions painted on a marble lintel block, of the third quarter of the 5th century B.C., of which a fragment was found in the Post-Herulian Wall near the Eleusinion, may have some connection with the Mother; G. F. Stevens, Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 169–184.
34 Judeich wrongly placed the Bouleuterion on the south side; Topographie, p. 344, fig. 49 (our Fig. 57); cf. pp. 331 ff., fig. 42.
archaeologist, continuing southward the foundation trench of the west wall. The contempo-
rary rubbish dumped in it is not only helpful in dating, but brings before our eyes the scene
as the building was being erected. It contained, besides the usual working chips of poros and
Pentelic marble, “the bottom of a coarse pot containing a little of the red miltoas used by the
workmen for daubing their straightedges and their setting lines; fragments of the roof tiles
that were broken in transport or laying; the ashes of the fires on which the workmen had
heated their lunches; the broken jars in which they had kept their drinking water and the
plain little dishes in which they carried their midday beans and olives.”

A site was chosen immediately west of the old building, at a higher level, and prepared by
cutting back the rock of the hillside, which is quite soft at this point, to form scarps. Room
was made for a passage which would allow circulation round the west and north sides of the
building; a broader space on the south, adjacent to the Tholos, provided a simple kind of
forecourt, approached from the east by a broad flight of steps. Some blocks of the foundations
of the steps survive, and they clearly belong to the original scheme.

The cuttings show that the building measured ca. 22.50 m. north to south by 17.50 m. east
to west. Sections of the foundations were found on the east and west. On the east the lowest
course is of re-used blocks of a hard reddish poros. Above these are blocks of soft creamy poros,
carefully squared and jointed; the scantier surviving section on the south is all of this material
and construction. A few blocks have been found, both headers and stretchers, which though
not in position may be assigned to the wall. They are of a hard gray poros, carefully worked,
with a drafted band all round the exposed face, anathyrosis on the joint surfaces, and bevel-
ing to prevent chipping as the stones were laid; they were locked together by means of double
T clamps. The thickness of the wall in its lower part was about 1.50 m. There would no doubt
be windows in the upper part. The roof had four interior supports. The position of the two
on the western side is marked only by the cuttings in the rock. One block of the foundation
of the northeastern column is in position; the pier on which the southeastern was placed stands
to a height of four courses. In line with the eastern columns runs a continuous bedding ap-
parently intended for some kind of comparatively light interior wall. The material of these
inner foundations is the same soft creamy poros as in the outer, and they are undoubtedly
contemporary. No indubitable remains of the superstructure either internal or external have
come to light.

The wall in line with the eastern columns might in itself be interpreted as a retaining wall
for some kind of auditorium; if it had been a partition wall running up to full height columns
would not have been needed, and that the building was indeed so designed is strongly con-
firmed by the treatment of the floor. The bedrock was carefully dressed so as to slope very
gently down from north, west and south to a point in the middle of the east side, where pre-
sumably there was a kind of “orchestra.” This feature of course confirms the identification of
the building, which in any case could have been deduced from the place of the Bouleuterion
in Pausanias’ description, between Metroon and Tholos. The eastern aisle provided as it were

36 Ibid., pp. 142, 153.
37 Ibid., pp. 142 ff.
38 They have a uniform height of 0.565 m.
39 For the type, see McDonald, Meeting Places, pp. 267 ff. Two diagonal blocks oddly placed in the northern part of the
building, which do not seem to belong to the main scheme, may have been used for beddings of scaffolding during construc-
tion; Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 150, note 1.
40 Ibid., pp. 145–146.
41 Ibid., pp. 147–148; the cornice block (A 256) there mentioned may however be from the Temple of Apollo (below, p. 138
note 110).
42 C. Picard’s idea, Rev. Arch., XII, 1938, pp. 97 ff., that the building is a temple, of the Mother, is refuted in Hesperia,
Supplement IV, pp. 149 ff.; what Picard took to be the altar is a fountain (p. 201); see also McDonald, Meeting Places, pp.
177–178; Martin, Agora Grecque, pp. 330 ff.
parodoi. The entrances could most conveniently be placed at its northern and southern ends; there may have been an entrance at the middle of the east side too, but this is not clear.

The original seating very probably consisted of ikria, wooden planks on wooden supports. Certain pockets in the bedrock containing a filling contemporary with the later reconstruction could not have been there if the whole area had been sealed from the beginning by the earth fill necessary for the support of stone seating. The wooden seats must have been in a rectangular or polygonal scheme. The curved fragments of marble floor slabs and of poros bedding blocks, presumably intended to support seats, are probably not earlier than the Hellenistic period. The curvature of these members makes possible the tentative restoration shown in the plan (Pl. 6).

In spite of its solid construction and good workmanship the New Bouleuterion was architecturally plain and unpretentious, besides being somewhat smaller than the Old, only just big enough in fact to hold the 500 Councillors. Its situation too was unobtrusive, since it stood well back from the Agora square, masked by the old building. The small courtyard to the south was never paved, and the scarps cut in the rock on west and south were left in the rough for some centuries. The wall of miscellaneous blocks with which they were ultimately screened may be dated by material embedded in it to the latter part of the 1st century B.C. Being somewhat out of the way and perhaps little frequented except by Councillors, the court was not much favored as a site for the erection of monuments; only two bases have been found. About a century or more after the New Bouleuterion was built, it was given a more monumental approach, still somewhat awkwardly contrived. An Ionic propylon was built at the southeast corner of the Old Bouleuterion, leading by way of a walled passage to the south end of the New, to the whole length of which was added a porch, probably of Ionic columns.

Like so many buildings of the Agora, the Bouleuterion was badly damaged by Sulla and again by the Herulians in A.D. 267; a rebuilding in late antiquity of which tenuous traces exist probably had nothing to do with the original purpose of the Bouleuterion (p. 210).

Ancient writers give us many vivid and dramatic scenes in the Bouleuterion, without making clear the details of arrangements for deliberation and cult. In the case of writers of the end of the 5th century one cannot be sure whether the old building or the new is in question; but the two were similar in general scheme and one can reasonably imagine that the arrangements in the old were reproduced fairly closely in the new. Antiphon (VI, 40; 419/8 B.C.) speaks of a bema or speakers' platform, presumably in the "orchestral" area. Lysias (XIII, 37; 399 B.C.) mentions special seats for the Prytaneis, usurped for a time by the Thirty. Philochoros tells us that from the archonship of Glaukippos (410/9 B.C.) the Boule sat "according to letters"; one wonders whether the system was introduced when the New Bouleuterion came into use.

Aristophanes in the Knights (640ff.; 424 B.C.) describes how the Sausage-Seller, after listening impatiently to Kleon addressing the Boule, smote the kinchlis with his behind and shat-

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43 Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 150.
44 Ibid., pp. 158-160; McDonald, Meeting Places, p. 174.
46 Ibid., pp. 160-163; the remains of the foundations indicate that the eastern porch was tetraestyle prostyle, the western distyle in antis; many fragments of Ionic columns, of Pentelic marble, with a lower diameter of 0.604 m., were found. The passage ran between the south face of the Old Bouleuterion and a new wall of polygonal limestone masonry, which separated it from the precinct of the Tholos; see Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 163-164.
47 Ibid., pp. 156-158, 213; the foundations are of hard gray poros, with some conglomerate; working chips show that the stylobate was of Pentelic marble. Restoration of the superstructure is not clear; a probable arrangement is eight Ionic supports on the south, and two on the east, with a solid wall on the west. There is every indication, including unsatisfactory junction, that the porch is not part of the original design.
48 Ibid., pp. 171-172.
49 McDonald, Meeting Places, p. 134, suggests that they sat on the east side of the chamber (in the New Bouleuterion), behind the bema and facing the rest of the Boule.
50 Jacoby, F.G.H., IIIB, no. 328, frag. 140.
tered it and addressed the Boule himself. Later (675) the Councillors in their excitement leaped over the druphaktoi on every side. Kinchlis is commonly taken to mean a light fence of lattice-work, druphaktos a more solid wooden barrier such as was used in the Agora on occasions of ostracism (p. 50); but Aristophanes here seems to make no clear distinction. Perhaps in this context kinchlis is a gate in the druphaktoi, the whole forming a barrier between the Councillors and others who were allowed inside the chamber. Xenophon describes how Critias (in 403 B.C., in the time of the Thirty) ordered his swordsmen to take their stand at the barriers (druphaktoi) where the Boule could plainly see them; and when Theramenes was dragged from the hearth altar, the Council “remained silent, seeing that the men at the barriers were like Satyros and the space in front of the Bouleuterion was full of guards.”

An orator speaking about 325 B.C. says that the Council of Five Hundred “by means of a weak kinchlis is kept in control of secret matters and free from the intrusion of private persons,” just as the Council of the Areopagus sat in peace and quiet roped off in the Stoa Basileios. Here we seem to have something different from the barrier which failed to hold back the Sausage-Seller, something in fact more like the perischoinisma which we shall find in front of the Stoa (p. 87). A series of post-beddings have been found south and southeast of the Old Bouleuterion, apparently forming a line at a distance of about 8 m.; no doubt they supported some kind of light fence. Though associated with the old building they show the kind of provision that may have been made for the new as well, before the porch, the propylon and the wall were built. One need not demand clarity, precision or uniformity in the use of the terms kinchlis and druphaktoi by ancient authors, still less by the lexicographers. In practice one may perhaps distinguish between an outer fence placed at a short distance, as was the rope in front of the Stoa Basileios, and a barrier within the doors of the chamber.

Continuing the tragic story of Theramenes, Xenophon says he “leapt on to the hearth” seeking asylum, but Satyros and his men “dragged him from the altar.” Similarly Andokides (II, 15) “leapt to the hearth” to escape the wrath of the Boule (411 B.C.). Hestia and bomos are here apparently one and the same thing; and a commentator tells us that by Hestia Boulaios, hearth of the Council, Aischines means the altar of Zeus. The “hearth” would naturally be the central altar in the “orchestra,” and the large cylindrical altar of Pentelic marble (Pl. 30, b) found near the southwest corner of the Old Bouleuterion may have served this purpose in the New, alternatively it may have been the central altar of the near-by Tholos (p. 43). Antiphon (VI, 45; 419/8 B.C.) says that there was a shrine of Zeus Boulaios and Athena Boulaios “in the Bouleuterion itself,” and the Councillors offered prayers to it as they entered. Pausanias (I,3,5) saw in the Bouleuterion a wooden statue of Zeus Boulaios, an Apollo (possibly Prostaterios, see p. 45), and a Demos. The paintings which he saw are of the early Hellenistic period, as one can infer from the painter of one, Protogenes, and the subject of the other, Kallippos, hero of the fighting against the Gauls in 279 B.C.; a likely place for them would be within the new porch on the south; they are the last things which Pausanias mentions before going on to the Tholos.
Metroon and Bouleuterion were closely associated throughout, though their relation is not altogether clear. One commentator says that the Athenians dedicated the Bouleuterion to the Mother, another that they made part of the Bouleuterion the shrine of the Mother. Which- ever way one looks at it, one can think of the one large precinct as accommodating both cult and Council.

The archaic temple of the Mother was never replaced, and until the elaborate Hellenistic Metroon was built (p. 36), with its series of miscellaneous rooms behind the long colonnade, the cult must have been maintained in the open temenos and the Old Bouleuterion.

From the 4th century onward the Metroon was famous as the repository of state archives and miscellaneous official writings. When it assumed that function is far from clear. We are told that Alkibiades tampered with the documents of a lawsuit in the Metroon, but this is in an anecdote recounted by Athenaeus on dubious authority. How, where and to what extent the Athenians in the 5th century preserved official documents are questions which bristle with difficulties, and have been answered by a number of conflicting theories. We simply do not have the necessary evidence. One can at least suspect that procedure was for a long time irregular and unsystematic. Some documents were of course inscribed on stone, more and more as the century proceeded, for display in the appropriate public places. In the most important of these, large numbers accumulated in the course of time. Magistrates and secretaries, one may imagine, kept records on flimsier material for their own convenience. But it is doubtful if there was anything in the nature of a unified and organized repository before the closing years of the century. If any building tended to assume this function, it might well have been the Bouleuterion. We hear of sanides or inscribed wooden tablets kept there, and other documents which may have been on papyrus. After the New Bouleuterion had been built, the Old would be left more or less free to serve this increasingly important purpose; and it may be from the time of the great reorganization of the law codes at the end of the century (p. 88) that the city possessed a proper record office. From the middle of the 4th century the orators repeatedly speak of the texts of the laws and other documents carefully guarded in the Metroon; and the actual repository was very probably the "Old Bouleuterion"; the excavations have revealed no other suitable building in the precinct.

The manuscripts deposited in the Metroon could be regarded as official, original texts, to which reference could be made. Inscriptions on stone, when these were thought necessary, were now in the nature of secondary copies. Stelai were set up in front of and occasionally inside the Bouleuterion. The records in the Metroon were under the care of a public slave

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59 Schol. Aischines, III, 187; Photios, μητροψωγμη; see further Agora, III, pp. 128, 150; it was said that the dedication was intended to appease the Mother for the murder of her votary, the Phrygian Metragyrtes, which was followed by a plague. No indication is given of the time at which the incident was supposed to have happened. See M. P. Nilsson, Geschichte der Griechischen Religion, I, Munich, 1967, pp. 725 ff., for the introduction of the cult of the Mother, and for her relation to Demeter. Cf. J. Haldane, Phoenix, XXII, 1968, pp. 19 ff.

60 Chamaileon of Herakleia Pontica, probably of the 4th-3rd century B.C.; Athenaeus, IX, 407b-c; see Agora, III, no. 470, p. 152.


62 At first mostly on the Acropolis, later in front of (sometimes in) the appropriate buildings mainly in the Agora, or in the case of religious documents in shrines; note the entry Stelai in the index of Agora, III and of this volume.

63 Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 215; McDonald, Meeting Places, p. 159; Agora, III, p. 128.

64 Agora, III, p. 161; cf. McDonald, Meeting Places, p. 161 ff.; if Aischines, II, 59, refers to documents "from the Bouleuterion" (cf. Ps. Demosthenes, VII, 83), he may be thinking of the Old Bouleuterion as an annex of the New.

65 Agora, III, no. 128; "in front of" could well mean facing the street east of both Bouleuteria, a more conspicuous place for display than in the court in front of, i.e. south of, the New Bouleuterion. Note also Hesperia, XXXVI, 1967, p. 296, no. 46 and XL, 1971, p. 96, no. 1.
(demosios) who acted as a kind of librarian.\(^6\) An ephebic decree of the 2nd century B.C. shows that there was then an antigrapheus, a clerk who would provide copies when required.\(^6\) The documents which found their way into the Metron were extremely varied.\(^6\) Besides decrees and laws, we hear of financial accounts, records of lawsuits, lists of ephebes, lists of weights and measures (p. 44) and of offerings to Asklepios, a letter of the Delphic Amphiktyons, and a deed of gift by Epikouros mentioned in his will; and the copies of the tragedies of Aischylos, Sophokles and Euripides, which by a law of Lykourgos were written out and kept "in an official place,"\(^6\) may well have been in the Metron.

In the 2nd century B.C. a large building, consisting of four rooms opening on a continuous colonade, was erected on the site formerly occupied by the Old Bouleuterion and the Temple of the Mother of the Gods (Fig. 10, Pls. 7, 12).\(^7\) This must be what was henceforth known as the Metron. There is no reason to question the identification. The building is precisely where one would expect it from Pausanias' description, between the highly probable Temple of Apollo

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\(^6\) Demosthenes, XIX, 129; I.G., I², 463, 583; Agora, III, p. 151.
\(^7\) I 286, lines 104, 117, Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, p. 239; Agora, III, p. 160; add I 6819 ÷ 7014, Hesperia, XXXIV, 1965, p. 95, no. 5; XXXVII, 1968, p. 274, no. 14, line 86.
\(^8\) Agora, III, p. 151; add Hesperia, XXXVII, 1967, p. 65, no. 10.
\(^9\) Ps. Plutarch, Vit. X Orat., 841 f.
\(^10\) Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 172-203.
Patroos and the indubitable Tholos. It provided accommodation suitable for the diverse func-
tions of the Metroon as shrine of the Mother and record office; and around the site the exca-
vators found a number of roof tiles inscribed “Dionysios and Ammonios (dedicated this tile)
as sacred to the Mother of the Gods” (Pl. 30, c).71 Dionysios and Ammonios were presumably
the tilemakers.

The four rooms varied in depth, decreasing towards the south, so that the back wall shifted
eastwards in a series of steps. The purpose of this arrangement was to leave a free passage be-
tween the Metroon and the Bouleuterion to the west. Towards the Agora the building present-
ed a uniform façade not quite 39 m. long, consisting of fourteen Ionic columns between side
walls. This went some way towards bringing the west side of the Agora into conformity with
the long colonnades on east and south. But the west retained something of its old informal
character. The various columnar façades — propylon to the Bouleuterion,72 Metroon, Temple
of Apollo Patroos, Stoa of Zeus — were distinct units, very diverse in character, and not even
in line with one another.

Much of the foundations of the older buildings was incorporated in the new.73 This was pos-
sible since except for part of the west side the three southern rooms, together with the colon-
nade in front of them, almost coincided with the area of the Old Bouleuterion, and the north
wall overlay what little was left of the old temple. The colonnade overlay the eastern edge of
the east foundation of the Old Bouleuterion; the western edge can be seen protruding from
beneath (Pl. 29, a). The partition between the first and second rooms from the south rested
partly on the foundation of the old interior crosswall. The new foundations were of the coarse
red conglomerate so common in this period, with many re-used blocks of poros and Acropolis
limestone incorporated. On the east front the foundations beneath the columns are deeper than
in the interstices. Above foundation level very little is preserved. Towards the south end of
the porch a single column base is in place on the sole surviving block of the stylobate (Pl. 29,b).
The steps are of Hymettian marble, above a euthynteria of hard gray poros. No capital sur-
vives, but fragments of shafts, epistyle and cornice have been found.74 All these elements and
the base are of Pentelic marble. The walls were mainly of the hard gray poros; two ortho-
states are in position on the north.75 The front wall (i.e. the back wall of the colonnade) was
distinguished by having a toichobate of Hymettian marble above a course of poros. This may
well have carried a double row of orthostates, surmounted by a string course, all of marble, as
in the Stoas of Eumenies and Attalos.

The second room from the south had a little porch of its own, probably with two columns.
It was at first thought that this room had a door at the back, providing a monumental ap-
proach to the Bouleuterion behind. Later, however, it was shown that the back wall was un-
broken, and the room with its porch had a temple-like aspect. The large room on the north
took the form of a colonnaded court.76 It was entered through a vestibule flanked by two
small rooms which most probably contained stairways leading to an upper storey. At the
back, on the west, was a kind of annex of three small rooms of which one formed a central
exedra. These seem to have been contemporary with the main structure. The central area is
very like the courtyards of contemporary houses at Delos, and there is every reason to believe
that it was open to the sky, with the roof of the colonnades sloping down on all sides. Pro-

71 Ibid., pp. 191–193; Supplement IV, pp. 150f.; Agora, III, no. 514, p. 159.
72 The new Metroon made an awkward junction with the propylon, and part of the euthynteria and first step of the latter
had to be cut away; Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 163, 172.
73 Ibid., p. 174.
74 Ibid., pp. 183ff.; the lower diameter of the column was 0.563 m.
75 With a total thickness of 0.58 m.
76 Ibid., pp. 188ff.; interior dimensions were 16.08 m. north to south by 15.55 east to west.
vision was made for drainage. A number of blocks of Hymettian marble from the stylobate survive; there were very probably four columns on each side. The shafts too, of which a few fragments have been found, were of Hymettian, unfluted, and probably Doric. In the middle of the court is the foundation of some monument consisting of three poros blocks.

In material and workmanship the Metroon is not far from the Stoa of Attalos. Material found in association with the foundations tends to show that it was built a little later, probably in the third quarter of the 2nd century B.C. Its general scheme, with one large and several smaller rooms behind a long colonnade, is very reminiscent of the great library of Pergamon, and since Pergamene influence was strong at the time, and since the two buildings served similar purposes, the Metroon may have been designed under the influence of the Library. The documents at Athens were protected by the Mother as the books at Pergamon by Athena.

Obviously the building provided ample room for both shrine and archives, but how they were disposed is not at all obvious. The temple-like form of the middle room suggests that this was the actual shrine of the Mother, where her statue by Pheidias or Agorakritos stood in Pausanias' time. Just in front of the colonnade at this point is a large foundation which may have carried the altar. When it was thought that this room was a passageway to the Bouleuterion, the shrine was located in the great north room, with the statue in the exedra at the back and an altar on the central foundation. It still may be true that this section of the building was used for cult purposes and that to witness the rites of the Mother participants stood in the galleries of the court. But alternatively or in addition the court and its adjoining rooms may have been used by officials connected with the record office and by consultants of the records. The first and third rooms from the south probably housed the main body of the documents, written on papyrus or parchment and stored in chests or on shelves of wood which have vanished without trace.

**Eponymous Heroes**

Ephemeral notices, as distinct from permanent records whether kept in the archives or displayed in public, were set up on whitened boards "in front of the Eponymoi," the row of bronze statues of the heroes after whom the Attic tribes were named, which stood conveniently in front of the Metroon. This famous monument can best be examined in its place in the scheme of the archeia.

In 1931 in the first campaign a curious structure was found in the southwestern part of the Agora, consisting of a long rectangular enclosure around a very long base (Fig. 11, Pls. 6, 32). The possibility of its being the Stoa of the Herms (p. 94) was raised but quickly rejected,
and it was labelled non-committally *periphragma* or fenced area. Later it became clear not only from its form but from its place in Pausanias’ itinerary\(^\text{82}\) that it belonged to the Eponymoi.\(^\text{83}\)

The enclosure measured, in its original form, 18.40 m. by 3.68 m.\(^\text{84}\) Its sill was made of blocks of poros, on which stood a series of posts, each fixed in position by two oblong dowels. The distance between the centers of the posts was 1.27 m., the same as the length of the blocks. The posts, numbering fifteen by four, were originally of poros, carefully worked,\(^\text{85}\) with narrow smooth bands at the corners and the rest of the surface stippled, and with sockets for three wooden rails. They were slightly wider at the top than at the bottom, and the outer face of each was divided vertically by a very narrow V-shaped cutting, apparently with the idea that the two half-posts on either side of each opening would give the impression of door jambs, inclining slightly inwards. Above were placed capping stones, fixed by dowels; they were triangular in section, with the bottom angles cut off vertically. A section of the fence has been reconstructed on the site, with ancient fragments incorporated (Pl. 32, b).

The inner structure stood 0.41 m. back from the fence. Five blocks of the foundations are *in situ*, on the east side; they are of poros and were held together by double T clamps. Their top is a little higher than the outer foundations, and they bear the mark of another course set

\(^{82}\) I, 5; Pausanias is however mistaken or confused in saying that the monument is *avortepo* in respect to the Tholos; see *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, p. 129; *Gr. Rom. Byz. St.*, II, 1959, p. 32.

\(^{83}\) *Ath. Pol.*, 53, 4 (*Agora*, III, no. 233, p. 86), mentions a bronze stele, inscribed with the names of ephebes, standing “in front of the Bouleuterion by the Eponymoi.” If the author has in mind the present site, he presumably thinks of the Old Bouleuterion and the New as a compact unit; cf. note 64.

A number of limestone bases with cuttings in their tops for bronze stelai triangular in plan have been found near the monument of the Eponymoi; see R. S. Stroud, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 143.

\(^{84}\) Narrowing very slightly towards the south; *Hesperia*, II, 1933, p. 159; XXXIX, 1970, p. 148.

\(^{85}\) They measure ca. 0.285 m. by 0.21 m. at the foot (presumably 0.285 m. square on the corners) and 1.005 m. high; for comparison with the fence of the Twelve Gods see *Hesperia*, XXI, 1952, pp. 58–60, and p. 134 below. At first the posts were simply set above joints in the sill; later they were more securely bedded in sockets which were made progressively deeper.
The form of the rest of the monument can be reasonably conjectured. The heroes must have stood on a high base, to which the notices could be affixed. A couple of blocks remain from the crowning member of the pedestal. They are of Pentelic marble and have a cornice of generous projection on either side, intended no doubt to protect the notices from the weather. On top are cuttings for a bronze statue and, in the first place at one end, for a large bronze tripod, a suitable attribute for heroes.

Renewed investigation has recently shown that this monument was not erected before the middle of the 4th century B.C. Yet we know from our authors that the Eponymoi were already in existence and public notices were displayed in front of them before the end of the 5th century. There is no evidence that the existing foundation was ever transplanted from another site; nor is there any trace on this site of an appropriate structure of earlier date. The Eponymoi must have stood elsewhere for a time, and on a different base. A suitable foundation has come to light beneath the south aisle of the Middle Stoa, southwest of the second inner pier from the west, with dimensions of 9.70 m. north to south, 2.35 m. east to west. If the ten Eponymoi did indeed occupy this base they must have stood more closely spaced than on the later foundation. The monument seems to have been built late in the third quarter of the 5th century and demolished in the 4th century. In its successor there is evidence of more than one later alteration, and the total length was ultimately extended to ca. 21 m. This was no doubt connected with the additions to the Attic tribes and their heroes. The only extension of which the evidence is immediately obvious is at the south end, and this must be of the time of Hadrian, when the emperor himself became an eponymos. A new fence of marble was constructed, with similar spacing to the old. The new posts were not dowelled but secured by means of lead in shallow sockets. Several stumps of this period remain in place, and one at the southeast corner is set in a re-used statue base of 50/49 B.C.

Pausanias refers to Herodotos' account of Kleisthenes' creation of ten tribes named after nine Attic heroes and one neighbor and ally, Ajax; and he appends an annotated list of the original Eponymoi: Hippothoon, Antiochos, Ajax, Leos, Erechtheus, Aigeus, Oineus, Akamas, Kekrops and Pandion. Finally he notes the additions: Attalos (I of Pergamon 200 B.C.), Ptolemy (III Energetes 224/3 B.C.), and in his own time the city's great benefactor, Hadrian. He says nothing of Antigonus and Demetrios, Kings of Macedon, who were added to the Eponymoi in 307/6 B.C., only to be expelled a century later. The history of these comings and goings has recently been read from the monument itself through a detailed study of the few remaining blocks.

Besides their collective monument, the old Eponymoi had individual shrines, in various places where they were worshipped by the members of their tribes. Ajax seems to have been associated with his son in the Eurysakeion, which was in Melite and perhaps on Kolonos just southwest of the temple of Hephaistos, near the place where inscriptions concerning it have

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86 The extreme north end overlies the foundations of an earlier monument incorporating conglomerate blocks; Hesperia, XXXX, 1970, pp. 186-189; but this is too small for the Eponymoi (yet too large for a single statue) and may belong to an altar. For the original site see Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 63-64, 67; XXXIX, 1970, pp. 203ff.
87 It may be that the marble was confined to the east side only to harmonize with the Altar of Zeus Agoraios (p. 160).
92 Pausanias, I, 35, 3; Agora, III, pp. 90ff.
been found. One of these inscriptions is a decree of the tribe Aiantis, to be set up in the Eury-sakeion. Similarly it is just possible that Leos was associated with his legendary daughters in the Leokorion (see p. 122).

"Standing by the statue of Pandion," says Aristophanes, "he sees his own name," suddenly listed for military service; and the poet complains that the lists are manipulated by unscrupulous persons. This, in the Peace (1183; 421 B.C.), is the first reference we have to the monument and its use as a notice board, unless it is what is meant in the Knights (979; 424 B.C.) by the deigma (display place, "shop window") of law suits. Next we have a decree quoted by Andokides (I, 83), concerning the revision of the laws at the end of the century. "Whatever further laws are necessary," it says, "shall be inscribed on boards (sanides) by the Nomothetai chosen by the Boule, displayed before the Eponymoi for anyone who wishes to see, and handed over to the magistrates within the present month." References become frequent in the orators of the 4th century. "Meidias hired this sykophantes," says Demosthenes (XXI, 103; 347 B.C.), "simply in order that the notice might appear before the Eponymoi for all to see, 'Euktemon of Lousia indicted Demosthenes of Paiania for desertion.'" The passages quoted illustrate three of the commonest uses of the "notice boards." Demosthenes (XXIV, 23) enlarges on the method of putting forward laws: "He who is proposing the new law shall write it on a whitened board (leukoma) and set it forth before the Eponymoi all the days until the Ekklesia takes place." He carelessly projects the procedure back into the time of Solon (XX, 94), before the ten tribes and their Eponymoi existed; one has to guard against such anachronisms, which are not always so obvious, especially in the rhetoricians. Aischines (III, 38f.) says that it is the job of the Thesmothetai to scrutinize the laws, and if they find any which they think contradictory, invalid or superfluous, to inscribe it on boards (sanides) and display it before the Eponymoi, so that its annulment can be properly considered. The boards, one presumes, were fastened to the high base of the statues, and citizens could lean on the rails to read and discuss them. The procedure is a nice example of the personal character and small-town informality of public life at Athens in the 5th and 4th centuries.

Tholos (Skias)

The Prytaneis, the fifty councillors who formed a "working party," each tribe taking responsibility for a tenth of the year, were a vital element in the constitution of Athens, and it was most important that they should be properly and conveniently housed. The curious old building south of the Bouleuterion (p. 27), which they had probably used, was partially repaired after the Persian invasion, but only a few years later it was succeeded by something quite different, the Tholos or Skias. The circular shape of the Tholos is not a primitive survival but an elegant new form adopted arbitrarily by the architects, one imagines, mainly for aesthetic reasons. At the same time the odd shape of the old building, determined partly by the adjacent streets which continued to follow the same line, was preserved to a certain extent in the wall of the precinct in which the Tholos stood, and with modifications intended to adapt it to later buildings it persisted for many centuries (Pls. 5, 12, b).

This enclosure was probably what was called the Prytanikon, which must be carefully distinguished from the Prytaneion (p. 46). The name occurs in many decrees of the 3rd and 2nd

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83 T 3625, Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 94, no. 15; Agora, III, no. 255, p. 93.
84 See Agora, III, no. 231, p. 86; it is also possible that the formula "in front of the heroes" should be restored in Athenian Tribute Lists, D8, line 21 (II, p. 53, III, p. 16), 424/5 b.C.; see Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 93, note 12; S.E.G., XXIII, no. 18.
85 Skias seems to have been the more official name, used in most of the inscriptions; see Agora, III, p. 179.
86 It proved by no means the most suitable form for a syssition (communal dining hall) where meals for fifty or more people were prepared and served.

Classical tholoi in general are sophisticated buildings owing little to the primitive circular hut; see, for example, A. W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture, Pelican History of Art, 2nd ed., 1967, ch. 17.
centuries B.C. honoring the Prytaneis; the Prytanikon is the place in which the stelai were normally set up. The stones have been widely scattered by the usual processes of repeated re-use, but there is an unmistakable concentration of them around the Tholos. The building is also said to have been “in the archeia,” and the whole of the southwestern quarter of the Agora, ultimately occupied by various public buildings, probably bore this name (pp. 25, 72).

When in 1934 a round building was found towards the southern end of the west side of the Agora, no one doubted that it was indeed the famous Tholos or Skias, where the Prytaneis met and ate and where Sokrates defied the Thirty; and it has remained almost unique in that no one has ever put forward any other suggestion.

The Tholos was probably built in the decade 470-460 B.C.; this date is supported by the pottery associated with its earliest days and by the style of the decoration on the roof tiles. The building was circular, with an inner radius of 8.45 m., a doorway on the east, and six interior sup-
ports. The site was prepared by cutting away the rock of the hillside on the west and building up a terrace on the east. In the western segment the wall stood directly on the bedrock, in the eastern on a trench packed with roughly shaped limestone blocks.

A few wall blocks of hard gray poros remain in position, and a few others have been found. The upper part of the wall is assumed to have been of unbaked brick. Blocks of Hymettian marble from a string course have been found, but their archaeological context shows that they do not belong to the original construction. The Tholos was severely damaged in a conflagration, as fragments of fire-blackened tiles show, towards the end of the 5th century, perhaps in the troubled days of the Thirty, and the string course was inserted when it was repaired shortly afterwards. One of the marble blocks has cuttings for vertical bars and was clearly a windowsill, as may be seen in a similar course in the northwest wing of the Propylaia; but the treatment of the upper surface of the blocks in the Tholos indicates that brick rather than stone was superimposed. The inner faces of the wall blocks show traces of at least two applications of stucco.

The original floor was of brown clay, sloping down to a drain on the east, from which the effluents were conducted to the main drain on the west side of the Agora (p. 194). The interior columns rested on foundations built of square blocks of soft gray poros. They were not all placed in the line of an exact circle; the easternmost and westernmost columns were brought slightly inwards. The purpose of this layout is obscure; perhaps it had something to do with the accommodation of the Fifty, of which we know nothing, except that they had ample space. In the center are traces of a rectangular base, somewhat irregularly placed and apparently intended to carry an altar or table for libations; this did not belong to the first phase but was inserted in the reconstruction of ca. 400 B.C. The stumps of five columns are still in place, and the sixth too has been found. They are of the same poros as the walls, unfluted, and with a lower diameter of 0.60 m. Of the capitals no identifiable fragment is known.

The building was famous for its roof, likened in a series of obscure notes to a sunshade or sunhat. Curiously it is the original form of the roof which is best known and can be partly reconstructed from numerous clay fragments. The eaves were made of triangular tiles, the rain tiles having their base outwards, the cover tiles their apex. The face of the eaves was brightly painted, the rain tiles with a double braid with small palmettes inserted, the antefixes of the cover tiles with large palmettes (Pl. 35, a). The angle between the face of the antefix and the surface of the tiles shows that the slope of the roof was as much as 29 degrees, surprisingly steep. The greater part was covered with diamond-shaped tiles. Their arrangement is problematical. The evidence of the ancient authorities on this point is not helpful; a sunshade would be ribbed, a sunhat conical. In any case the comparisons would seem to show that there was no central opening, nor yet a clerestory. The roof was destroyed by fire in the late 5th century, and in the absence of fragments of a later set of tiles the subsequent scheme of roofing is quite uncertain.

Throughout its lifetime the Tholos had a small annex on the northeast which can have been nothing else but a kitchen for the preparation of the Prytaneis' meals. There is no evidence of cooking in the rotunda except in one limited period (p. 46), and the annex overlies the

102 Ibid., pp. 50ff. The thickness of the wall blocks is a little over 0.70 m.
103 Ibid., pp. 48ff., 141; for the altar itself see p. 34 above.
104 With the doubtful exception of a fragment of an Ionic capital of Pentelic marble found in a rubbish pit to the southeast; ibid., p. 58, note 39.
105 Ibid., p. 70; Agora, III, p. 179 (note especially Ammonios as quoted by Harpokration s.v. Σόλας); the words used are σκιάδες (sunshade or parasol) and Σόλας, which in Theokritos, XV, 39, seems to mean a sunhat rather than a parasol.
106 The possibility has to be considered that bronze was used for the roof at some time. For a possible akroterion from the original period see R. Nichols, Hesperia, XXXIX, 1970, p. 117.
107 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 73ff.
broiling pits of the archaic building (p. 28). In the earliest phase the kitchen was a small rectangular building detached from the Tholos (Pl. 5), but from the 4th century onwards it clung like a limpet to the northeastern quadrant (Pl. 6). It was rebuilt several times with slight changes, and its effect on the simple design of the Tholos must always have been unhappy. The Athenians were not always above awkward compromises between utility and beauty.

Not only the Prytaneis but also their secretaries and several other officials\textsuperscript{108} were maintained in the Tholos. A third of the Prytaneis spent the night there, and on the occasion of the mutilation of the Herms the whole body slept there.\textsuperscript{109} The fare was probably frugal as in the Prytaneion (p. 47). The tableware, of which a good deal has been found, is mostly simple and practical (Pl. 35, b). A stele found in the precinct bears a decree of 191/0 B.C. honoring a small committee set up by the Boule to take stock of equipment in the Skias, cups, tripods, phialai, and so forth, and to renew the coverlets.\textsuperscript{110}

Another function of the Tholos was to act as a repository for official weights and measures under the supervision of the Metronomoi. A decree concerning these, of the 2nd century B.C., has long been known.\textsuperscript{111} It provides amongst other things that the official in charge shall hand over weights and measures to the public slave (demosios) in the Skias, to another at Peiraeus, and to a third at Eleusis. These shall guard them carefully and furnish equivalents to officials and others who require them; the originals are on no account to be tampered with or allowed to leave the buildings. Copies of the decree are to be set up in these buildings. I.G., II\textsuperscript{p}, 1013 is presumably the stele from the Acropolis; a fragment presumably belonging to the copy in the Skias has been found near the place where it stood.\textsuperscript{112}

Many weights and measures bearing official inscriptions to guarantee their correctness have been found in and around the Agora (Pl. 34, a).\textsuperscript{113} Some may belong to the primary sets kept permanently in the Tholos itself, but many are probably duplicates made for issue to officials and perhaps shopkeepers. Three square bronze weights found a little to the southwest may well be originals (Pl. 33, a).\textsuperscript{114} They are all inscribed in incised letters δεσπόσιον 'Αθηναίον; one also bears the inscription στεφάνη and an astragalo (knucklebone used as dice) in relief, another τεταρτή (quarter of a stater) and a shield, the third δεκαετής (sixth of a stater) and a turtle. They can be dated about 500 B.C. Some measures found in the area are also earlier than the Tholos; perhaps there was already a repository in the old building on the site. Most of the weights are small squarish pieces of lead; these were found scattered over a wide area, as if they had been used in the market and the shops. They carry a variety of symbols in accordance with their denomination, a dolphin for example for the mina. Standards of consistency and accuracy are not very high.

The terracotta measures, mainly of the 5th and 4th centuries, show a strong concentration around the Tholos itself.\textsuperscript{115} Many of these may be originals, though one would have expected that normally the primary standards would be preserved in a less fragile material, namely bronze. Some may be duplicates kept ready to hand for everyday use or for issue outside the Tholos. Two bronze dry measures of ca. 400 B.C. have in fact been found not in the Tholos but in a well in the southeast corner of the square, adjacent to the Mint (Pl. 38, b).\textsuperscript{116}

\textsuperscript{108} Demosthenes, XIX, 249, 314 and scholia; see further Agora, III, p. 179; Hesperia, Supplement I, pp. 15ff., 24.

\textsuperscript{109} Aristotle, Ath. Pol., 44, 1; Andokides, I, 45. See also C. W. J. Eliot, Phoenix, XXI, 1967, pp. 79–84.

\textsuperscript{110} I 5844, Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 144–147; Agora, III, no. 608, p. 184.

\textsuperscript{111} I. G., II, 1013; Agora, III, no. 605, pp. 182ff.

\textsuperscript{112} I. G. II, 1290, Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 127, no. 27.

\textsuperscript{113} Now fully published by Mabel Lang and Margaret Crosby, Agora, X, Weights, Measures and Tokens; see also Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 141ff.; Agora, III, p. 183; Picture Book, 4, nos. 14–19; Guide, I, pp. 185–187.

\textsuperscript{114} Agora, X, pp. 24–26. They weigh 126, 190 and 795 grams.

\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., p. 41; they are inevitably very fragmentary; some shapes suggest metal prototypes.

\textsuperscript{116} Ibid., pp. 41, 52; Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pp. 69–70.
the bronze workers of the Mint were responsible for making and stamping official weights and measures as well as coins. Dry measures normally had a simple cylindrical or mug-like form, and carried an inscription such as Ἐλλάς or an abbreviation of it and a stamp impressed in the clay, commonly an owl or a head of Athena (Pl. 34, a). Liquid measures, which are much less abundant, are in the more elegant shapes of jugs, amphorae and so forth.

A curious vessel of comparatively late date (about 100 B.C.) was found in what seems to be the debris of a shop on the slope of the Areopagus (Pl. 34, b). It is a cylindrical bowl with a spreading rim, and in its side is fixed a lead seal, stamped with a figure enthroned, probably Dionysos; this no doubt served as an official confirmation of the correct size of the container, which seems to represent an attempt to conform with an obscurely worded clause inserted in I.G., II.2 1018, concerning measures for use in the sale of walnuts, hazelnuts, chestnuts, almonds, Egyptian beans, olives, and dates.

Like all the archeia of Athens, the Tholos was a sacred building and housed appropriate cults. In the long series of decrees of the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C. in which the Prytaneis are honored for the diligent and decorous performance of their tasks, the deities to whom they sacrifice “before the Ekklesia” are named. First in time (273/2 B.C.) comes Apollo Prostaterios, who may be the Apollo of the Bouleuterion (p. 34). Presently (256/5 B.C.) he is joined by Artemis Boulaia, and the regular formula becomes “to Apollo Prostaterios and Artemis Boulaia and to the other gods to whom it is ancestral custom to sacrifice.” In 182/1 B.C. for the first known time Artemis Phosphoros is appended to the list, but she does not become firmly established in it like Boulaia. One or two other deities (Athena Archegetis, Zeus Ktesios) are included exceptionally, but there is no reason to associate them particularly with the Prytaneis. The same is true of “the Saviors” (Soteres), the Macedonian kings Antigonus I and Demetrios I to whom sacrifices are occasionally recorded in the years of Macedonian domination (262–229 B.C.). Artemis Boulaia, Artemis Phosphoros, and the elusive female deities called Phosphoroi, on the other hand, seem to belong to the Tholos. An inscription of the end of the 3rd century B.C. honoring the Ephesians was found just east of the Tholos, apparently used in a late repair of the Great Drain. It was to be set up “in the Agora beside the altar of Artemis Boulaia.” In the southeastern part of the Tholos precinct is a suitable bedding on which this altar may well have stood. In the same area was found a small statue of Pentelic marble, probably of late Hellenistic date, representing a woman dressed in short chiton and animal skin, clearly Artemis, unless she is one of the Phosphoroi. These Phosphoroi were presumably minor deities attendant upon Artemis. Their priest figures in late prytany inscriptions amongst the officials connected with the Prytaneis, and he bears the additional title of Ἐλλάς Σκιάς, “in charge of the Skias.” Finally, a small marble plaque found in the same region southeast of the Tholos is inscribed “Olympos son of Alexandros (dedicated) the plants to the Phosphoroi” (Pl. 36, a). The inscription is of about A.D. 200 and may indicate that the Prytanikon like some other precincts had its own little garden.

118 S. Dow, Hesperia, Supplement I; Supplement IV, pp. 137–141; Agora, III, pp. 53–57; add Hesperia, XXXII, 1968, p. 7, no. 8; p. 22, no. 23; XXXVIII, 1969, p. 418, no. 1; p. 425, no. 2; Agora, XV, Inscriptions, The Athenian Councillors, for the complete corpus of prytany inscriptions.
119 I.G., II.2 902, line 8; Agora, III, p. 56. Note Hesperia, XL, 1971, p. 308, no. 9 where the Mother of the Gods is included.
120 W. K. Pritchett and B. D. Meritt, Chronology of Hellenistic Athens, 1940, p. 121; Agora, III, p. 56.
123 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 139–141.
124 Agora, III, pp. 57ff.; I.G., II.2 4718.
125 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 197ff.; Agora, III, no. 124, p. 58.
The Tholos was an unpretentious building, except for its remarkable roof not much more monumental in its construction than a well built house. Yet it assumed great importance in the eyes of the Athenians and was a kind of symbol of their civic life, to be maintained in its ancient form in spite of all vicissitudes including repeated destruction and radical changes all around. Some phases in the story of the Tholos are written vividly in its floor. It suffered much indignity at the end of the 4th century, when cooking appears to have been done in the rotunda itself and much unsightly debris accumulated. Eventually order was restored and a fresh floor of hard-packed earth was made at a higher level. There is evidence of severe damage in late Hellenistic times, perhaps in the days of Sulla. Blocks from the wall and the string course have been found re-used in work of slightly later date. Presumably the building was repaired soon after; and probably in the Augustan revival at Athens it first received a monumental entrance. Only the foundations of this have survived, with a little of a step of Hymettian marble; the porch is tentatively restored as Ionic and prostyle with four columns (Fig. 13). Towards the middle of the 1st century after Christ, to judge by the archaeological evidence, the Tholos was given a more elaborate floor for the first time, with chips of Pentelic marble embedded in mortar, with a finishing coat of a fine cement and lastly a red pigment. This floor was repeatedly patched, in some sections somewhat incongruously with marble slabs. The columns were still standing, and the mosaic floor was built up around them. But a century later they had been removed, and over their stumps was laid a floor of marble slabs, so arranged as to form an irregular cross of Pentelic, with blue Hymettian filling the angles (Fig. 13). The Tholos once more suffered catastrophically in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, and some years later a last and almost desperate attempt was made to continue its existence by encasing the ruins in a concrete cylinder twice the thickness of the original walls (Pl. 9). The question arises whether in the later phases, after the columns had gone, the building discarded its old familiar sunhat and put on a dome. Though no remains of such a structure have been found, the statement of some of the lexicographers that the roof was “built, not of wood” suggests that it did. On the evidence of pottery and coins the final collapse came about A.D. 400. This time it was irreparable, and Athens no longer had its Tholos.

**Prytaneion**

The Prytaneion formed a link between the Acropolis and the Agora. It was the successor of the king’s house, where he had received and entertained his councillors and his guests. It descended from the hilltop to the north slope, but not into the Agora itself, though it may be regarded as an adjunct. Since its functions were symbolic and honorary rather than concerned with day-to-day administration it could remain comparatively aloof. Various writers have postulated an early Prytaneion on the Acropolis, or in the Old Agora to the west, or both, but these are purely hypothetical. The only Prytaneion of which we have definite information is the one seen by Pausanias, which, since it was near the shrines of Aglauros and the Dioskouroi, must have been close under the Acropolis on its north side. Pausanias used it as a starting point...
for excursions to eastern and southeastern Athens and the south slope of the Acropolis, following routes which led round the eastern end of the hill. Recent work has added nothing to our knowledge, and only extended excavation on the north slopes, to the southeast of the Agora, can be expected to fix the site precisely and determine how old this Prytaneion was, whether, as Judeich suggested, it represented a Hellenistic removal or whether this was the site of the sacred hearth already in the archaic city.

The primary functions of the Prytaneion were to maintain the common hearth of the city and the cult of Hestia and to provide accommodation for the entertainment of the city’s honored guests, well deserving citizens (sometimes their descendants too), ambassadors, and foreign benefactors. This is not to be imagined as taking the form of splendid banquets; the honor was all that mattered, the fare was frugal.

If one may deduce its form from the remains of prytaneia which have been found in other cities, the building probably resembled a large house, with a spacious dining room or perhaps several. Copies of the laws of Solon were preserved in the Prytaneion and it accommodated one of the ancient homicide courts of Athens, no doubt in an open space, since such cases could not be conducted under a roof. Here were tried, in absentia, homicides whose identity was unknown, and also inanimate objects held responsible for the death of a man, and animals too according to Aristotle in the Constitution of the Athenians. This same authority tells us that the Basileus (p. 87) and the Phylobasileis (“tribal kings”) gave judgment. A large body of dicasts was not needed when there was no human defendant up for trial; the Prytaneion has been aptly compared in some respects to a coroner’s court.

Aristotle tells us that in early times the Archon (i.e. the eponymos, who gave his name to the year) occupied the Prytaneion, while the Basileus, the archon who inherited much of the religious functions of the king, occupied the Boukoleion, which was near the Prytaneion, and the Polemarchs the Epilykeion, a building otherwise unknown, said to have been named after one Epilykos who reconstructed it. Then in the time of Solon, Aristotle continues, these three and the six Thesmothetai, i.e. the whole board of nine archons, left their traditional places and came together in the Thesmotheteion. Though we have no evidence except in the implication of the names, perhaps the Prytaneis too originally used the Prytaneion; in later Athens a distinction was made between the honorands in the older building and the working parties in the other two principal syssitia or communal dining places, the Thesmotheteion and the Tholos (pp. 44, 77).

131 Pausanias, I, 18, 3, also noted a statue of Eirene (Peace) alongside that of Hestia; and Aelian, Varia Historia, IX, 99, mentions a statue of Agathe Tyche (Good Fortune) beside the Prytaneon.


133 Honorary statues stood there; Pausanias, I, 18, 3–4 (p. 158 below); cf. 26, 3; Ps. Plutarch, Vit. X Orat., 847 e.

134 R. E. Wycherley, How the Greeks Built Cities, pp. 134–138; note especially a building excavated by J. Travlos at Eleusis which is probably a Prytaneion, on a smaller scale no doubt than at Athens; see Ἐρύθη, 1955, pp. 18–20; A.J.A., LX, 1956, 268.

135 Plutarch, Solon, 25, 1; Pausanias, I, 18, 3; Pollux, VIII, 128; Harpokration, δῆμον (quoting Polemon); see Agora, III, pp. 168 ff.; E. Ruschenbusch, Σάλλωνος νόσοι (Historia, Einzelschriften, IX), Wiesbaden, 1966, Chap. ii, “Die Axones und ihre Geschichte.”

136 Andokides, I, 78; Demosthenes, XXXIII, 76, and Schol.; Aristotle, Ath. Pol., 57; Plutarch, Solon, 19, 3; Pausanias, I, 28, 10–11; Harpokration, ἐπὶ προνοία; Photios, προνοία; Pollux, VIII, 120. Note also Bekker, Anecd. Graec. I, 242, where under ἐνδάγματα (battlements) we read that this is one of the homicide courts, and is built πρὸ τῆς Περιτείχειας; cf. also Etym. Magnum, a.e. ἔνδαγμα.


The monuments, supplementing the texts, have shown how the instruments of government were concentrated in and around the Agora. Some at least of the law courts, which played a vital part in political as well as private life, were close at hand (p. 52). But in the 5th and 4th centuries the supreme authority, the assembly of the whole Athenian people, the Ekklesia, met elsewhere. The date when the meeting place located on and named after the Pnyx hill was first contrived cannot be fixed with certainty or precision; it is generally thought to be about the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th, which may be the time when the theater too moved from the Agora (pp. 20, 127) to the south slope of the Acropolis.

One assumes that in the 6th century the Athenian people assembled in the Agora itself, possibly in the same area which served as a theater for the plays (p. 127). Evidence is naturally very slight. Plutarch tells a story of how Solon "leaped forth suddenly in the Agora," and, when a crowd had gathered, mounted the "herald's stone," presumably some kind of bema or speaker's stand, and instead of a speech recited an elegiac poem which he had composed on the subject of Salamis. Peisistratos supported him, no doubt in prose, and between them they persuaded the Athenians to repeal the decree by which they had renounced all claim to Salamis. On a later occasion Peisistratos came into the Agora exhibiting his self-inflicted wounds and tried to persuade the people that he was the victim of a plot; subsequently an assembly was held — one would naturally assume that this too was in the Agora — and a bodyguard was granted. Once more Solon "came forth into the Agora" and reproached his fellow citizens in vain for surrendering their freedom. Such stories hardly provide satisfactory evidence for the formal proceedings of the Ekklesia; the Agora was always a suitable place for informal harangues to an irregular crowd. However, on grounds of general probability one can believe that the Ekklesia met there in the 6th century.

This is not the place for a detailed account of the Pnyx and its peculiar architectural history; we are concerned only with its relation to the Agora (Pl. 1). The Pnyx is puzzling from many points of view; indeed one may well wonder why it ever existed. In the end the Ekklesia moved to the south slope and the theater, and it could have done so much earlier. In the Agora itself there was no lack of space. The Pnyx in its earliest known form had room for only about 5000, and Thucydides (VIII, 72) implies that in his day this could still be considered a good attendance; this of course was in war time. A limited segment of the Agora could easily accommodate gatherings of this size or even more. It was not until much later that the square was heavily encumbered by large monuments. The market may have encroached, but it would hardly occupy the whole square, and in any case it consisted largely of skenai or light booths (p. 170), which could be hastily removed, as we see even in Demosthenes' time (XVIII, 169). Perhaps a quieter and more secluded position was thought preferable; but probably the chief motive was the same as in the case of the theater, to provide a more steeply sloping site for
the auditorium, on which the populace could be accommodated without the use of treacherous ikria (p. 126). Even so it was not wholly necessary to move so far from the Agora or so high up the hillside.

The site was never satisfactory (Fig. 14). In the first phase the natural hillslope was dressed to form an auditorium, with a retaining wall at the bottom supporting a terrace on which no doubt the bema stood; the assembly was cruelly exposed to the northeast winds. At the end of the 5th century this exposure was made more tolerable by building an embankment, with a
retaining wall at the bottom, reversing the whole structure and creating an auditorium which is unique in that its slope is contrary to that of the natural hillside. The size of the auditorium was not greatly enlarged in the process. The audience now faced southwest and was comparatively sheltered. Two stairways led up from the back of the building, and the bema was no doubt a little to the north of the existing platform. In the 4th century, perhaps in the time of Lykourgos, this somewhat makeshift structure was improved and greatly enlarged, so as to accommodate about 10,000; but it retained the same general configuration. The massive curved retaining wall which is the most conspicuous feature of the site belongs to this period, and so does the rock-cut bema projecting from a scarp (Pl. 37). The approach was still from the north and the back, by a single great stairway. South of the building, beyond a spacious terrace and adjacent to the city wall, two large stoas were to have formed an impressive adjunct to the architectural design. Work on the stoas was broken off at ground level, however, because of the military crisis in the late 4th century. Nevertheless, the Ekklesia now had a worthy home on the Pnyx hill, although it was still something of a tour de force and a freak. In the end common sense prevailed; in the course of the 3rd century, the theater, already used for occasional meetings, became the regular place of assembly, as it had long been in many cities.

The site on the south slope was in every way preferable. A possible reason why the Ekklesia, having adopted the Pnyx, clung to it so long and at the cost of such effort is that although it was about a quarter of a mile away from the Agora it was still visible and easily accessible and not so detached as the theater. The civic offices, as we shall see, probably extended in this direction (pp. 72ff.).

Pnyx and Agora remained closely linked in function and spirit. The Agora was a kind of foyer to the political theater. Citizens would gather in the Agora before a meeting; according to Aristophanes it was sometimes difficult to induce them to abandon their gossip, ascend the hill and compose themselves for formal business. But the preliminary talk could be an important part of the democratic process. In political struggles the pitched battles were fought in the Pnyx or sometimes in the law courts; the skirmishing took place in the Agora. "The whole business was still in the clouds," says Demosthenes in his speech on the embassy; "the future was still uncertain, and all sorts of conferences and discussions were going on in the Agora."

We read of one occasion in the late 5th century when an assembly, not of the whole people but of a large section, was held in the Agora. The Thirty and their supporters had been defeated by the democrats at Peiraeus. The men from the upper city turned against their masters, gathered in the Agora, deposed the Thirty and chose a committee of ten with full powers to end the war. This was an exceptional occasion; and in any case it may have happened that just at this time the Pnyx was in process of reconstruction and not available.

The Agora also retained certain regular though limited functions as a place of popular assembly. The law courts were still in theory the sovereign people sitting in judgment; and with the larger juries this was something more than a fiction (p. 53). The one occasion when the whole Demos still converged upon the Agora to exercise its right was when an ostracism took place. The Agora, says Philochoros, was fenced with boards, and ten entrances were left through which the citizens entered by tribes to place their ostraka, under the supervision of

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147 The story recorded by Plutarch, Themistokles, 19, 4, that the Thirty turned the bema round so as to face the land rather than the sea, is fanciful, but it may point to the right date for the reversal.
148 McDonald, Meeting Places, pp. 56ff.
149 Acharnians, 21 ff.
150 XIX, 122; cf. 225.
151 Aristotle, Ath. Pol., 38, 1.
152 Jacoby, F.G.H., IIIB, no. 328, frag. 30; this more solid enclosure should probably be distinguished from the perischoinism (p. 87, note 18); see however Raubitschek, as cited in next note, and McDonald, Meeting Places, pp. 44-45.
the archons and the Boule. Plutarch says, probably with greater accuracy, that a certain part of the Agora was enclosed.153

The procedure was originally intended as a means of getting rid of aspirants to despotic power, but it soon came to be used as a tactical maneuver between rival politicians. It was operated through most of the fifth century, but had been discontinued before the end.154 An ostracism was not held unless a meeting of 6000 citizens or more had decided that the situation made it necessary, and at the ostracism itself a minimum of 6000 votes was again required. Each voter scratched, or sometimes painted, on a potsherd (ostrakon) the name of the man whose presence in Athens he thought most undesirable and deposited his sherd under the eyes of the tribal officers as he entered the proper gate. Presumably no one after entering was allowed to leave until the voting was complete. The “candidate” with the greatest number of votes against him was obliged to withdraw from Athens for ten years.

Great numbers of ostraka have been found in the Agora excavations and elsewhere (Pl. 38).155 Fragments of all kinds of vase were used, and even pieces of roof tile. The names inscribed upon them include nearly all the leading politicians of the 5th century and some obscurer personages too. Sometimes terms of abuse, such as “traitor,” were added, or other superfluous remarks. Some ostraka have been found sporadically over a wide area, others in large concentrations, notably outside the Agora towards the southwest, where they seem to have been used for purposes of road levelling. Most recently a huge deposit has been found outside the gate in the Kerameikos, and there must be other such dumps awaiting discovery in diverse regions. Some scores of thousands of ostraka were used, and they are all but indestructible. The finding places however illustrate the method of disposing of the used sherds rather than the procedure of voting.

In later times we hear of one remarkable occasion when an assembly was held in the Agora; it took place in 88 B.C. and it is recorded in Athenaeus' account156 of the disreputable Periatic Athenion, who supported the cause of Mithridates at Athens. The Kerameikos (i.e. the Agora) was full of citizens and foreigners, and the crowds converged spontaneously on the Ekklesia. Athenion mounted the bema built (or for) the Roman generals in front of the Stoa of Attalos. In his speech he called on the Athenians to endure no longer the state of anarchy created by the Roman Senate. “Let us not look on and see our holy places locked up, our gymnasia in a state of decay, the theater deserted by the assembly (anekklesiaston), the courts silent, and the Pnyx taken away from the people.” After much discussion amongst themselves, the crowds rushed to the theater and elected Athenion strategos. The circumstances are exceptional and the procedure obviously somewhat irregular. The bema mentioned in the story most probably stood on the large rectangular foundation immediately in front of the donor's monument (Pl. 7) opposite the middle of the Stoa.157 If so it was a very solid structure, intended to be permanent; but whatever the intention was in building it, there is nothing to

153 Aristeides, 7, 4. A. E. Raubitschek, “The Gates in the Agora,” A.J.A., LX, 1956, pp. 279-282, associates certain trittys boundary stones, some of which have been found in the Agora, with an area enclosed for ostracism and also for grain distribution, Aristophanes, Knights, 855-857 (“the entrances of the barley”) being a comic allusion to this arrangement; the inscriptions state, for example, “At this point Aiantis tribe Tetrapelis trittys ends, Akamantis tribe Cholargeis trittys begins”; the stones formed as it were gateposts. However, in reference to ostracism our authorities speak simply of ten entrances for the ten tribes. The physical arrangements by which the voting was controlled must remain largely conjectural.


156 V, 212, e-f; cf. McDonald, Meeting Places, pp. 60-61.

157 Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 324; Guide, p. 79. The bema comprised a rectangle measuring 5.60 m. by 8.35 m., with a stair leading up at each of the two outer corners.
indicate that it ever had more than occasional use. The Pnyx was in a state of dilapidation at this time and there is no evidence that it was ever repaired;\textsuperscript{158} the theater continued to be the normal place of assembly, even when it was the scene of gladiatorial shows. Apollonios of Tyana, invited to attend the Ekklesia, wrote a stern epistle to the Athenians telling them that he would not enter a place so defiled by the shedding of human blood.\textsuperscript{159} By this time the center of the Agora was occupied by the Odeion, which was used for concerts and for rhetorical exhibitions (p. 111).

THE LAW COURTS\textsuperscript{160}

"You will find everything sold together in the same place at Athens: figs, summoners, bunches of grapes, turnips, pears, apples, witnesses, roses, medlars, haggis, honeycombs, chickpeas, lawsuits, boestings, boestings-pudding, myrtle, allotment machines, hyacinth, lambs, water-clocks, laws, indictments."

Euboulos, Frag. 74, Olbia (mid 4th century B.C.)

FURNISHINGS OF THE LAW COURTS

Two points emerge clearly from the passage in the comic poet. First, legal proceedings were a part of everyday life in Athens. Secondly, these legal proceedings took place in or on the Agora. An intimate physical relationship between the law courts and the Agora is implied also by references in other ancient authors. Thus in a speech by Lysias (XIX, 55; 387 or 386 B.C.) the speaker declares that though he lived near the Agora he had never before that moment been seen near a law court or the Council House. Antiphon in a speech of the late 5th century B.C. (V, 10–11) makes a point of declaring that the trial was taking place in a covered building in the Agora. Proximity to the Agora would be natural in view of the fact that here were to be found the copies of the laws, both those on papyrus and those on stone, which were so frequently cited in the courts, and here too were the offices of the magistrates who were responsible for the functioning of the law courts.

The general probability of a location in or on the Agora should apply especially to the oldest and largest of all the law courts of Athens, viz. the Heliaia. But the same argument would appear to hold also for some at least of the several lesser courts concerned with civil and criminal cases that are attested for the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. On the other hand the five venerable courts that dealt with homicide of various forms were scattered in other parts of the city, none of them in the Agora.

The close connection between legal proceedings and the Agora has been confirmed by the recent excavations most specifically through the discovery within the limits of the Agora of various pieces of equipment known to have been used in the law courts. This material is not,
to be sure, very abundant, but it has been found in the Agora in greater concentration than anywhere else in the ancient city.

Among the most characteristic furnishings of the law courts were the allotment machines (kleroteria) used in selecting the jurors. The juries needed in various courts on a given day were drawn from a total of six thousand citizens available for jury service. By modern standards the juries were large, ranging from 100 to 1500 in number. Attention was paid to the old tribal divisions as also to the ten panels into which the total number of potential jurymen was divided. But the authorities were concerned above all to prevent the "packing" of a court, and to this end they invoked the aid of chance in determining which of the potential jurors should be assigned to judge a particular case and in which court the trial should take place. Chance was made to operate through the agency of an allotment machine. The existence of the kleroterion had been known from references in Aristotle's Constitution of the Athenians (63,64,66) while a well preserved example had been found as long ago as 1862. But it remained for Sterling Dow to make the identification in 1937.\textsuperscript{161} Seventeen of the machines have now been identified, and of these fourteen have come to light in the Agora.

Most of the kleroteria are fragmentary, and most if not all of the surviving examples date from the 2nd century B.C., i.e. two centuries after Aristotle's writing (Pl. 39, b). Those of Aristotle's day were moveable and so presumably of wood, but in other respects they probably differed little from the later. The use of kleroteria was not confined to the law courts. They were undoubtedly employed also in the Council and in the election of many minor officials.

Of the surviving kleroteria two, both found in the Agora, have been recognized with a high degree of probability as examples of the kind used for selecting jurors for service on a given day (Fig. 15).\textsuperscript{162} Like all the known kleroteria these were thin slabs of marble that stood upright in stone bases. In the face of each slab were five columns of narrow slots carefully aligned in horizontal rows. On the left side of the face are traces of the attachment of a slender metal tube, the top of which rose through the crown of the stele and terminated in a funnel-shaped mouth. Into the slots were inserted the bronze identification tickets (pinakia) carried by the citizens who were eligible for jury service, each vertical column being reserved for members of one of the ten panels. Into the tube were poured a number of bronze balls half black and half white, well mixed. By means of some simple crank the balls could be released one by one. According as a white or a black ball emerged all the citizens represented by one horizontal row of pinakia were accepted or rejected for jury service that day. A pair of such kleroteria, according to Aristotle (\textit{Ath. Pol.}, 63), stood at the entrance to each court.

Of the bronze identification tickets (pinakia) twenty-two have been found in the Agora, whole or fragmentary, all datable from the style of their lettering to the 4th century B.C. (Pl. 39, e).\textsuperscript{163} They measure 8 to 10 cm. in length, a little over 2 cm. in width and 1 to 2 mm. in thickness. A pinakion normally bears the name of the owner, including the names of his father and of his township (deme), all deeply incised in the metal. Several of the pinakia have evidently been re-used one or more times, the earlier names being eliminated by hammering. The normal pinakion bears one of the first ten letters of the Greek alphabet to designate the dikastic section of the owner. Several have been stamped with an owl as on the triobol, the juror's pay, others with a gorgoneion perhaps to attest officially that the owner had served in some public office.


\textsuperscript{162} Dow, \textit{Hesperia}, Supplement I, pp. 204f., nos. III and IV; \textit{H.S.C.P.}, L, 1939, pp. 5-8.

The counters used in the tube of the kleroterion are possibly to be recognized in eight small bronze balls (15 to 18 mm. in diameter) found in the excavations (Pl. 40, b). One of them is inscribed with a single letter (N) and two with two letters each (NN, XX). These balls would be appropriate for the round tube that was certainly employed in the kleroteria of Hellenistic date, but Aristotle's use of the word dice (kyboi) would seem to imply the use of cubical counters in earlier times.

In Aristotle's detailed description of court procedure, which is repeatedly echoed in the lexicographers, we are told that the juror on entering the court received a token (symbolon). After voting he turned in the symbolon and was thus entitled to receive his fee of three obols. These symbola are probably to be recognized in several series of round bronze pieces, datable to the 4th and perhaps the early 3rd century B.C., of which some fifty have come to light in the Agora (Pls. 39, c, d, 40, b). They measure 16 to 27 mm. in diameter. Some of the pieces have a letter stamped on either side, the same letter on both sides. Others bear a letter on one side only, having on the other side a helmeted head of Athena, sometimes turned right, sometimes left. The close correspondence between these heads and those on contemporary issues of Athenian coins

leaves no doubt as to the official character of our pieces. Various technical details which they have in common with the jurors' name plates and with the ballots to be discussed below associate the tokens more specifically with the law courts.

In the *Wasps* of Aristophanes (92f.) it is said of old Philokleon that on restless nights "his mind flutters in dreams around the water clock." The scholiast comments: "A water clock (klepsydra) is a pierced pot into which they poured water and allowed it to flow out to the level of a certain hole and thus stopped the speaker. They did this as a measure against a person speaking nonsense in order to prevent others wishing to speak; thus the speaker saying relevant things would have a chance."

The first and thus far the only known example of this very characteristic device was recovered in 1933 in a well of the late 5th century B.C. at the southwest corner of the Agora (Fig. 16, Pl. 39, a). It consists of a deep terracotta basin with a small, bronze-lined aperture at the bottom; a larger hole near the top of the wall enabled the attendant to fill the vessel to precisely the same level on each occasion. The capacity is indicated by two Xs painted on the wall, i.e. two pitchers (choes). In modern terms the vessel holds 6.4 liters or 6 3/4 quarts (U. S. liquid measure). According to Aristotle this was the amount of water allowed for the second speech in cases involving up to 5,000 drachmas when the first speaker was allowed seven choes, and for cases of under 2,000 drachmas in which the first speaker was allowed five choes. Experiment shows that our klepsydra runs for six minutes. It shows also that as the water level falls the stream of water gradually droops so that an experienced speaker could have timed himself with precision. A second inscription painted on the wall of the klepsydra indicates that the vessel belonged to the tribe Antiochis.

After hearing the evidence the members of the jury voted by casting ballots. In earlier times mussel shells (choirinai) had been used as ballots. These were superseded by pebbles (psephoi), a term that continued to be used long after the objects began to be made of bronze, even indeed to the present day in Greece. In the 5th century on any one occasion the ballots were all identical; the juror recorded a vote for acquittal or condemnation by depositing his ballot in one or other of two vessels. By the middle of the 4th century, however, the system had changed to that described by Aristotle (Ath. Pol., 68, 69): “The ballots are bronze with a tube in the middle, half of them pierced, half solid. Those in charge of the ballots, when the speeches have been delivered, give to each jurymen two ballots, one pierced and one solid... There are two amphorae in the court, one of bronze, one of wood, into which the jurymen cast their ballots... The bronze is for the valid, the wooden for the invalid ballots. The bronze amphora has a lid pierced in such a way that only one ballot can go through at a time; thus none can drop in two ballots. When the jury are about to vote the herald first asks whether the parties question the testimony, for it cannot be questioned after they start to vote. Then again the herald proclaims ‘The pierced ballot for the first speaker, the solid one for the second.’ The juror takes the ballots from the stand, holds the tube of the ballot so as not to show either the pierced or the solid end to the contestants and casts the valid ballot into the bronze amphora, the invalid into the wooden amphora. When all have voted, the clerks, taking the valid amphora, empty it on to a counting board which has as many holes as there are ballots; thus having been spread out clearly they are easily counted, and the pierced and the solid are clear to the contestants. Those in charge of the ballots count them on the board, the solid and the pierced separately. Then the herald announces the number of votes, the pierced for the prosecutor, the solid for the defendant.”

Some forty-eight ballots have been found in the Agora (Pl. 40, b). Their shape is unmistakable in the light of Aristotle’s account, but, to make the identification doubly sure, several are inscribed, “official ballot” (psephos demosia). Most are of bronze, five of lead. The majority are datable to the 4th century B.C., but the latest, and especially those of lead, may descend into the 2nd century. A few bear single letters either to designate a jury section, or, more likely, a tribe.

BUILDINGS AT THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE AGORA

When we turn from the furnishings of the courts to search for the buildings that housed them, the picture suddenly goes out of focus. The literary evidence, as we have seen, leaves no reasonable doubt that law courts did indeed exist in the Agora; but in no case does this evidence afford a clue as to the precise location of any specific court. The most helpful indication is provided by the furnishings, above all by a concentration of such found among the ruins of earlier buildings beneath the north part of the Stoa of Attalos. These buildings are so ruinous that their interpretation is difficult and at many points dubious, but there is good reason to believe that the northeast corner of the Agora was occupied by law courts from at least the late 5th century B.C. until the construction of the Stoa of Attalos in the middle of the 2nd century.

We may begin by looking down into a room that came to light beneath the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos toward its north end (Pl. 40, c). Only the northwest corner of the room remains. The walls were of sundried brick on socles of rubble masonry which alone remains. The inner face of the wall was plastered with brown clay, and the floor too was surfaced

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with clay. Toward one side of the room two re-used water channels of terracotta stand upright, their lower ends firmly imbedded in the clay flooring. Their height is 0.60 m. On the floor between the channels lay five bronze ballots, a bronze token, and a bronze ball; a sixth ballot was found near by on the floor (Pl. 40, b). The water channels as they are now arranged could scarcely have served as a container; we may assume rather that they supported a tabletop of wood or stone on which suitable containers would have rested. The few objects found on the floor presumably fell by chance and were overlooked at the time, in the second half of the 4th century B.C., when the room was abandoned. The evidence of this compact group of dikastic equipment is supported by the discovery elsewhere within the ruins of the same complex of three more ballots and thirteen more tokens. In view of the rarity of such finds we may infer with confidence that law courts had functioned in the area.

The room in which the group of ballots came to light was part of a complex of small structures of irregular shape and size that appear to have sprung up in the northeast corner of the Agora at the time of the Peloponnesian War, perhaps for the accommodation of refugees driven in from the countryside. When the refugees departed at the end of the war the area was enclosed by a substantial wall that bounded a rectangular space measuring about 22 × 41 m. internally with an area of about 900 square meters (Fig. 17, Building A). Very little of the wall remains: a few blocks of its foundations in the south and west sides, elsewhere the imprint of its plundered masonry. The enclosed area was undoubtedly open to the sky, but we have no indication of the height or nature of the surrounding wall. In the south side toward the southwest corner are the bases of two columns that will have supported a porch in front of an entrance. On the construction of the enclosure most of the "refugee shelters" were demolished, but one at least, that in which the group of ballots was found, was retained for the needs of the courts. The courts presumably met in the western part of the enclosure. A number of small foundations placed in alignment with the east, south and north walls of the enclosure imply the insertion of colonnades at a later date though still within the 4th century.

From the southwest corner of the rectangular enclosure a wall ran in a northwesterly direction in a line more or less parallel to the Panathenaic Way. This wall presumably intersected the westward continuation of the north wall of the first enclosure to bound a triangular area measuring about 200 square meters (Building B).

To the east of Building A are a number of scattered and ruinous foundations which may derive from one or from two structures. Most probably they were parts of a single complex which had been enlarged. For convenience we may group them together under the name of Building C. This structure was closed on the north by a wall bordering the main road where it was overlaid in succession by the north walls of the Square Peristyle (see below) and of the Stoa of Attalos. To the south of this wall and parallel to it is a row of square bases which presumably supported a narrow colonnade. The south side of Building C was closed by a curious barrier consisting of a row of eleven columns set at intervals of about 2.70 meters. Between the columns are remnants of a screen wall built of rubble masonry. The height of the screen cannot be fixed, but presumably it stopped short of the horizontal member which may be assumed to have rested on the columns; otherwise the use of the columns would seem pointless. In at least two of the intercolumnar spaces the screen was pierced by doorways. To the south of this barrier was a level terrace about 3 ½ meters wide bordered by a row of holes for small wooden posts rectangular in section. These posts presumably supported a rope or a barrier of other light material to prevent unauthorized persons from approaching too closely. Toward the southeast corner of the establishment was an entrance protected by a porch of two columns. The internal arrangements are obscure, having been for the most part obliterated by later construction. At least part of the area was roofed since fragments of Lakonian roof tiles have been
found among its ruins, a couple of them designated by painted inscriptions as "public property" (demosios). Other fragments bear a few tantalizing letters which may have given the name of the building.¹⁶⁸

At an interval of about 17 meters to the south of Building A are the remains of an east-to-west wall bordered on its north side by a water channel which was punctuated at intervals by

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¹⁶⁸ Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 60.
stone basins set down in the ground. Very slight indications suggest that this wall formed the north side of another rectangular enclosure, Building D, only slightly smaller in area than Building A. The gravelled surface between the two large enclosures was very heavily worn by foot traffic.

Of these various structures Building A may be dated on ceramic evidence to the end of the 5th or the beginning of the 4th century. Building B would appear to be closely contemporary. The northern part of Building C is as early or more likely somewhat earlier than its large neighbor Building A, but the southern part is certainly no earlier than the third quarter of the 4th century. To approximately the same period may be assigned the southern rectangular enclosure, Building D.

All these structures were put together out of second-hand material, and all, so far as one can judge from their remains, were of shoddy construction. Yet there can be no reasonable doubt that the whole group is to be associated with the courts. Their lack of architectural pretensions is in keeping with the literary evidence which indicates that in Athens a court of law might hold its sessions almost anywhere: in a building of its own, in a public building that normally served other purposes, or simply "by the walls." Also in accord with the general tenor of the literary testimonia is the presence in convenient proximity to one another of meeting places of assorted sizes; our smaller enclosures might have accommodated juries of 200, the larger could have held panels of 500. The peculiar open construction indicated for the wall on at least one and probably both of the long sides of Building C readily explains the many references in the speeches of the orators to the citizens who could stand around the courtroom hearing and seeing without entering. The existence of a light outer barrier along the south flank of that same building, if indeed the rectangular postholes are to be so interpreted, would also accord with literary tradition according to which the bystanders were on occasion, especially when the case concerned the Mysteries, kept at a distance by a rope. One regrets the lack of any indication from the ruins of seating or of the other furnishings proper to the courts. But we know from the authors that the seats consisted of wooden benches; even the kleroteria in pre-Hellenistic times were of wood so that their complete disappearance need not be surprising.

One is tempted to search for specific names for individual structures of the group. The individual court for which a location in the Agora is best attested is the one mentioned in a speech by Antiphon (V, 10–11) about 424–415 B.C. This court was almost certainly the Parabyston, which is known to have been presided over by the committee called "The Eleven"; in it were tried thieves and other petty criminals who had been caught in the act. From the same passage in Antiphon one may infer that the court on that occasion was a roofed building. The meaning of the word "Parabyston" taxed the ingenuity of later commentators. According to the most plausible interpretation the word was used of something small thrust in beside or crowded against something big, as, for instance, a trundle bed set against a regular bed. This literary evidence might be applied to Building C of our complex; but such evidence, alas, falls short of proof.

Another of the courts about the physical aspect of which we know something was the Trigono, the Triangle, so named, according to the unanimous testimony of the commentators, from its shape. The earliest references to the Trigonon are in authors of the second half of the 4th century.
century B.C. If we are right in identifying the triangular enclosure, Building B, as a court, it becomes a good candidate for the name.

The informal disposition and the shabby construction of the old buildings at the northeast corner of the Agora must have seemed repugnant to a generation that had seen various other civic buildings assume monumental form: the Theater of Dionysos, the Assembly Place on the Pnyx, the Panathenaic Stadium, the Naval Arsenal in Peiræus. It is not surprising, therefore, that at some time in the latter part of the 4th century B.C. a plan was conceived for replacing the whole group of very miscellaneous old structures with one large new building (Fig. 18, Pl. 6).

The program had a good beginning under an outstanding architect, but then it faltered, presumably because public works had a lower priority than national defense. Some parts of the structure were finished in a very frugal fashion; other parts were not even begun. Much of the building, nevertheless, was carried to the point where it could be used, and in this condition it continued in service into the 2nd century B.C.

The new building was simple and clear-cut in its overall plan: a great square peristyle comprising a central courtyard measuring 38.75 m. to the side, bordered on all four sides by colonnades with the generous width of 8.60 meters. There was to have been a monumental entrance in the west side, i.e. from the side of the Agora square, and a simple doorway in the opposite wall; neither was ever finished. The earthen floor of the court sloped very gently down from
south to north, and the rain water was carried off through two drains beneath the north colonnade. The outer wall was of brick. The colonnades surrounding the court were built of hard limestone, in the Doric order, and, for their period, they were of excellent quality (Pl. 40, a). Water was made available in a cistern beneath the south colonnade. The cistern was supplied by a pipeline coming down from the south; water was drawn from manholes, one in the south colonnade and one near the southeast corner of the court.

A combination of evidence makes altogether probable a continuity in function between the group of old buildings and the Square Peristyle. In the first place the new building was set down directly over the site of the old, and its area was very close to the combined areas of its predecessors. An effort was made to provide for the functions of the old buildings while the new was under construction by setting up within the courtyard of the new a section of column-and-parapet barrier evidently taken from one of the old structures which had been demolished. Both the old complex and the Square Peristyle were approached chiefly from the side of the Agora proper, but each was accessible also through a secondary entrance on the east side. In the southeast corner of the court of the Square Peristyle the excavation brought to light a series of postholes in alignment with the colonnades. The wooden posts stood about 0.90 meters, or three feet, from the stylobate on which the columns rested, one post opposite the mid point between each pair of columns. In all likelihood these posts supported a rope barrier encircling the courtyard, its purpose, no doubt, to control access to the colonnades. The arrangement is thus reminiscent of that which flanked the south side of Building C. The ready availability of water is another point in common between the old and the new establishments.

Thus we may conclude with some assurance that the Square Peristyle, like its predecessors, was designed for the use of law courts. We may assume that individual courts functioned simultaneously in the various colonnades. Since each of the colonnades offered approximately 370 square meters of clear floor space between columns and back wall each could have accommodated a court of 500 jurors. That a court could meet in a stoa is evident from the known fact that courts did meet in the Stoa Poikile (p. 98). Beyond this we cannot at present venture.

The style of its architecture and the associated pottery suggest for the start of work on the Square Peristyle a date in the neighborhood of 325 B.C.,173 a little late to have been seen by Aristotle before writing his Constitution of the Athenians. On the other hand the group of earlier buildings on this site, though they would qualify in date, seem altogether too informal and irregular to be identified with the series of law courts (dikasteria) to which Aristotle repeatedly refers in his discussion of the courts. That series, it seems, is still to be found or recognized.

A second concentration of equipment proper to law courts was observed by the excavators in the area to the south of the Tholos, just outside the official limits of the Agora.74 Here was found the terracotta water clock noted above, as also a number of ballots, tokens and bronze balls. Several small buildings of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. had stood here before the area was cleared for the Middle Stoa in the 2nd century B.C. None of them, however, stands out as suitable for a law court. They may nevertheless have contained storerooms for the equipment of the law courts. We must also reckon with the possibility that certain items of equipment, such as kleroteria, water clocks and ballots, might have been used in the Bouleuterion as well as in the law courts.

173 One of the clearest indications of the date of the Square Peristyle was the discovery in its construction filling of a stele bearing a law against tyranny passed in 336/5 B.C. (I 6524; Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 355–359, no. 5; XXII, 1953, p. 129; our Pl. 53, a). The stele was probably taken down when the Macedonians occupied Athens in 322 B.C. and put out of sight by being thrown into the earth fill of a building then under construction. The stele when found in 1952 was remarkably fresh.

THE HELIAIA

We turn next to a building in which no dikastic equipment has been found but which by virtue of its design and location invites consideration in our present enquiry. This is the large rectangular structure at the southwest corner of the early Agora (Fig. 19, Pls. 5, 41, a).\textsuperscript{175} Rising on high ground at the junction of important north-to-south and east-to-west roads the building was exceedingly prominent until the 2nd century B.C. when it was incorporated in the South Square. In its original form the structure was a walled enclosure, not quite a true rectangle in plan, with interior measurements of about 26.50 \times 31 meters yielding an area of about 821 square meters. An earthen floor sloped down gently from south to north assuring natural drainage. The principal entrance was in the middle of the north side; a lesser doorway opened near the middle of the east side. The enclosure wall stood on a stepped foundation across the north side, elsewhere on a rough packing of limestone (Pl. 42, b); enough of the foundation remains in place to make the plan certain. The visible wall was built of squared blocks of Aeginetan limestone (Fig. 20). It was topped by a saddle-shaped crowning member with a projecting cornice on either side (Pl. 42, a). On one side the soffit of the cornice was adorned with a hawksbeak bed moulding delicately painted. We have no clue to the height of the wall. It was presumably high enough to keep out intruders, and its height may have been greater on the south side where the roadway outside the enclosure was about 11/2 meters higher than the floor inside. Of this wall only a few scattered blocks survive; all are unmistakable because of their material, dimensions and outstandingly fine workmanship.

\textsuperscript{175} Guide\textsuperscript{a}, pp. 106–108, no. 55, pp. 206, 312 (bibliography).
On the evidence of associated pottery and the profile of its cornice moulding the enclosure wall may be dated at the beginning of the 5th century B.C. Its orientation is identical with that of the earlier buildings beneath the Old Bouleuterion. The very considerable mass of soft bedrock that was removed to level the interior of the enclosure may well be the filling that was employed to bring up the ground level in the area where the Old Bouleuterion was to be erected a few years later.\[176\]

By a process of elimination one is virtually driven to the conclusion that this enclosure was a law court, indeed the largest and most famous of them all, viz. the Heliaia before which were tried the most important cases affecting the public.\[177\] It does in fact meet the requirements of the literary evidence which calls for an enclosure as old at least as the middle of the 5th century and large enough to allow as many as 1500 jurors to sit together under the open sky. In its position our building happily balanced the early meeting place of the Council of Five Hundred, the Old Bouleuterion. In the early times of which we are now speaking the general assembly of the whole citizen body, the Ekklesia, undoubtedly still held its meetings in the

\[176\] *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, pp. 4, 120 (fig. 64), 134.

\[177\] On the Heliaia as both institution and building cf. Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, II, pp. 359–365; Wycherley, *Agora*, III, pp. 145f. The recent proposal (*Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, pp. 40–48) to identify the rectangular enclosure with the principal sanctuary of Theseus is less plausible than the identification with the Heliaia that was put forward when the building was first cleared (*Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, p. 38). Particularly damaging to the heroon hypothesis has been the failure to find any indication of a repository for the relics of the hero. The Theseion is presumably to be sought in areas still unexcavated to the east of the Agora (p. 125).
Agora and toward the southwest corner of the square. It would have been proper for the two major representative bodies, the Council for legislation, the Heliaia for the enforcement of the laws, to be accommodated in convenient proximity to one another and to the meeting place of the Ekklesia. Another parallelism may be noted. The Prytaneis who presided over the meetings of the Council had their office and dining facilities in the near-by Tholos. Elsewhere we shall find reason to believe that the Thesmothetai who presided over the meetings of the Heliaia had corresponding accommodations in South Stoa I which rose near the east side of our enclosure (pp. 77–78).

In the course of its long history the Heliaia underwent many alterations. One of the first major changes is to be dated in the 4th century B.C., probably its third quarter. At that time a series of rooms was inserted in the west side of the original enclosure; they were provided with a light colonnade that faced on the remaining unroofed area. Water was piped in from the adjacent aqueduct to a deep basin in one of the western rooms. The construction of the rooms necessitated the removal of the crowning member from the wall on the west side of the enclosure. A number of the distinctive crowning blocks were re-used at this time in the foundations for the south part of Building C at the northeast corner of the Agora.

Fig. 21. Water Clock in front of Heliaia, from Northeast (J. Travlos)
At about this same time, certainly within the 4th century, a water clock was installed against the north wall of the Heliaia toward the northwest corner of the building (Fig. 21, Pl. 41, b). It was activated by water drawn from the great stone aqueduct. Situated as it was beside one of the principal entrances to the Agora the timepiece must have been a convenience for the public in general, but its location may well have been determined in part at least by the need of precise timing in the administration of the courts (p. 202).

The next major event in the architectural history of the Heliaia involved the roofing of the remaining part of the old enclosure. This area was almost exactly square in plan, and the roof was supported internally by a peristyle centered in the square space. The corners of the peristyle consisted not of columns but of L-shaped sections of wall; this implies that the central part of the roof was elevated in the form of a lantern the better to illuminate the interior of the building (Fig. 22, Pls. 7, 11, 12, b, 18, a). This operation appears to have been carried out in the middle of the 2nd century B.C.

**The South Square**

Likewise in the 2nd century, in the course of its second and third quarters, a dramatic change occurred in the setting of the Heliaia. The old building was incorporated in a great new complex which is most prudently designated as the South Square (Fig. 22, Pls. 7, 18, 43). In addition to the Heliaia this square comprised the Middle Stoa, the East Building, and South

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Stoa II. The buildings were erected in that sequence. South Stoa I of the late 5th century B.C. was demolished to make way for South Stoa II. That the South Square is to be regarded as an extension of the Heliaia may be inferred from the facts that the new complex took its orientation from the old building and that there is an organic bond between the Heliaia and South Stoa II.\(^\text{179}\)

The program for the construction of the South Square was carefully coordinated with a drastic reorganization of the northeast corner of the Agora which involved the demolition of the Square Peristyle and the erection of the Stoa of Attalos. The latest element of the South Square, viz. South Stoa II, was built almost entirely of material taken from the Square Peristyle; a little material from the same source is to be found in the East Building, none in the Middle Stoa. We may infer that the Square Peristyle was left intact only until such time as enough new accommodation became available in the South Square; it was then demolished to provide material for the later phases of the new program and to make way for the Stoa of Attalos. Such coordination implies a continuity in function. The argument is strengthened by a striking uniformity in width among the colonnades of the Square Peristyle, the Middle Stoa, and South Stoa II. In all three buildings the width is 8½ m. or more, a remarkably wide span for one-aisled colonnades in Athens.

There is also evidence of coordination between the construction of the South Square and the demolition of the old buildings to the south of the Tholos. Work on the Middle Stoa began at the east end and proceeded westward to a point just short of the group of old buildings. On the completion of the main part of the Middle Stoa the old buildings were razed and the west end of the Stoa was erected. This too suggests some functional relationship, and we have already found reason to believe that this group of old buildings had served the courts in some way (p. 61).

On the assumption that the South Square was indeed designed for the use of the law courts we may suppose that the actual sessions took place in the two great stoas while the East Building will have contained an entrance lobby with the necessary control on admission. The west end of the square was closed by a wall.

The Middle Stoa, a Doric building with columns on all four sides and a screen wall on its long axis, appears to have served both the main square to the north and the lesser square to the south. The three stumps of columns that remain in place at the east end retain traces of a parapet between the columns. A similar parapet may be restored at the west end. Dowel holes in the sides of about one-half of the many surviving drums from the flank colonnades attest screens also on the flanks, but their extent is uncertain. The screening was probably confined to a certain length at each end of each flank. For tentative restorations cf. Figs. 22, 23, Pls. 7, 8, 12, 13, 44, b. Between the top of the parapet and the epistyle was a spacious window in each intercolumnar space. This, in short, is an elegant version of the type of closure that we have already found in one of the early court buildings at the northeast corner of the Agora. In the stoa it assured privacy together with good lighting and ventilation.

In its present state the Middle Stoa is far from prepossessing. At its east end, to be sure, the stumps of three columns still rise above the three-stepped krepidoma that originally carried all around the great building (Pl. 43, b). But elsewhere one sees only the well picked bones of

\(^{179}\) Earlier proposals for the identification of the South Square as a “commercial Agora” (Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 35–38) or as the Gymnasium of Ptolemy (Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 40–48) seem less plausible than the view outlined above. Cf. also Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 362f. In any case neither the history nor the function of the South Square can be considered apart from that of its neighbor, the great rectangular enclosure. The Ptolemaion, like the Theseion, is presumably still to be found to the east of the Agora.

Valuable evidence for the dating of the building is provided by the vast number of stamped amphora handles recovered from its construction fill, the end date of which “seems to fall in the second decade of the 2nd century” (V. Grace, Dèlos, XXVII, 1970, pp. 286, 381 f.).
a vast skeleton. Even in its pristine form the building was modest in all respects except scale. Steps, columns, entablature and screen walls were of poros from Aigina. Marble occurs only in two places: blue for the gutter along the south side of the stoa and white for its metopes. The entablature was further enlivened by the free use of paint both on the stone parts and on the terracotta sima (Pl. 44, a). The columns were left smooth, nor were they ever meant to be fluted. The floor throughout the building was of clay. Although unpretentious in the choice of materials, the building is marked by craftsmanship of a high order.

As in most great stoas of the Hellenistic period the terrace of the Middle Stoa formed an integral and important part of the design. With a clear width of about five meters the terrace extended from the east end of the building to a point six meters short of its west end; the corner was left open to reduce interference with traffic at this busy entrance to the Agora. The extreme west end of the terrace was occupied by a monument base which from its shape and dimensions may be assumed to have carried a four-horse chariot group (Fig. 23). Since at this point the floor of the terrace lay about four meters above the floor of the square, the monument was one of the most prominent in the whole Agora. It probably suffered in the sack of 86 B.C. In any event the pedestal was eventually dismantled to free the way for traffic ascending to the terrace over a stairway set into the previously open corner (Pl. 44, b). The immediate reason for this change was perhaps the construction of the Odeion in the time of Augustus; this building, as we shall see, was entered chiefly from the terrace of the Middle Stoa which accordingly needed to be made more readily accessible (p. 111).

The architectural style of the Middle Stoa, combined with the evidence of a vast quantity of pottery, stamped amphora handles and coins from its construction fill, points to a date late in the first quarter of the second century B.C. for the start of construction. The building was

Fig. 23. Middle Stoa, West End in Original Form, from Northwest (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.)
finished with the closing of its west end soon after the middle of the same century. The city of Athens is not likely to have undertaken such a costly project at this time. A number of technical features in the construction appear, moreover, to be foreign to Athenian practice; they suggest the intervention of an outside architect or even outside craftsmen as is demonstrably the case in the Stoa of Attalos. Another parallel with the Stoa of Attalos is provided by the monument base at the end of the terrace. In each case the monument is contemporary with the building. The pedestal in front of the Stoa of Attalos certainly carried a quadriga; that on the terrace of the Middle Stoa in all probability bore a similar group. There is every reason to believe that in the case of the Attalos stoa it was the princely donor of the building who was honored by the monument. One is therefore justified in suspecting that some foreign benefactor, presumably another Hellenistic prince well disposed toward Athens, was the author of the Middle Stoa. But we do not as yet have the evidence to choose among several possible candidates.\footnote{For gifts to Athens from the Hellenistic princes cf. W. S. Ferguson, \textit{Hellenistic Athens}, London, 1911, pp. 278-311; M. Rostovtzeff, \textit{The Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World}, Oxford, 1941, pp. 630-632, 803-807, 1340. The single most illuminating ancient document on the subject of royal munificence is Polybios, V, 88-90, in which are listed the gifts made by various monarchs to Rhodes after the earthquake of 324 B.C. Among Ptolemy's contributions were a hundred master builders and three hundred fifty workmen.}

The bold placing of the Middle Stoa and the fact that it looked south as well as north suggest that at the time when it was begun there was already an intention to create a "South Square" of up-to-date design. Some years elapsed, however, before the next moves were made. Furthermore, the free use of second-hand building material in the two later units, coupled with a lower grade of workmanship, betrays a change of auspices. These later buildings were doubtless constructed by the city of Athens out of its own resources. The sequence was Middle Stoa, East Building, South Stoa II, but let us turn next to the latest.

South Stoa II was a one-aisled Doric colonnade 93 meters in length. The preparation of its site involved not only the demolition of South Stoa I but also extensive rock cutting. In their quarrying operations the workmen encountered heavy seepage of ground water to care for which they were obliged to install an elaborate system of drains beneath the floor of the stoa. The columns rose above a two-stepped krepidoma at intervals of 3.01 m. (10 feet) (Pl. 45, c). The floor measured 8.50 m. in width; it was surfaced with clay. The rear wall was very massive in its lower part where it served as a retaining wall; it was faced with plain masonry of gray poros, unstuccoed. An arched recess in the back wall housed a small fountain which was fed by a pipeline from the great stone aqueduct beneath the ancient road (Fig. 24, Pl. 45, b). Over part of its length at either end the front of the stoa was closed by a screen wall set between the columns. In the easternmost intercolumniation the sill for this screen remains in place on top of the stylobate. Toward the west, where none of the stylobate remains, the one-time existence of a screen between the front columns is to be inferred from the presence of the foundation for a crosswall on the line of the fifth column from the west end of the stoa.\footnote{On the practice of closing a certain number of the intercolumniations at the ends of a stoa, particularly common in the Hellenistic period, cf. R. Martin, \textit{Études Thasiennes}, VI, L'Agora, Paris, 1959, pp. 52f.}

The material for the steps, columns, entablature, and facing of the rear wall of South Stoa II was salvaged from the Square Peristyle at the northeast corner of the Agora. The timber for framing the roof, as well as the roof tiles, probably came from the same source. In one respect the Hellenistic builders thought to improve upon the original work. In the Square Peristyle the columns had been left unfluted because of an interruption in the building program; in South Stoa II, as we know from a small fragment of a base drum, the fluting was at last executed.

The East Building raises some intriguing problems of interpretation, especially since we have only its foundations with which to work. The overall dimensions were 13.80 × 39.80 m. A wall on the main axis of the building separated a single long chamber in the east half from a series
Fig. 24. Fountain in Back Wall of South Stoa II (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.)
of five compartments in the west half. The middle compartment in the west contained a stairway which made good a difference in level of about 1.70 m. between the higher ground to the east of the building and the lower ground in the South Square. Here, evidently, was the formal entrance to the whole complex with which we are dealing. The presence of a spacious terrace along the east front of the East Building indicates that it was used by large numbers of people.

In the long east room, which was floored with a pavement of marble chips, was a series of marble bedding blocks each about 0.90 m. square (Pl. 45, a). Four remain, and the row is to be restored with a total of twelve. In the top of each base, toward the corners, are shallow sockets evidently intended to receive the feet of a piece of wooden furniture, in all likelihood a box or chest of a familiar Greek type. Such containers would correspond with the movable boxes (kibotia) for the reception of the jurors’ name plates (pinakia) as described by Aristotle in his account of the admission of jurors to the law courts (Ath. Pol., 63–66). Since our establishment is two centuries later than Aristotle’s writing, a precise correspondence in procedure is unlikely, and, on the basis of such slight evidence as we have, speculation would be rash. It is of interest, however, that the number of pieces of furniture to be restored in our building corresponds with the number of tribes (twelve) at the time when the building was designed (ca. 150 B.C.).

Of the smaller rooms in the western half of the East Building the one to the south of the central stairway had the plan of an exedra with two columns in its front and a marble bench around the other three sides. The southernmost room of the series was provided with running water which issued from spouts set in the face of the wall. Water, as we have seen, was essential in a law court whether to quench the thirst of the jurors on a summer day or to activate the water clocks. The two northern rooms of the western series have been destroyed by later construction.

The importance of water to the functioning of the South Square is illustrated also by adjustments made in the Southwest Fountain House as the great Hellenistic building program neared its end. In the angle between the west wall of the old Heliaia and the north side of the original fountain house a small chamber was erected in which running water issued through spouts set in the faces of two adjacent walls; the water came from the great aqueduct. This chamber was accessible to those who had been admitted to the South Square, but it was closed to the public by the wall that bounded the west end of the square. The public, however, continued to have access to the main fountain house, through its west side (Figs. 19, 22).

The water clock that had stood for two centuries in front of the old Heliaia was now dismantled. It was presumably replaced by another timepiece in a position more suited to the needs of the enlarged establishment; if so, its new location still eludes us.

Though it may seem strange that such monumental provision should have been made for the law courts long after the great period of Attic oratory, we must remember that juries on the old scale are attested by inscriptions of the 2nd century B.C. Moreover, all the kleroteria that can be dated were made within a period of a few years around the middle of the 2nd century, the very time when the Middle Stoa was coming into use. Fragments of at least four of these kleroteria were found close along the north terrace of the stoa.

In the late 2nd or early 1st century B.C. two buildings were erected near the middle of the South Square. Both have been stripped to their lowest foundations. The more easterly of the

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183 The evidence is particularly clear in the decrees authorizing grants of citizenship to foreigners. The candidate was required by law to undergo a scrutiny by a law court (dikasterion), normally of 501 jurors, summoned by the Thesmothea. Cf. I.G., III 851, 853, 855, 856, 889, 893, 922, 923, 925, 954, 973–982.
184 *Hesperia*, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 41–43. The early Roman date proposed in 1968 is made improbable by the precision with which the larger temple was set midway between the Middle and South Stoa; this is unlikely to have occurred after the devastation of South Stoa II in 86 B.C.
two, which is also the earlier, has the plan of a small peripteral temple; the identification of 
the other is uncertain. Both perished in the Roman sack of 86 B.C. The smaller, western struc-
ture was rebuilt in the 2nd century after Christ, apparently as a temple; the larger shows no 
sign of rebuilding.

The sack of 86 B.C. did grievous damage also to the old Heliaia, to South Stoa II, and to 
the East Building (Pl. 42, c). The Middle Stoa too may have suffered, but its history is not so 
well documented in this period. Through much of the 1st and the early part of the 2nd century 
after Christ the area of the South Square was occupied by small industrial establishments: 
ironworkers, marbleworkers, potters. Then suddenly, toward the middle of the 2nd century, 
the shops were closed and the area was made presentable. The old Heliaia and the East Build-
ing were rebuilt (Pl. 42, d). The south wall of South Stoa II was repaired, but only to serve 
as a southern limit to the square; the stoa itself was not rebuilt. Nor was the Southwest Foun-
tain House ever restored. The history of the area appears to run parallel to that of the Pome-
peon by the Dipylon. Here as there we may assume that the rehabilitated buildings resumed 
their original function, though in the case of the South Square on a much reduced scale. Pau-
sanias, who presumably saw the area after its rehabilitation, included the Heliaia in his cata-
logue of the law courts of Athens in such a way as to imply that it was still functioning in his 
day (I, 28, 8).

**Other Buildings used by the Courts**

On the eastern slope of Kolonos Agoraioi in front of the Temple of Hephaistos is a flight of 
four long benches of soft poros (Pls. 5, 68, a). They were laid out after the Temple of He-
phaistos but probably before the Stoa of Zeus and surely before the splendid view of the Agora 
which they commanded was blocked by the Temple of Apollo and the Hellenistic Metroon. A 
date soon after the middle of the 5th century is indicated. The benches are approximately 40 
meters in length so that the four might have seated about 400 persons. The suggestion has 
been made that this was a meeting place for a law court, perhaps the one that inspired the 
scene in Aristophanes' *Wasps*, 387–394. In any structure that was designed as a law court, 
however, we should expect some permanent means of assuring privacy; of this there is no trace 
on Kolonos. On the whole it seems more probable that the seats were built for the convenience 
of dignitaries watching events in the Agora. This is not, of course, to rule out the possibility 
that the benches may also have been used on occasion by a court.

That certain courts did in fact meet at times in buildings that were not designed primarily 
for their use is well attested by the ancient authors and inscriptions. One such building was 
the Odeion of Perikles, employed in the later 5th and in the 4th century B.C. especially for 
cases involving alimony. Among buildings of the Agora the Stoa Poikile is mentioned re-
peatedly in the period about 350–330 B.C. as a meeting place for boards of arbitration and for 
law courts. That stoas and regular law courts had something in common may be inferred 
from a statement by Praxagora in Aristophanes' *Ecclesiazusae* (675ff.); for the needs of her 
socialist state she will turn all the law courts and stoas into dining rooms.

Finally, we should keep in mind the possibility that the Basilica at the northeast corner of 
the Agora (pp. 23, 234), like the basilicas of Rome and other cities of the Empire, served among

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190 Aristophanes, *Wasps*, 1109; Ps. Demosthenes, LIx, 52; Pollux, VIII, 33; Bekker, Anecdota Graeca, I, 317,31–318,2; 
191 Demosthenes, XLV, 17 (arbitration); I.G., II², 1641, lines 25–33; 1670, lines 34–35. Cf. Diogenes Laertius, VII, 5; the 
Thirty in 403 B.C. did away with 1400 citizens in the Stoa Poikile.
other purposes as a meeting place for law courts.\textsuperscript{191} Nor is it impossible that law courts had continued to exist around this corner of the Agora since their well attested appearance there in the 4th century B.C.

To sum up: the excavations have confirmed the impression given by the comic poets that the law courts were ubiquitous. "This is Athens" says the Student in Aristophanes' \textit{Clouds} (207); "I don't believe it" replies Strepsiades, "for I see no juries in session." We have learned too that buildings of widely different architectural design might be used by the courts. The structures might be open to the sky or roofed, with a definite tendency as time went on for more shelter to be provided. The stoa type that combined the protection of a roof with the free movement of air assured by the colonnade seems to have been especially popular; it eventually became the dominant form. The furnishings from the law courts found in the excavations range in date, like the buildings, from the 5th into the 2nd century B.C. The new material both confirms and elucidates the references in the ancient authors; in so doing it enlivens our conception of this exceedingly prominent department of ancient Athenian life.

THE MAGISTRATES AND BOARDS

EARLY OFFICE BUILDINGS

We have noted (p. 47) Aristotle's statement that the archons, formerly scattered in the Prytaneion and other buildings, were brought together in the time of Solon in the Thesmophorion. One can well believe that the magistrates on whom, by a process of fragmentation, the powers of the early kings devolved occupied sundry peculiar places assigned to them because of ancient traditions, and that later they were provided for more systematically and conveniently. Much was attributed to Solon which more probably belonged to a later age; it may be that he took some important step in this matter, but in any case the process continued. Magistrates multiplied as democratic government developed and became more sophisticated; the Athenians believed firmly in the principle that a wide distribution and rotation of office and responsibilities were both just and effective,\textsuperscript{192} a cynic might have taken the view that an ancient version of the Law of Parkinson was at work. By the 5th century there were numerous boards, normally composed of ten men, chosen to deal with the various departments of administration, notably finance. Amongst the senior magistrates the weight of authority shifted from period to period. Originally the archons were supreme; then the strategoi came into prominence as political as well as military figures; in the 4th century the chief financial officers exercised a dominant influence.\textsuperscript{193}

All these bodies, with their appropriate secretaries and treasurers, needed synedria\textsuperscript{194} or meeting places in which to discuss their business. There must have been a number of buildings used for this purpose around the Agora, especially in the region of the archeia, to the southwest; they are difficult to recognize, since for these as for many Athenian buildings of the earlier periods no fixed architectural type had been created, but several have been identified with some probability.


\textsuperscript{192} See for example A. H. M. Jones, \textit{Athenian Democracy}, pp. 100ff.

\textsuperscript{193} Ibid., p. 129. For boards of magistrates in addition to those mentioned here see pp. 78, 197 below. Special commissions too were elected on occasion.

\textsuperscript{194} On the term \textit{synedrion}, which seems to be fluid and to have different meanings in different contexts, see J. H. S., LXXV, 1965, pp. 118-131; \textit{Agora}, III, pp. 126-128; for another example of the versatility of the word (here used in connection with the Prytaneion) see S.N. Koumanoudes, \textit{Nesøν Ασίβνον}, III, 1958-1960, pp. 3-6, note 1. Note also \textit{Hesperia}, Supplement XII, pp. 35-38.
An example is a large structure which stands southwest of the Tholos, west of the important street which led out from the Agora in this direction (Pls. 5, 13, b).\(^{195}\) The archeia may have extended for some distance along both sides of this street. The building consists of an irregular enclosure 26 m. long and about 21 m. wide; the interior arrangements are not entirely clear, but there seems to have been an open courtyard, containing a cistern in the northern part and several rooms on either side of a passage in the southern. Extensive cutting back of the rock was necessary to prepare the site. Squared blocks of whitish poros were used in the outer walls, small pieces of Acropolis limestone in the inner. The building was probably erected soon after the middle of the 5th century;\(^{196}\) it continued in use till Roman times. The area to the north seems to have served as a kind of forecourt. At its northwest corner was a small rectangular building, perhaps a shrine, of uncertain date; and opposite this, facing the street to the east, a tetrastyle Doric propylon was built in the time of Augustus.\(^{197}\)

The most likely function for the main building was to serve as government offices, and since it was so substantial it probably housed a very important board. The strategoi or generals have been suggested as its occupants, and the suggestion, reasonable in itself, has a little epigraphical support. A decree of 271/0 b.c.;\(^{198}\) honoring the taxiarxes (tribal commanders of infantry), to be set up “in front of the strategion,” has been found near the west end of the Middle Stoa, not far east of our building; and other decrees in honor of military men, in which the same formula is read or can be restored, come from the southwestern quarter of the Agora.\(^{199}\) A certain Heros Strategos was worshipped at Athens, and a dedication to him has been found just east of the Metroon;\(^{200}\) the Strategion would be a likely place for the cult, and the forecourt with its little shrine(?) may have provided a precinct for the Hero.

Plutarch\(^{201}\) gives us a pathetic picture of Nikias in the Strategion, deferring to Sophokles on grounds of seniority, refusing invitations to dinner, and working in his office till nightfall. Aischines (II, 85) tells how Philip’s ambassadors administered an oath to Athens’ allies in the building. “If I had then behaved as you say, Demosthenes,” he continues, “would you not have filled the Agora with your shouting and screaming?” This implies that the Strategion was a large building very near the Agora. The suggested identification cannot be proved; but perhaps in any case we may recognize the kind of accommodation which the Athenians in the 5th century provided for important magistrates.

Another public office which probably stood in the southwestern quarter is that of the Pole- tae,\(^{202}\) the magistrates who were concerned with various public sales, for example of confiscated property. No particular structural remains can be associated with the Poleterion, but many fragments of inscriptions recording the leases of the silver mines of Laurion have been unearthed in the southwestern area,\(^{203}\) and this business came within the province of the Pole-tai.
Other archeia may have stood near the Strategion, on the opposite side of the same street. This area, forming a triangle with its apex pointing north towards the Agora square and defined on either side by diverging streets, was cleared and left open in the Hellenistic period when the new stoas in the southern part of the square were built (p. 66). Earlier it was occupied by buildings whose confused foundations have been found, and which may have been houses or shops or offices or all three; such a mixture would be very Athenian. At the extreme northern tip of the area, near the very boundary stone of the Agora, was the house of Simon the cobbler (p. 174). Further south the plan of three structures which appear to be public offices rather than houses can be discerned. They are ranged round the north, west and south sides of a sort of court. The western building faced the Strategion across the street and contained eight rooms in two rows.204

Some distance still further to the southwest, amongst the houses in the valley northwest of the Areopagus (p. 174, Pl. 3), another problematical building has come to light which has much in common with the Strategion.205 It is usually called the “Poros Building” because of the large blocks of this stone found in the scanty remains of its foundations. The plan was irregular; the north end, probably with the main entrance, faced “Peiraeus Street,” which ran east to west and crossed the Great Drain by a bridge at this point (p. 195); the long west side followed the line of the drain.206 The building was probably erected about the middle of the 5th century B.C., to judge by pottery and ostraka found in the filling used to prepare the site; with modifications it continued in existence until late in the 1st century B.C., after which the site was occupied by houses. The southern part was probably a courtyard; there is no trace of supports to suggest that it was a roofed hall. From this a passage ran northwards, flanked by rooms, five on the west, only three on the east; at the northeast corner was a kind of annex, with four rooms, somewhat loosely attached (Fig. 40).

Various possible uses have been suggested. The building might have been a synoikia,207 an apartment house in which individual rooms could be rented; but there is no evidence of this; in particular there is no contemporary well or other provision for water supply. One wonders if it was a law court; but the main space would accommodate only a small jury, and it is difficult to name a purpose for so many separate rooms.208 On the whole it seems likely that not only the Strategion but this building too provided quarters for magistrates. Yet it is somewhat detached from the general body of the archeia and the Agora. At the end of the 5th century it suffered severe damage; for a while some of the local marbleworkers moved in (p. 177); they have left evidence of their trade in the northwest room, the corridor, and the annex. The problems in which we are involved are complicated by the possibility that Athenian citizens played Cox and Box in these buildings; and no doubt some boards of officials changed their quarters from time to time.

Magistrates made use of the stoas on occasion, as we shall see. One of them, the Basileus, gave his name to the Stoa Basileios, where he conducted religious and legal business; but presumably he had a more private office along with the other archons in the Thesmotheteion.

**South Stoa I**

An effective way of furnishing magistrates with dignified quarters was to place their offices behind a handsome colonnade. From the end of the 5th century onwards buildings of this type became common in the Greek cities; they were used for both political and commercial pur-

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206 The building is 37.56 m. long and 16.50 m. wide at the south; the courtyard measures 11.60 m. from north to south.
207 *See Hesperia*, XX, 1951, p. 184.
208 *Ibid.*; several bronze dikaste’ tickets have been found in the area.
poses. At Athens South Stoa I was built towards the end of the 5th century; it is perhaps the first example of a two-aisled stoa with rooms behind (Fig. 19, Pls. 5, 46, a). Since the row of rooms formed its most important and distinctive feature, and since the evidence now shows that they were used as magistrates' offices, the building can best be described in the present context.

It occupied a large part of the southern edge of the Agora, on rising ground with a fine view over the whole area. Behind it were the streets and houses on the slopes leading up to the Areopagus.

The remains first came to light in 1936, but final investigation has only recently been completed. Nearly half the building, north of its southwest-northeast diagonal, had been obliterated when the site was being prepared for the Hellenistic South Stoa II. However, the main lines of the plan and many of the details are now sufficiently clear. The total depth of the building was a little less than 15 m.; the length is not precisely determined, but it must have been slightly more than 80 m. Thus the plan illustrates the tendency to build stoas of ever greater length, a tendency which was carried much further in the succeeding centuries. The number of rooms behind the double colonnade was fifteen, not counting a very narrow room which probably served as a vestibule.

The ground plan is clear enough. The elevation is more problematical. Recent investigation strongly suggests that part at least of the building carried an upper storey. In particular, the street on the south, rising from west to east, would have come into conflict in an intolerable manner with the rear cornice at the east end if there had been only one storey. A monument base, erected soon after the construction of the stoa, stood against the back wall, opposite the crosswall between Rooms III and IV; it may well mark the position of an entrance, since street level and upper floor level closely approximate at this point. What form the presumed upper storey took can only be conjectured; no structural elements from it have been recognized (this is not surprising since the materials must have been mainly brick and timber). Perhaps there was a continuous gallery rather than another row of individual rooms. The colonnade itself cannot have carried an upper range; the diameter of the inner columns shows that they were higher than the outer, and this excludes the possibility of a horizontal floor above. In material, design and craftsmanship the stoa lacks the distinction of the Stoa of Zeus; its construction had a certain shoddy and makeshift character. Obviously it was a utilitarian building, erected perhaps when funds were running low and the creative effort of the preceding years had almost spent itself.

The foundations, which show some carelessness in construction, and the lower part of the walls were of soft grayish poros (Pl. 46, a). The upper part of the walls was in unbaked brick, of which some sections still survive, except for the back wall, which had to support the road behind and was no doubt of stone throughout. The outer columns stood on a poros stylobate, of which several blocks survive. The configuration of the ground also called for a terrace in front of the stoa, but of this nothing remains. Beddings for the columns indicate that they were not fluted. A fragment of plain white stucco with appropriate curvature was found in the ruins of the building, and from it one may infer that the shafts were of poros covered with stucco so as to resemble marble. A fragment of a Doric capital is in the same soft gray

210 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 28-29; XXIII, 1954, pp. 39-45; XXXV, 1966, p. 47; further investigations in 1966 have added a number of details and established that the number of rooms was 15; Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 43-56.
211 Some blocks of conglomerate in the front walls of the eastern rooms are probably due to later patching. The ground level was nearly 3 m. lower at the west end and it is possible that a terrace was built to give a level area in front of the stoa.
212 The stone masonry of the partition walls, which are 0.45 m. thick, is stepped up towards the back so as to buttress the back wall more effectively.
The foundations of five inner columns are in situ at the east end, each consisting of a single block. Their order is uncertain; one assumes that their spacing of 3.49 m. is twice that of the outer row. The inner columns numbered 22, the outer 45. The rooms were about 4.86 m. square inside; at least that seems to be their basic size; there are slight variations in width even in the eastern rooms, and in the western there is consistently a small reduction, as if the little anteroom had been inserted as an afterthought during construction, the space being provided by reducing the width of these rooms. Each of the rooms for which we have evidence, except the eighth from the east, was entered from the colonnade through a two-leaved door, set not in the center of the wall but towards the east. The floors were of hard-packed brown clay, renewed from time to time; sometimes a thin wash of white clay was added. The doorways were about 1.20 m. wide; they had wooden frames, and beneath the wooden threshold a gap was left in the stone foundation for drainage. The eighth room from the east was given special treatment— it was entered through a narrow anteroom on its east side; the opening in the wall between this and the main room apparently had no door, but there was a door between anteroom and colonnade. Thus a small suite was formed comparable with what we find in the andron or men's dining room in many of the contemporary houses of Olynthos.

The back of the Stoa, like the buildings to east and west, took the line of the very ancient street which bordered the Agora on the south (p. 192). A narrow passageway with a stepped ramp led down from this street to the Agora at either end; and at a later phase in the life of the stoa, probably in the latter part of the third century B.C., the anteroom was converted into a passage through the middle of the building and equipped with a flight of stairs. The time of the original construction cannot be fixed very precisely; the architectural character, including the style of the Doric capital, and the ceramic evidence are consistent with a date late in the 5th century.

It seems strange that such an important situation should have been left unoccupied until such a late date, and even though no identifiable remains have been found, one should not rule out the possibility that an earlier and simpler predecessor stood on the site; this would explain the fact that the adjacent square enclosure to the west, identified with probability as the Heliaia, was given a doorway in its east side. However this may be, the new stoa was obviously a timely and useful addition to the covered accommodation of the Agora; how it was used is not so obvious. Probably like many other stoas it served several purposes. Certain finds seem to indicate a sacred character. The spacious colonnade may well have been used on occasion as a law court, as was the Poikile (p. 93). Other uses of the building are suggested by the peculiarities in form and arrangement of the fifteen rooms. The displacement of the door towards one side is characteristic of rooms designed to receive couches along the walls.

Some time later than the original construction, a rubble wall was built north to south on the line of the second inner column from the east, making a separate room of the east end of the colonnade.

Recent investigation has shown that these stairs were late and not in use for very long; there is no trace of an earlier stair, merely a hard floor.

The building was at first labelled “South Shops,” and the rooms are not unsuitable for shops; but more recent evidence and the whole context of the stoa now seem to be against this. The upper, southward-facing storey may have been merely a promenade or extended leshce, but it may also have served some commercial purpose (one thinks of the Stoa Alphitopolis, where barley was sold; see Agora, III, pp. 21, 193-194; Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, p. 56).

Fragments of terracotta akroteria suggest (Hesperia, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 123-128) that the building was not only important but probably also sacred. Two puzzling bits of evidence have come to light. Many tiles have been found; amongst them is a fragment of a cover tile inscribed ΙΕΠ[Α]; it is however too small to belong to the original construction; it might have been used in patching. In Room VI has been found a round dedicatory base, probably of the 4th century or early 3rd, inscribed "[Νατ]ήροσον (Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, p. 288) (a dedication to a Hero?).
and to accommodate diners, normally to the number of seven, reclining on their left sides at table (Fig. 25). The andron-like Room VIII with its vestibule points in the same direction, and so does Room V, which had a raised border, surfaced with pebble-studded cement, a feature characteristic of dining rooms. Other details too have a domestic character. In some of the rooms ash and charcoal were found on the floor as if from braziers; Room X had a small hearth made from the upper part of a wine jar embedded in the floor upside down; in several, stone beddings were found, apparently intended to support pieces of furniture. In Room V, about a century after the construction of the building, the raised border was overlaid by a new floor with which may be associated the remains of benches set against the walls; Room IX shows traces of similar benches, again belonging to a later phase; they were built up of clay and small stones, with a surface of plaster. One is reminded of the benches at the foot of the wall in the Stoa of Zeus (p. 97). Clearly the rooms of the Stoa were adaptable to various uses. But they were so designed that they could be used as dining places when necessary.

The building was part of or at least adjacent to the archeia of Athens. It is probable that many of the rooms were used by magistrates and boards of officials and their secretaries to transact their business and to eat together as Athenian officials were accustomed to do. Perhaps one of the ideas behind the construction of the stoa was to bring together a number of magistrates, hitherto scattered in their various traditional places (p. 72), under one roof. Possibly the stoa, or perhaps rather a section of it, was for a period at least what was known as the Thesmotheteion, the headquarters of the archons. The Thesmotheteion, according to the com-

mentators, was one of the syssitia or communal dining places of Athens, along with the Tholos and the Prytaneion. One wonders why Room VIII was given special emphasis. It was perhaps hardly large enough for all nine archons to recline together, but it would have sufficed for the Thesmothetai or six junior archons. The recent discovery in Room III of an inscription concerning the Commissioners of Weights and Measures (Metronomoi, p. 44) of 222/1 B.C. suggests that these officials occupied one of the rooms (Pl. 46, b).

Much of this is speculative; but without pressing any particular identifications one can maintain that the stoa played an important and varied part in Athenian public life, and one can see in it a modest precursor of the great north stoa of the Agora of Priene. This was a more sophisticated version of the same type of building, and its character was similarly both religious and political.

THE MINT

The overseers (epistatai) of the Mint formed one of the most important minor boards of officials. Athens' "silver-spring" at Laurion and the coinage struck from it and widely circulated were vital factors in the city's economy; manufacture and issue were under the control of this board. The Mint (argyrokopion) has been found and identified with something approaching certainty although the site has not yet been completely explored. It is a large building, measuring 27.30 m. north to south by 37.80 m. east to west, of substantial construction, occupying the extreme east end of the south side of the Agora, beyond the Southeast Fountain House (Pl. 5). The northern part of the site was later built upon by the Nymphaeum (p. 202) and ultimately by the Church of the Holy Apostles, and the plan is not entirely clear. There was an open courtyard (possibly more than one) and a number of rooms of various sizes. The eastward branch of the Great Drain ran right beneath the building, and the northeast corner seems to have been accommodated to the line of the Panathenaic Street (p. 193). The foundations are of solid poros, and the building may be dated to the latter part of the 5th century. Even after part of the site had been sacrificed to the Nymphaeum, the remaining rooms seem to have continued long in use for their original purpose.

One can imagine that there might have been much debate about the purpose of such a building; fortunately the minor finds for once give a clear indication. There are remains of furnaces and of cement-lined water basins set in the clay floor; and many small bits of bronze have been found in the building, some of them embedded in the floor (Pl. 33, c). Many are obviously discs cut from a rod, and a longer section of such a rod has been found. These can be nothing but blanks for the striking of bronze coins; one would hardly expect the raw material of silver or gold coins to have survived. A 5th century decree concerned with money, weights and measures in the Athenian Empire was set up in front of the Argyrokopion, according to its own text, which we know not from the original but from copies found in other cities. A dedication of the first half of the 4th

220 E. Vanderpool, Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 73–76.
222 Aischylos, Persians, 288.
century B.C., of which fragments were found in the Post-Herulian Wall not far to the north-east of the site, mentions the Mint,\(^{226}\) according to the almost certain restoration, the dedicators were the epistatai, but we do not know what they dedicated or to whom.\(^{227}\)

**Civic Offices of Roman Date**

The Metroon with its record office, as we have seen, was given a splendid new form in the 2nd century B.C. As far as one can tell, no great buildings were erected in Hellenistic or Roman times for magistrates, Prytaneis or Boule. Athenian conservatism kept the Tholos in being till the end. But in the 2nd century after Christ a curiously modest, even apologetic small building was set against the western part of the terrace in front of the great Middle Stoa.\(^{228}\) It consisted originally of four rooms the fronts of which were stepped back successively towards the west (Pls. 8, 13, a), so as not to curtail too severely the width of the street which left the Agora at this point. The largest room, on the east, had a columnar porch in front, and benches of rough stone and clay, plastered on top, along the east and west walls. The presence of the couches, as also of a drain leading out of the north side of the room, suggests that meals might be taken here on occasion. On the earth floor of this room, without any proper foundation, stood a large marble tripod base with reliefs probably of Aigeus, Theseus and Medea (p. 126, Pl. 47). The third room from the east was entered only by a side door from the middle one.\(^{229}\)

A further tiny chamber, a latrine, was later inserted in the angle between these two.

Everything tends to show that the building contained public offices of some sort, perhaps in close association with the Tholos and the Metroon. Several beddings for stelai have been found in position on the north. In the angle between the east and middle rooms is a pedestal of re-used poros blocks, with deep cuttings in the top (Pl. 36, b). Near by were found one large and one small fragment of Pentelic marble slabs carved with full-scale representations of curved roof tiles of Lakonian type.\(^{230}\) There can be no doubt that the marble slabs were set up on the pedestal where they have now been replaced nor that they served as official models for the manufacture of large terracotta tiles (a tricky operation over which disputes might arise). These tile standards fall in the same category as the public weights and measures (p. 44), and one wonders if these too were now transferred to the new building.

A room with a façade similar to the east room of the main group was placed at a considerable distance eastward in the corner between the Odeion and the Middle Stoa, and a colonnade 33.30 m. long and nearly 6 m. deep was built across the interval, immediately south of the Southwest Temple (p. 165). The terrace provided its back wall; the foundations of the stylobate consist of a single row of conglomerate blocks on a bedding of field stones which was given greater depth at the points where columns presumably stood. The whole arrangement formed

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\(^{226}\) I 6236, *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, p. 31, no. 29. Note also I 5879, *Hesperia*, XIV, 1945, p. 119, no. 11, a fragment of another monetary decree, probably of about 420 B.C., found in the Post-Herulian Wall not far east of our building; according to the restored text it was set up in the Polis (i.e. Acropolis), but the restoration is not certain and in any case a copy may have been kept at the Mint itself.

\(^{227}\) W. Peek, *Kerameikos*, III, 1941, pp. 89-91, published two lead curse tablets from the Kerameikos which call down imprecations on Lysanias, "a bellows blower at the Mint."

\(^{228}\) *Hesperia*, XVII, 1948, pp. 151-153; XXI, 1952, pp. 90-91; further exploration of the material in the foundations suggests a later date than was originally given.

\(^{229}\) There was originally an even smaller room further west, but this was demolished to minimize obstruction of the road. In the angle between the two little rooms stood a perirrhanterion (see p. 118).

\(^{230}\) Discussed by G. P. Stevens, *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 174-188. The dimensions of the standards are: pan tile, length 3 Attic feet, width 1 1/4 feet + 1 dactyl; cover tile, length 2 1/4 feet + 1 dactyl, width 9/4 foot, tapering downwards. The same dimensions had been regarded as standard for a very long time, to judge by remains going back as far as the 6th century B.C.

A similar tile standard was found at Assos, see F. H. Bacon, *Investigations at Assos*, p. 71; and another recently at Messene, see Επιγραφές των Ἁρχαιοτήτων της Μεσσηνίας, 1960, p. 166. Cf. also A. Orlandos, Ἡ Αρχαία Ελληνική Ἀρχιτεκτονική, Α', Τά Υλικά Δομῆς, 1, Athens, 1955, pp. 112f.
a somewhat odd and makeshift excrescence on the major architecture of the Agora. The building represents a reversal to the primitive method of creating a stoa by placing a simple colonnade against an existing wall.

**THE ARSENAL(?)**

Despite some uncertainty as to identification and hence also as to classification, we may include here a brief mention of the large rectangular building to the northeast of the Temple of Hephaistos. The structure is prominent on the plans and in the model of the Agora, but it is very shadowy on the ground (Pls. 3, 6–8, 12, a).\(^{231}\) The outline, to be sure, and the positions of the interior columns are given by cuttings in the living rock. The stonework, however, has been robbed down to an occasional block of the lowest foundations, the best preserved part being in the south side toward the southeast corner. The overall dimensions, measured on the wall beddings, were ca. 16.75 × 44 m. The interior was divided into three aisles of approximately equal width by two rows of eight columns each. By a process of elimination the entrance may be presumed to have been in the west end. The building will have faced on the ancient roadway that also fixed the line of the west side of the temenos of Hephaistos.

The foundations were made of massive blocks of conglomerate laid on carefully dressed beddings and well fitted to one another. The maximum thickness was ca. 1.50 m. The walls proper, of course, will not have exceeded one half that thickness. The side walls were reinforced on their inner faces by means of pilasters aligned with the interior columns. Nothing from the superstructure has yet been recognized.

An interesting feature of the building is the provision for water. Beneath the southwest corner of its floor and again beneath the mid point of the north aisle is a flask-shaped cistern which communicated in each case through a deep tunnel with a second chamber outside the building.\(^{232}\) These cisterns undoubtedly drew their water from the roof of the building, and the water was then conveniently available for use inside.

In the complete absence of superstructure and with the site terribly denuded, the evidence for recovering the history of the building is meager. The best indication thus far available comes from an ancient cistern immediately to the east of the building which would seem to have been put out of use by its construction.\(^{233}\) The debris from the bottom of the cistern included many broken roof tiles which derived no doubt from the buildings demolished to make way for the great new structure. The associated pottery dated from the late 4th and the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. so that the construction may be put tentatively in the years around 300 B.C. Already about the beginning of the 2nd century the cistern system at the middle of the north side was abandoned for reasons unknown.\(^{234}\) The other cistern, at the southwest corner, was found by the excavators filled with debris datable to the neighborhood of 100 B.C.\(^{235}\) Among this debris was an equine foot of marble which has been attributed to a centaur in the west pediment of the Hephaisteion (p. 148).\(^{236}\) There can be little doubt that both the pediment and our building suffered in the course of the Roman siege and sack of 86 B.C. Pockets of late Hellenistic pottery found on the site suggest that the building was in fact badly damaged at that time and was subsequently stripped of its masonry. Like other buildings damaged

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\(^{232}\) The positions of these cisterns are indicated on the actual-state plan, Plate 3.

\(^{233}\) Deposit H 6:9; *Agora*, XII, p. 392.

\(^{234}\) For plans and a section cf. *Hesperia*, III, 1934, pp. 345–369, Group C.

\(^{235}\) S 785. In *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 294, 240 this foot was assigned to the east pediment of the temple. More plausible is E. B. Harrison’s attribution to the west pediment; *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 178.
in the Roman sack, ours was probably used for long thereafter as a quarry.\textsuperscript{237} There is nothing to indicate a reconstruction in later antiquity.

The evidence for the use of the building is even slighter than for its history. The plan is quite unsuited for a temple or for a place of assembly. One is reminded rather of the Arsenal designed by Philo and erected just a few years earlier in Peiraeus\textsuperscript{238} for the storage of naval equipment. That too was a three-aisled building, the same width as ours, i.e. 50 Greek feet internally, but much longer; 400 as compared with 140 feet inside; it had doors in each end. In the light of the evidence at present available it seems possible that our building was designed as a state arsenal for military equipment. At the time of its construction bronzeworkers and ironworkers were active in the immediate environs, especially on the north slope of Kolonos, and the occurrence in the debris of their shops of occasional imprints in clay of reliefs from fine armor may give a clue to some of their production (p. 187).\textsuperscript{239} Nor would the propinquity of the Temple of Hephaistos be unfavorable to this hypothesis inasmuch as Hephaistos was armorer to the gods. The building might, of course, have served other purposes as well, either concurrently or in later times. It has been suggested, for instance, on the basis of a concentration of fragments of Panathenaic amphorae in the area, that the building had been used as a place for assembling and storing the great quantities of olive oil that were dispensed as prizes at the Panathenaic Festival.\textsuperscript{240} For this purpose the site would have been recommended by the propinquity of the potters who produced the many hundreds of large and costly amphorae needed for the storage of the oil. For either the maintenance of military equipment or the handling of olive oil the ready availability of water would of course have been a convenience.

\textsuperscript{237} Among the buildings of early Roman date that profited from such quarrying are the Market of Caesar and Augustus, the stoa bordering the Panathenaic Way between the Dipylon and the Agora, the stoa closing the east part of the north side of the Agora (Hesperia, XL, 1971, pp. 262ff.) and the porch of the Tholos (Hesperia, Supplement IV, p. 56).

\textsuperscript{238} W. Dorpfeld, Ath.Mitt., VIII, 1883, pp. 147ff.; D. S. Robertson, Greek and Roman Architecture, pp. 182-184; A. W. Lawrence, Greek Architecture, pp. 260f.


\textsuperscript{240} G. R. Edwards, Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pp. 394-397. Edwards put forward the suggestion that the building might have served originally as the headquarters of the Military Treasurer whose office was created ca. 346 B.C. and who as early as the middle of the 3rd century had taken over from the archon responsibility for the handling of the sacred oil.
IV. STOAS

Greek architects used the stoa or open-fronted colonnade in various types of building as a practical and ornamental adjunct. But they also treated it as a structure in its own right, attached not to a building but simply to an open space. The Greeks carried on most of their political and religious activities under the sky. All that was needed for a public assembly, a trial at law, or a festal gathering accompanied by dramatic or athletic contests was a suitable piece of open ground. But exposure to the elements, without any shelter near at hand, could have its disadvantages; and the erection of stoas was a way of mitigating them. Their purpose was to put a roof over a limited part of the open area, along its fringes. The space thus covered was neither indoors nor out-of-doors but something in between.

The architectural history of the self-contained stoa goes back to early archaic times, with interesting examples in shrines at Samos and elsewhere. By the 5th century the stoa was ubiquitous in the cities of Greece, and in particular it had established itself as the typical agora building. Several different forms were created, of most of which we shall find examples at Athens. Even in the earliest phases stoas were given greater depth by the use of an internal row of columns in addition to those on the façade. Rows of rooms were built behind the colonnade, without reducing it to the status of a mere adjunct. The stoas served as many different purposes as the agora itself.

The architectural treatment of the colonnades more than anything else determined the character of an agora. Pausanias comments on the difference between the old-fashioned kind of agora, in which the stoas stood independently of one another, and the Ionian (he has such cities as Miletos and Priene in mind), in which they were joined together in compact rectangular schemes. In this respect Athens remained basically old-fashioned to the end, though modernized to some degree in the Hellenistic phase.

We now know of one stoa of modest size and simple form in the archaic Agora. Several more were built in the 5th century, all independent of one another and probably all different in type. One of these has already been described (pp. 74–78), since the principal feature of the building was a row of rooms which provided offices for the magistrates. In the end the Athenian Agora acquired a peculiar assemblage of miscellaneous stoas, but even the Hellenistic group on the south side did not have the compactness and uniformity of the Ionian plan; and in any case they formed a separate unit which apparently served a special purpose (pp. 65ff.).

3 Besides the stoas described below, note the Alphitopolis (pp. 76, 172) and the Makra Stoa mentioned in an inscription of 141/0 B.C. (I.G., II², 968, line 14; cf. Judeich, Topographie, p. 364; Agora, III, no. 3). We are told that this Long Stoa was “in Kerameikos” (possibly it was on the street leading from the Agora to the Dipylon; see p. 108). We hear also of a “Stoa of the Roman” in an inscription of 151/0 B.C.; but this building probably stood in the proximity of the Hellenistic gymnasium to the southeast of the Agora (I.G., II², 958, line 29; Agora, III, p. 47).
STOA BASILEIOS

Much the earliest and also the most modest of all the stoas that bordered the Agora was the Stoa Basileios, the Royal Stoa or the Stoa of the King. Hitherto the building has been known only from literary and epigraphic references, and even its existence as an independent structure has been seriously questioned. Its discovery in June of 1970 represents the first fruits of the new phase of the Agora Excavations begun in that year. Since in this book we are not directly concerned with the results of that phase, and since in any case the exploration of the building has not yet been completed at the time of writing, we shall give only a very summary account of the architectural remains. We cannot refrain, however, from emphasizing the capital importance of the discovery for the historical and topographical development of the Agora.

The Stoa rose at the northeast foot of Kolonos Agoraios at the point where two roads coming from the north and northwest converged on the area that was beginning to take shape as the Agora of classical times (Fig. 7, Pls. 1, 4, 12, a). Throughout antiquity this small building was to stand as the northwesternmost element in the periphery of the main square. Facing slightly south of east the Stoa had the same orientation as the archaic shrine, perhaps of Zeus, the ruins of which underlie the neighboring Stoa of Zeus (p. 96). The contemporary buildings that occupied the south part of the west side of the early square show a symmetrical disposition, facing as they do slightly to the north of east. Thus the straggling row of establishments, civic and religious, that bounded the west side in pre-Persian times formed the arc of a very large circle that helps us to envisage both the location and the extent of the early Agora.

The Stoa stood at the lowest point in the Agora proper, the point toward which the whole square sloped down from both south and east. Its floor lay 3.02 m. lower than that of its neighbor to the south, the Stoa of Zeus, the north end of which must have been supported on a high bastion of poros masonry reminiscent of that beneath the Northwest Wing of the Propylaia on the Acropolis. In post-classical times the slope permitted the accumulation of a great deposit of silt in this area. Thus the road surface of the modern thoroughfare, Hadrian Street, that ran above the north end of the Stoa Basileios lay 5.82 m. above the floor level of the building. This deep protective covering helped to shield the remains of the Stoa from the intrusions of Byzantine and later builders. In consequence this very early building is also one of the best preserved in the Agora.

The outer foundations of the Stoa are preserved throughout, though the south end is overlaid by the northern retaining wall of the railway trench (Pl. 48, a). Its outside dimensions are ca. 7.57 x 17.72 m., while its floor measured ca. 6.02 x 16.63 m. The north wall stands to a height of ca. 1.20 m. The stylobate and the one step below it are intact. There still remain in place the stumps of two of the eight outer columns that stood between the end walls, the intercolumniation being 1.92 m. Originally there appear to have been only two inner columns equally spaced within the length of the building. These were subsequently replaced by a series of four columns, again equally spaced, the outermost at either end standing directly opposite the second column of the outer row. The bases of all four remain in place, one of them retaining the stump of a shaft. The floor seems always to have been of packed clay.

Continuous benches along the back and across the ends of the building are attested by a light foundation of poros set against the base of the walls. Across the north end the poros supports for a bench remain in situ; these will be a replacement dating from the later classical period. Beddings for pieces of furniture also occur at intervals along the front of the building just inside the colonnade. In front of the building, re-used as bases for Herms, are two pair of...
simple thrones of poros, seats of honor, no doubt, and perhaps part of the original furnishings. Fragments of several marble thrones very similar to those in the Theater of Dionysos must derive from later replacements.

The southern portion of the rear wall, at least in its lower part, was of polygonal masonry in limestone. The north wall, however, is of regular ashlar masonry of poros, smooth faced. In neither case was stucco used in the original period. A single clamp-cutting, of Z shape, has been observed in the north wall.

Both the outer and the inner columns were Doric, their lower diameters respectively ca. 0.60 and 0.49 m., the shafts channeled with sixteen shallow flutes. Two storeys of interior columns would have been needed to support the ridge beams. Two Doric capitals found in levels of late antiquity close to the building derive in all probability from the Stoa. One is clearly from the outer colonnade; the other is presumably from the upper of the two inner series. The abaci flare widely; the flutes numbered sixteen. Shafts and capitals were stuccoed. Of the frieze there remains a fragmentary triglyph of poros, its side channeled to receive a metope, probably of marble. The roofing is represented by a number of fragmentary terracotta eaves tiles, antefixes and raking sima.

The stone of step and stylobate is a hard, fine-grained, tan-colored poros. The north wall, columns and triglyph are of soft, friable, yellowish poros of Peiraeus. Re-used material occurs in the foundations of both the outer and inner colonnades, perhaps also in the north wall.

For the date of construction the best indication yet available is afforded by the columns. The use of inferior stone and the employment of sixteen rather than the canonical twenty flutes give an impression of high antiquity. The profile of the capitals may be as early as the middle of the 6th century and is certainly not later than the third quarter of the century. There are signs, however, of major adjustments, some of them occasioned, no doubt, by the Persian sack of 480/79 B.C.

At some time about the turn of the 5th and 4th centuries small columnar wings were set against the façade of the Stoa, one at either end. Between the columns of these wings are sockets for the reception of stelai, and in one instance at least, in the northern wing, for an inscription comprising several stelai set edge to edge.

Between the two wings, on the axis of the Stoa, is the foundation for a monument. Its level indicates a date in the 4th or 3rd century B.C. To this base may be assigned a large statue of a heavily draped female figure, the torso of which was found just to the east of the base at the level of late antiquity. The attribute carried on the left arm, which might have given a clue to the identification, is missing. But we have evidently to do with a goddess, perhaps a personification of Good Fortune, Themis, Democracy, or some other appropriate civic concept.

As the level of the adjacent roadway rose, it became necessary to protect the area in front of the Stoa with a low retaining wall. One stepped down into this forecourt over a short flight of steps at its north end. The forecourt, and even the steps of the Stoa itself, came to be thickly populated with Herms. Parts of upwards of a score have been found. Their inscribed bases range in date from the early 4th century B.C. into the Antonine period.

The latest history of the Stoa is still somewhat obscure. The building presumably suffered in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267, but, if so, it was rehabilitated in late antiquity. The pottery from the deep, silty deposit which blanketed the ruins dated from the 5th and 6th centuries after Christ.

A clearcut identification is provided by the text of Pausanias (I, 3, 1). Entering the Agora, or Kerameikos as he called it, by way of the colonnaded street that led inward from the Dipylon, the periegete observed: “The first (building) on the right is a stoa called Basileios, where sits the ‘King’ (Basileus) when he holds the annual magistracy called ‘Kingship’.” The excave-
vations of 1970 have at last fixed precisely the point where Pausanias entered the square. The course of the Panathenaic Way as it approached the Agora is now defined by colonnades both to north and south (Fig. 1, Pls. 1, 8). The great road, here ca. 20 m. wide, skirted the north end of our stoa and continued diagonally through the Agora on its way toward the Acropolis. Immediately to the east of our building a branch took off southward to serve the west side of the square. The line of this road too is now known precisely from the presence of a great stone drain beneath it and of a stone water channel along its eastern edge. The continuation of Pausanias’ account shows clearly that it was by this western road he proceeded southward as far as the Tholos, mentioning the intervening buildings along the way. Thus there can be no doubt that the newly found stoa was the first building on Pausanias’ right as he entered the Agora, i.e. the Stoa Basileios.

This identification is happily confirmed by other evidence. The remarkable concentration of Herms in front of the new stoa corresponds with Harpokration’s statement that “the so-called Herms extend from the Poikile and the Stoa of the King.”6 When the Stoa Poikile is eventually discovered we may expect to find another grove of Herms placed in relation to it, while still more Herms are to be anticipated in and adjacent to the Stoa of the Herms. But the Herms discovered in front of the newly found stoa have a more specific bearing on its identification inasmuch as at least five of them were dedicated by men who were serving or had served as Archon Basileus.

Equally satisfactory is the way in which the newly found building corresponds with the references in the ancient authors to the relationship between the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios. Harpokration described the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus as “alongside one another” (ναοι ἄλληλας),7 Eustathios as “close to one another” (πλησίον),8 while Aristophanes in Ecclesiazusæ 684–686 (391 B.C.) undoubtedly had the Stoa of Zeus in mind when he mentioned “the stoa beside the Stoa Basileios.”9 From the late 5th century B.C. onward the newly found building could have been so described in relation to only one other building, viz. the two-winged stoa to the south; on its other three sides it was bordered by thoroughfares. Now the building to the south, separated at the most by a narrow drainage alley, is unquestionably the one next mentioned by Pausanias (I, 3, 3–4). Although Pausanias does not here refer to the second stoa by name, his account of the building, when taken in conjunction with the other relevant testimonia, can leave no doubt that it was indeed the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios (p. 97).

Pausanias’ eye was caught by the akroteria on the roof of the Stoa Basileios (I, 3, 1): “statues of baked clay, Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Eos carrying off Kephalos.” Figural akroteria were rarely used on buildings other than temples, and in Athens the employment of terracotta rather than marble was also exceptional. Fragments of these unusual sculptures have been found: a pudgy arm (of Kephalos?) on the site of the Stoa Basileios, other pieces, including a hip (of Skiron?), in a late Roman context some 35 m. to the southwest.10

Granted the identification of the little building as the Stoa Basileios, one nevertheless detects both in Pausanias and in certain other ancient authors a tendency to confuse this stoa with its larger neighbor to the south. Thus Pausanias, after naming the Stoa Basileios, pro-

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6 Agora, III, no. 305.
7 Ibid., no. 13.
8 Ibid., no. 12.
9 Ibid., no. 7.
10 For the fragments found in 1936 to the southwest cf. H. A. Thompson, Hesperia, VI, 1937 pp. 37–39, 66f.; for the arm found in 1970 cf. T. L. Shear, Jr., Hesperia, XL, 1971, p. 253. The detailed study by R. Nicholls, Hesperia, XXXIX, 1970, pp. 115–138, was finished before the discovery of the Stoa Basileios. The technique and “style” of the terracotta sculptures can scarcely be earlier than the second half of the 5th century; they were presumably added when the building was re-roofed after the Persian destruction. On the other hand, if they were normal central akroteria, one is almost compelled to date them earlier than the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios since the close juxtaposition of the two buildings would otherwise have inhibited anyone from designing such a group at least for the south end of the Stoa Basileios.
ceeds to a continuous account of the monuments that stood in front of the two stoas (statues of Konon, Timotheos, King Euagoras of Cyprus, Zeus Eleutherios, Hadrian), and he refers to the second building not by name but merely as a stoa that stood behind the row of prominent statues. Later in his first book (I, 26, 2) he tells of the dedication of the shield of Leokritos to Zeus Eleutherios; although the shield was undoubtedly hung on the Stoa of Zeus, Pausanias makes no mention of the stoa as such in this passage. It is only some years later, in his tenth book, that Pausanias, in recording another such dedication, refers specifically to the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, and on this occasion he is certainly writing not from autopsy but from reading, since the shields, as Pausanias himself reports, had been removed by Sulla’s men (X, 21, 5–6).

Still more curious is the fact that in I, 14, 6 Pausanias describes the Temple of Hephaistos as “above (ιππε) the Kerameikos and the so-called Stoa Basileios.” There can no longer be any reasonable doubt that the Temple of Hephaistos is to be recognized in the so-called Theseion that has dominated this whole region since the 5th century B.C. from the top of Kolonos Agoraios (p. 142). Equally certain is Pausanias’ use of the word Kerameikos, here as in I, 8, 1, to designate the Agora. Now one can readily understand why our author should have described the temple by reference to the Agora; that relationship is evident to anyone on the site or from any plan of the area. But why should he have chosen the Stoa Basileios as a second point of reference? Not only was the Stoa one of the smallest buildings bordering the square, it was also largely obscured to one standing near the Temple of Hephaistos by its larger neighbor, the Stoa of Zeus. And the situation becomes the more puzzling when one recalls that the older stoa was not only much smaller in scale than the later but that its floor level lay some three meters lower. A reference to the Stoa of Zeus, on the other hand, would have been easy and natural inasmuch as this stoa must have been one of the largest and most distinguished buildings clearly visible from the Hephaisteion in Pausanias’ day.11 It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that Pausanias did not regard the two stoas as separate and distinct. He would seem rather to have been under the impression that they were parts of a single establishment called the Stoa Basileios.

Nor is this obscurity confined to Pausanias. The famous statue of Pindar which Pausanias (I, 8, 4) listed among the statues around the Temple of Ares is described by pseudo-Aischines (1st century after Christ) as being in front of the Stoa Basileios.12 It is easy enough to understand how the statue might have been localized by one author in relation to the Temple of Ares and by another in relation to the Stoa of Zeus; it is well nigh incredible that it should have been associated with both the Temple of Ares and the newly found Stoa. The obvious inference is that the author confused or conflated the two stoas.13

The confusion thus attested among the ancient authors regarding the relationship between the two buildings does not justify but it may help to explain the erroneous hypothesis adopted by those scholars of modern times who have maintained that there was but one building, viz. that discovered in 1981 which was known under two different names, the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios.14 This school of thought was long encouraged by the apparent

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11 The large building, the Arsenal (?), to the northeast of the Temple of Hephaistos appears to have been destroyed in 86 B.C.; its site was presumably desolate in the time of Pausanias (pp. 80–81).
12 Agora, III, no. 708. Since some relevance normally existed between a statue and its setting we may conjecture that the dithyramb in praise of Athens (frag. 75) which was so much relished by the Athenians had been performed in the Agora, perhaps in the area between the Stoa Basileios and the Altar of the Twelve Gods.
13 The confusion is worse confounded in the lexicographers. Hesychios (Agora, III, no. 16) reports that there were two Royal Stoa at Athens, that of the so-called Zeus Basileus and that of Zeus Eleutherios. In the scholion on Demosthenes, XX (Leptines), 113 (Agora, III, no. 10) according to which there were three stoas at Athens, viz. the Basileios, the Stoa of the Herms and the Stoa of Peisianax, one may assume that the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios was subsumed, either knowingly or ignorantly, under the Stoa Basileios. Cf. p. 138, note 84.
14 The long argument over the identification of the stoas is now only of academic interest. For a summary cf. Agora, III, pp. 30f. and for the bibliography up to 1959 see E. Vanderpool, Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, p. 291.
lack of space for another famous building between that stoa and the Panathenaic Way. Excavation has now shown that the available space was indeed exiguous, but it has also demonstrated that an old building of great renown might be small in scale.

The primary function of the stoa, as we have seen, was to serve as the seat of the Royal Archon, the Archon Basileus. As heir to the King of earlier times this magistrate had inherited the real king's responsibility for matters religious: the superintendence of the Mysteries, the festival of the Dionysia Epileena, the torch races, and the ancestral sacrifices. He was charged also with responsibility for trials concerning impiety and all forms of homicide. To assist him in his duties he was entitled to two assessors (paredros) who presumably shared with him the facilities of the Stoa. The Stoa early became a repository for the laws of the city; according to Aristotle even the laws of Solon were placed here. And it was here that the nine annually elected archons before entering on office came to take their oath. Since the Council of the Areopagus was charged with the preservation of the laws, and since it also served as one of the five courts that dealt with cases of homicide, close relations existed between the Council and the Archon Basileus. Nor is it surprising to learn that the Council of the Areopagus sometimes held meetings in the Stoa Basileios, putting up a rope barrier to assure privacy.

We must consider how the building as we now know it may have served these various functions. In the first place it would seem to have been amply large, yet not excessively large, to accommodate the Archon Basileus accompanied by his two assistants and such groups of citizens as would commonly have called to arrange about festivals and sacrifices and to go through the preliminary proceedings that might lead to a trial. The continuous bench at the foot of the walls with a total length of ca. 28 m. might have accommodated as many as 60 persons. This may be taken as an indication of the upper limit of the groups normally expected. Special seats would undoubtedly have been provided for the Archon Basileus, his assessors and other dignitaries whose presence might be required. Such seating is no doubt represented by the thrones both of poros and of marble that have been found on the site; though their exact position is not known, they more probably stood outside rather than inside the building.

In considering the capacity of the building one must enquire whether it could have accommodated such legal proceedings as those with which the Archon Basileus was concerned. It seems likely that in most if not all cases that had to be resolved by a trial only the preliminary formalities took place in the Stoa Basileios, the trial proper being held subsequently in an appropriate law court elsewhere in the city. This was the normal procedure in the case of suits for which the Archon Eponymos was responsible, as we are told specifically by Aristotle. From the same authority we know that in suits involving homicide, all of which fell within the province of the Archon Basileus, the charge was laid before that official, presumably in the Stoa, but the actual trial took place in one of the five courts competent in trials for homicide. Of the cases of impiety with which the Archon Basileus was concerned the most memorable was that of Sokrates in 399 B.C. From the two pertinent references in Plato it is clear that So-

17 Ibid. For other testimonia cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, pp. 351f.; Agora, III, pp. 22f.
18 Ibid. For other testimonia cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, II, pp. 351f.; Agora, III, pp. 22f.
19 Demosthenes, XXV (Aristotelon, I), 23 (Agora, III, no. 11). On the analogy of the arrangements in the buildings believed to be law courts at the northeast corner of the Agora (p. 57) we should expect the rope barrier (periochoinisma) to have been supported on posts set a few feet in front of the colonnade. A poros base with a leaded socket in its top found in situ in front of the Stoa may in fact have supported such a post. For this periochoinisma see Agora, III, p. 163.
20 When the Council of the Areopagus met in the Stoa additional seating must have been provided, presumably in the form of simple wooden benches. According to D. M. Macdowell (Athenian Homicide Law in the Age of the Orators, Manchester University Press, 1963, p. 42) the Areopagus numbered "generally not much more than 200." That many could indeed have been seated in our building with its floor space of ca. 100 square meters.
21 Ibid., 57, 3-4.
22 Euthyphro, 2 a; Theaetetus, 210 d (Agora, III, nos. 19, 20).
krates when indicted by Meletos was required to appear before the Archon Basileus in the Stoa Basileios. But in the *Apology* (36 a) we are told that the philosopher was condemned by a majority of sixty and that this was regarded as a close decision. The natural inference is that the jury numbered in the hundreds, a body that could certainly not have been accommodated in the Stoa Basileios. We conclude that in this case too only the preliminaries were held in the Stoa, the actual trial in a law court for the identification of which we have, alas, no clue.

In the matter of the oath-taking at the Stoa Basileios the results of the excavations are gratifyingly definite. According to Pollux (VIII, 86) the nine archons “took their oath at the Stoa Basileios on the stone (lithos) on which were the cut-up offerings (tomia) swearing to join in keeping the laws and not to accept bribes, otherwise to give in compensation a golden statue.” Aristotle adds that on this same stone arbitrators took oath before issuing decisions, and witnesses who wished to affirm that they had no evidence to give. The lithos may be recognized in a massive block of hard, tan-colored poros measuring ca. 1 m. wide, 3 m. long and 0.40 m. high that lies close against the face of the stylobate a little to the north of its midpoint. Though its top is level and smooth, the stone is unworked, a condition appropriate to its sacred function. Appropriate also is the prominent location of the block and the fact that there is no indication of its having served any architectural function in its present position. The stone is amply large for the rite as described by the authors; its height would have permitted a dignified ascent and its well worn top reflects centuries of use.

The excavation has also shed some light on the Stoa Basileios as a repository of the laws of Athens. Aristotle introduces his account of the archons’ practice of swearing on the lithos to preserve the laws with the statement that the laws of Solon, inscribed on kyrbeis, were set up in the Stoa Basileios. The building in its present form cannot, to be sure, be as early as the time of Solon. But the free re-use of old material in the foundations of the Stoa suggests the prior existence in the neighborhood of a building sufficiently early to lend some credibility to Aristotle’s statement.

We are on firmer ground when we come to the revision of the codes of Drakon and of Solon that were carried out in the closing decade of the 5th century. A marble stele found in 1843 during the construction of the Cathedral at a point ca. 700 m. to the east of the Stoa proves to contain a revision dating from 409/8 B.C. of part of Drakon’s law on homicide (Pl. 48, b). According to its own text the stele was to be set up in or in front of the Stoa Basileios. The Agora excavations have yielded a number of fragments of other marbles engraved likewise with revisions of the old codes and datable from their letter forms to the close of the 5th century; several pieces of similar documents had been found earlier. The surviving parts include both secular and sacred law; in the latter category calendars of festivals are prominent. In one case the marble has the form of a normal stele like that bearing the revised code of Drakon. But most of
the fragments come from tall marble slabs that were set edge to edge, tightly jointed and inscribed on both faces, measures evidently intended for the display of a maximum amount of text in a limited space. These inscriptions are undoubtedly to be associated with the program for the re-editing of the old laws that is most clearly documented by Andokides' speech On the Mysteries and Lysias' 30th oration, Against Nikomachos, both of 399 B.C. According to Andokides, drafts of the revised texts were to be displayed on wooden tablets in front of the Eponymoi. After exposure to the citizens and scrutiny by the Council and the Nomothetai, the approved versions were inscribed "on the wall where they had previously been inscribed." In a subsequent passage of the speech this final publication is said to have taken place "in the Stoa." Hence "the wall" is to be sought in the Stoa. The Stoa is not further defined, but in view of the other evidence which we have noted for the association of law codes with the Stoa Basileios, we may safely assume that in this case also the Basileios was meant. It is to be hoped that the study of the ruins of the building will lead to the more precise identification of "the wall."

To return now to the actual remains of the Stoa Basileios, we recall that we have in the sills between the columns of the annexes sockets suitable both for normal stelai like that bearing the revision of the Drakonian law on homicide and for the multiple stelai represented by the numerous fragments. The annexes, in fact, may well have been designed for this specific purpose. While providing shelter against the weather they would also have permitted two-faced inscriptions to be read from either side. Furthermore, the arrangement kept the laws in convenient proximity to the Stoa without reducing the seating capacity of the original building. And we now see that the archons, as they stood on the lithos and swore to preserve the laws of the city, were flanked to right and left by the official versions of those laws.

In accordance with a reasonable Athenian practice busy officials were provided with eating facilities in the building in which they had their offices. Thus the Prytaneis had a common mess in the Tholos (p. 44) and the Thesmothetai in the Thesmotheteion (p. 77), while the Strategoi at least on occasion dined and made sacrifice together, presumably in the Strategion (p. 78). One might expect similar accommodation for the Basileus. It so happens that a well closed ca. 460 B.C. in an area that was later covered by the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios at a point ca. 30 m. south of the Stoa Basileios has yielded a mass of broken pottery including large cooking and serving vessels and many drinking cups. No less than sixteen of these vases were marked with the ligature Δ which is to be expanded as ΔΕΜΟΣΙΟΝ, i.e. official or state property. The debris is therefore to be associated in all probability with some near-by official mess (syssition), most likely for the convenience of the Archon Basileus and his associates. A modest house-like building of which some slight remains lie beneath the north end of the Stoa of Zeus, between the well and the Stoa Basileios, may have contained appropriate domestic facilities (Pl. 3).

The newly found building is thus seen to have a double interest. For the first time we gain a clear picture of the accommodations assigned to a single magistrate for the conduct of his official business. In this respect the new evidence supplements that provided by the Tholos for the facilities available to a group of civic officials. In the second place the discovery demonstrates once again the versatility of the Stoa as an architectural type. In this connection not the least striking feature of the building is its miniature scale. Most stoas, irrespective of their

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29 Cf. Agora, III, no. 6 for the relevant passages from Andokides (I, 82–85).
30 It is a puzzling fact that the majority of the fragments to be assigned to the revision of the code have come to light in the area to the east of the Tholos, one of them, I 727, re-used as a cover slab above the Great Drain; Agora, III, p. 29. Not a single piece has as yet been found near the Stoa Basileios.
32 Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 18.
period or location, were designed to accommodate the maximum number of people. Ours was evidently intended specifically for the official needs of the Archon Basileus, and it is illuminating to discover that one of the principal magistrates of the city should have been content with such modest physical accommodation.

**STOA POIKILE**

One of the first important buildings set up in the Agora after the Persian Wars was the Poikile or Painted Stoa. It cannot be dated precisely, but it was probably built before the middle of the 5th century, and a date toward 460 B.C. would suit well enough both the dates of the persons associated with it and the character of the scanty remains. One Peisianax, we are told, was somehow responsible for the erection of the Stoa; perhaps he proposed the relevant decree. The Stoa was called after him “Peisianakteios”; but because of the splendor of the paintings the handier name Poikile (many-colored) soon prevailed, even in official documents. Peisianax seems to have been related to Kimon by marriage, and the Stoa may have been part of Kimon’s grand design for the embellishment of Athens.

The first literary allusion to the Stoa is in Aristophanes’ *Lysistrata*, 678–679 (411 B.C.), where the chorus refer to Amazons in Mikon’s painting to show that “woman is a horsey creature.” The first known use of the name Poikile is in a speech of Demosthenes (XLV, 17) and an inscription, both of the middle of the 4th century; but one can imagine that the name was current long before this time.

The excavators have not discovered the site of the Poikile, but this in itself is significant. Earlier topographers generally assumed that the Stoa was on the north side; this seemed to suit its place in Pausanias’ description best. But the site was by no means clear or universally agreed. Now that the west, south and east sides have all been thoroughly investigated, and the foundations of the building have not been found, one can assume with confidence that it was indeed on the north, in the region of Hadrian Street not far from the Church of St. Philip. The recent discovery in the eastern half of the north side of the Agora of substantial buildings of Roman date, with traces of earlier houses at lower levels, pushes the site somewhat to the west, though probably one should still leave room for the Stoa of the Herms (p. 94) at the extreme northwest corner of the square (Fig. 7, Pls. 5–8). In this situation the Stoa Poikile marked the furthest northern limit of the Agora; and it faced south over the square and caught the sun, an important factor in a building which was to be a lesche or lounge.

But the information provided by the excavations does not consist wholly of deductions from negative evidence. In 1949, when a wall of the 5th century after Christ was being dismantled in the northeastern section of the excavations in front of the Stoa of Attalos, much re-used material was taken from it, including large numbers of fragments of brown Aiginetan poros, a material used at Athens for important buildings from the time of Peisistratos, and some of the harder white poros of Peiraeus (Pl. 49, a, c). These were of good workmanship and obviously came from a single important building. No suitable foundations with which to associate them had been found, and the excavators’ thoughts naturally turned to the unexcavated north side and to the Poikile. Most of the fragments are of Doric members — “a fluted drum,

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33 Schol. Demosthenes, XX, 112; see further *Agora*, III, pp. 31 ff., 45, notes 1 and 2; Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Peisianax, col. 147; R. Meiggs, *Supplement to Greece and Rome*, X, 1963, p. 44.
34 *I.G., II*, 1841; cf. also 1670; *Agora*, III, p. 45.
an anta capital, epistyle, triglyphs, horizontal cornice.” But Ionic columns were employed too, as is shown by a small fragment of a column base, to which may belong a fragment of unfluted shaft; presumably these came from interior columns. There are also a number of bits of wall blocks (Pl. 49, c). Some of these have holes drilled in them, and in some of the holes are traces of iron pins. These may have been used to hold in position a wooden frame, to which boards could be attached. When we recall that the pictures of the Poikile are said to have been painted on wooden panels (sanides), we are led to the conclusion that the fragments do indeed give us a slight and tantalizing contact with the famous Stoa, in spite of the somewhat makeshift system of attachment.

Many of the stones bear traces of paint from which the decoration of the architectural details can be restored. Particularly important is a group of fragments from which an anta capital has been reconstructed, with a double lotus-and-palmette on its main, lower band, and a tongue pattern on the hawksbeak above (Pl. 49, a, b). The relation of this anta capital to the wall which it joins shows that it belongs not to a main side wall but to a screen wall making a return along part of the front of the Stoa; presumably there was a similar return at the other end, giving a greater degree of enclosure than in other types of stoa. This would afford greater protection to the paintings, though we shall find in the Stoa of Zeus that pictures were installed even in a fully open colonnade. The style of the mouldings can be related to that of other buildings of the middle of the 5th century. They appear to be a few years earlier than the Temple of Hephaistos and may be tentatively dated about 460 B.C. Thus these slight remains have proved remarkably helpful.

The pictures themselves of course still elude us, except that the new material confirms that they were painted on boards and were not frescoes applied directly to the walls. The literary evidence on this point is very late and had been doubted. This is not the place to describe the pictures in detail or to discuss their authorship and their importance in the history of painting. We are merely concerned with their place in the scheme of the Stoa and the Agora. It meant much to the Athenians that they had a series of masterpieces of contemporary painting openly displayed in a place frequented by all and sundry. The Marathon picture above all had a great impact on them, moral as well as aesthetic. Less fortunately, it was from about this time that large-scale painting began to dominate vase-painting, hitherto a supreme art in its own right.

We do not know how the pictures were disposed around the walls. Pausanias (I, 15) gives a sequence of four; first, a battle of Athenians and Lakedaimonians at Oinoe in the Argive territory (painter not named); then, “on the middle one of the walls” (or his words might mean “on the middle part of the walls”), the Athenians and Theseus fighting the Amazons; next,
the scene at Troy after the capture; and finally "the last part of the painting," the battle of Marathon. Thus we have two traditional subjects between two historical; beyond this the arrangement is wholly conjectural, and it is not even clear whether the paintings were confined to the long back wall or made use of the end walls too. The Marathon picture in itself consisted of three sections, according to Pausanias. At one point the Plataeans and Athenians were at grips with the enemy; the "inner part" showed the barbarians in flight; at the "extreme end of the painting" the Greeks were slaughtering them as they fell into the ships. The rest of the description, however, seems to show that the whole painting was one and that the same people were not shown three times. Mikon of Athens painted the Amazons, Polygnotos of Thasos the fall of Troy. Marathon was attributed to Panainos of Athens by Pausanias (V, II, 6) and Pliny (XXXV, 57), and to Mikon or Polygnotos by others. The authority is weakest for Polygnotos, and there certainly was a tendency to transfer works of art to the more famous artist. Perhaps Marathon was a composite work of Mikon and Panainos; and perhaps Polygnotos, the most distinguished of all, had some general direction of the whole work; some authors simply say that he "painted the Stoa." These are the only pictures of which we can be sure. We hear of others on more doubtful authority. A very confused scholion on Aristophanes, Plutus, 385 mentions a picture of the Herakleidai coming to Athens as suppliants, by Pamphilos (early 4th century) or by Apollodoros (late 4th century); and one of the notes on this passage says it was "in the Stoa of the Athenians," presumably the Poikile. Sophokles was depicted in the Poikile playing the lyre, according to his Life, but this may mean that his likeness was inserted in one of the major paintings. Yet the Stoa was indeed a Hall of Victories. One further bit of archaeological evidence illustrates this. Pausanias (I, 15, 4) mentions bronze shields dedicated in the Stoa, some of which were said to have been taken from the Lakedaimonians captured at Sphakteria in 425 B.C. Such a shield has been found. It is made of thin bronze and is oval in shape, with an elaborately braided border (Fig. 26, Pl. 49, d). It bears an inscription written by means of punch holes, in letters of the late 5th century B.C. "Ἀθήνας ἀπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκ Πύλος." Curiously it was found nowhere near the proposed site, but in a cistern, for which it had apparently served as lid, south of the Temple of Hephaistos. It had reached this ignominious position long before Pausanias’ time; the cistern was filled up about 300 B.C. Perhaps it had suffered damage and been ruthlessly discarded. The Poikile was one of the main focal points around which Athenian life in all its varied forms revolved. To judge by our plentiful evidence, it was primarily a superior lesche or place of informal conversation, and only occasionally and secondarily a place of official business. In

44 I, 15; see further Agora, III, pp. 39-41; add to testimonia given in Agora, III, Harpokration, ὅτι διμαραγνύει καὶ Δημοκράτης, J. H. Schreiner, Proceedings of Cambridge Philological Society, N.S. XVI, 1970, pp. 97-112, suggests that there were two conflicts at Marathon and two paintings, but this does not agree with the triple composition noted by Pausanias.

45 For the various attributions see Agora, III, pp. 31, 45.

46 Plutarch, Kimon, 4, 6; Harpokration and Suidas, Πολυγνωτος.

47 See Agora, III, no. 58, pp. 34-35; it is worth noting that the Altar of Eleos, with which the Herakleidai were associated, was probably near at hand (p. 135). On the whole, however, it is perhaps best to assume that Pausanias mentioned all the paintings which were there in his time. See Jeffery, op. cit., pp. 43, 46.


49 Schol. Gregory of Nazianzos, Contra Julianum, I.

50 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 946-949; Ἱσπα. Ἐπ., 1937, pp. 140-143; Picture Book, 4, nos. 39-34; Guide, p. 169. In I 3948, Hesperia, XXXV, 1956, p. 88, no. 6, A. M. Woodward very tentatively mentions the possible restoration [στω[, Ἀθηναίοις] in a small fragment of what might be an inventory of the 6th century B.C. A hole in one of the interior column drums suggests that some of the shields may have hung on the columns.
its companion stoa on the west side we shall find the order reversed. In and around the Poikile one might find, on their various occasions, priests, poets and philosophers, jurymen, jugglers and beggars. The Scholiast on Frogs, 369 tells us that the Hierophant of the Mysteries made a proclamation in the Stoa; and this would be a very suitable place, as the procession paused on its way through the Agora from the Sanctuary of Demeter and Kore in the city to their sanctuary at Eleusis. Diogenes Laertius mentions an altar; but we do not know what cult

Fig. 26. Bronze Shield Taken at Battle of Pylos, 425 B.C. (B 262, Diam. 0.97. Piet de Jong)

or cults were associated with the Poikile. Demosthenes (XLV, 17) tells of an arbitration in the Stoa, which was one of the various public buildings pressed into service as law courts; two 4th century inscriptions mention juries of five hundred sitting there and this gives some indication of the minimum size of the building. The Thirty had used it as a court of summary jurisdiction. A group of poets frequented it and bore the name Stoic before the philosophers took over. Curiously, Plato never brings Sokrates to the Poikile, but we can be quite sure that he was a familiar figure there. Some of the Cynics more or less lived in the stoas, especially the Poikile; this we can well believe, even if the story that the elderly Krates took his beautiful young bride to the Stoa can be attributed to the ill-bred jibes of Hipparchia's relations. Zeno appropriated the Stoa in the late 4th century and delivered discourses walking up and down,

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51 Agora, III, p. 31.
52 Apparently with a wooden enclosure; VII, i, 14.
53 See note 34.
54 Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 5.
55 Ibid.
56 Apuleius, Florida, 14; Musonius, XIV (ed. Hense); Clement of Alexandria, Stromateis, IV, 19, 21, indicates that the stoa in question is the Poikile.
while his hearers might sit on steps or benches (bathra);57 and instead of being called Zeno-nians by analogy with their rivals, his followers acquired the name — perhaps at first a nickname — of Stoics. Throughout antiquity the Stoa continued to be the scene of lively and informal discussion, as we see in Lucian.58 We do not know whether like the Stoa of Zeus (p. 102) it ever acquired an annex in the form of enclosed rooms behind; these might have been useful for philosophical seminars.

Bishop Synesios of Cyrene, writing about A.D. 400, provides a sad epilogue.59 The Poikile, he found, had lost its paintings and was now a mere husk of its former self. A certain proconsul had taken away the boards to which Polygnotos had committed his art, recently, it appears; Synesios speaks as if with disappointment. In what shape the pictures can have survived the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 it is difficult to imagine; presumably in any case they were subjected to a good deal of retouching from time to time. But the fabric was apparently still maintained until about A.D. 400; the fresh color on the fragments suggests that they come from a building quite recently in use. But not long afterwards came the final destruction, and stones from the Poikile made their way into the wall where they were found, built alongside a millstream.

**STOA OF THE HERMS**

“Pass on in thought,” says Aischines (III, 186), “to the Stoa Poikile too; the memorials of all your great deeds are set up in the Agora.” Immediately before this (183–185) he has been speaking of the monument which commemorated the victory of Kimon and his colleagues over the Persians at Eion in Thrace in 475 B.C. The Demos, he says, allowed the victors to set up three stone Herms “in the Stoa of the Herms,” on condition that the names of the generals themselves were not inscribed. It was perhaps this monument that inspired the picture by the Pan Painter on a red-figured pelike now in the Louvre (Pl. 50, b).60 Aischines’ words suggest, though they hardly prove, that the monument was adjacent to the Poikile. The “Stoa of the Herms” has been the subject of much doubt and difficulty. We meet it nowhere else in ancient literature; Demosthenes, speaking of the Eion monument (XX, 112), says nothing of a stoa. But some of the notoriously confused notes on what the ancient commentators call the “three stoas of Athens” include the Stoa of the Herms.61 By a stroke of unusual good fortune a solid piece of indubitable evidence came to light in 1962, when, in the course of work in Theseion Street, a short distance to the northwest of the Agora, two stelai were taken from the wall of a building of Roman (possibly Antonine) date overlying earlier houses.62 Both are inscribed with decrees honoring the cavalry officers, Hipparchs and Phylarchs. One was to be set up “beside the Herms”;63 of the other, dated in the archonship of Nikias, 282/1 B.C., two copies were to be set up, one in the shrine of Poseidon (i.e. at the Kolonos Hippios, away to the northwest), the other “in the Stoa of the Herms.”

57 Diogenes Laertius, VII, i, 5, 14, 28; see further Agora, III, p. 31.

58 Lucian, Juppiter Tragedeus, 15, 16, 32, 33.

59 See note 38 above.

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61 See Agora, III, pp. 102ff., nos. 301, 313; cf. ibid., pp. 21, 30.


63 This stone is not complete, and the date is not precisely known, but there is reason to believe that it falls between 286 and 281 B.C. The formula “by the Herms” also occurs in a decree in honor of the Hipparchs of 188/7 B.C., found in the Kerameikos, and published by Habicht in Abh. Mit, LXXVI, 1961, p. 137. I 5143, Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 78, no. 155, found in the wall of a modern house southeast of the Agora, is a fragment of a decree in honor of the Hipparchs, ca. 160 B.C.; below, p. 159, note 219.
Thus one need no longer question the existence of a stoa of this name, or tamper with the text of Aischines; and one need not look far from Theseion Street for the site of the building (Fig. 7, Pls. 1, 5, 11). The traditional square pillars, surmounted by a head of the god, were a favorite type of dedication at Athens, and they stood everywhere in the streets and at gateways of shrines and private houses. But there was one particular spot where they were so numerous that it was called simply “The Herms.” These were the Herms par excellence. Even before the recent discoveries there was good evidence that this place was at the northwestern entrance, the main approach or “gateway” to the Agora. A reliable ancient commentator says that the Herms “are from the Poikile and the Stoa of the Basileus” (p. 85). Since he adds that they were “set up in large numbers both by private individuals and by magistrates,” one may presume that they accumulated in a somewhat haphazard fashion. The bases found in front of the newly discovered Stoa Basileios (p. 85) no doubt belonged to “The Herms.”

Many Herms have been found in the region of the Agora. They are mostly late and archaistic, but one head, of fine quality though much battered, can be dated in the four-seventies. Though found further south, near the Tholos, it just possibly belongs to Kimon’s dedication. Its nose was knocked off in ancient times, perhaps in the mutilation of the Herms in 415 B.C., and a replacement was attached by means of a dowel (Pl. 50, a).

The bronze Hermes Agoraios seen by Pausanias (I, 15, 1) on the north side of the Agora as he approached the Poikile, near a gateway on which the Athenians had erected a trophy of their victory over Pleistarchos brother of Kassandros, was presumably a fully anthropomorphic statue, not a columnar Herm. Lucian speaks of its fine lines and graceful contours, much copied by later sculptors. According to Philochoros the Hermes Agoraios was originally set up in the archonship of Kebris, before the Persian Wars. Perhaps what Lucian and Pausanias saw was a later replacement of a more primitive figure destroyed or removed by the Persians.

The Herms seem to have played an important part in the exercises and ceremonial rides of the cavalry. A comic fragment and a passage of Xenophon show them mustering there. Thus it is not surprising that they should choose to set up monuments and inscriptions near the Herms. The well known base bearing the signature of the sculptor Bryaxis, which commemorated the victories of certain Phylarchs in the cavalry contest known as the Anthippasia, was found in situ in 1891; in the light of the more recent excavations one can see that it stood just behind the south end of the Stoa Basileios.

The Stoa of the Herms, with Kimon’s monument, was presumably an important element in the general scheme. If it was put up at the time of the original dedication it was the first stoa

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64 See Agora, III, no. 301, pp. 103-105.
65 Thucydides, VI, 27, 1; Pausanias, I, 24, 3. On the whole subject of the Herms at Athens see now E. B. Harrison, Agora, XI, pp. 108-175; cf. p. 169 below.
67 See Harrison, Agora, XI, no. 156. For possible bases of Herms, besides those mentioned on p. 85 above, note especially Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 96; XXVIII, 1959, p. 8, a large poros base northeast of the Temple of Ares, probably of the early 5th century, adjacent to the Panathenaic Way, in which in fact it seems to be the cause of a slight bend at this point; cf. also Hesperia, XXI, 1932, p. 102; XXIX, 1960, pp. 36-37.
68 Iuppiter Tragoedus, 33; Agora, III, pp. 102f.
69 Jacoby, F.G.H., III, no. 326, 31; Agora, III, no. 298, pp. 102-103; Agora, XI, p. 112; the exact date of Kebris is not known.
70 A particular Herm which may have belonged to “the Herms” was the Hermes Tetrakephalos; see p. 169 for this and other notable Herms.
72 I.G., II², 3190; Agora, III, p. 108; for the Anthippasia see p. 121 below. In 1970 a fragment of another monument commemorating a victory in an equestrian contest was found within a few feet of the Bryaxis base. A two-faced relief (I 7167) shows on one side a file of horsemen with their commander; on the other side an inscription records a victory of the tribe Leontis with the canting figure of a lion; Hesperia, XL, 1970, pp. 271-272, pl. 57, c. Travlos, P.D.A., p. 18 shows the Bryaxis base. Cf. also N. Pharaklas, Δηλ., XXIV, 1969, A', pp. 66-73.
STOAS

built in the Agora after the Persian invasion. But the possibility comes to mind that Kimon merely dedicated the three Hermes and the Stoa was built later, in more affluent times, to give them a distinguished setting. One gathers from the paucity of the literary sources that it did not play such an important and varied part in Athenian life as the Poikile or the Basileios. Pausanias passed it in silence, mentioning only the Hermes Agoraic (I, 15, 1) and adding comments elsewhere on the Athenian addiction to the dedication of Hermes (I, 24, 3) and on the Hermes in the Ptolemaion in particular (I, 17, 2); but perhaps the Kimonian Hermes and their Stoa had been irreparably damaged by Sulla.

STOA OF ZEUS ELEUTHERIOS

The earliest remains on the site of the Stoa of Zeus, toward the north end of the west side, seem to belong to a modest archaic shrine. On and near the spot later occupied by the third interior column from the south was a foundation which probably carried a statue, and around this a bedding was cut on the west, the south and the north, apparently to carry a low retaining wall on the sides where the ground level rose. The whole monument has an orientation slightly different from that of the Stoa. Its exact date cannot be determined, but one can be reasonably sure that the deity worshipped was Zeus, since this spot was undoubtedly sacred to him in later times.

Some 25 m. to the east, adjacent to the ancient street on the west side of the Agora, were found the remains of an altar which may have belonged to the same cult. Cuttings in the rock and slight remnants of the foundation show that it was about 3.65 m. north to south and at least 1.22 m. east to west. Beddings for orthostates are visible, and working chips found in the trench show that the superstructure was of Pentelic marble. The altar may have survived the Persian War in usable shape and continued in use for several centuries; in the end it was built over by a much larger structure (p. 103).

The invasion of the area of the Stoa by potters and metalworkers, which followed the Persian destruction, seems to have been of many years' duration. Their workshops have left characteristic traces (p. 170), and the debris from these activities accumulated in several successive layers. If one may judge from modern practice, the potters did not abandon their shop until very soon before work began on the Stoa.

The Stoa of Zeus was much more than one of those colonnades which were frequently placed along one side of a precinct to enclose and adorn the area and to provide shelter for the worshippers; it was a great public building in its own right, serving a number of different purposes.

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73 Aischines was certainly capable of historical anachronism in this matter: see Harrison, Agora, XI, p. 110.
74 For the problems involved in the epigrams inscribed on Kimon's Hermes see F. Jacoby, Hesperia, XIV, 1945, pp. 185ff.; Agora, III, p. 104; Harrison, Agora, XI, pp. 110-111; B. D. Meritt, in The Aegean and the Near East, pp. 373ff., where it is shown that the Marathon epigrams were probably on a base which carried two Hermes, and this monument too may well have stood among "the Hermes." J. de la GeniBre, R.E.A., LXII, 1960, pp. 249-258, suggests that a group of three Hermes (an unusual subject) on a pelike by the Pan Painter, dated on style ca. 470 B.C., may be inspired by Kimon's Hermes; see Harrison, Agora, XI, p. 111, pl. 65, a, and our Plate 50, b.
76 See Agora, XI, pp. 109f.
77 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 8ff.; the central foundation was about 1.78 by 2m., with a single course of soft yellow poros, mostly cut away when the stoa was built. In the bedding were pieces of Acropolis limestone and fragments of early poros column drums. Another block of the same poros, with a circular sinking in its top, just to the northwest, may have carried another dedication.
78 Ibid., pp. 10ff.; at the southwest a single course of irregular blocks of Kara limestone survives, with one block of Acropolis stone incorporated.
79 Ibid., p. 20. The boundary marker I 2488, Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 374, no. 25, Agora, III, no. 39, p. 29, may perhaps be associated with the clearing up of the site.
Yet it was named after the god and was in some sense consecrated to him; and it certainly provided a splendid background and setting for the shrine, with its old altar and new statue (p. 101), and made ample amends for the lack of a temple.

To anticipate conclusions briefly, on the evidence of Pausanias (I, 3, 3) the building can be identified with certainty as the stoa which was sacred to Zeus Eleutherios; and now that another stoa has been found further north (p. 88) one should no longer give it the alternative name "Basileios." Placed at the very end of the great Periclean building program, it shows an interesting new development in stoa design, the addition of projecting wings.

The site was beyond the range of Dörpfeld's excavations on the west side in 1896–1897; but a little of the north end had come to light as early as 1891 when the cutting was made for the railway. Even then the discovery of the base of one of the interior supports suggested a stoa. The main part of the building was the first important monument revealed by the excavations which began in 1931, and since the southern part of the north wing was found soon after, the whole design could be recovered by symmetrical restoration of the north end.

The remains are very scanty, but there are enough key fragments to make a convincing restoration possible in almost every detail (Pls. 5, 12, a). The general plan of the building is revealed in broad cuttings in the bedrock. Sections of the foundation have been found in situ, mainly on the back and south side. At the north end five or more courses were necessary because of the slope. Little is left on the front, but fragments conveniently define the inner front corners of both wings. A soft white poros was used for the foundations, with a harder and darker poros in those parts which were to be exposed to the air. Five blocks of a marble step are in position at the west end of the south side. The width of the foundations and of the cuttings show that this step was surmounted by two more, with a fourth set below them on the front of the building to provide for the steep downward slope of the roadway toward the north. Both Pentelic and Hymettian marble were used in the steps, the dark Hymettian perhaps being confined, in the front of the building at least, to the bottom step as in the wings of the Propylaia.

The original floor of the Stoa was probably of clay, but this would seem to have been replaced in the early Roman period with a flagging of marble slabs, which in turn were completely removed in late antiquity. A line of lighter blocks runs continuously along the walls inside, and no doubt served as a bedding for stone benches. The platform of the Stoa has now been built up to a uniform level with miscellaneous ancient material, so as to define and preserve the general outline of the building.

The Stoa was no doubt damaged in the Herulian invasion of A.D. 267, and the material of the superstructure was removed with great thoroughness early in the 5th century for re-use elsewhere. Three of the wall blocks are known, however, through having been incorporated in the lowest foundations of the Annex that was erected to the rear of the Stoa in the early Roman period (p. 102). These blocks are of Aeginetan poros, smooth dressed outside, roughly stippled inside. The orthostates may have been of marble, but none has survived.

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80 Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 7; p. 222 below.
82 Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 23; but see now XXXV, 1966, pp. 176ff.
83 To hold up the friable rock of the hillside a retaining wall was built parallel to the back wall of the stoa at a distance of 1.10 m. Beyond the south end of the stoa it continued about 11 m. southwards, and then made an eastwards return which was later built over by the Temple of Apollo (p. 136); behind the stoa this wall, which was later but not much later than the stoa itself, was of soft creamy poros, with some blocks of conglomerate; in the southeast extension broken limestone was used; Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 55f.
84 The blocks measure 1.023 x 0.702 x 0.351 m. A shallow V-shaped channel in one of the end joint surfaces was probably intended to receive poured lead to waterproof the wall; Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 24. One face of each block was finished smooth, the other, the one remote from the channel, was stippled with a single point. A well preserved frieze block from the Stoa of Zeus (A 3924) found in 1970 in a Byzantine foundation to the northeast of the Stoa shows the same stippling on the side.
Both outer and inner columns were of Pentelic marble. A fragment of a bottom drum, two almost complete top drums (Pl. 51, b), and small bits of capitals make possible the restoration of the Doric outer colonnade.\textsuperscript{85} A few small scraps of the inner columns\textsuperscript{86} show that they were unfluted, and that the egg and dart on the echinus of the Ionic capital was merely incised and painted; full carving was probably not considered necessary in an interior column on which the play of light and shade would not be so important (cf. p. 104) as on the exterior; but it should also be noted that a painted rather than a carved echinus is characteristic of Attic Ionic in contrast to Asiatic Ionic from the late 6th century well into the second half of the 5th century B.C.

Very little of the Pentelic marble outer epistyle has been found. The triglyphs were cut from tan-colored Aeginetan poros, very light in weight. The metopes were carved separately and set in slots in the face of the frieze; to judge by a fragment which probably belonged to one of them, they were of Pentelic marble.\textsuperscript{87} The frieze was no doubt continued along the side walls. Several blocks of the horizontal geison survive, including one from the south inner angle (Pl. 51, a), and small fragments of the raking geison. It appears that the horizontal and raking geisa did not combine into one block where they met, but the former was carried separately to the extreme corner.\textsuperscript{88} The Stoa was roofed with terracotta tiles of Corinthian type of which only a few small fragments survive. From the treatment of the tops of the geisa, however, one may infer that the terracotta extended to the horizontal edges of the roof, terminating probably in simple eaves tiles enlivened by antefixes; the raking geison above the pediments carried a marble sima.\textsuperscript{89} Calculation of the relative heights of the outer and inner columns shows that the ceiling must have sloped like the roof, the rafters being visible from below. This was in fact the usual arrangement in stoas which had exterior Doric and interior Ionic columns.

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\textsuperscript{85} The second drum, very similar to the first, was found just north of the Stoa in 1970 (A 3925). The lower diameter of the columns is calculated as 0.786 m., upper as 0.599 m.; Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 25; XL, 1971, p. 277.

\textsuperscript{86} Giving an upper diameter of ca. 0.566 m., lower of ca. 0.686 m.; Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 26–27.

\textsuperscript{87} Our knowledge of the frieze has been greatly increased by the block found in 1970: A 3924; above, note 84. This gives us for the first time the full height of the frieze (0.612 m.) and its full thickness (0.789 m.) The inner face was crowned by a moulding now broken away but clearly to be restored as a hawksbeak above a smooth fascia. Cf. Hesperia, XL, 1971, pp. 276–278, fig. 5. On the treatment of the re-entrant angle cf. J. J. Coulton, B.S.A., LXI, 1966, p. 135. Below the square mutule of the corner geison the frieze is to be restored with shortened metopes meeting in the angle.

\textsuperscript{88} Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 91.

\textsuperscript{89} The tops of the horizontal geisa are finished smooth in a narrow band along the outer edge; back of this band they are rough. The one surviving fragment of the raking geison which retains its top (A 369; Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 33, fig. 21) shows a carefully dressed upper surface with the characteristic corrosion left by a marble sima undercut with a relieving surface.
That the disposition of the outer columns was as shown in the plan (Pl. 5) is safely deduced from the dimensions of the triglyphs and metopes and the spacing of the interior columns, of which all the foundations have been found with the exception of the front column in the north wing. It is highly probable that the columns of the central part were more widely spaced than those of the wings (Fig. 27), with a third triglyph and metope to each intercolumnar space. One reason for the use of the Aeginetan stone in the triglyphs, instead of the finer but heavier marble, was no doubt to decrease the load on the long epistyle blocks. The wide intercolumniations would make the main body of the Stoa more open and accessible, while the normal, old-fashioned spacing was more appropriate to the temple-like façades of the wings. The scheme with one interior column opposite every second exterior was common in stoas. Since the bedding for benches comes to an end before reaching the front of the wings, it is assumed that the side walls stopped short too, ending in antae and allowing each wing to have a fully prostyle façade.

A building of such elegance and prominence called for a certain amount of sculpture as a final touch; this was provided in the form of figural akroteria (Pls. 51, c, 52). Such akroteria are remarkable on a stoa, but our Stoa was exceptional both in the way it presented its temple-like façades to the square and in the emphasis placed on the associated cult of Zeus as attested by the ancient authors and inscriptions. The façade of each wing was surmounted to left and right by a Nike, an appropriate choice of subject in view of the peculiarly close relations between Nike and Zeus as exemplified for instance by her appearance as a central akroterion on his temple at Olympia. Here in front of our Stoa one was reminded of the presence of Zeus by the famous statue mentioned by Pausanias. Of the Nikai a torso, a head, and a number of other fragments have been found in the immediate vicinity. The messenger goddess appeared to be grazing the roof of the building in her swift descent. The impression of tempestuous movement is still vividly conveyed by the billowing drapery; originally the effect was still further enhanced by the great wings. In striking contrast to the vibrant figure of the Nike is the cool composure of the face, as so often in Attic art of the late 5th century. On the purely technical side one will note the skill with which the hair was drawn forward so as to shield and preserve the delicate features of the face through more than six centuries of exposure to the elements.

90 Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 31. The overall dimensions of the building are length 46.55 m., depth 18 m.
91 Hesperia, IV, 1935, p. 374; VI, 1937, pp. 37–39, 66–68; Guide, pp. 136f. The principal surviving elements are the torso S 312 (Pl. 52) found to the east and within 3 m. of the front of the south wing of the Stoa, and the head of a similar figure S 373 (Pl. 51, c) which lay in the angle between the south wing and the central part of the front. Numerous smaller fragments of wings and drapery came to light in front of the south wing. An ankle lay at the south side of the north wing (S 795a). A pair of feet (S 2335, S 2357) and a mass of billowing drapery (S 2336) came from the excavation of the south end of the Stoa Basileios, i.e. just north of the northeast corner of the Stoa of Zeus.

All these fragments both large and small are remarkably fresh as though they had remained virtually undisturbed where they fell in late antiquity. They lay close above the latest ground level of the ancient Agora, enveloped in a deep deposit of the 5th century after Christ. In precisely the same context, and in some cases close beside the fragments of sculpture, were found marble blocks from the façade of the Stoa and chips from the breaking up of its entablature. That the architectural members did indeed remain or were broken up where they fell is nicely illustrated by the fact that the geson from the inner angle between the south wing and the central part of the front was found on the floor of the Stoa just to the southwest of the angle. This evidence ties the marble Nikai very closely to the Stoa of Zeus.

The evidence of the excavation is not decisive, however, regarding the assignment of places on the south wing. The well preserved torso S 312 (Pl. 52) lay somewhat closer to the northeast than to the southeast corner of the wing. On the other hand the head S 373 (Pl. 51, c), which must belong to the pendant of S 312, having been found to the northwest of the northeast corner of the wing, is also a claimant for that position. It is perhaps easier to suppose that the torso S 312 fell from the corner position near which it was found and that the head S 373 was moved a few feet by those who wrecked the building. On the other hand Travlos achieved a satisfactory effect by assigning S 312 to the south corner of the south wing in restoring the façade in 1936; Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 54, fig. 34.

We have little or nothing for the central places on the Stoa of Zeus. A marble ankle from the right leg of a figure appreciably larger in scale than the Nikai but very similar to them in style and weathering (S 2939), found in the 5/6th century A.D. layer overlying the Stoa Basileios, i.e. just north of the Stoa of Zeus, might well derive from a central akroterion above the north wing.
As regards date, the architectural style of the Stoa, in both general proportions and decorative detail, indicates at every point that it follows closely in the line of the Propylaia and the other great Periclean buildings. It may well have been designed about 430 B.C. Perhaps construction proceeded slowly during the war and was completed after the peace of 421 B.C. The combination of materials would support such a date; the introduction of the bluish Hymettian marble can be taken well back into the 5th century, and the Stoa may have inaugurated its use alongside Pentelic. Such criteria are apt to be imprecise and variable. Fortunately they are supplemented by good evidence from pottery found in such contexts as the floor of the potter’s shop which ceased to exist when the Stoa was built and the fill under the floor of the Stoa itself. The extreme lower limit for this material may be placed a little after 430 B.C. The style of the akroteria, at least that of the marble Nikai which would naturally be the latest elements, points to the end of the 5th or beginning of the 4th century.

The Stoa represents the successful achievement of two aims by the unknown architects, in addition to the provision of covered accommodation for various social and political purposes, namely, to give some architectural distinction to the west side of the Agora, and to design a stoa which was in itself a satisfying architectural unit. The Agora of Kimon, with its elegant arboriculture (p. 20), must have maintained something of the aspect of a superior village green; the principal public buildings, apart from any patched-up archaic structures, were the Tholos and the Poikile, and they were remote from each other and unrelated. In the middle years of the 5th century little was done to change the situation, except that the Temple of Hephaistos transformed the view to the west. But perhaps towards the end of his life Perikles made some amends, diverting some of his architects and part of their limited labor force to the square below, with the object of providing at least one worthy building, specially designed to meet the needs of the Agora. The architects no doubt had the relation between the Stoa and the Hephaisteion above very much in mind; the new building formed an important part of what was to be a kind of baseline above which the temple rose. The effect of the confrontation of the Stoa of Zeus and the Poikile, with the old Basileios in between, we can only imagine, though we know that they represented different types of stoa. The essential character of the Agora was not greatly changed; the general impression must have remained disjointed and sporadic.

The addition of projecting wings is a particular application of a principle which is found in different forms in various buildings in this period and later. We see it in the Propylaia, for example, but there the wings are more like independent units, and face inwards, towards one another, instead of forwards. The paraskenia subsequently added to scene buildings in theaters are another specialized version. Outlandish origins have sometimes been sought for the winged form of stoa. It has been called a conscious imitation of a type of oriental palace façade with projecting wings. It is in fact simply and purely a Greek stoa which an ingenious architect has embellished by bending the ends forward at angles of ninety degrees and treating them like temple façades. For practical purposes, additional covered space was thus provided. The Stoa of Zeus was probably the best result which an architect could achieve if he wished to make of a stoa a complete and self-contained unit. Yet it remained almost unique and did not become an established type. There were indeed a number of later buildings which showed a certain

92 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 46–47.
93 Ibid., pp. 47ff.
94 E. B. Harrison (A.J.A., LXV, 1961, p. 190) would put the marble Nikai after the Erechtheion and Nike Temple Parapet, perhaps therefore after the restoration of the democracy in 403 B.C.
96 Even so the question may be raised whether Mnesikles was the architect of the stoa; cf. Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 58.
resemblance, but in almost every case there are important differences. A building in the agora of Thasos looks like a small version of the Stoa of Zeus, all the more so in Martin’s more recent reconstruction which gives the wings columnar facades instead of solid walls; but the central colonnade is relatively very short, in fact little more than a recess. In a stoa at Kalaureia and in the so-called Bouleuterion at Mantinea the wings formed separate chambers. In the Stoa of Philip at Megalopolis and the Stoa of Antigonus at Delos the wings are a comparatively insignificant element in the design, because of the enormous length of the colonnade. In general, “stoic” architecture in the 4th century and Hellenistic times did not follow the lead of the Athenian architects. Instead, stoas of ever greater length were built, and complex rectangular schemes were created. The Stoa of Zeus was something of a tour de force. A stoa by its very nature was essentially an appendage rather than a complete architectural creation. It could be attached to another structure; but even when it was free-standing it was an appendage of an open space, defining it and forming its edge and providing part of it with a roof.

Between the wings of the Stoa the excavations brought to light slight remains of four statue bases (Pl. 3). These presumably carried the statues which Pausanias saw in front of the Stoa (I, 3, 2): Konon and his son Timotheos, Euagoras King of the Cypriots, Zeus Eleutherios, and the Emperor Hadrian. Zeus Eleutherios, also called Soter, to whom the Stoa was sacred, received these titles because he had saved the Athenians from enslavement by the Medes. His statue was set up, it was said, after the Persian danger had passed; but the cult of Zeus may have already existed in the little archaic shrine (p. 96), and the stoa, it now appears, was built some years later. The obvious position for Zeus is on the third base from the north which stood on the axis of the Stoa. Only three blocks of the foundation survive, but a cutting shows that it was circular and 4.20 m. in diameter. This base is closely related to and probably contemporary with the Stoa, but of course the statue may have been earlier. We do not know how the god was represented, perhaps striding forward with his thunderbolt, like the “God of Artemision,” to scatter the enemies of Athens.

The southernmost base on which Hadrian probably stood was an exedra-like structure of appropriate date. This Hadrian may well be the armored torso, in Pentelic marble, found near the northeast corner of the Metron in the Great Drain, and now re-erected near its finding-place (Pl. 53, b). It was probably removed from its place of honor after the destruction of the Stoa; with head, arms and legs trimmed off, it served as a cover slab for the drain. The decoration on the breastplate, which suggests that the figure is indeed Hadrian, shows Athena, flanked by an owl and a serpent and crowned by two winged Victories, above a she-wolf which is suckling Romulus and Remus.

The pictures which Pausanias saw in the Stoa behind the statues comprised three subjects, all by Euphranor: the Twelve Gods; “on the wall opposite” or “beyond” (the word is περίπαυς) Theseus, Democracy and Demos; and the Athenians taking part in the cavalry engagement at Mantinea. The battle of Mantinea was fought in 362 B.C., and presumably Euphranor painted soon after. Yet the lead waterproofing mentioned above (p. 97, note 84) probably indicates that from the beginning the Stoa was intended to be a picture gallery. We have even less evidence of the character and arrangement of the pictures than in the Poikile. The opening cut later in the back wall (p. 102) may have necessitated some rearrangement, which would not be

98 Agora, III, pp. 25ff.
99 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 56ff., 68.
difficult if as in the Poikile the pictures were painted on wooden panels. Eustathios\(^{101}\) tells us that Euphranor derived inspiration for his Zeus from hearing a school recitation of a passage of Homer. Perhaps one may see a dim reflection of the Demos and Demokratia\(^{102}\) in a relief carved at the head of a stele which records a decree designed to forestall any attempt to overthrow democracy after the defeat of the Greeks by Philip of Macedon in 338 B.C.; Demos is shown as a bearded old gentleman seated on a chair, Demokratia as a woman standing beside him and placing a wreath on his head (Pl. 53, a).

Like the Poikile, the Stoa of Zeus contained monuments of heroic deeds; the shields of Leokritos and Kydias, who died fighting against the Macedonians and the Gauls early in the 3rd century B.C., were dedicated here to Zeus.\(^{103}\) Again like the Poikile, the building was available as a lesche or lounge; Sokrates strolled or sat there with his friends;\(^{104}\) and Diogenes the Cynic made himself at home there (Fig. 27).\(^{105}\) But, although we have no clear evidence, it is unlikely that the Athenians built such a handsome building only for casual use by gossips and philosophers; and to do honor to the god a normal temple, equivalent perhaps to one of the wings of the Stoa, would have been sufficient. The fact that stelai were set up in front of it\(^{106}\) suggests that the building had an official character and function too. In view of the very close juxtaposition of the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus, one would perhaps be justified in assuming that the two formed in some sense an administrative unit and that the later stoa was regarded as a grand extension of its small predecessor. Even though we do not happen to have literary or epigraphical evidence as in the case of the Poikile (p. 93), we can well believe that the Stoa of Zeus too on occasion accommodated a law court. Aristophanes' joke\(^{107}\) about sending the citizens to the various stoas "to dine" has a sharper point if they were normally in the habit of going to these buildings, including the Stoa of Zeus, as panels of jurymen.

In early Roman times a large two-roomed annex was built behind the Stoa (Pl. 8).\(^{108}\) Even before this, in the 2nd century B.C., a simple rectangular building had been placed behind the northern part of the Stoa, but distinct from it and entered probably from the north. What purpose this served is quite uncertain. It was not entirely abandoned in favor of the later building, but it was pushed further to the north.

The new annex was set a little north of the central axis of the Stoa, possibly to keep it clear of the Arsenal (p. 80). Even so a great mass of rock had to be cut out of the hillside to make room. The building was almost completely stripped after A.D. 267, but its plan can be recovered. It measured 16.70 m. north to south by 15.30 m. east to west and was divided into two cella-like rooms side by side, each with a porch which probably had two columns in antis. Small inward-projecting piers flanked the entrances. Recent investigation has shown that the building did not make contact with the old Stoa; a narrow passage was left free. A section of the back wall of the Stoa was removed and probably replaced by a row of five columns. The foundations of the annex are of re-used conglomerate blocks; but in the second course of the dividing wall are three poros blocks which probably came from the dismantled section of the Stoa itself (p. 97); and on either side of this wall are supplementary foundations which must have supported benches. Towards the back of the southern chamber are the remains of a large base which may well have carried three figures. One marble block of its top course sur-

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\(^{101}\) On Iliad, I, 529; cf. Agora, III, p. 27.


\(^{103}\) Pausanias, I, 26, 2; X, 21, 5–6.

\(^{104}\) (Plato), Eryxias, 393 a; Theages, 121 a.

\(^{105}\) Diogenes Laertius, VI, ii, 22.

\(^{106}\) I.C., II, 1075, line 17 (restored); I 749, Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 416, no. 13.


vives, bearing a socket for the right foot of a bronze statue. In the other chamber were found
a number of slabs of a marble floor, so arranged as to suggest a similar base.

The aspect of the rooms strongly suggests that they were shrines. A small marble fragment
found in a late wall on the site, and almost certainly derived from the base in the south room,
is inscribed δ] Δηνικ —— —— ευφ ———. Thus we have the Athenian people honoring a Roman
personage (this is indicated by the use of ευφ, i.e. filius). The probable date of the building is
Augustan or a little later, and a strong case has been made for installing in it a cult of Augustus
and the imperial family. In the dedication of the round temple east of the Parthenon we read
of a “Priest of the goddess Roma and Augustus Soter on the Acropolis,” which implies a
cult in the lower city too. An association with Zeus Soter-Eleutherios would be very appropriate.
The twin cella may have housed some imperial Roman abstraction or perhaps the reigning
Emperor after Augustus.

It may have been at this time that the old altar of Zeus in front of the Stoa (p. 96) was
built over by a much larger structure, presumably a more pretentious altar, perhaps with steps
on its west side. Its foundations, which are all that remains, measure 13.25 m. north to south
and 7.20 m. east to west and are of soft white poros blocks, again re-used.

STOA OF ATTALOS

For two centuries the Agora retained its peculiar character, sporadic and somewhat archaic,
in the disposition of the stoas as in other respects. The plan looks essentially the same in 200
as in 400 B.C. No new stoas were added. Then in the 2nd century the appearance of the site
was radically changed by the addition of stoas of enormous length on the eastern and southern
sides. Each was between twice and three times as long as the Stoa of Zeus. That the Athenians
were able to engage in such vast projects at this time was due mainly to the patronage and
munificence of Hellenistic monarchs, in rivalry with one another.

With the introduction of such long buildings, which from the 4th century were not uncommon
in Greek public places, the whole idea of the stoa’s architectural function is changed. The building
is no longer a compact unit; it forms the whole of one side of the Agora, and is a background
and setting for large numbers of other monuments. The two great Athenian stoas, the Stoa of
Attalos and the Middle Stoa, were still not closely-knit parts of a single design, as were for
example the colonnades of the South Agora at Miletos. They were indeed placed at right
angles and balanced one another on either side of the Panathenaic Way. Their floor levels were
the same, and each had a broad terrace in front. But they were built in very different styles;
each had its distinct character and purpose, and they were probably owed to different patrons
(pp. 28, 68, 104).

The so-called Middle Stoa, extending for about 146 m. across the southern part of the Agora,
as one of the largest buildings of Athens; yet its existence was not known or suspected be-
fore the excavations. It belonged to the group of buildings, partly remodelled, partly quite
new, which now occupied the southern sector, and its detailed description can best be given
along with the other elements of this complex (p. 66). It had a Doric colonnade on all sides;
but the south, facing on the lesser square, was the principal façade, and the north was treated
to some extent as the back of the building (p. 66). However, the Stoa now provided an effec-

110 I.G., IP, 3173. For the numerous altars dedicated to Augustus and found at Athens, mostly in or near the Agora or the
Roman Market Place, see A. Benjamin and A. E. Rauschkeck, Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 75–85.
111 H. Knackfus, Milet, I, vii, Der Südmark, 1924; Martin, Agora Greco, pp. 398–401; Wycherley, How the Greeks Built
Cities, pp. 71 ff.
tive southern limit and façade for the main part of the Agora, and a spacious terrace was built against its northern front, from which the Panathenaic procession and other activities could be seen. Though huge in area, the Stoa was modest in height compared with the Stoa of Attalos, and in course of time it was dominated in the view from the north by the Odeion (p. 111). In style and construction too it was comparatively modest; the principal material was poros.

The Stoa of Attalos II, a gift to Athens from the Pergamene king (159–138 B.C.), is the one building of the Agora proper of which a considerable part has always remained visible (Pl. 56). After the destruction of the colonnade in A.D. 267 the back wall was incorporated in the Post-Herulian Wall. Sections at either end continued to stand, to their full height in places, until modern times (Pl. 56, b). They were cleared of accretions and the site was excavated by the Greek archaeological authorities in the course of the second half of the 19th century. Many more details were recovered when the site was being prepared for the rebuilding of the Stoa as a museum (Pl. 55, a; p. 232), and as it now stands (Pl. 54) the building can be considered a very faithful reproduction, except where deliberate changes have been made, for example by the insertion of larger windows in the back wall.

The total length of the building was about 116 m., its breadth nearly 20 m. (Fig. 28). There is evidence that in the original design it was a little shorter, but three more shops were added during construction. There were two storeys, and on each the spacious columnar hall had behind it a row of twenty-one rooms.

In the northern part, where the Stoa cut through the site of the peristyle court (p. 60), large substructures had to be built, reaching a depth of nearly eight meters at the end; to the south, the rock had to be cut away as the ground level rose, and all trace of any earlier buildings was obliterated. The foundations were of conglomerate, the walls of a hard poros from Peiraeus, the door frames and other trimmings in the lower storey and the whole columnar façade were of marble. A broad terrace was built in front of the Stoa; the approach, as now, was at the southern end of the west front, where ground level and terrace floor approximate. A shallow gutter cut in limestone blocks was set in front of the three marble steps. This gutter, in addition to the water from the roof of the Stoa, also carried off the overflow from a large fountain installed in the south end of the terrace. Already in the Roman period the fountain had fallen victim to the same road-widening operation as the south stair of the Stoa. It has been restored symbolically in the recent re-building of the Stoa. The floor of the lower hall was a mosaic of marble chips. The main colonnade comprised 45 Doric columns, which in their lower parts, where damage might be expected, were given straight facets instead of flutes (Pl. 57, b). The hall was divided into two aisles by twenty-two Ionic columns, unfluted as was usual in interior stoa columns, in which the play of light and shade was not so important as in the outer row. The shops behind had a uniform depth of 4.91 m., but varied in width from 4.91 to 3.42 m. They had massive wooden doors, skilfully hung; additional light and air were provided by narrow slits in the back walls, as in the upper storey too. Above, the outer columns were made in the form of Hymettian marble, most of the rest of the façade of Pentelic; the door jambs, orthostates, etc. were of Hymettian. Monumental terracing was characteristic of Pergamene architecture. In the Agora the great terraces on east and south contrasted with the gentler manipulation of the natural levels practised in earlier periods.

112 His brother Eumenes had already donated a magnificent stoa on the south side of the Acropolis adjoining the theater; see Judeich, Topographie, pp. 94, 325f.; Travlos, П.Е.А., p. 86.
114 The steps were of Hymettian marble, most of the rest of the façade of Pentelic; the doorjambs, orthostates, etc. were of Hymettian.
115 Monumental terracing was characteristic of Pergamene architecture. In the Agora the great terraces on east and south contrasted with the gentler manipulation of the natural levels practised in earlier periods.
116 The doorways had a height of 3.42 m. and a width at the bottom of 1.71 m.
of two Ionic half-columns, back and front, with a short straight section between; in this way they could be given suitable proportions in relation to the lower order and still have the necessary strength (Pl. 57, a). Between them ran a marble balustrade carved to represent lattice-work with alternating panels of net and scale design.117 Seeking still further variety in the treatment of the columns, for the upper interior order the architects used an adaptation of an Egyptian palm capital.

The upper floor was reached by means of stairways set against the ends of the building; but the southern stair was abandoned about A.D. 100 to leave more room for the adjoining street; it was replaced by stairs in the southernmost room, as in the reconstruction. Beneath the original stairways were barrel-vaulted alcoves with arched windows, and marble benches on three sides in the manner of an exedra (Fig. 29). At the higher level were rectangular openings with columnar supports.118 Great use was made of massive timbers in the epistyles and the beams

117 The design of the parapet was effectively brought out and its appearance lightened by the use of paint, blue with touches of red.
118 The reconstruction of the ends of the building was greatly assisted by E. Dodwell's drawing, Views and Descriptions, London, 1834, pl. 71; Picture Book, 2, no. 10; here Plate 56, a.
which carried the upper floor and the roof (Pl. 55, b). The eaves tiles in front were of marble, the rest were of terracotta, of formidable size.

The influence, perhaps even the handiwork, of Pergamene builders can be seen. These great two-storeyed buildings, representing the ultimate development of the stoa as an architectural type and an extreme contrast with its simple origins, were especially favored at Pergamon and its dependencies. The upper inner capitals were of a type used particularly at Pergamon;

and the introduction of a comparatively broad fillet between the Doric flutes is also characteristic of Pergamon, where builders were accustomed to working in stones which did not lend themselves to such refined treatment as the Attic marbles.

A dedicatory inscription was carved in letters 0.14 m. high on the epistyle above the Doric colonnade. It begins with the name of the dedicator, King Attalos son of King Attalos and Queen Apollonis. After that only a few odd letters are preserved, and even the length of the text is uncertain. The inscription has not been replaced on the epistyle, and this is not only

Fig. 29. Stoa of Attalos, Northeast Corner of Main Floor (M. H. McAllister)

119 This can best be seen in the sectional model, Picture Book, 2, no. 5; our Plate 55, b.
121 Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, pp. 88-88, no. 31, and pp. 104f.; Picture Book, 2, no. 33. Meritt’s very tentative restoration runs: Βασιλεὺς ‘Ατταλός Βασιλεύς, Βασιλεύς, ‘Ατταλός, Βασιλεύς. The statue will be the “donor’s monument,” the fountain the one which has been found at the south end of the terrace (p. 104).
because the stones are in poor condition but also because any provisional restoration might in the end prove to be wrong.

In front of the middle of the terrace is a large rectangular foundation which was formerly thought to have supported a stair. More recently it has been shown that it carried a large monument, similar to the monument of Agrippa at the approach to the Propylaia. Nearly all its blocks, which are of Hymettian marble, have been recovered from the Post-Herulian Wall; several are from the top course and have holes for securing horses' feet; the monument was a bronze quadriga which would have been seen at eye level from the upper floor of the Stoa. Contemporary with the Stoa and standing where it did, the monument can hardly have been erected for anyone but Attalos and the Pergamene royal house. A dedication to the Emperor Tiberius by the Areopagus, the Demos and the Council of 600 must be a later addition or substitution. Since most of the pedestal has been recovered and no earlier inscription has been found, the original dedication may have been included in the inscription on the epistyle above, as we have seen.

This monument naturally occupied the place of honor. But the ground in front of the terrace was an attractive site for honorary statues and other dedications, and many accumulated there, especially towards the north where the high terrace wall formed an effective background. The foundations suggest great variety in both size and shape. The most interesting again concerns Attalos. A marble base, found and read long ago, mislaid, and now resurrected, bears an inscription which states "Attalos and Ariarathes of Syepelettos set up (this statue of) Karneades of Azenia" (Pl. 55, c). Ariarathes was a fellow-monarch, of Cappadocia. It appears that the two kings had studied at the Academy in their youth under Karneades and chose this way of honoring their old teacher, describing themselves with gracious modesty by the name of the Athenian deme in which they were enrolled as honorary citizens.

There has never been much doubt about the purpose of the Stoa of Attalos. The rooms were handsome shops, presumably rented by the city to some of the more substantial merchants. One or two details confirm this; in several rooms there are cuttings for shelves, and on the doorjamb of one is carved a small figure of Hermes, the god of men of business. The great colonnades were market-halls according to Judeich; but one doubts whether in fact this splendid building which gave such dignity to the Agora admitted the booths and tables of the old Athenian market. These would more probably be now confined to the fringes and back streets, and the great halls would be used as promenades, for which as we can see today they were ideally situated and planned. The steps and the terrace offered fine vantage points from which to watch such spectacles as the Panathenaic procession.

After the great Hellenistic building program was completed no more vast stoas were erected in the Agora itself. The excavations of 1970, however, brought to light the southern front of a colonnade built probably in the Augustan period in the middle part of the north side of the square (p. 234). It filled the space previously occupied by modest houses and shops between two old roads that entered the Agora from the north. In the middle of the 2nd century after

123 I.G., II, 2, 3781; Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 317–318; XXVIII, 1959, pp. 86 ff.; Agora, III, p. 47. The monument of Agrippa was similarly a re-dedication; see Hill, Ancient City of Athens, p. 184.
125 Picture Book, 2, no. 14; Agora, XI, p. 174; Picture Book, 2, no. 234, pl. 61; of course Hermes is also appropriate to a doorway.
126 Topographie, 5, p. 355.
Christ when the Basilica was thrust into the narrow space between this building and the Stoa of Attalos, the Augustan colonnade was extended southward and eastward to screen the south end of the new building.

Thus in course of time the Agora's enclosing frame of stoas and porticoed buildings was brought near to completion. At the same time the difference was accentuated between the unbroken column rows of east and south and the patchwork of north and west. But on all sides, in contrast with the Ionian type of agora, the stoas maintained each its individual character.

**COLONNADED STREETS**

Most of the stoas we have noted were sited in relation to a particular street but were something more than an appendage of it. In the late Hellenistic and Roman periods streets lined on both sides by continuous colonnades became fashionable in the Greek cities. As yet we have nothing at Athens equivalent (for example) to the Lechaion Street at Corinth.\(^{128}\) Pausanias (I, 2, 4) says that there were stoas from the gate to the Kerameikos, meaning probably from the Dipylon to the Agora, and with them were associated shrines of the gods, Dionysos in particular, and a gymnasium. \(^{129}\) Himerios, writing in the 4th century after Christ, says that the Dromos, by which he probably means the same street, ran between stoas on either side, “in which the Athenians and the others buy and sell” (apparently even in these late periods the distinction between sacred and profane was not clear-cut).

The appearance of this street still has to be largely imagined, but recent excavation by the Greek Archaeological Service, the German Institute and the American School has produced some substantial aids to the imagination, especially for the treatment of the thoroughfare as it approached the Agora (Fig. 1, Pl. 1).\(^{130}\) In this part, as we have seen, the gravelled roadway had the extraordinary width of ca. 20 m., and it was bordered on either side by stoas ca. 6.50 m. in depth. Behind the northern stoa were rooms of uncertain purpose. The southern stoa proves to be the northern half of a double colonnade, the other aisle of which bordered a parallel and much narrower street that apparently came in from the Sacred Gate to the angle formed by the back walls of the Stoa Basileios and the Stoa of Zeus. These various colonnades were all unassuming in appearance. Dating from the early Roman period (late 1st century B.C. to early 1st century after Christ), their foundations and walls were built largely of material salvaged from old buildings destroyed by Sulla's army in 86 B.C. The southern colonnade of the double stoa had Doric columns of poros on poros steps. The steps of the northern colonnade of the same stoa, facing as they did on the Panathenaic Way, were of marble; none of the columns of this colonnade or of that on the north side of the Panathenaic Way has been found.\(^{131}\)

The Panathenaic Way had followed more or less the same course through this area since time immemorial, but the lesser street running closer to Kolonos Agoraios was a creation of the early Roman period. It provided additional shopping space in convenient proximity to the Agora but in a comparatively quiet backwater. We have here a good illustration of the modest

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\(^{129}\) *Orat.*, III, 12; *Agora*, III, p. 20.


\(^{131}\) This colonnaded street was rehabilitated and indeed extended in late antiquity. Remains of the flanking colonnades were observed above the ruins of the Pompeion and Dipylon where they have been assigned to the early 4th century: D. Ohly, op. cit., cols. 286–292. The foundations for a colonnade of similar width and construction, facing north, have been found along the north side of the Agora in its eastern part; the evidence in this area points to a date in the 5th century; *Hesperia*, XL, 1971, p. 265.
refurbishing of certain parts of Athens that was carried out, presumably at municipal expense, in the period between Sulla and Hadrian.

A later and more costly example of colonnading has been found diagonally opposite at the southeast corner of the Agora area, on the east side of the Panathenaic Way, where it continued southwards the line of the portico in front of the Library of Pantainos (Pls. 8, 13, a). A narrow street, with a stairway in Hymettian marble, separated the two buildings. The Southeast Stoa, which was built a little later than the Library, perhaps about the middle of the second century after Christ, was about 49 m. long and 5.80 m. deep. Because of the rising ground the floor of the southern part was 1.88 m. higher than the northern. The façade consisted of fourteen Ionic columns, with a short section of wall at the junction of levels; it faced across the Panathenaic Way not another colonnade but the plain east wall of the Southeast Temple (p. 167). The three poros steps (useful as yet another standing place for spectators of the Panathenaic procession) rested on a foundation of re-used poros blocks with a bedding of concrete.

Fig. 30. Doodles on Column of Southeast Stoa (J. Travlos)

The column shafts, monolithic and unfluted, were of Hymettian marble, and so were the pedestals; the Ionic capitals, bases and entablature were of Pentelic. Several of the shafts bear incised doodles (Fig. 30).

Very recently limited excavation in a neighbor's garden revealed several rooms about 4.50 m. deep behind the colonnade. Their foundations are of re-used blocks of poros on a bed of field stones set in mortar; a widening in a corner of one of the rooms is apparently for a basin, since

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a drain is provided. The rooms, calculated to number six in the northern section, five in the southern, may have been shops. The stoa was wrecked in the Herulian sack; much material from it was built into the Post-Herulian Wall, and the west front of the Wall was set upon the steps of its colonnade.

Renewed excavation in the summer of 1971 in the southeastern quarter has shown that the street which left the Agora through the archway between the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos (p. 114, Pl. 8) was paved with marble and was bordered on the south side by an Ionic colonnade with rooms behind it of uncertain purpose abutting awkwardly on the Library. This street, undoubtedly colonnaded also on the north, led to the Market of Caesar and Augustus.
V. CULTURAL BUILDINGS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

THE ODEION OF AGrippA

The building which is variously referred to in the ancient authors as the Odeion, the Theater in the Kerameikos, or the Agrippeion may certainly be identified with the large structure set against the north terrace of the Middle Stoa on the very axis of the Agora (Pl. 8). The archaeological evidence indicates a date within the Augustan period. Hence the donor may be recognized as M. Vipsanius Agrippa, son-in-law of the Emperor Augustus, who visited Athens in or about the year 15 B.C. This benefaction may indeed have inspired the gratitude on the part of the people of Athens which was expressed by the dedication to Agrippa of the great monument which still bears his name at the entrance to the Acropolis.

The building has been thoroughly stripped (Pl. 58, a), but enough remains to give us the plan and the basic features of the superstructure (Fig. 31, Pls. 8, 58–61). The essential core of the building was a square auditorium with marble seats (Pl. 60, b) to accommodate about one thousand people. Although the open span is 25 meters and no trace of interior supports has come to light, the building was certainly roofed with terracotta tiles. This represents one of the most daring achievements in roofing known in Greek lands in any period. A small orchestra with an altar at its middle separated the audience from the narrow stage. A simple greenroom behind the scaenae frons and a lobby behind the auditorium completed the theater proper.

This inner rectangle was enclosed to east, west and south by an outer shell of two storeys (Pls. 8, 59, a, 60, a). The lower storey was a cryptoporticus, a plain gallery which may have served as a dimly lighted and cool promenade on summer days. But its primary function was to support an upper storey in the form of a roofed balcony, a pleasant foyer for those attending performances in the theater, and an excellent place from which to look down on passing processions or on ceremonies in the square. This arrangement thus compensated for the elimination of much good standing room on the terrace of the Middle Stoa.

The floor of the balcony lay at the same level as the terrace in front of the Middle Stoa, and there can be no doubt that the audience normally entered the auditorium from the side of the Stoa. A small columnar porch on the north side was available for performers, perhaps also for those using the cryptoporticus. The auditorium was lighted and aired through open colonnades that stood one in the south front of the building and one on the line between the lobby and the auditorium.


3 Cf. Vitruvius, V, 1, 1–3 for a discussion of accommodations for spectators around the public squares of Greece and Italy.
Fig. 31. Odeion of Agrippa, Plans of Periods I (Level of Top of Cavea) and II (Ground Level) (J. Travlos)
The order was Corinthian (Pl. 58, b, c). Great square piers supported thin screen walls on east, west and north, while freestanding round columns occupied the south front. A pleasant variation was achieved by the use of capitals in which acanthus was combined with lotus leaves in the colonnade between auditorium and lobby.

The architectural austerity of the building was mitigated by the vari-colored marble floor of the orchestra, by the imitation of cut stone in the painted wall plaster, and above all by sculpture. The stage front was panelled with Herms, some male, some female (Pl. 60, c, d). Bronze statues of heroic size stood in wall niches on pedestals adorned with carved shields. Several fragments of a colossal marble figure found in front of the building probably derive from "a statue of Dionysos worth seeing" which was noted by Pausanias (I, 8, 6ff.) inside the Odeion.

A glance at the model of the whole Agora will show how aggressively this interesting but far from beautiful building intruded on the old market square (Pl. 11). Its bulky form broke the continuity of the Middle Stoa and dwarfed the modest Doric order of the older building. Its roof line rose even above that of the two-storeyed Stoa of Attalos, and its temple-like upper part made the Temple of Hephaistos on the neighboring hilltop look almost puny.

The daring of the roof design appears to have been the undoing of the Odeion. The roof eventually collapsed causing grave damage to orchestra floor, marble benches and sculpture. In the reconstruction that followed, the line of division between auditorium and lobby was shifted two column bays (7.66 m.) to the north, thus reducing by that much the span of the area to be roofed. The change also halved the seating capacity.

Probably at this same time the small north porch was removed and the old greenroom was turned into an open colonnade, the front of which was supported by six colossal marble figures (Pl. 59, b). Three of these figures still stand to the north of the Odeion where they were re-used in late antiquity, while others are represented by fragments most of which were picked up on the spot though two of the heads had wandered as far as Eleusis. The six figures comprised three pairs in each of which a Triton, creature of the sea, was coupled with a Giant, creature of the land. Both types appear to be adaptations of pedimental figures of the Parthenon; the head of the Triton in particular is a valuable document for the study of the Poseidon of the Parthenon's west pediment (Pl. 61). The front of each pedestal was appropriately adorned with reliefs showing an olive tree entwined by a serpent, an echo, no doubt, of the symbols of Athena in that same pediment. In front of the tall pedestals and the flanking pilasters are the remains of low long pedestals. These may have supported seated figures of philosophers, perhaps two representatives of each of the four famous old schools. Two fragmentary statues of this type were in fact found to the east of the Odeion; one of them may be identified as Epikouros.

The date of the reconstruction of the Odeion is indicated by stamps on the new roof tiles. The great majority bear the name of Dionysios as eponymous archon. Dionysios is known to have held this office around the very middle of the 2nd century after Christ. Such a date also suits well the sculptural style of the colossal figures and the spirit of learned archaizing that underlies their conception.

For what use was the Odeion intended? Its design would have been suitable for plays or for musical performances, and the building may well have been used for both these purposes. But on the only occasions for which we have explicit evidence it served as a lecture hall. These occasions fell in the 2nd century after Christ. At both times the speaker was a distinguished visiting sophist, one of those professional orators whose elaborate discourses were enormously popular at the time. The audience in the Odeion on both these occasions consisted largely of students who were enrolled in the courses of the local sophist, Herodes Atticus. A decade later this same Herodes built a new odeion on the south slope of the Acropolis, a much more capa-
cious and more sumptuous building. We may suppose that the new building was intended primarily for plays and musical performances while the old building in the Agora in its rehabilitated form was left chiefly to the academic community. Its location would have recommended such use, for the building in the Agora must have been only a few minutes walk from the Gymnasion of Ptolemy, still an important center for secondary education. An academic role for the building would explain the discovery in its immediate environs of a number of marble portrait statues whose scholarly occupation is symbolized by a briefcase at the side. Thus the Odeion in its later form, as perhaps also originally, would have played a role in Athenian education comparable with that of the libraries of Pantainos and of Hadrian.

**THE LIBRARY OF PANTAINOS**

The area outside the southeast corner of the main square of the Agora was left curiously undeveloped until late in the history of the city. The scarcity of early wells indicates even sparse private occupation. Certainly the first building of a public nature to rise in the area was the library that is now known by the name of its donor, T. Flavius Pantainos.

The building was ingeniously fitted into an irregular plot of land to the south of the Stoa of Attalos (Pls. 8, 62, a). It faced westward on the Panathenaic Way and was bounded to north and south by streets running eastward from that great thoroughfare. The east part of the library has still to be excavated; its west front is overlaid by the Post-Herulian Wall, and its mid part has been reduced to the lowest foundations. Yet enough remains to permit a plausible restoration.

The building rose on the east, west and north sides of a colonnaded courtyard which was entered from the west. The library rooms proper, alas, must have occupied the still unexcavated east side. To north and west were series of rooms opening outward; most of these were presumably rented for non-library purposes to increase the revenues of the Library. The suite of two rooms to the south of the main entrance was occupied by a sculptor. The excavations brought to light masses of working chips, small basins in the floor full of emery dust for the polishing of marble, and several of the products of the shop in a far from distinguished style. Both the west and the north sides of the building were adorned with porches supported by unfluted Ionic columns of blue marble. The walls were of rubble masonry.

Several other changes occurred in the area around the south end of the Stoa of Attalos at about the same time as the construction of the Library (Pl. 8). A massive monument base had been erected a little earlier; this required the northwest corner of the Library to take the shape of a re-entrant angle. The old outer stairway which had projected from the south end of the Stoa of Attalos was now demolished and replaced by an inner stair set in the southernmost shop of the Stoa. A marble arch was thrown across the road between the southeast corner of the Stoa and the Library; this no doubt marked the official entrance to the Agora. From the west face of the south pier of the arch issued a drinking fountain. Finally, the miniature square between Stoa and Library was paved with marble and the adjacent wall of the Stoa was revetted with marble slabs.

Here too may be mentioned a large monument base of approximately the same date as the Library set against the east end of the Middle Stoa. Conspicuous to all those who used the

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5 *Agora*, I, nos. 57–61, pp. 74ff.
Panathenaic Way, the monument was evidently sited with respect also to the traffic which entered the Agora from the east through the new arch.

Finally, a sculptural monument should be mentioned. A pair of marble statues, somewhat larger than life, were found in 1869 at the southwest corner of the Stoa of Attalos (Pl. 63).8 Both figures are female and both wear body armor. The clue to their identification was given by the representations on the armor of one: Skylla occupies the cuirass; on the upper lappets appear Aiōlos, God of the Winds, three sirens and Polyphemus, all familiar from the story of Odysseus’ vicissitudes in the western seas. This figure must be a personification of the Odyssey. Traces of a sword on the right side of the other statue confirm its identification as the Iliad. In keeping with the ancient view that the Iliad was the earlier and the greater of the two epics, the second statue is appreciably larger than the first. The smaller statue is signed on one of the lappets by the Athenian sculptor Jason. In 1953 the base and one leg of the Iliad were recovered from the curbing of a well of the Byzantine period beneath the east end of the Middle Stoa (Pl. 62, d).9 An inscription on the base reads: “The Iliad, I that was both after Homer and before Homer have been set up alongside him that bore me in his earlier years.” Thus we must suppose that the surviving figures flanked a statue of Homer, probably seated. The group may well have comprised still other figures, but this we shall never know as long as we are ignorant of the occasion for the dedication. The style of the sculpture and the letter forms of the inscription point to a date in the neighborhood of A.D. 100. Such a group would have been appropriate to a library, and a place for it may one day be found in the eastern part of the Library of Pantainos.

Welcome light is cast on the Library by two inscriptions found among its ruins. The first was engraved on the lintel above the entrance (Pl. 62, c).10 It records the dedication of the Library, and reads as follows: “To Athena Polias and to the Emperor Caesar Augustus Nerva Trajanus Germanicus and to the city of the Athenians, the priest of the Muses who love wisdom, T. Flavius Pantainos, son of Flavius Menander head of the school, dedicated the outer stoas, the peristyle, the library with the books, and all the embellishment of the building, from his own resources along with his children Flavius Menander and Flavia Secundilla.” In addition to establishing the identification of the building, this inscription, through the form of the emperor’s titles, indicates a date close around A.D. 100. The dedicator appears to be identical with a man of the same name who was eponymous archon of Athens shortly after this time. His designation of himself as priest of the wisdom-loving muses may well be a modest cover for some high academic position, while his father’s title of diadochos definitely implies the headship of a school.

The second inscription contains a library notice: “Books shall not be taken out since we have sworn an oath. Open from the first hour till the sixth” (Pl. 62, b).11 That it was the normal practice for anyone using a library other than his own to do his reading in the library building had been inferred from references in Cicero’s letters, but the inscription shows that the rule required enforcement. Our inscription was engraved on the front of a Herm.

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9 Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 62–65. Raubitschek’s attractive proposal to identify the Homer of the Iliad base with C. Julius Nikanor, a contemporary of the Emperor Augustus, who was indeed known as the New Homer, is made improbable by the time gap of about a century between his floruit and the erection of our monument; Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, pp. 317–319. On Julius Nikanor cf. L. Robert, Hellenica, VIII, 1930, p. 91; J. and L. Robert, B.E.G., LXVIII, 1955, p. 210; Bowersock, op. cit., p. 96. Particularly damaging to a connection between this man and the Iliad base is the fact that his name has been erased on most of his known statue bases: J.G., II, 3766, 3767, 3789.
Most public libraries in the ancient Greek cities appear to have been placed in convenient proximity to educational institutions. The academic associations of the donor’s family in the case of our building would strengthen the probability of some connection with an existing school. The terms in which the library notice is couched might, moreover, be taken to imply the existence of some formal organization among the users of the library. Finally, the presence of doodles on the columns of the library, as also on the columns of the next building to the south (Fig. 30), may betray the presence of students. They may well have come from the Gymnasium of Ptolemy which must have stood near by. That gymnasium is known to have possessed a library of its own to which the graduating class was accustomed to contribute books; but in antiquity, as in modern times, additional facilities may eventually have been required.  

Addendum. The excavations of 1971 established the eastern limit of the Library. The building proves to have an east-west dimension of ca. 35 m. The principal room, facing on the east side of the courtyard, measures ca. 10 m. square and shows no trace of interior supports. Its floor and walls were revetted with marble.

12 Southeast Stoa; Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 344–347, fig. 5; above p. 109.
VI. SHRINES

The political and religious elements in Athenian life were thoroughly intermingled. Many deities kept watch over the various social and political activities of the city, either because their nature and functions gave them a special interest or because they happened simply to be near at hand. Civic buildings were dedicated to appropriate deities or contained their cult-spots. We have seen many examples; it remains to examine structures ranging from simple enclosures and altars to great temples which were entirely or almost entirely religious in character. But first of all one should note that the Agora as a whole was designated as sacred ground.

BOUNDARY MARKERS

Among the very few inscribed stones found in situ in the Agora are two boundary markers (horoi) which stand near the southwest corner of the square. The first came to light in 1938 towards the south end of the west side where the two streets leading from the southwest unite (Pls. 4, 64, a)². The hole in which it was set cut through the existing road metal and penetrated bedrock to a depth of 0.20 m. The horos is made in the form of a solid post, 1.20 m. high, of island marble, white with bluish streaks. Its surfaces are rough-picked, but on the northeastward face a band is smoothed along the top and down part of the right side, and inscribed

\[ \text{h} \circ \alpha \text{s \ e} \iota \mu \tau \nu \zeta \ \acute{\alpha} \gamma \circ \rho \circ \alpha \zeta \]

"I am the boundary of the Agora"

Pottery which precedes the setting of the stone goes down to a time not long before the end of the 6th century, and the layer of road metal next above the level which is contemporary with the stone contained ostraka of Themistokles and Hippokrates, belonging probably to the ostracism of 482 B.C. The forms and style of the carefully cut letters are generally thought to be consistent with a date at the end of the 6th century, though they can hardly be expected to offer a very exact criterion.

The second horos, likewise complete, appeared in 1967 about 21 m. south of the first, at a point where a side street entered the main north-to-south street from the west (Pl. 64, b).³ In general type it is similar to the other, and though it does not appear to have been carved and

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¹ Martin, Agora Grecope, pp. 168–169, shows how "histoire locale et mythologique" combined with "association fonctionnelle" to produce the religious complex of the Agora.

² I 5510, Hesperia, VIII, 1939, pp. 205f; Supplement IV, p. 107; Guide², pp. 57–58; Agora, III, no. 719, p. 218.

³ I 7039, Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 61–63. The upper part of a third marble horos of the same series, inscribed from left to right, has been found in a tomb of the Turkish period in the Hephaisteion: I 5675, Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 266. An uninscribed fragment from the top of still another such stele came to light in a disturbed context outside the southeast corner of the Agora: A 3534; cf. Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 79–85 for the excavation of the area. From a modern wall above the central part of the Agora comes a fragment of a later horos of the Agora in poros: I 3226, Hesperia, Supplement IV, p. 107, note 91.
inscribed by the same hand, it probably belongs to the same series. The inscription is the same, but carved retrograde across the top and down the left edge of the face of the stone. The height above the original ground level was 0.68 m.

Such horoi were used commonly to indicate the limits of sacred precincts, and no doubt these stones in the Agora also had a religious character. Besides containing many individual shrines and taking on a festal character from time to time, the agora square as a whole permanently retained something of the nature of a precinct. Certain persons, such as homicides, were excluded, because their hands were thought to be polluted. "Those who betray any of the public interests," says Demosthenes (XXIV, 60), "or ill-treat their parents, those who do not have clean hands, do wrong if they enter the Agora." Such exclusion was a severe penalty and handicap; an Andokides, banned from the Agora and the shrines (I, 71, 76), might well prefer to absent himself from Athens entirely.4

We cannot say precisely what was the area defined by the horoi of the Agora. One should hardly imagine a continuous line drawn by means of numerous stones. More probably they stood at key points, at corners and where streets entered; here they would say clearly to any disqualified person, "Thus far and no farther." Some public buildings which belonged essentially to the Agora in the wider sense of the word may have stood beyond the formal limits; the industrial quarters and much of the market (pp. 170–171) would naturally be outside them.5

The first-mentioned horos now stands with its back to the retaining wall on which stood the "house of Simon" (p. 174); this wall seems to have been built somewhat later. The adjacent road level continued to rise in the course of the 5th century, so that by the 4th century the stone was entirely covered. The second of the two horoi had likewise been overlaid by the rising road gravel not later than the 3rd century. The limits of the Agora continued, however, to be observed, as we see in the orators, and they were further marked by means of lustral basins (perirrhanteria) for use in purificatory sprinkling. These normally took the form of a shallow bowl carved in the spreading top of a stone pedestal, and they were placed at the entrance to a shrine or near the altar; a square poros block with a round sinking in its top, found in situ just west of the Altar of the Twelve Gods (Pl. 67, a), must have supported a perirrhanterion attached to this shrine in particular.6 But the Agora as a whole also had its own lustral basins. "The lawmaker," says Aischines, "keeps outside the perirrhanteria of the Agora the man who avoids military service or plays the coward or deserts."7 A marble stump which probably belongs to one of them is still in place at the northwest corner of the Civic Offices (p. 79), just south of the old horos but at a much higher level because of the later date.8 A fragmentary specimen came to light near the southeast corner of the Agora and has now been placed at the entrance to the Stoa of Attalos (Pl. 64, c). Another was found to the northwest in the same excavation which yielded the inscriptions relating to the Herms9 (p. 94). All three are of about 4

The horoi would no doubt define the Agora for practical purposes too. A decree of the people of Sounion (4th century n.c., C. Michel, Recueil d'inscriptions grecques, no. 142; I.G., II², 1180), concerned with laying out a new Agora to provide ἐοπυώκεια δυοδοθία, since the old one has been built up (πυοκόποιςδυοθίαν), says that no one shall be allowed to build within the horoi of the Agora. The prohibition of the dumping of rubbish, mentioned in I.G., II², 380, line 35, amongst the duties of the agoranomoi at Peiraeus, is no doubt also relevant.

5 The "boundaries of the Kerameikos" are a different matter, and mark out a public area which extended both inwards and outwards from the Dipylon Gate; see Agora, III, p. 223; Picture Book, 10, no. 23: A.J.A., LX, 1956, p. 267. Plate 64, d shows a stone inscribed "Boundary of the Sacred Street by which the Pythais proceeds to Delphi." The stele was found, not in situ, west of the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (I 5476, 4th century n.c.). This may be another name for the great processional dromos in reference to the sacred mission to Apollo known as the Pythais. Cf. Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 212; XII, 1948, p. 237; Agora, III, p. 324, no. 730; G. Roux, Delphi: Orakel und Kultstätten, Munich, 1971, fig. 58, p. 222.

6 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 46–47.

7 Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 153; Guide², p. 58.

8 Hesperia, XVII, 1948, p. 153; Guide², p. 58.

CULT OF THE HEROIZED DEAD

The Agora had a sacred character of its own by reason of its vital function in the life of the city. But at the same time the Athenians did not entirely forget that it occupied part of an area which from time immemorial had been used as a burial ground (pp. 2ff). Many of the graves went back to the heroic and legendary past, and later generations remained conscious of this, if only in a dim and confused kind of way. From time to time they were reminded by the accidental disturbance of an old tomb, and their behavior when this happened showed piety and reverence, of which we have some curious examples. One of the most remarkable minor religious monuments of the Agora is a small pit or receptacle found in 1957 immediately west of the Panathenaic Way at a point opposite the northeast corner of the Temple of Ares (Pl. 65, a). It was constructed with miscellaneous used blocks, but with much care and precision. A wellhead of gray poros was set upside down on a platform of blocks of soft cream-colored poros, which rested on bedrock. Similar blocks were placed against the sides of the wellhead; a thin disc of Pentelic marble was carefully fitted on its floor; and finally the aperture was sealed by means of a kind of stopper carved from a Doric capital of soft brown poros, secured in position by means of two double T clamps on each side. The upper surface of the stopper was well below the contemporary ground level and shows no sign of wear; there is no trace of any superstructure or even of a visible marker. The depth of the pit is 0.50 m.; its diameter is 0.60 m., diminishing slightly towards the bottom. At a date which cannot be precisely fixed it was opened, deliberately and with much violence, and its contents were rifled. When the pit was excavated it still contained the charred bones of animals, probably sheep or goats, and in or immediately around it was a variety of small objects and fragments—a bronze protome in the shape of a bearded snake, a faience hawk, bronze arrowheads, fragments of terracotta chariot groups, and of a bronze shield and a terracotta shield, a corner of a votive plaque pierced for suspension, a little pottery including a red-figured fragment of the beginning of the 5th century (Pl. 65, b). The earliest material goes back well into the 7th century. These objects are probably votive offerings. It appears that for a time a cult was maintained on this spot, probably a hero cult, perhaps begun in the 7th century in connection with one of the early tombs in the area after it had been disturbed (pp. 3, 9). The stone pit was constructed early in the 5th century. It may be that after some serious disturbance,
perhaps in the Persian War, the site was cleared up, and a set of votives, together with the bones from the sacrifice, was carefully tucked away in this cache, and after this final act of scrupulous piety the cult was discontinued.

A modest example of respect for an ancient burial, ephemeral only in this case, was observed in a Mycenaean chamber tomb under the north foundation of the temple of Ares. Seven 5th century lekythoi were found in a shallow pit in the southwest corner of the tomb. There can be no question of a fresh burial in the middle of the Agora at this time. The probable explanation is that workmen accidentally cut into the tomb and before closing it again made an offering to appease the anger of the dead.

Beneath the terrace of the Middle Stoa, near its central point, the remains of a rectangular enclosure have recently been discovered. It measured just over seven meters east to west; the north side was destroyed when the Stoa was built and its extent in that direction cannot be determined. The wall was made of orthostates of gray poros, set with lead in a solid poros sill. The interior was packed with clay to a height considerably above the ground level outside. At each of the corners of the sill is a rectangular socket, no doubt intended to receive a horos stone. Pottery from the inner filling gives a date about the middle of the 3rd century B.C., but the structure as we have it may represent a monumental remodelling of an earlier cult-spot, which may well have been connected with one of the ancient tombs situated in this area (p. 3).

A curious triangular shrine recently found at the important crossroad (Pls. 5, 11) a little to the southwest of the Agora seems to fall more clearly into the category of cults maintained on the site of early burials; in any case it is probably a heroon. It is dated in the latter part of the 5th century; but a massive rectangular structure of rough polygonal masonry, found at a lower level, probably belongs to an earlier altar, and two small circular pits cut in the bedrock may well mark the place occupied by the ash urns of early graves; a number of burials of the Geometric period have been found near by. The sides of the triangle, measuring each about 8.60 m., are well constructed of Acropolis limestone, with small stones in stacks filling the interstices between large blocks. At the east end of the side which faces north across the street a boundary marker of Pentelic marble (Pl. 66, b) still stands in situ, bearing the inscription τε ἑσερ (i.e. of the shrine). The letter forms, especially the rho, would seem to indicate a date not much after 440 B.C.; but in boundary markers the stonecutters were apt to be conservative, and the stone may be somewhat later. At the west end of the same side is a socket for a similar marker; the third corner together with all the southern part of the enclosure has been obliterated. One might expect the triangular structure to be the inner sanctum of the cult, perhaps an abaton or sacred area normally inaccessible to human beings, with a more open temenos attached for the use of the worshippers. There is no clear evidence for such an arrangement; but a wall built in the 4th century, running eastwards from the northeast angle, may possibly have served as the northern boundary of the temenos. The ground level adjacent to the triangle rose rapidly in the years immediately after its construction, and soon the heros stone was entirely covered. Perhaps the spot was neglected during the Peloponnesian War or even occupied

11 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 47-48; XXIV, 1955, pp. 195-196, 209; Agora, XIII, Tomb VII, p. 184. In the northeastern part of the square stone of the 4th century B.C., digging the foundations for a monument and finding that they were disturbing a Mycenaean tomb, seem to have shifted the monument a little farther west.

12 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 49-49, cf. p. 56 for the grouping of tombs in the area. Note also in this connection the tomb-like monument near the northeast corner of the Odeion, identified by Broneer as the Leokorion (see p. 123 below).


14 See pp. 10, 13. Note also that the oval structure and the votive deposit mentioned above, p. 17 note 50, p. 119 note 13, were just to the south.

15 Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, p. 126. There is a possible cutting for yet another stone on the east side of the triangle.

by squatters like so many shrines at Athens. But the cult was eventually resumed and the shrine appears to have remained in existence till Roman times. The exasperating brachylogy of the stonecutter denies us the name of the occupant.20

One wonders whether reverence for those long dead and for their memorials perpetuated itself in some more conspicuous way in the life and monuments of the Agora, whether for example what Broneer has shown to have happened at Corinth happened also at Athens.21 Broneer has argued convincingly that at Corinth there was a connection between a cult of the dead, together with the deities who came to be associated with it, and the contests which took place on a curious dromos or race course in the later agora. His chain of evidence is made up of an early cemetery in the southern region of the agora; a small sanctuary established in the middle of this in the 6th century B.C. (as if to placate the dead when the living began to encroach on their domain); a deposit of votive terracottas of types very appropriate to a hero cult; and the "grandstand" and starting lines in the middle of the agora, near which he detects wheel ruts, indicating that the race course was used by chariots.

At Athens the indications are not so precise, but they tend to point in the same direction. We have the early tombs and the evidence that they were treated with respect. There is no starting line, as far as we know; but the Panathenaic Way was known as the dromos (p. 192), a word with an agonistic connotation; and certain equestrian displays and contests were held in the Agora in classical and Hellenistic times.22 There was the Anthippasia, a kind of mock battle; the base signed by Bryaxis found at the northwestern entrance to the Agora (p. 95) belonged to the monument of a family of victors in this event. There was also the race of the apobatai, in which armed men sprang on and off a speeding chariot, as shown in relief on a 4th century base (no doubt of another victor monument) found in a tower of the Post-Herulian Wall, southeast of the Agora and not far below the Eleusinion (Pl. 66, a).23 References in catalogues of Panathenaic victors to an apobates and a charioteer "dismounting at the Eleusinion"24 suggest that the race ended near that shrine, where in fact the dromos becomes unmanageably steep. It is quite possible that before the great Panathenaic stadium was constructed other events of the Games too were held on the dromos in the Agora. In any case, even though the Panathenaia far transcended their humble origins, the contests in the Agora, like many other agonistic celebrations, may well have owed their existence at least in part to funeral games and hero cults.25

(Other known heroa, besides the famous ones discussed in succeeding sections, are the shrine of the Heros Strategos, p. 73, and the eschara, possibly of Aiakos, adjacent to the Altar of the Twelve Gods, p. 182.)

LEOKORION

The Leokorion is one of the most interesting of Athenian shrines and also one of the most elusive. It was famous in legend and history, a landmark and a sight familiar to all. "There is

20 The Heros Iatros, the Hero Doctor, comes to mind; a small plaque carved with an eye and a dedication to him was found not far to the southwest. But if Theseus' shrine was not in this region but to the southeast of the Agora, the Doctor must go with it: Agora, III, p. 115. For the Heros Iatros see F. Kutsch, Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen, Giessen, 1913, pp. 2ff.; C. Kerenyi, Asklepios, London, 1960, pp. 72ff.
24 J.G., IP, 2316, 2317; Agora, III, no. 216, p. 80.
the Leokorion, here the Theseion," says Hegesias,²⁶ giving a word-picture of the wonders of Athens. But just where and what it was has been the subject of much dispute amongst modern scholars. The name is puzzling too. The story was told that the daughters of Leos were sacrificed in accordance with a Delphic oracle to save the city in time of plague or famine and sanctified by their death. But some modern authorities have taken the view that the myth grew out of the name and that Leokorion originally meant "the place where the people were purified" or the shrine of a personage called Leokoros or rather Leokolos ("he who cares for the people").²⁷ According to the most recent suggestion, by Brunnsåker,²⁸ the Leokorion was a place where in early times the people (leos) mustered, under the direction of a leader called the Leokoros, a title of Mycenaean origin. Later, when there was no such personage any longer, a legend grew or was invented, perhaps by an Attidographer, to explain the obscure old name. However this may be, in all our extant sources (admittedly late) there is no indication that Leokorion meant anything but the heroon, the monument and shrine, of the three daughters of Leos: Praxithea (or Phrasithea), Theope and Euboule.

Hipparchos was killed by Harmodios and Aristogeiton near the Leokorion as he was marshalling the Panathenaic procession. The shrine must have existed in the late 6th century, and one would expect it to be not far from the Panathenaic Way, which ran across the Agora diagonally from northwest to southeast (p. 193). It figures in a lively scene from Demosthenes²⁹ full of curious but indecisive topographical references. The drunken Ktesias meets Ariston and Phanostratos strolling in the Agora, by the Leokorion, near the property (shops?) of Pythodoros. Shouting abuse at them, he passes on up toward Melite (i.e. the higher ground west and southwest of the Agora). Later he returns to the Agora with his father and others and attacks Ariston and his friend, who, turning back from the Pherrephattion, are just by the Leokorion again. This is all very tantalizing. Perhaps one should think of the two as walking up and down the Panathenaic Way. Perhaps the Pherrephattion, a shrine of Persephone, was at the southeastern approach to the Agora, towards the Eleusinion (p. 150). In that case one might be inclined to look for the Leokorion diagonally opposite, to the northwest. "Pythodoros' place" is presumably a private establishment, and so on the fringe of the Agora, rather than within the square. But one cannot be precise on such evidence. It may be the Leokorion turned one face to the square, the other to the market district behind, and perhaps not the most respectable part of it. Alkiphron, whose letters though fanciful often seem to give an authentic picture of life at Athens, speaks of the hetaira Aedonion as lodging near the Leokorion; and the saying "you live at the Leokorion" was said to refer to people who go hungry.³⁰

Pausanias says nothing of the shrine. He mentions the story when giving the name of Leos in his list of the Eponymoi (p. 40), and perhaps he is satisfied with this; but the Leokorion was just the kind of monument which interested him, and one would expect him to include it if the shrine and the cult were still in being in his day. When Pausanias is silent and others vague, modern authorities inevitably differ about the location. Most have placed the shrine on the north side of the Agora.³¹ When the railway cutting was being dug in 1891, remains of a round

²⁶ Quoted by Strabo, IX, 1, 16; for testimonia see Agora, III, pp. 108ff. The shrine was said to be "in the middle of the Kerameikos," i.e. the Agora district (see Agora, III, p. 222). Menander, Dyskolos, 173, may contain another allusion to the shrine as a much frequented spot; see Mnemosyne, XVIII, 1965, pp. 289ff.
²⁷ Judeich, Topographie², p. 839; Agora, III, p. 113.
²⁸ S. Brunnsåker, Opuscula Atheniensia, VIII, 1968, pp. 77ff. Less convincing is C. Edmonson's attempt to associate the Leokorion with the public prostitution which Solon is said to have organized, Mnemosyne, XVII, 1964, pp. 375ff.
³¹ Where Pittakys, L'Ancienne Athènes, pp. 77–78, said he found an inscription mentioning the shrine; Agora, III, p. 113; Judeich, Topographie², p. 399. Bronner (see note 33 below) gives the various suggestions.
building were found not far west of the site of the Altar of the Twelve. The possibility that this belonged to the Leokorion has been considered; but now that the topography of the northwest corner is fairly clear the monument proves to be definitely within the square, not on the edge. The same objection can be raised even more strongly against a monument in the very middle of the Agora, which Broneer has recently sought to identify with the Leokorion. It is a deep rectangular stone-lined chamber, of tomb-like character, between the northern end of the Odeion and the Panathenaic Way. It was built in the Hellenistic period; but since no one is likely to have been buried here in Hellenistic times, it probably replaced a much earlier, simpler grave, to which a hero cult may have been attached. Broneer's reason for associating it with the Leokorion is that it was very near the Tyrannicides; Harmodios and Aristogeiton killed Hipparchos near the Leokorion according to Thucydides (VI, 57, 3), and it is likely that their monument was set up on the scene of the deed. But the unsuitability of a site in the very center of the public square still counts against this identification.

One is handicapped by not knowing what to look for. One would expect an altar and a temenos or enclosure, which might be small or large, irregular or square, or indeed round. More recently, the Leokorion has been sought in the northeastern part of the Agora. This area is rich in prehistoric burials, and it may be that the shrine was associated with one of them, providing another example of reverence for the dead of an earlier age, persisting throughout or revived by some chance discovery. In this connection one might mention a curious monument found deep beneath the northern end of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos. It consists of a circular poros bedding 1.35 m. in diameter, presumably for an altar or table for offerings (Pl. 66, c); around its edge is a series of holes for leaded posts—apparently the altar was given a simple protective fence. Primitive though it seems the monument is shown by the archaeological evidence to be no earlier than the middle of the 5th century, though of course the shrine may be earlier. One can well imagine that this monument may belong to the kind of cult which we have been examining; to associate it with the Leokorion would be more hazardous. The location of the well-known shrine, like its original character, remains elusive. So too does its history. Cicero speaks of it as still existing. Pausanias' silence seems to indicate that it was inconspicuous, or even no longer in existence, in his day (p. 207, note 2).

Addendum. At the eleventh hour (August, 1971) a more promising site has been found, in the form of a peribolos ca. 3 m. square, with a poros parapet, just to the east of the south wing of the Stoa Basileios. Ground level and construction point to an archaic date. Amongst the plentiful pottery unearthed in the enclosure a favorite shape is a miniature squat lekythos; loomweights, spindle whorls, and bone astragaloi too have been found. The contents of a well just to the north included similar material, probably discarded from the shrine, and also several pieces of gold jewelry and two bronze mirrors. The peribolos is suitable for a heroon, and the votive material for female occupants. The objection raised to certain other sites, that they were within the square, applies to this too, but in a lesser degree. If a barber could set up shop near the Herms (p. 94), perhaps Pythodoros, called skenites, could intrude from the commercial quarter at the northwestern approach into the extreme northwest corner of the Agora proper; perhaps he was a banker (see p. 171, note 12).

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32 Travlos, П.Ε.А., p. 41. The excavation of 1970 has shown that the building, over 18 m. in diameter, is of the Late Roman Period and was apparently a hydraulic establishment; Hesperia, XI, 1971, pl. 46.
34 Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 49; XXI, 1952, pp. 103-104.
35 The possibility has also been raised that the successive enclosures in the northeast of the Agora should be associated with the Leokorion, but this is even more speculative; for their identification as law courts see p. 56; it is not however out of the question that the Leokorion was used for law courts, as were certain other shrines.
36 De Nat. Deorum, III, 19 (50).
The most famous and the most beloved of hero shrines was that of Theseus himself. The- seus, as the reputed founder of the city-state of Athens, had several shrines in and around the city; the one in which Kimon laid the hero’s bones after bringing them home from Skyros was in the middle of the city, below the Acropolis and near the Agora. It was revered by all, says Plutarch, no less than the Parthenon and the Eleusinion. In the late 6th and the 5th century Theseus became the great hero of Athenian democracy. He was a favorite subject of the vase-painters, and he appeared in the paintings of both the Poikile and the Stoa of Zeus. Sculptors represented his exploits on the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi and, very appropriately as we shall see, on the Hephaisteion (p. 147). When his central shrine was established we cannot say; very probably there was a simple but extensive temenos already in the 6th century B.C. Aristotle tells how Peisistratos held an armed muster in the Theseion and then prevailed on the citizens to move up to the Propylon of the Acropolis (which must have been not very far away, but also not very close at hand if the ruse was to succeed), leaving behind their arms, which were promptly taken by Peisistratos’ men and shut up in “the near-by buildings of the Theseion” (or possibly “the buildings near the Theseion”).

The best documented incident in the posthumous career of Theseus occurred about the year 475 B.C. At that time, on the advice of the Delphic oracle, the Athenians dispatched the statesman Kimon to the island of Skyros to find and bring back to Athens the bones of their national hero who had died in exile. With the aid of an eagle Kimon discovered a tomb containing a skeleton of exceptional size together with sword and spear, all appropriate to a hero. The relics were brought back to Athens and deposited with great éclat in a shrine where, according to Plutarch, they still lay in his day.

What the shrine contained in addition to the receptacle for the bones is not clear. A temple is mentioned in two lexicographical notes; but there is no direct reference to a temple in the many primary authorities. Pausanias (I, 17, 2–6) speaks of a hieron (sanctuary) and then goes on to mention a sekos (enclosure) in a manner which might be thought to imply a smaller enclosure built in Kimon’s time within the large temenos (sacred area). He tells us there were paintings in the shrine showing the Athenians fighting the Amazons and the Lapiths fighting the Centaurs. “The painting on the third wall,” he continues, “is not clear to those who have not enquired into the legends, partly because of the passage of time, partly because Mikon did not represent the whole story.” The subject of this obscure painting was Theseus’ recovery of Minos’ ring from the sea. About the authorship of the other pictures Pausanias shows an exasperating ambiguity. He might be thought to imply that Mikon painted them all; but certain sadly corrupt lexicographical notes suggest that Polygnotos also took a hand in the adornment of the Theseion.

38 de Exilio, 17.
40 In a variant account of the incident as given by Polyainos (I, 21, 2) the assembly took place in the Anakeion rather than the Theseion, and the arms were deposited in the shrine of Agraulos rather than in the buildings of the Theseion. Which version is correct would be hard to decide, but this has little bearing on the value of the passage in Aristotle for our present purpose.
41 Plutarch, Kimon, 8, 5–6; Theseus, 36, 2; Pausanias, I, 17, 6. Cf. J. D. Smart, J.H.S., LXXXVII, 1967, pp. 136 ff.
42 Hesychius, s.v. Theseion; Stym. Magnum, s.v. Theseion. For paintings see Harpokration and Suidas, s.v. Polygnotos.
43 Pausanias’ account is interesting for the condition of ancient paintings in his day. One imagines that many others too were dim with age (some may have been retouched or repainted), but when the subject was familiar the figures were still easily recognizable. Cf. J. Barron, J.H.S. (to appear shortly).
The lexica\textsuperscript{44} tell us that lawsuits were tried in the Theseion, and though once again we have no first-hand information in the literary authorities or the inscriptions, on this point one need not be so sceptical. Our evidence about the various places used as law courts is very scrappy; several unquestionable courts we know through a couple of chance references or through incomplete lists. The Athenians had recourse to many public buildings and sacred places for this purpose (see above, pp. 52–72). It is quite believable that in some period of its existence or on certain appropriate occasions this large precinct near the Agora, under the eye of Theseus himself, would be the scene of trials at law. An ephebic inscription of the 1st century B.C. mentions a meeting of the Boule in the shrine.\textsuperscript{45} Lots were drawn there for the appointment of certain magistrates by the Thesmothetai.\textsuperscript{46} The Theseion is often referred to as a place of asylum, in particular for slaves, and, adds Plutarch, "for all humbler folk and those who are afraid of their superiors, since Theseus himself was a protector and helper and received kindly the entreaties of humbler folk."\textsuperscript{47} By a pleasant flight of fancy Aristophanes makes the triremes, faithful but misused servants of the Athenian people, talk of "sailing to the Theseion or the shrine of the Semnai" (on the Areopagus above) and sitting there as suppliants.\textsuperscript{48} In the anxious night that followed the mutilation of the Herms in 415 B.C. the citizens who were living as refugees between the Long Walls were ordered to bivouac with their arms in the Theseion, while those who were at home in the city were to spend the night in the Agora.\textsuperscript{49}

An establishment of a different kind which was undoubtedly beside the Theseion was the school of Elpias, at which, according to Demosthenes (XVIII, 129), Aeschines' father Tromes served as a slave. In an earlier speech (XIX, 249) Demosthenes says that Tromes taught letters beside the shrine of the Heros Iatros, the Doctor Hero. If we assume that the school is the same in both cases, then the Doctor Hero was a neighbor of Theseus. But the Heros Iatros is an elusive personage, known from inscriptions which give little help in fixing the site of his shrine.\textsuperscript{50}

In seeking a more precise location for the Theseion we have to rely almost entirely on its proximity to the Ptolemaion, the gymnasion founded for the Athenians by one of the Ptolemies, probably Philometor, 181–145 B.C., of which more above (p. 116). "Theseus lies in the middle of the city," says Plutarch (Theseus, 36, 2) "beside the present gymnasion." Pausanias (I, 17, 2) notes that the shrine of Theseus is close to the gymnasion of Ptolemy which he has just described as "not far from the Agora." He gives the impression that by this stage of his periegesis he has done with the Agora proper and is making his way towards the north slope of the Acropolis. For this reason most recent authorities have placed the Theseion east or southeast of the Agora. Another suggestion is that the square enclosure in the southwestern part of the Agora was the sekos of Theseus; but as we have already seen (p. 65) the whole complex of buildings in this area probably housed the law courts rather than the Ptolemaion, and the square enclosure may well have been the Heliaia. The Theseion was probably further east, outside the present range of the excavators, but not far away.

\textsuperscript{44} Etym. Magnum, s.v. Theseion; Photosios, s.v. Theseion.
\textsuperscript{46} Aischines, III (Ksesiphon), 13; Aristotle, Ath. Pol., 62, 1. The headquarters of the Thesmothetai, the Thesmotheion, may have been near at hand; see p. 77.
\textsuperscript{47} Theseus, 36, 2.
\textsuperscript{48} Knights, 1311f. According to references in two of the late lexicographers (Hesychios, Etym. Magnum) the Theseion was also used as a prison. It is difficult to believe that this was a regular practice; perhaps the enclosure served as a temporary place of confinement; perhaps the prison was near the shrine, and the name Theseion was used in this way by a colloquial and humorous transference.
\textsuperscript{49} Andokides, I (De Mysteriis), 45; this Theseion however may be a shrine between the Long Walls. Thucydides (VI, 61, 2) confuses the issue by saying "They" (i.e. the Athenians generally; Thucydides does not differentiate as Andokides does) "slept one night in the Theseion under arms"; see Agora, III, pp. 61, 118; J.H.S., LXXIX, 1959, p. 156; D. Macdowell, Andokides on the Mysteries, Oxford, 1962, p. 95.
\textsuperscript{50} See p. 121 note 20, and Agora, III, p. 115.
An impressive monument found in the Agora was probably associated with the cult of Theseus and may well have been set up originally in his shrine. It is a marble base for a large bronze tripod, i.e. a cauldron supported on three legs (Pl. 47). Each of the three sides of the pedestal is adorned in relief with a single figure of life-size. One of the figures is indubitably recognizable from his slender club and prominent cloak as Theseus (rather than Herakles); the second figure, a man in formal dress and with scepter in hand, is in all probability King Aigeus, father of Theseus; the third figure, a woman, holds a libation bowl in her hand; she has been identified as Medea, the scheming stepmother of Theseus. The pedestal is a fine example of the archaizing Neo-Attic style and may be dated in the 2nd century B.C. Its subsequent history was checkered. The marble was found by the excavators standing upright in the middle of the largest room of the Civic Offices (p. 79) at the north foot of the terrace of the Middle Stoa. On the most plausible reading of the evidence the bronze tripod for which the marble base was made was given as a prize at the festival of Theseus. It will have stood originally somewhere in the hero's sanctuary. The monument must have suffered in the Roman sack of 86 B.C. When the southern area was rehabilitated in the 2nd century after Christ the marble base was salvaged and used to adorn the newly built Civic Offices.

IKRIA AND ORCHESTRA

The Agora was well adapted by nature to be the scene of festal gatherings of more than one kind. Its general contours had a certain theatrical character, and this was artificially enhanced in different ways from time to time. We hear a good deal about ikria, wooden constructions in which planks were fastened to upright posts. There were at Athens men called ikríopoioi, "who fixed the ikria around the Agora." Traces have been found of these structures, in the form of sockets for the uprights, at several points on the Panathenaic Way. On its eastern edge, near the intersection with the street on the south side of the Agora, are a number of rectangular pits, dated by a little pottery contained in them to the 4th century B.C. Both these and a series of similar cuttings of the same date found east of the Way opposite the Stoa of Attalos can best be explained in connection with the ikria. From such grandstands spectators could watch the great procession and other events of the Panathenaia. Higher up the road, steps against the western enclosure wall of the Eleusinion in the 4th century B.C. provided a more solid vantage point. A series of long steps built in the 5th century into the lower slope of Kolonos below the Hephaisteion (pp. 71, 149) must have been convenient for people (perhaps Councillors in particular) watching events in the middle of the Agora. In the Hellenistic period the architects no doubt had the festal crowds in mind when they built such spacious terraces.

51 Agora, XI, no. 128, pp. 79-81.
52 An analogy may be found in the "Giants" from the façade of the Odeion of Agrippa (p. 113). Thrown down in A.D. 267 they were salvaged ca. A.D. 400 and used to adorn the façade of the Late Roman Gymnasium.
53 A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, Theatre of Dionysos, pp. 11-12; Agora, III, pp. 162f., 220f.; R. Martin, Revue de Philologie, XXXI, 1957, pp. 72ff. Spectators seated on ikria (but watching a horse race) are shown on a black-figured krater by Sophilos; Beazley, A.B.V., p. 39, no. 16; see M. Bieber, Greek and Roman Theater, Princeton, 1964, p. 54, fig. 220.
54 Pollux, VII, 125; Agora, III, no. 528, p. 163.
55 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 40; XXIX, 1960, p. 332; some of these holes were once thought to be possibly for planting, but the nature of the fill seems to be against this; the holes near the Altar of the Twelve (p. 135) are different in character. Note also some holes in the paving of the Panathenaic Way southeast of the Agora, possibly intended for posts to support ropes to keep back the spectators.
56 Athenaeus, IV, 167f., mentions an ikrion erected near the Herms (p. 95), an exceptional structure, "higher than the Herms themselves," set up by one Demetrios for his mistress Aristagora.
57 Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 396.
in front of the great stoas, overlooking the center of the Agora and the Panathenaic Way (pp. 67, 104).

We cannot say whether ikria were semi-permanent structures or ephemeral like those erected in present-day Athens at festival time. The ones of which we hear most frequently in the ancient commentators were associated with dramatic performances, and these, together with the old orchestra and the hypothetical theater in the Agora, are more elusive and problematical. There is no direct archaeological evidence in the Agora; the early phases of the great theater of Dionysos are obscure and disputed; and we are mainly dependent on notes in the ancient commentators which are often obscure and garbled after much recopying.58

The orchestra is comparatively safe. The most important clue is provided by Timaios,59 who, in reference to Sokrates' statement in the *Apology* that one could buy the works of Anaxagoras from the orchestra, explains that the word means "the central place of the theater, and a conspicuous place for a panegyris (festival gathering), where (stood) statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton." We now know to within a few yards where the Tyrannicides stood (p. 157), and one would deduce that this orchestra was right in the middle of the square. A dancing place in the Agora is entirely natural. Pindar in his dithyramb (p. 133) implies that there were dances in the Agora near the very omphalos or navel stone of Athens; by this he may mean simply the heart of the city, but more probably he has in mind the Altar of the Twelve Gods in particular (p. 129). Xenophon60 tells us that at the Dionysia the choruses "give additional pleasure by performing dances in honor of the Twelve Gods and others." We shall find the Altar of the Twelve not far north of the probable site of our orchestra.

The question next arises whether one can construct a veritable theatron for this orchestra. Ikria are explained by Photios (s.v.) as "the things in the Agora from which they watched of old the Dionysiac contests before the theater in the shrine of Dionysos was constructed." Others give similar information without naming the Agora in particular. Under the name of Pratinas Suidas records that the poet entered a contest against Aischylos and Choirilos in the seventieth Olympiad (i.e. at the very beginning of the 5th century); the note also says that while Pratinas was producing a play, it happened that the ikria on which the spectators stood fell, and as a result of this a theater was built at Athens. It is generally and naturally assumed that the collapse occurred during the contest with Aischylos and Choirilos, though in fact this is left ambiguous by the text. Notes on ikria also tell us that before the theater came into being "they bound pieces of wood together and so watched the plays." (Clearly for these writers theatron means a solid structure like the later buildings; but the word can be used quite properly of wooden ikria or indeed of a simple slope with little or no artificial construction.)

The simplest and most obvious explanation of all this is that in the 6th century there was a simple theater in the Agora, in which ikria were extensively used; about the turn of the century it proved unusable, and more permanent arrangements were made on the south slope of the Acropolis at the shrine of Dionysos Eleuthereus. Unfortunately many complications have arisen in the interpretation of the evidence. The earliest structural remains of a theater on the south slope, represented most notably by the curved terrace wall of the orchestra, have been pushed back by many writers well into the 6th century. Good recent authorities, however, have dated them about 500 B.C. Dinsmoor61 finds no archaeological evidence, either in the pottery or in the character of the masonry, for taking this theater back to an earlier date.

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60 *Hipparchicus*, 3, 2.
61 "The Athenian Theater of the Fifth Century," in *Studies Presented to D. M. Robinson*, St. Louis, 1951, pp. 309–330; cf. the same writer's *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, p. 120; Martin, op. cit. note 53 above, concurs with this date. This does not preclude the possibility that there was an even simpler theater on this site at an earlier date. T. B. L. Webster,
The fact that ikria are also mentioned in connection with the great theater of Dionysos, even late in the 5th century, need not create complications. The term used of the original somewhat rickety piles erected on level ground or a gentle slope may have been passed on to tiers of wooden benches, with little need for upright supports, laid on the hillside south of the Acropolis.

Though the evidence is not clear on this point, the probability is that at least from a date early in the 5th century the transfer of theatrical displays to the south slope of the Acropolis was complete and for all time. There is no sufficient reason for believing that any of the plays we know was produced anywhere but in the theater on the south slope, or for dividing the comedies of Aristophanes, allocating those which were produced at the Dionysia to the main theater, the Lenaian plays to an older and more primitive one.

Mention of the Lenaia raises another extremely difficult problem, the location of the Lenaion, a large peribolos in which Dionysos Lenaioi had his shrine. Here we are involved in a particularly confused and contradictory set of scholia. Some say the Lenaion was "in the fields." But Photios and others say that the contests were held in the Lenaion before the theater was built; and this seems to bring together the shrine and our old theater.

Our most interesting evidence, and at the same time the most tantalizing, is Demosthenes' statement (XVIII, 129) that Aischines' mother "performed daylight marriages in the hovel (kleision) near the Kalamites," and the various scholia on it. The Kalamites, we are told by commentators, was a hero, who was near to the Lenaion; kleision means "the building having big doors, in the Agora." This would seem to place the Lenaion in the Agora, and Pickard-Cambridge treats this evidence as conclusive. But possibilities of corruption and confusion abound. The note on kleision seems to be a version of one which is found elsewhere without mention of the Agora; and in this other version the word commonly signifies a kind of cart-and-cow-shed, which would naturally have big doors and which would be found in the fields (γυπόσ) rather than the Agora. Aischines' mother's kleision is something different, but one cannot believe that this disreputable establishment was in the middle of the Agora, near the orchestra. It would rather be on the fringe or beyond; and it takes with it the Kalamites and the Lenaion. On such confused, tenuous and contradictory evidence we cannot confidently place the Lenaion. Dörpfeld, Judeich and others have long sought it to the southwest of the Agora, between the Areopagus and the Pnyx. Others have placed all the three famous shrines of Dionysos, under the titles of Eleuthereus, Lenaioi and Limnaios, in southeastern Athens in the region of the theater; and this possibility still cannot be dismissed. As regards the Agora, per-
haps we should be content with the existence of an archaic theater; and wherever dramatic performances took place, there Dionysos was honored.\textsuperscript{71}

Evidence from the excavations is negative or at best indirect. Nothing definite has been found which can be assigned to the Lenaion or the theater.\textsuperscript{72} A great peribolos would hardly have vanished without trace; a simple theater might. The site of the Tyrannicides and of the Altar of the Twelve provide useful pointers as we have seen. The ground stretching southwards from the Tyrannicides and the hypothetical orchestra had a suitably theatrical conformation, with a gentle slope becoming steeper farther south.\textsuperscript{73} The erection of the Odeion of Agrippa (p. 111) may be significant. One wonders why a theater was placed at this point. If a splendid building was required for the purpose of Romanizing the Agora, a large temple was the obvious solution; and if Athens needed a new Odeion, the site later selected by Herodes Atticus, on the south slope of the Acropolis, had every advantage. It may be that the name of the orchestra still survived and a long theatrical tradition was deliberately maintained.

The old orchestra remains elusive, and the primitive theater even more so. But besides these special elements, the Agora was always a "splendid place for a festal gathering"; and on various occasions, when the Hierophantes made his proclamation in the Poikile, when the chorus danced for the Twelve Gods, and above all when the Panathenaic procession passed through, it took on itself the character of a great theatron.

\textbf{ALTAR OF THE TWELVE GODS}

From the late 6th century onwards a focal point for the Agora, the city of Athens, and indeed the whole of Attica was provided by the Altar of the Twelve Gods. Fortunately this has been identified beyond doubt and provides a fixed point for the archaeologist too. Short sections of the stone sill which carried its parapet came to light temporarily in 1891 when a trench was dug for the southern retaining wall of the railway cutting. Continuations of these were found in the excavations of 1984, meeting in the southwestern angle of the enclosure;\textsuperscript{74} and by a unique piece of good luck a statue base remained \textit{in situ}, set against the sill towards the south end of its west side, bearing a dedication by Leagros to the Twelve Gods (Pl. 67). This identified the monument outright, and one need not appeal to the less obvious literary evidence.

\textsuperscript{71} Dionysos was certainly honored in the later Odeion. Pausanias saw at the entrance a statue of him "worth seeing" (I, 14, 1). A life-size marble statue of Dionysos, of fine workmanship, has been found a little to the northeast of the building, \textit{Hesperia}, V, 1936, pp. 12-13; XIX, 1950, p. 78; several fragments of a colossal marble statue (part of a foot, two fragments of drapery, found on the north side of the Odeion, \textit{Hesperia}, XIX, 1950, pp. 79-80; and another fragment of a foot found in the Post-Herulian Wall, \textit{Hesperia}, XXIX, 1960, p. 351) have been very tentatively associated with the statue mentioned by Pausanias.

\textsuperscript{72} Under the southwest corner of the Odeion are the foundations of a rectangular structure, 3.10 m. north to south and probably about 5 m. east to west. At a short distance on north and east are remains of a peribolos wall, with a socle of field stones and re-used blocks, and traces of sun-dried brick above. This is hardly the "great peribolos," and in any case the conglomerate indicates a comparatively late date. The purpose of the structure is quite uncertain. See \textit{Hesperia}, XIX, 1950, pp. 86-87.

\textsuperscript{73} It is possible that dramatic performances also had some connection with the cult of the heroic dead; see H. A. Thompson, \textit{Συμπεριφορά τῆς Λατρείας τῶν ἥρων}, Επιμετροική Ἐπιτηρήσεις Φιλοσοφικῆς Σχολῆς τοῦ Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνῶν, 1963-1964, pp. 276-284.

\textsuperscript{74} \textit{Hesperia}, XIX, 1950, p. 95. Note also a "theatral area" farther to the southwest, north of the square enclosure, in the region later occupied partly by the western end of the Middle Stoa. The natural contours were trimmed so as to give a gentle slope, with a slightly defined rim on the east side; the arrangement may go back as early as the 6th century. At the focal point on the north side were found the remains of a small altar, its walls made of marble slabs set on edge; see \textit{Hesperia}, XXIII, 1954, pp. 50-51. The "orchestra" can hardly have been here, unless we assume that Harmodios and Aristogeiton were moved (p. 137); but it may be that more than one area was prepared at some time for the accommodation of audiences or assemblies (or both).

though the statement of the author of the Lives of the Orators\textsuperscript{75} that the statue of Demosthenes, which Pausanias (I, 8, 2) saw near the temple of Ares, stood near the perischoinism\textsuperscript{a} (p. 87, note 18) and the Altar of the Twelve agrees well enough with the identification.

The major part of the enclosure remained under the electric railway, but precarious diggings picked up several further sections and revealed the whole plan (Figs. 32–34, Pl. 4). Only the south-

western corner, with the base, remains visible. The original sill (Fig. 33) measures 9.35 m. east to west by 9.85 m. north to south and consists of a single course of blocks of a soft yellow poros, without any underpinning, resting partly on bedrock partly on earth; only the upper part of the sides is smooth dressed. Sunk in the top are rectangular cuttings for posts and holes for the dowels with which the intervening slabs were fixed.\textsuperscript{76} Nothing is left of this parapet, which was no doubt of poros like the sill and had eight posts on each side, set at a normal interval of 0.97m. Between the middle posts on the west side a gap of 1.37 m. was left, presumably for an entrance,

\textsuperscript{75} Ps. Plutarch, Vit. X Orat., 847a; for this and other testimonia see Agora, III, pp. 119ff.
\textsuperscript{76} No doubt a continuous coping was carried over the posts and slabs.
and a sinking in the center of the gap seems to have been intended for some kind of light barrier. Though the evidence is lacking, a similar entrance may be assumed on the east side, opening on to the Panathenaic Way, which runs close by.77

Of the altar itself only a few poros fragments survive. Three were found in the bedding of the later pavement of the enclosure, a crowning moulding with a fascia above a hawksbeak, and two pieces of a "bolster" from the end of the altar, with concentric circles incised on its face. Several other fragments of similar material found near by may well belong to the orthostates. The size of the altar is conjectural.

Thucydides (VI, 54, 6–7) says that the Altar of the Twelve in the Agora was set up by Peisistratos, son of Hippias the tyrant, when he was archon. After long dispute the archonship of Peisistratos is now placed by general agreement in 522/1 B.C., partly on the evidence of a fragment of an archon list found in the Agora.78

Who the "Twelve" were is not entirely clear. No doubt they were commonly thought to be the major Olympians. But at Athens they may originally have been local deities or heroes; the story was told that they acted as judges in the dispute between Athena and Poseidon for the

77 Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 52f.
78 Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 64; T. J. Cadoux, J.H.S., LXVIII, 1948, pp. 71, 111; Agora, III, p. 120.
SHRINES

The shrine of the Twelve was called Dodekatheon in some cities, but the name does not seem to have been in use at Athens. The Leagros base (Pl. 67, b) is a block of Pentelic marble, centered approximately, but not exactly, on the third post from the south on the west side. A band at the bottom, lying below the contemporary ground level, was left rough. On a narrow smooth strip at the top on the west face was carved the inscription

[Λέαγρος : αὐνόθεκαν : Γλαύκωνος | δεδεκα θεότητι]

"Leagros son of Glaukon dedicated this to the Twelve Gods"

dated by Meritt some time between 490 and 480 B.C., i.e. shortly before the Persian destruction in which we may assume the statue disappeared; the top of the base had been much trodden and worn before the parapet was reconstructed late in the 5th century. Dowel holes indicate that the base was occupied by a figure with its right foot slightly advanced. The statue was removed with some care; the rear dowels, under the heels, were extracted from the lead, though the front ones were broken off. Leagros the dedicator was a well known personage at Athens; much admired for his youthful good looks in the closing years of the 6th century, as kalos names on vases show, he rose in 465 to the dignity of strategos. Raubitschek ingeniously suggests that the interior scene of a cup in Baltimore, in which a bearded gentleman stands before a base on which is the figure of a youthful athlete (with his right foot advanced), represents a more mature Leagros contemplating his own statue as a youthful victor; he suggests further that this is the statue dedicated to the Twelve Gods. However, the date assigned to the cup, about 500 B.C., is unduly early.

Another adjacent monument can perhaps best be introduced in this context, since it cannot safely be given a name of its own. It is a good example of the type of low altar sometimes known as eschara or hearth, though eschara and bomos are sometimes more or less synonymous. It lies immediately south of the peribolos of the Twelve and has the same orientation; material and workmanship too are similar (Pls. 3, 4). Scanty finds of pottery point to a date at the end of the 6th century, i.e. a few years after the neighboring altar. The eschara consisted of a rectangle floored with field stones, enclosed by a poros curb measuring 1.76 m. by 3.77 m., which rose at each end to produce a simple form of the "bolster" used to decorate altars. Shortly after its original construction, it was surrounded by a pavement, wider on the west side where the priest would stand than on the others, and the whole was enclosed by a wall, with an entrance in the form of a simple recessed porch on the east side and probably a doorway on the west too. The pavement and the sill for the wall are preserved on the south side and at the south end of the east side. Several fragments of a soft yellow poros belong to the orthostates which formed the wall. Situated where it was, the shrine must have had some civic importance. Its form is appropriate for a hero. Aiakos of Aigina is a possible occupant. Herodotos (V, 89, 2) tells us that the Athenians dedicated a precinct to him in the Agora, and at Aigina according to Pausanias (II, 29, 6–8) he had a shrine which was somewhat similar in form. The eschara at Athens had gone out of use by the Hellenistic period; this is not so likely to have happened if an Attic hero had been worshipped there.

82 Hesperia, VIII, 1939, pp. 161ff.
83 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 48ff.; Agora, III, p. 49.
The Altar of the Twelve is one of the monuments which provide continuity between the archaic Agora and the classical. The parapet was badly damaged by the Persians and was not replaced for some years, as subsequent wear on the sill indicates; but the altar itself must have continued to exist. The whole monument was reconstructed towards the end of the century, in much the same form. The altar may well be what Pindar has in mind when he invites the Olympian gods to come to the dance, drawing near to “the navel (omphalos) of the city in holy Athens, much frequented, fragrant with incense, and the famous, richly adorned Agora, to receive garlands of violets and songs gathered in the spring,” no doubt at the Anthesteria. Herodotus (II, 7, 1) uses the altar as a point from which to measure the distance between Athens and Olympia; and an inscription confirms its use as a kind of central milestone. Suppliant continued to seek asylum there, and dramatic incidents took place. Diodorus (XII, 39, 1) tells how Pheidias’ persecuted fellow-workers “sat upon the altar of the gods,” no doubt the Twelve. In 415 B.C., at the time of the mutilation of the Herms, a man leapt on to the altar and similarly mutilated himself, according to Plutarch. In 355 B.C. the orator Kallistratos sought refuge there in vain.

Fig. 34. Altar of the Twelve Gods, Period II (M. H. McAllister)

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84 In his dithyramb for the Athenians: frag. 75 Snell, 63 Bowra; cf. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge, Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy, 2nd ed., Oxford, 1963, pp. 20ff., 37f. In appreciation of this compliment the Athenians honored Pindar with a bronze statue said by ps.-Aischines (Epist. IV, 2–3 = Agora, III, no. 708) to have been in front of the Royal Stoa, by Pausanias (I, 8, 4 = Agora, III, no. 117) near the Temple of Ares. The position was probably chosen as the place where the dithyramb was performed. Cf. p. 86.

For the altar as milestone see I.G., II, 2640.

85 Nikias, 13, 2; see Agora, III, pp. 119ff., for these testimonia.

86 Lykourgos, Leokrates, 93.
The reconstruction (Fig. 34) cannot be very precisely dated, but technical criteria and a little pottery place it in the last quarter of the 5th century. The ground level had risen, and the old sill of yellow poros now became a foundation, on which a new sill of hard gray poros blocks was set, without the use of dowels. The whole of the south side and the southern parts of the east and west sides survive; the overall dimensions were 9.05 m. east to west by 9.86 m. north to south, very slightly different from the old enclosure. Nothing survives above this level, but cuttings and scratched lines make it possible to restore a fence very similar in arrangement to its predecessor (Figs. 32, 34). There were still eight posts on each side, with an entrance left open in the middle on both east and west. The posts at the corners and on either side of the entrances were given greater stability by being set with lead in shallow sockets, as can be seen at the southern corners and on the south side of the western entrance; and so were several others for no such obvious reason. The rest stood on the surface of the sill blocks and were attached by dowels. That there were stone panels between the posts is shown by the fact that some of the posts had grooves in their sides, to judge by the shape of their sockets, and by the existence of a very shallow bedding on the sill blocks. The thinness of the panels suggests that they were not of poros but of marble; the posts and capping stone, however, were still, no doubt, of poros.

The form and material of the sill and the thickness and spacing of the posts are closely similar to the corresponding features of the fence of the Eponymoi (p. 39), and the altar parapet may be restored by analogy with the periphragma, with the substitution of stone panels for wooden rails. Two peculiar details in the design of the parapet should be noted. Traces on the sill indicate that the panels on either side of the two entrances were thicker at the bottom than the rest; the probable explanation is that they were meant to be carved in relief. The second panel from the south on the east side was a little narrower than the rest, to judge by the post marks; one infers that the adjoining panel, next to the entrance, and the corresponding panel north of the entrance had a greater width than the norm, perhaps to accommodate the scheme of the sculptural decoration.

The interior of the enclosure, originally of hard-packed earth, was now paved with yellow poros slabs of various sizes, at the level of the old sill. No trace or fragment of the altar of this period has been found. Thucydides (V, 54, 7) is presumably referring to it when he says that the Demos added to the length of the altar and made Peisistratos' inscription invisible, but what he means is not clear. Perhaps the ends of the old altar were cut away (hence the fragments found beneath the new pavement), and a marble facing was added to the core. A block of Hymettian marble, perhaps part of a base for a small monument, was found in situ standing on the pavement on the north side of the enclosure.

Many years ago Wilamowitz gave his authority to the idea that the Altar of the Twelve

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88 It seems that the parapet was deliberately and carefully removed, probably after the sack of A.D. 267, and probably to a safe site within the new fortification (p. 209); in this it contrasts with the fence of the Eponymoi (p. 39) of which much remained in situ; see Hesperia, XXI, 1952, pp. 56–58. A small fragment of a gabled crowning member of hard gray poros recovered in 1970 from a late wall at the north end of the Stoa Basilieos may come from the 12 Gods; Hesperia, XL, 1971, pp. 277–278, fig. 6.
90 Hesperia, Supplement VIII, 1949, p. 92.
was what the Athenians called the Altar of Eleos or Pity, famous in later antiquity as a refuge of suppliants, and recent studies have strongly supported this identification. It has generally been recognized that "Altar of Eleos" is merely a name attached to an earlier shrine. Eleos appears in our numerous authorities as a poetical and sentimental abstraction, a rhetorical metaphor, rather than a genuine old deity. One notes that though he is masculine in Greek, as Clementia or Misericordia he can become feminine in Latin (no wonder that as Statius says he could have no statue). We first find the plural, altars of Eleos, used by Karneades (2nd century B.C.) and perhaps several altars, or suppliant altars in general, were known by this name. Later we constantly hear of an altar of Eleos par excellence. The first occurrence is in Diodorus Siculus (XIII, 22, 7), who makes the Syracusan Nikolaos, pleading for mercy to the Athenian prisoners in 413 B.C., say "Those who were the first to establish an altar of Eleos will find mercy in the City of Syracuse." Afterwards various historical personages such as Demosthenes are brought to the Altar, and also legendary figures such as the Herakleidai and Adrastos. Such rhetorical and poetical fancies provide no evidence for its existence before late Hellenistic times.

The identification of the Altar of Eleos is of course not entirely certain. Zeus Agoraios has been put forward as a candidate for the title (p. 160); but no known shrine has such good claims as the Altar of the Twelve. We have a series of recorded examples, from the 6th to the 4th centuries, of historical persons seeking asylum there;97 in its prominent central location it was well placed for those who wished to draw public attention to their wrongs. Pausanias does not speak of the Altar of the Twelve, but he does mention the Altar of Eleos (I, 17, 1), immediately after the Stoa Poikile and just before leaving the Agora, presumably at the northeast corner. The shrine of the Twelve fits well enough into his itinerary, though he might just as well have introduced it at an earlier stage.98

One small piece of archaeological evidence gives a little further support to the identification. Statius in his mainly fanciful description of the altar and cult of "Clementia" mentions one feature which he can hardly have imagined—a grove of olive trees and laurels around the shrine. South and west of the precinct of the Twelve a number of pits filled with loose earth have been found, about a meter in diameter. They were probably intended for the planting of trees, as in the "Garden of Hephaistos" (p. 149). Pottery found in them shows that they go back as far as the 4th century B.C.; but the traditional grove may have been maintained even in Statius' time. A little to the west of the peribolos is a large block of poros sunk below the contemporary ground level (of the 4th century or early Hellenistic period), with its top hollowed out to form a basin (Pl. 67, a). Its purpose may have been to facilitate the irrigation of the grove, and it was supplied by a pipeline, which has left its mark in cuttings at either end, from the stone channel which conducted water northwards from the Southwest Fountain House (p. 201).

As a corollary of the identification one may assign to the panels on either side of the entrances the originals of a well known group of four three-figure reliefs of which a number of copies sur-

93 Thebaid, XII, 493-494.
95 For the evidence on this see Agora, III, pp. 67ff.; cf. Cl. Quart., N.S., IV, 1954, pp. 143ff. Euripides on the contrary brings the suppliants in the Heraclidae to Marathon, and Adrastos and his companions in the Supplices to Eleusis, and says nothing of the Altar of Eleos.
96 A. N. Oikonomides, The Two Agoras in Ancient Athens, pp. 71ff. Note that in I.G., II, 4786 (2nd century after Christ) certain Thracians addressing Zeus as suppliants speak of "thy altar of Eleos"; see Agora, III, 190, p. 74; Cl. Quart., N.S., IV, 1954, p. 146; S.E.G., XXIV, 1969, no. 237.
97 See p. 138 and notes 85 and 86 above; and Herodotos, VI, 108, 4 (the Plataeans in 519 B.C.).
99 Thebaid, XIII, 491-492; Agora, III, no. 184, pp. 72-73.
100 Hesperia, XXI, 1952, p. 50; XXII, 1953, p. 46.
vive. The subjects, at first sight very miscellaneous, are: Hermes, Eurydike and Orpheus, at the moment when Orpheus looks back and so loses his wife again; Medea and the two daughters of Pelias preparing a cauldron for the fatal "rejuvenation" of the old man; Peirithoos seated in the underworld, where he will sit for ever, between Herakles and Theseus; and Herakles seated on a rock between two of the Hesperides, from whom, his labor over, he is about to part. By comparison with funeral steleai the originals are thought to be Attic works of the late 5th century. They must have been very famous, since they were so much copied, and in a readily accessible position, since the copies vary so slightly that they may be presumed to be highly accurate. There is thus a prima facie case for attaching them to the parapet. They concentrate upon the theme of Eleos; in each case we have someone involved in a pathetic turn of fortune which calls forth the sentiment of pity. One need not stress the objection that as far as we know the name "Altar of Eleos" was not used till late Hellenistic times; as a constant resort of the wronged and afflicted the shrine was already deeply involved in the notion of Eleos. But the themes remain very puzzling. If the artist was seeking directly relevant material, one would expect him to choose scenes of actual supplication, with a powerful and generous benefactor at hand, preferably an Athenian. The dramatists were working on such themes at the time. Not that one need require a direct relevance in the sculptural decoration of a shrine (cf. p. 148). The artists were obviously allowed much freedom and chose their subjects from a wide range of familiar myths, sometimes with aesthetic and decorative effects in mind in the first place, or even the shape of the field to be filled. In two of our reliefs the mere posture of the seated central figure of the group has a certain appropriateness.

On technical grounds the arguments are more tangible and cogent. The dimensions of the copies vary only slightly, and the dimensions of the originals can be approximately deduced from them. In size and shape the reliefs fit the parapet very well, especially if one can restore it by analogy with the fence of the Eponymoi. In the latter, as we have seen, the posts taper slightly downwards, and the spaces between them are narrower at the top than at the bottom. So too are the sculptured slabs. The width of the panels can be deduced from the actual remains; and the most significant feature is that the two eastern panels of the parapet are very probably wider than the western, and two of the reliefs (the Hesperides and Peirithoos, i.e. the ones which incorporate a seated figure) are wider than the other two by just about the same amount. The ascription of the reliefs has been disputed and must remain a hypothesis, but there are enough suggestive features to make it an attractive one.

**APOLLO PATROOS**

In the southwest corner of the 4th century temple on the west side which on Pausanias' evidence (I, 3, 4) can be safely assigned to Apollo Patroos, ancestor of the Athenians as of the Ionians in general, a curved cutting was found, containing a few field stones set in clay. It passes beneath the south wall of the temple and reappears for a short distance outside. On the east-west axis of the curve, but not precisely on the center from which it was drawn, is a block of gray poros, 0.53 m. square. Two other blocks of gray poros and fragments of an archaic Doric column (the latter found deep beneath the Stoa of Zeus) are all that can possibly be assigned

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102 Note 95 above; also Sophokles in O.C.

103 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 79ff.
to the superstructure. The building can reasonably be restored as an apsidal temple, about 8 m. wide, facing eastwards on to the Agora (Pl. 4). Pottery found in the foundations, in the lowest layer above bedrock to the south and in the pit mentioned below, suggests that it was built about the middle of the 6th century B.C. It was in ruins, destroyed no doubt by the Persians, when the site to the north was prepared for the erection of the Stoa of Zeus.

Just south of the temple was a pit, cut in bedrock, which had clearly been used for bronze-casting (Pl. 97, a). In its deeper end were many pieces of the outer mould used for making a statue about two-thirds life-size. One fragment shows the nose and mouth. Most of the lower half of the mould has been reassembled (Pl. 97, b), and the figure was clearly an archaic "Apollo" type, standing with the legs close together and the left foot advanced. There is no evidence that more than the one statue was ever made on this particular spot (it does not seem to have been a foundry in regular use), and the figure may well have been the cult statue of the little temple, designed to stand on the poros foundation. Marble chips, probably Parian, found near the pit may have come from a block prepared for its base. Since the statue is very appropriate for Apollo it helps to confirm the identification of the shrine.

For many years after the Persian destruction Apollo had to be content without a temple. The Apollo Alexikakos of Kalamis was set up in the shrine, but not, as Pausanias says, in gratitude for delivery from the great plague of 490 B.C.; this gives a date much too late for Kalamis. It may be that Apollo shared with Zeus Soter-Eleutherios the honors paid for warding off the Persian menace. On the northern side of the shrine the ground was cut down in the course of work on the Stoa of Zeus; a boundary stone of Apollo Patroos, of Pentelic marble, found in a modern house to the southeast of the Agora, may belong to the time when the site was finally cleared up and reorganized.

The later temple (Pls. 6, 68, a), which at last replaced the apsidal building destroyed by the Persians, was excavated almost completely in 1896 by Dörpfeld, who developed the curious idea that it was the Stoa Basileios. The general form of the building is clear enough from the foundations; it is a rectangular cella with a porch on the east facing the Agora and a small square room attached to the west end of the north side (Pls. 6, 12, 68, a). This annex made use of the space left free behind the little temple of Zeus and Athena (p. 139) and probably served as a treasury or storeroom.

The way in which the intervening levels were managed shows that the temple was built after its small neighbor, i.e. after the middle of the 4th century B.C. But since Euphranor made the cult statue (p. 139) it cannot have been much later. The filling had been almost entirely removed in the earlier excavations, and no useful evidence could be obtained from this source. Materials and technique would agree with a date towards 330 B.C., perhaps in the time of Lykourgos. The identification of the temple is now clear enough from Pausanias' account, in which it falls between the Stoa of Zeus and the Metron.

The foundations stand almost complete. The walls rested on a single course of red conglomerate blocks. In the northern part, where the ground fell away and had also been cut down when the Stoa of Zeus was built, there was an underpinning of large rough blocks of Acropolis limestone, levelled off at the top by means of smaller stones. Beneath the colonnade, the underpinning too is of conglomerate blocks, of which there are as many as four courses at the northeast corner. Much of the euthynteria of the porch is in place; it consists of blocks of hard gray
poros of Peiraeus, of varying length and irregular breadth. Setting lines and cuttings in the foundation blocks indicate the position of the two lower steps and the stylobate. Two fragmentary blocks of Hymettian marble found re-used in a later structure near by probably belong to the second step, and a third to the stylobate.

A number of blocks of the lower part of the walls are in position, north of the main east entrance and east of the north door. Except for the block immediately adjoining the north door they rest on a toichobate or wall footing course. Both Acropolis limestone and the hard creamy limestone of Kara are used in the walls; the coursing was irregular, and the inner surface was prepared to receive stucco, of which slight traces remain. The east wall, 0.70 m. thick at the doorway, was doubled in thickness in its lower part to the north and presumably also to the south of the door opening. This additional thickness may have formed a bench or ledge in front of the wall proper, and here the statues of Apollo by Kalamis and Leochares which Pausanias saw “in front of the temple” were probably placed, πρό τοῦ ναοῦ meaning “in the pronaos.” The arrangement seems to have been an afterthought, necessitating a change in the design of the porch, with the colonnade placed a little further east. At least this is the probable explanation of the fact that just behind the actual foundations of the columns there is another and apparently superfluous line of conglomerate blocks. If the colonnade had indeed been erected on this foundation it would have been precisely in line with the façade of the neighboring stoa.

The fact that the steps make only a short return along the sides indicates that the columns of the porch were in antis rather than prostyle; this is borne out by the nature of the beddings in the top of the foundations. There were probably four Ionic columns between the antae. The north end of the threshold of the main door was found in the north room of the Metron; it is of Hymettian marble and has not only a bronze socket for a heavy door but also a smaller socket perhaps intended for a light metal gate, set further forward. It is known to belong to the Temple of Apollo since it fits against the adjoining wall block north of the door.

The floor of the cela was of hard-packed earth, at a slightly lower level than the north room. The construction of the latter leaves no doubt that it was part of the original scheme. Internally, the cela measures 8.64 by 9.285 m., the annex 4.40 m. north to south by 4.56 m. east to west. At the back of the cela a heavy poros slab is in position, and another was found near by; both have cuttings which show that they were originally stele-beddings. Probably four such slabs were needed to provide a foundation for the base of the cult statue.

Two omphaloi of Hymettian marble which were found at the northeast corner of the Metron were probably dedications to Apollo and stood in front of the temple (they show signs of weathering). They are plain, unadorned half egg-shaped blocks, made in imitation of the ancient omphaloi at Delphi. Though this shrine was not the actual Pythion of Athens, it was the Apollo Pythios of Delphi whom the Athenians worshipped as ancestor. The marble front of the altar too survives, a slab of Pentelic found near the Varvakeion in northern Athens. It is trimmed at the ends to fit similar slabs set at right angles, and inscribed in elegant letters of the late 4th century

'Απόλλωνος Πατρώιον

108 Tied by double T clamps, with some use of hook clamps on the north; ibid., p. 92.
110 Ibid., p. 100. The geison A 256 (Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 148f.) is probably from the Apollo temple.
111 Ibid., p. 112, with note 1. H.-V. Herrmann, Omphalos, Münster, 1959, p. 92, prefers to regard these and other such omphaloi as connected with the cult of the heroized dead, serving as grave coverings; but with the temple of Apollo Patroos-Pythios at hand the Delphic connection seems inescapable.
112 Fragments of a large marble omphalos, bound with fillets, were also found east of the Metron; Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 112, note 1.
One Neoptolemos, we are told, offered to gild “the altar of Apollo in the Agora,” in the time of Lykourgos.

Pausanias saw three statues of Apollo. In the temple stood the Patroos himself by the painter-sculptor Euphranor, and “in front of the temple” another Apollo by Leochares (mid 4th century) and a third entitled Alexikakos, Averter of Evil, by Kalamis (mid 5th century). We probably have Euphranor’s cult statue, in the shape of a colossal Apollo Kitharoidos, draped and playing the lyre, which was found in fragments by the Greek excavators in 1907 at a point about twenty meters south of the temple, in the region of the Metron (Pl. 69). This figure is now in the Stoa of Attalos; the head and arms are missing and all but slight traces of the lyre.

It may seem odd that Apollo Patroos should be represented as playing the lyre. But the statue is a 4th century original of distinguished workmanship. It must surely be one of those which Pausanias mentions. It cannot be Kalamis’ Alexikakos, and since it is little affected by weathering it is presumed to have stood inside the temple. Several fragments of a marble kithara have been found on the north side of the temple. They are of island marble instead of Pentelic and are too small to belong to this statue, but they show that the kitharoidos type could be associated with the cult.

The figure now stands 2.54 m. high, a suitable size for the cult statue of the temple. The weight falls on the left foot; the right trails behind. The god wears a peplos with a deep overfold, held by a high-set girdle; the heavy folds are diversified with great skill and a touch of realism, by means of small creases. On his left side are traces of the kithara which he held close against his body. His right hand presumably held a plectrum, or perhaps a phiale for making a libation. A heavy cloak falls low down his back, and on his feet are elaborately worked sandals. In the top of the torso is a socket to receive the now missing head. The ends of wavy locks of hair are visible on the back and in front of the left shoulder (the right is missing).

The statue represents one of several 4th century types of kitharoidos. A number of more or less free copies exist; amongst them is a statuette found in a well about 130 m. south of the temple of Hephaistos (Pl. 71, a). The copies fail to reproduce the combined strength and delicacy of Euphranor’s work, but they tell us something about the missing parts. They reveal that the god wore a sleeved chiton under the heavy peplos. The best preserved copy, in the Vatican, shows the head turned a little to the right, as indeed one might infer from the socket in the original, and gives some idea of the treatment of hair and wreath. On criteria of style and technique the original is dated in the third quarter of the 4th century, towards the end of Euphranor’s career.

ZEUS PHRATRIOS AND ATHENA PHRATRIA

Immediately south of the Stoa of Zeus — less than half a meter separates the foundations — a temple of extremely small size and extremely simple design was built just after the middle of the 4th century (Pls. 6, 12, 68, a). It consists of a cella measuring 5.20 m. east to west by 3.65 m. north to south, with a door in the east front. The foundations are a single row of con-


A very different type of Apollo is represented by the ivory statuette, about a foot high, found in more than 200 fragments in a well south of the Hephaistion; see Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 349–351; Picture Book, 3, no. 60; Guide, p. 182. In this the god holds his right arm above his head; his outstretched left hand probably held a bow. The statuette, made in the 2nd or 3rd century after Christ, is thought to reflect a 4th century a.e. type of the Apollo Lykeios in the Lyceum, described by Lucian, Anacharsis, 7; there is no reason to associate it with our shrine.

116 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 84–90, 104–107.
glomerate blocks on north, south and west, and two rows laid side by side on the east, where two steps can probably be restored; there was no columnar porch till about two centuries later, when extensive conglomerate foundations were laid to the east of the cela (Pl. 7). On the south side three blocks of hard gray poros, forming the first course meant to be visible, are in situ. They were held together by double T clamps; the outer face was carefully dressed, the inner left rough. The original floor, of which a very little survives, was of a brown mortar studded with pebbles and painted red; later this was overlaid by a new floor in which chips of Pentelic marble were set in the mortar. In the northwest corner is a conglomerate block which no doubt formed part of the bedding for a statue base. The date of construction of the temple is fixed fairly closely by pottery and a mortgage inscription found in the filling under the floor and in a curious pit or well beneath the southwest corner.117

A block of poros was found in situ on the axis of the temple and about 4.50 m. east of its original front; this must have been the foundation of the altar. An altar of Hymettian marble, found in front of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos,118 almost certainly stood upon it; it had probably been moved across the Agora for use in the Post-Herulian Wall (Pl. 68, b). It bears the inscription, somewhat carelessly cut,

Δίὸς Φρατρίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Φρατρίας

and is dated by the epigraphists to the middle of the 4th century or a little later. Though the back has been broken away, the dimensions can be determined by means of a sinking made in the top to receive the fire-pan, which no doubt was centrally placed. The altar is of a suitable size to occupy the foundation, and when put in position it was found to fit the marks on the poros block "with gratifying precision."119 By way of confirmation, chips of the same marble were found in the packing of the foundation.

The Athenians do not give Zeus the title Patroos, says Sokrates in the Euthydemos (302 d); "Apollo is our paternal deity since we are sprung from Ion; Zeus we do not call Patroos, but Herkeios and Phratrios, and Athena we call Phratria." Zeus and Athena were the deities concerned with the life of the phratriai or clans.120 Even without the evidence of the altar they would have a claim to the little temple, which was clearly attached to the shrine of Apollo Patroos. The three deities were closely associated. The pedestal, if symmetrically restored, is large enough for Zeus and Athena to stand side by side.

In this tiny but well-built structure the temple is reduced to its basic form, with not even the simplest columnar adornment. Its position in close juxtaposition to the south wall of the Stoa of Zeus seems to show that when it was built the erection of its larger and more handsome neighbor to the south was already planned.121

HEPHAISTEION

This is not the place to give a full account of the "Theseum," the temple on the hill to the west (Fig. 35, Pl. 70). It is not strictly in the confines of the Agora, and it has long appeared in the handbooks of architecture as the best preserved example of a 5th century Doric temple.

117 Ibid., pp. 86 ff.; for the pit see p. 119, note 13, above.
118 Ibid., pp. 106 f.; I 3706, cf. Agora, III, p. 52, and note I 6709, Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 616, an altar of the same deities found to the northeast of the Agora, perhaps belonging to the shrine of a particular phratria.
119 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, p. 49.
120 Some phratriai also had their own particular cult of Apollo Patroos; see Agora, III, no. 109, p. 51, and for the Therrikleidai see further Hesperia, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 72 ff., no. 15, in which a Therrikleon, presumably the shrine of their eponymos, is also mentioned.
121 A few Doric fragments found in front of the building may belong to the porch added in the course of the Hellenistic remodelling of the Agora; Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 85, 90.
Fig. 35. Temple of Hephaistos (J. Travlos)
But it has been carefully re-examined in the course of the excavations, and the surrounding area has been explored, with interesting results which affect amongst other things the question of identification. Standing on the Kolonos Agoraios it is very closely linked with the Agora, and indeed it is the dominant architectural element in the scene. And if it is in fact the Temple of Hephaistos, with whom Athena is associated, it is dedicated to the worship of two deities intimately concerned with the life of the city and particularly its center.

The identification is now generally accepted, though there are still a few doubters and at least one rival theory. Some of the old claimants—Ares, Herakles Alexikakos, Zeus Soter—have fallen by the way and settled elsewhere. The temple is certainly not the famous shrine of Theseus, where Kimon laid the hero’s bones; that too was elsewhere (p. 125). Determined to maintain the association with Theseus, Koch invents a joint shrine of Theseus and Herakles, for which there is no sound evidence. Two solid arguments support the claims of Hephaistos. A great deal of evidence of metalworking has been found in the vicinity; this craft would naturally be carried on under the eye of its tutelary deity, and in fact Andokides tells us of a bronze foundry (chalkeion) situated just below the temple of Hephaistos. Secondly, Pausanias says that the Temple of Hephaistos was “above the Kerameikos and the Stoa called Basileios”; and the site of the existing temple fits his description well enough (p. 86).

To recapitulate the more obvious and unmistakable features of the temple: it is a Doric building, peripteral, measuring at stylobate level 13.708 m. north to south by 31.776 m. east to west, with six columns on the ends and thirteen on the flanks; the cella has a front porch and a somewhat shallower back porch, each with two Doric columns between the antae (Fig. 35). The building is chiefly of Pentelic marble, the sculpture of Parian. The date, formerly pushed far up and down the century, has been satisfactorily fixed, now that archaeological evidence has supplemented indeterminate criteria of style (by means of which in the past the building has been placed both before and after the Parthenon) and eliminated false identifications. Pottery, ostraka and other material found in fillings and dumps in and around the temple go down very near to the middle of the century. Dinsmoor sees the hand of a single architect, whose name we do not know, in four temples, those of Hephaistos at Athens, Poseidon at

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123 W. B. Dinsmoor (Hesperia, Supplement V, 1941, p. 1) and R. E. Wycherley (J.H.S., LXXIX, 1959, pp. 153–156) have come out strongly for Hephaistos. H. Koch, in his very valuable study of the temple (Studien zum Theseustempel in Athen, Berlin, 1955), proposed joint occupancy by Herakles and Theseus. M. Delecourt in an interesting study of the cult of Hephaistos (Hephaistos, Paris, 1967), though she does not discuss the problem of identification, appears to doubt the attribution to Hephaistos.


125 Hesperia, Supplement V, p. 1; cf. pp. 188–190 below.

126 De Mysteriis, 40; Agora, III, no. 281, p. 98.


128 The temple is certainly not the famous shrine of Theseus, with Kimon laid the hero’s bones; that too was elsewhere (p. 125). Determined to maintain the association with Theseus, Koch invents a joint shrine of Theseus and Herakles, for which there is no sound evidence. Two solid arguments support the claims of Hephaistos. A great deal of evidence of metalworking has been found in the vicinity; this craft would naturally be carried on under the eye of its tutelary deity, and in fact Andokides tells us of a bronze foundry (chalkeion) situated just below the temple of Hephaistos. Secondly, Pausanias says that the Temple of Hephaistos was “above the Kerameikos and the Stoa called Basileios”; and the site of the existing temple fits his description well enough (p. 86).

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Sounion, Ares at Acharnai (?) (p. 163), and Nemesis at Rhamnous, erected in that order between 449 and 432 B.C. The Hephaisteion was built mainly between 449 and 444 B.C.;\textsuperscript{129} its interior ambulatory-type colonnade, foreign to its original plan and to the design normally favored by this architect, was an importation from the Parthenon, which was begun a couple of years later. Dinsmoor’s date is now widely accepted. Whatever the truth is about the Plataean oath,\textsuperscript{130} by which the Greeks are said to have sworn that they would not rebuild their shrines until the account with the Persians had finally been settled, and about the Peace of Kallias, the year 449 B.C. seems to be the moment when the Athenians set themselves in earnest to the task of rebuilding.

In 1939 the interior was thoroughly investigated, both peristyle and cella. In mediaeval and Turkish times the temple, now dedicated to St. George, was used as a burial place; and the graves were found to occupy most of the cella (except its east end), the opisthodomos and the western colonnade, and much of the northern and southern colonnades; in addition there were a few graves outside the temple. In late Turkish times Protestant burials were permitted. Fauvel in 1799 arranged the interment of John Tweddell in the middle of the cella, with some hope that the grave diggers would unearth the bones of Theseus. Tweddell was joined in 1810 by George Watson, whose covering slab inscribed with a Latin epitaph by Byron is now set against the north wall, and later by several other English travellers.\textsuperscript{131} This was the last practical use which was made of the temple; after the Liberation it ceased to be a sacred place and became an archaeological monument. Fauvel found no heroic remains, nor did the excavators in 1939, though they disinterred and replaced the bones of George Watson; most of the graves had been damaged and rifled in the War of Independence. The graves had inevitably demolished most of the floor of the temple, and even cut into the foundations, though they also made access to these easier.

No evidence whatever has been found to show that a large temple was built on the site in earlier times, and one must now assume that there cannot have been anything more than a very modest shrine.\textsuperscript{132} There are very few re-used blocks in the structure of the building, and most of these, including four unfinished capitals inserted in the lowest marble course of the walls, may well be rejects from the temple itself; one would expect much more material of this kind if there had been a monumental predecessor. A cutting in the rock which strikes the northern flank of the temple towards its western end may possibly preserve the line of the north side of the old precinct.\textsuperscript{133} Otherwise there is no definite trace. However it is not unreasonable to assume a simple early shrine. Plato’s reference to the shrine of Athena and Hephaistos in his account of primitive Athens,\textsuperscript{134} though fanciful, implies that he thought of it as very old. The ground on the hilltop was much disturbed, and on the south side of the temple the rock was trimmed down; the old shrine may have been almost obliterated. Whatever stood on the site suffered in the Persian conflagration, which has left its mark at some points in the layer between the earlier earth-covering and the construction debris of the temple.


\textsuperscript{130} Because of concentration of effort on the Acropolis it was probably not until after the peace of 421 B.C. that the final elements, such as the pedimental sculpture, the akroteria and the cult statues, were added to the Temple of Hephaistos.


\textsuperscript{132} \textit{Hesperia}, Supplement V, pp. 16ff.

\textsuperscript{133} \textit{Ibid.}, pp. 122ff., 149, where Dinsmoor notes that the character of the pottery found suggests a shrine.

\textsuperscript{134} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 5, fig. 1, and p. 127.
The temporary disinterment of the foundations and the careful study which this made possible produced important new information about the interior design of the building, the manner and order of its construction, and indeed about the general methods of Athenian 5th century architects, who apparently had some freedom to change their plans. Much of the earth fill within the temple had of course been removed or disturbed by the grave diggers, but enough was left here and there to furnish a useful guide. The foundations of the peristyle were laid first; Greek temples were not uncommonly built from the outside inwards. Then trenches were cut through the filling which had accumulated within for the foundations of the main walls and porches of the cella. Finally the foundations were prepared for the inner colonnade, which seems to have been an afterthought.

On the south side of the peristyle the euthynteria could rest on bedrock, except at the ends. Elsewhere foundations of varying depth were laid, attaining five courses at the northwest corner. They are of a brown, granular poros, worked with increasing care in the upper courses. The euthynteria is of a harder, gray-veined poros and so is the first of the steps, in contrast with the Pentelic marble of the upper two.

The main cella foundations consist of a single course on the east, going down to four on the west. The top course is of the same stone as the outer foundations, carefully finished; for the rest, which was quite safe from all possibility of exposure, a third variety of poros was used, soft and gray, and easily worked. Thus a nice economy was achieved. The side walls, though their foundations are of ample width, stand on the extreme outer edge. The explanation would seem to be that at the eleventh hour it was decided to give the cella less archaic proportions and greater width, perhaps to provide additional space for the proposed interior colonnade. To accommodate and strengthen the foundations of the columns, shelves or ledges were cut in the inner faces of the wall foundations within the cella, obviously after the blocks were in position.

In the underpinning of the inner crosswalls too there is evidence of a change of plan. There are in fact two sets of foundations, independently constructed, set side by side. On the west, the outer face is similar to the foundation of the flank wall; the inner face is a kind of supplementary structure, made entirely of the soft gray poros, with a different coursing and not bonded into the side walls. The only explanation of this addition is that it was decided at a late stage to move the wall a little further east, making the cella shorter and the back porch deeper. Similarly the foundation of the east cross wall is of abnormal total thickness, and there are differences in material and construction between the outer and inner faces. The pronaos too must have been given greater depth than was allowed in the original plan, at the expense of the cella which was now a total of nearly 2 m. shorter. One should probably think of the inner colonnade as belonging essentially to this new modern design. Both before and after the modification the pronaos was deeper than the opisthodomos.

The floor was made of marble slabs with a massive underpinning of poros blocks which rested on the accumulation of earth and marble chips. It is best preserved in the eastern peristyle, where not only the underpinning is in position but also eight contiguous marble slabs which formed the floor of the apse when the building was a church. Apart from these only a few odd slabs have survived. The floor of the central nave is assumed to have been a little lower than that of the aisles.

136 Hesperia, Supplement V, pp. 37ff.
137 Ibid., pp. 44ff.
138 Normally of a single course; but in the western part of the cella, in the region of the cult statues, on the evidence of a single preserved fragment Dinsmoor restores an extra half-course; ibid., p. 72.
The foundations of the inner colonnade are of heavy poros blocks, with a maximum depth, on the west, of four courses. Their coursing is different from that of the adjacent cella foundations,\(^{139}\) and on the flanks their edges are made to rest on the ledges mentioned above. Thus they seem to represent a distinct phase of the construction. At the west end the foundations project further inwards than on the flanks, and one may deduce that the colonnade was deeper at the rear of the cella. The "aisles" were in fact so narrow that one could only sidle along them.

The foundations were presumably surmounted by a marble stylobate, whose edge was fitted onto another ledge, cut in the first marble course (toichobate) of the wall. Not a fragment or trace of the columns survives, but it is safely assumed that they were Doric and in two tiers. Detailed restoration is more problematical. The evidence from the building consists of a single block from the upper epistyle and a vertical scratch at the foot of the north side wall. Dinsmoor in an earlier study calculated that there were five columns on each of the flanks, three at the western end, reckoning the corner columns twice over. Hill, Stevens and others made the figures seven and four. In a recent re-examination of the problem Dinsmoor has repeated and reinforced his opinion with arguments not only from the technical evidence but from criteria of proportion and design; but, he adds, "One more extant block, or even one more scratch line, might have eliminated all the speculation to which we are condemned."\(^{140}\)

Two blocks of gray Eleusinian limestone, taken from the modern east wall (no longer standing) which replaced the apse of the church, belong without doubt to the pedestal of the statues.\(^{141}\) There were probably two such blocks in front and two behind, with two others at the sides extending from back to front through the whole depth of the pedestal. There was no doubt a plinth above and below, perhaps of the same stone, more probably of white marble. The outward faces of the extant blocks are carefully smoothed, and one of them has five cuttings which must be for the purpose of affixing marble figures in relief.\(^{142}\) Since there were five figures on this block, the whole frieze, extending across the width of the pedestal, may have comprised twelve. Thus restored the base occupied nearly the whole width of the "nave."\(^{143}\)

The statues of Hephaistos and Athena have of course irretrievably vanished; but we have two curious pieces of evidence of their manufacture and erection (Fig. 36). About ten meters southwest of the temple, within the precinct, was found a pit containing unmistakable signs of bronze-casting: quantities of sand and many pieces of clay moulds for probably two large bronze statues.\(^{144}\) As we have seen, there is extensive evidence for bronzeworking on and around the hill; but it is not unlikely that this particular pit was used in making the cult statues of the temple itself. The style of the drapery for which some of the moulds were made and of pottery found in the pits points to a date late in the 5th century. An inscription found in several fragments scattered about northern Athens, and dated between 421 and 415 B.C., gives many de-

\(^{139}\) Ibid., pp. 65ff.; they are not bonded with the wall foundations, but as Stevens notes, Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 144, this does not in itself mean that the inner columns were an afterthought.


\(^{141}\) The cella, now covered by a great mediaeval stone vault, probably had a ceiling of wooden beams and coffering in the nave, of marble in the aisles; see Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 157, 164. Fragments of marble tiles have been found, Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, p. 28. Note also p. 163 note 296 below.


\(^{143}\) The forked dowels mentioned in the inscription (note 145 below) may have been used to attach these; see Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 152.

\(^{144}\) Dinsmoor, Hesperia, Supplement V, pp. 108ff., places the base far back against the western columns, on the dubious evidence of certain "ears" or inward projections at the west end of the foundations of the lateral colonnades, which he thinks helped to bear the additional weight. With greater probability Hill (Hesperia, Supplement VIII, p. 206) and Stevens (Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 155) place it further forward, on the line of the second intercolumniation from the west.

tails about a "pair of statues for the Hephaisteion" (Pl. 71, c).\textsuperscript{145} The names of the overseers are recorded. The purchase of bronze, tin and lead is mentioned; some of the lead was for fastening the stones of the pedestal. Wood and charcoal are bought for melting the lead. Payment is made to the man who installed the two statues in the temple. Wood was also bought to make crates for the stones of the pedestal and frames in which the statues were carried in, and for erecting scaffolding around the statues and ladders by which to ascend it. This was probably temporary scaffolding for making the final adjustments and finishing touches. That so many years passed before the cult statues were made and installed need not surprise us. Something similar happened at Olympia. The change of architectural design may have led to some initial delay. Artists, labor and funds were heavily committed; financial difficulties arose, and then came the ten years’ war.

The sculpture on the front of the pedestal perhaps represented the birth of Erichthonios. This idea is supported by a statement of St. Augustine that “in the temple of Vulcan and Minerva, which the two shared at Athens, was a boy wrapped in the coils of a snake.”\textsuperscript{146} The

\begin{center}
Fig. 36. Temple of Hephaistos, Cult Images (G. P. Stevens and J. Travlos)
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{145} I.G., I, 870–871; Agora, III, 293, p. 101.

A representation of Hephaistos on a lamp of the 3rd century after Christ (Picture Book, 9, no. 128) may be influenced by the statue in the temple (Pl. 71, b). I.G., I, 84, shows that the cult was reorganized at the same time as the statues were made; see W. E. Thompson, Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, pp. 114ff.

contrast between the crude old myth, used as minor decoration, and the august and dignified aspect of the great figures above was by no means un-Athenian. On the pedestal Athena and her frustrated would-be consort stood in harmony side by side. The statues excited admiration in antiquity. "We praise Alkamenes' Vulcan," says Cicero:147 "the god's lameness is shown unobtrusively and is not unsightly." Valerius Maximus adds,148 "His lameness is not a blemish but an appropriate distinguishing mark of the god." This Hephaistos was not the Homeric figure of fun amongst the Olympians, but a great god set beside Athena herself to preside over the life of the Agora. Alkamenes had inherited from his master Pheidias the power to add something to the traditional conception of a deity. The architects had gone to great trouble to provide him with a splendid frame and setting.

The inner faces of the cella walls have been the subject of discussion and controversy at least since the time of Chandler (1765).149 Earlier antiquarians brought the eye of faith to bear on them and saw amongst other things traces of the brushwork of Mikon and possibly Polygnotos, who according to ancient authorities painted in the Theseion. More scientific investigation by modern archaeologists has produced contradictory interpretations, depending on their explanation of the treatment of the walls and their dating of the stucco which still covers much of the surface. In any case, if there was ever any intention of having mural paintings, it must have been abandoned when the decision was taken to introduce interior columns placed so close to the walls.150 On the whole it seems most probable that the delicate stippling which gives such a distinctive texture to the inner faces of the walls of the cella, pronaos and opisthodomos was intended for its decorative effect. The technique was commonly employed on outdoor surfaces in the 5th century; its interior use is paralleled, as we have seen (p. 97), in the Stoa of Zeus.

The familiar metopes at the east end (Pl. 72, a) show the labors of Herakles and Theseus, and the presence of Theseus (Pl. 72, b, c) is probably the principal reason why the temple has been popularly named Theseion in later times. As a result of recent studies, these metopes can now take their proper place in a scheme of decoration worked out by the architects and sculptors which included pediments, akroteria, friezes within the east and west peristyles, and the subsidiary decoration of the cult statues.151 The scheme was an abridgement of that of the Parthenon and did not attain such a high degree of completeness and coordination; if only for reasons of expense, the Parthenon remained exceptional. The eastern frieze ran over the pronaos and extended north and south as far as the outer colonnade. In this way the rectangle formed by the eastern peristyle has sculpture on all four sides, since the sculptured metopes continue round the south-eastern and northeastern corners. The scene of the east frieze (Pl. 73) is a heroic combat, with gods looking on, and the subject, long disputed, is now recognized as Theseus fighting the sons of Pallas who refused to recognize him as lord of Attica. The western frieze, confined to the width of the opisthodomos (Pl. 74), shows a battle of Lapiths and Centaurs.

147 De Nat. Deorum, I, 80 (88).
148 VIII, 11, ext. 3.
149 Travels in Greece, Dublin, 1776, p. 76; see further Hesperia, Supplement V, pp. 94ff.
150 Thus, since the character and appearance of the temple are not greatly affected, one need not pursue the subject here. For varying views see Hesperia, Supplement V, pp. 11, 77, 99 (Dinsmoor, who thinks that the composition of the stucco shows that it is not ancient); Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 160ff. (Stevens, who thinks that the stucco is ancient, perhaps even of the 5th century B.C., and, detecting traces of a red wash, suggests that in the end the whole wall was painted red, as a background for the column). The vertical joints were waterproofed with lead (Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 156ff.; Supplement V, pp. 101ff.) as in the Stoa of Zeus (p. 97); and whereas the wall base and orthostates were given a highly finished surface, the wall blocks above were lightly stippled, as if to receive stucco. On the other hand it should be borne in mind that at the time when the temple was built mural paintings were commonly done on plaster-covered wooden tablets, and when painting was done on marble it was applied directly to the smoothed surface of the stone.
The pedimental groups must have been the latest addition; they probably belong to the time when the temple was given its finishing touches and the cult statues were installed.\(^{152}\) The evidence for their existence consists of shallow sockets cut in the floors of the triangular spaces to receive the plinths of the individual figures. From the west pediment have been recognized a few bits of legs, feet and hooves. The subject was probably a centauromachy again; perhaps the pediment showed the melee at the wedding feast, the frieze the punitive expedition which followed. At least two of the fragments were found in contexts of the early Roman period from which we may infer that the west pediment suffered in the Roman siege of 86 B.C., perhaps from catapult balls hurled over the city walls. Of the composition that once filled the east pediment no sculpture has been recognized with certainty, nor can the sockets cut for the statues in the floor of the pediment be interpreted with assurance. A large rectangular bedding on the axis will, to be sure, have held an enthroned figure, undoubtedly a divinity. To left and right are beddings for standing figures suitable for female and male respectively. To the right of the place for the male figure are cuttings in floor and wall which lend themselves to restoration as a tree entwined by a large serpent. The theme may therefore be the introduction of Herakles to Zeus in the Garden of the Gods. A marble group of two girls pick-a-back was found in a well just to the east of the temple; in all likelihood it formed the central akroterion above the eastern pediment.\(^{153}\) If the theme of the pediment has been correctly interpreted the girls may be recognized as two of the Hesperides, the charming but ineffectual guardians of the golden apples. This, however, is conjectural.

Herakles, Theseus, the Centaurs — these are the stock figures of legend used by sculptors to adorn the temples of various deities; Herakles and Theseus were shown on the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphi, dedicated to Apollo. Hephaistos himself did not provide much suitable material. He could hardly be shown hurtling down from Olympos to Lemnos or bustling around the halls of Zeus serving wine while the other Olympians roared with laughter. As we have seen he is perhaps shown on the pedestal in his somewhat ambiguous position as father of Erichthonios; and amongst the gods in the east frieze he is probably the figure on the right which corresponds to Athena on the left.\(^{154}\) The artists decorating a temple were obviously under no constraint to confine themselves to subjects directly connected with the cult.\(^{155}\) On the other hand some local reference is frequent; and on the Hephaisteion the familiar legends have a special significance for Athens and Attica. Theseus is the author and champion of the unity of Attica. It was he who established one Bouleuterion and the Prytaneion for all the land. Hence he appears most appropriately on the temple which dominates the civic center; and in both the eastern and western frieze the prominent figure which almost certainly represents Theseus is clearly an adaptation of one or other of the famous group of the Tyrannicides in the Agora below (Pls. 75, 79, b).\(^{156}\) Herakles is his cousin and friend, besides being another slayer of monstrous creatures who menace civilized life. Perhaps in his presence too one can detect a special local reference. The temple was in Melite; in the same deme, further south, was the shrine of

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\(^{152}\) In *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 290–298 in the course of a general discussion of the pediments three torsos found in the excavations were attributed to the east pediment by H. A. Thompson, and the theme was interpreted as the Introduction of Herakles. In a subsequent study, C. H. Morgan accepted the attribution of the statues but proposed for the theme the birth of Athena; *Hesperia*, XXXII, 1963, pp. 92ff. E. B. Harrison in her forthcoming volume on the architectural sculpture from the Agora will show reason for rejecting the attribution of the three figures to the east pediment. To her we owe the interpretation of the west pedimental group as a centauromachy; *A.J.A.*, LX, 1956, p. 178.

\(^{153}\) *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1949, pp. 285ff., 247ff.; XXXII, 1963, pp. 95, 97. One girl supports the other on her back, as in *ephedriamos*; here perhaps she is raising her companion to pick an apple.

\(^{154}\) See *A.J.A.*, LXVI, 1962, p. 344; this arrangement is probably better than having Hephaistos two places further left, as does E. Diehl, *Arch. Anz.*, 1968, col. 748ff.


\(^{156}\) See *A.J.A.*, LXVI, 1962, pp. 345f.
Herakles Alexikakos. It was famous and venerable, but modest and unadorned, with no great temple on which the sculptors could carve the hero's exploits. The Hephaisteion offered them an opportunity to do him justice.

The temple stood in a precinct of irregular shape. The oblique line of the western boundary was determined by the neighboring street. The peribolos wall which has left traces in the form of cuttings in the rock, with a few blocks of conglomerate still in situ near the southwest corner, is probably not earlier than the beginning of the 3rd century B.C. On the north and south it runs at a distance of eight to ten meters from the temple; on the east there is a shallow bedding for a light terrace wall. An underground water channel leading from the direction of the Pnyx to a basin just outside the southwest corner is probably contemporary with the peribolos and may have been intended to provide improved irrigation for the temple garden. When the large Hellenistic hall was built (p. 80) on the north slope of the hill, the precinct may well have been extended in this direction as far as the retaining wall which was constructed immediately behind this building.

The planting of shrubs in formal rows on the north, south and west sides of the temple is Hellenistic too and was probably maintained until the 1st century after Christ, when the water system was abandoned. The evidence is provided by the numerous holes scooped out of the rock to supplement the meager earth covering and by broken flower pots found in them (Pl. 76). But in a simpler form which has left no recognizable trace the "garden of Hephaistos" may be a good deal earlier. In the passage already quoted Plato says that the early Athenians surrounded the shrine of Athena and Hephaistos with an enclosure like the garden of a house, and he may have the contemporary shrine in mind.

The holes are most numerous on the south side—on the north the earth was more plentiful—but one row turns along the west end, and one hole has been found on the north. Their size indicates that they were intended for shrubs; pomegranate, myrtle and laurel have been suggested, and a row of each of the first two has been successfully re-planted. The pots have holes in the bottom just like their modern counterparts and were probably used for striking cuttings without detaching them from the tree (the shoots were pushed up through the hole) in the manner prescribed by ancient writers on horticulture.

The monumental stairway rising from the Agora was not built until Roman times; earlier the approach was by a simple ramp leading to a terrace in front of the temple, where presumably the altar stood, though no trace of it has been found. On the lower slope of the Kolonos Agoraios below the temple are the remains of four long rows of slabs, laid apparently soon after the middle of the 5th century B.C. (Pl. 68, a). Since they are made of soft poros, they are not suitable for regular use as steps. They were more probably designed as benches or as the underpinning for benches, from which the citizens, perhaps the Councillors in particular, could watch shows in the Agora (p. 126). But they seem to be laid out in relation to the temple; they are very nearly parallel with its front and extend about an equal distance north and south of it; and they must have facilitated access to the hill and the shrine. The temple was always closely associated with the Agora and held only slightly aloof from the busy heart of Athens.


Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 396ff.; p. 143 above.

Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 214.

Note 134 above; cf. O. Broneer, Hesperia, Supplement VIII, p. 52.

See p. 71 above where the suggestion that they were used as a law court is considered.

A late Hellenistic roof tile, with a painted dedication to Hephaistos, found in a well to the southeast of the Agora, evidently came from some subsidiary building in the precinct, Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 214.

For the history of the temple in later antiquity and its marvellous preservation in spite of incidental minor damage in 86 B.C. and A.D. 267 see Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, pp. 267f.
The shrine of the Two Goddesses, Demeter and Kore, called the Eleusinion in the City to distinguish it from the main shrine at Eleusis where the Mysteries took place, was "beneath the Polis," i.e. the Acropolis, and looked down on the Agora from the southeast as did the Hephaisteion from the west. Pausanias (I, 14, 1-4) describes it as being above the fountain Enneakrounos. Though not in the Agora it was closely associated with it and may be treated as an adjunct. The initiates on their way to Eleusis, starting no doubt from the shrine, passed through the Agora singing to Iakchos, and the Hierophantes (initiating priest) made a proclamation from the Stoa Poikile warning unqualified persons to stay away from the sacred rites. The ceremonial ride of the cavalry, as described by Xenophon, ended with a gallop from the Herms in the northwest corner (pp. 95, 121) to the Eleusinion diagonally opposite.

The shrine has been located in the past by various authorities on sites ranging over the greater part of the city of Athens—the slopes of the Acropolis on every side including the east, the slopes of the Areopagus, and even the Pnyx and the Kolonos Agoraios. Plentiful archaeological evidence now places it, beyond reasonable doubt, southeast of the Agora, immediately east of the Panathenaic Way where it ascends towards the west end of the Acropolis (Pl. 77, a). Part of a shrine of appropriate form has been excavated at this point. Many dedications to Demeter and Kore and other inscriptions belonging to the Eleusinion have been found in the neighborhood. Admittedly some of them were built into the adjacent section of the Post-Herulian Fortification, and material for this wall was sometimes transported from a distance; but even so the epigraphical evidence is sufficient to give a clear indication. It is strongly supported by the discovery of other material of Eleusinian character, notably several deposits of kernoi (Pl. 78, a), vessels of peculiar form used for the presentation of first-fruits to Demeter. These were dedicated in such numbers that from time to time a clearance had to be made; the superfluous kernoi, however, were not lightly thrown away but were placed with some care in a number of pits cut in the bedrock. Several fragments of marble plaques carved in relief with the figures of Demeter, Kore and Triptolemos have been found.

Our ancient authorities imply that the Eleusinion was a large enclosure, which could be securely barred against intruders, such as the refugees in the time of the Peloponnesian War. On the subject of the temples the literary and epigraphical evidence is ambiguous. The western part of a walled enclosure has now been found, with one small temple, an altar, and a number of other monuments within it (Fig. 37, Pl. 77, b). The Panathenaic Way skirted its west side, and to north and south were cross streets leading eastward. The temple can be dated, on the basis of the inscription on its dedicatory plaque, to the second half of the 7th century B.C. The southern street may not be earlier than the stoa of early Roman date on that side (see note 179). Philostratos, Vitae Sophistarum, II, 1, 7, implies a connecting street on the east side too; see Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 384, and A.J.A., LXVII, 1963, p. 76.
Fig. 37. Eleusinion (J. Travlos)
evidence of pottery, early in the 5th century, but when the shrine was first established is not so clear. Slight remains of earlier walls in the area of the temple are thought to belong to houses because of their light construction and the nature of the pottery associated with them. But there may have been a simple archaic shrine somewhere on the site. A solid retaining wall just south of the temple may belong to it; and east of the temple votive figurines have been found at the earlier level. The temple foundations, of which a good deal is preserved on north, east and west, a single block only on the south, measure 17.70 m. north to south and 11 m. east to west. Apparently a narrower building was originally planned, but subsequently a broad supplementary foundation was added on the east to allow for greater width. Although a different kind of limestone was used for this, reddish brown instead of grayish, the pottery associated with the foundations shows that the extension was made during the original construction and not at a later date. A crosswall divided the temple into a main cela on the south and a narrow room, perhaps an adyton, on the north; there is no evidence to fix the position of the entrance.

From its dominating position on a prominent terrace one would naturally assume that this was the chief temple of the Eleusinion and that it was the temple of Demeter and Kore. It has been suggested, however, that the shrine of the Two Goddesses mentioned by Pausanias is in fact the “Southeast Temple” (p. 167), situated some distance below the Eleusinion in the direction of the Agora. Pausanias’ description (I, 14) is indeed puzzling. He speaks of two temples built above the fountain Enneakrounos (p. 198), one of Demeter and Kore, the other of Triptolemos, containing a statue of him; next he remarks that when proceeding to describe the shrine called Eleusinion he was restrained by a dream. His two temples seem at first to be more or less distinct from the Eleusinion, but they were not necessarily so; we may have here an example of the topographical ambiguity of which Pausanias is sometimes guilty. If the Southeast Temple was indeed his Temple of Demeter and Kore (and in any case it was probably sacred to the Two Goddesses), then the building found within the enclosure was probably the Temple of Triptolemos. One would however expect to find a Temple of Demeter within the Eleusinion proper. Another difficulty too must be borne in mind, arising from an acceptable restoration of an important inscription found on the site, a decree of the deme Melite in honor of Satyra, priestess of Demeter Thesmophoros, dated early in the 2nd century B.C.178 According to this she repaired “all the temples” in the Eleusinion; and her portrait was set up, alongside that of other priestesses, in the Temple of Demeter and Kore. The Southeast Temple was not constructed until two centuries after the date of this decree, and is hardly “in the Eleusinion.” For final solution of these problems of Eleusinian topography one will probably have to wait and see what excavation of the eastern extension of the shrine reveals.

The enclosing wall, of which sections are preserved on the north, west and south, was built of good polygonal masonry in Acropolis limestone. There seems to have been an entrance towards the west end of the south side. In the 4th century the northwestern section was greatly strengthened by the addition of re-used poros blocks. At the same time a simple propylon, without columns, was inserted in the west wall towards its south end, and steps were constructed against the outer face of this wall, overlooking the Panathenaic Way (Fig. 37.)

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175 This now seems more likely than J. Travlos’ suggestion, H.E.A., pp. 66ff., that the building was given a colonnade on this side and the south.
176 Probably on the south, rather than on the east side as in Travlos’ plan (followed by G. E. Mylonas, Eleusis, Princeton, 1961, pp. 68ff.).
177 In front of this temple Pausanias noted a bronze bull and a seated statue of Epimenides of Knossos.
178 I 5165, lines 4–5, published by O. Broone, Hesperia, XI, 1942, pp. 385ff; Broone argues that the Thesmophorion, usually thought to be near the Pnyx, because of Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae, 657–658, was in fact closely associated with the Eleusinion; see further Agora, III, no. 224, pp. 81ff.
179 Below the main enclosure, between it and the east-to-west road, was a small enclosure containing several monument
Just east of the temple is a foundation measuring 1.10 m. by 2.70 m., constructed of limestone similar to that which was used in the eastward extension of the temple. This no doubt supported an altar, perhaps the one on which Andokides (I, 110ff.) was alleged to have placed a supplicant’s branch (hiketeria) at a time when the sacred law forbade it. Numerous fragments of Pentelic marble, found in the region of the Eleusinion, are inscribed boustrophedon with regulations for the Eleusinian cult and other cults in which the clan of the Kerykes was concerned. Miss L. H. Jeffery, who published them, dated them at the end of the 6th century or the beginning of the 5th and suggested that they belonged to two marble altars which no doubt stood in the Eleusinion.

Few of the many monuments which stood in and around the shrine have left remains in situ. Most interesting is a long narrow foundation (2 × 15 m.) extending eastwards from the temple, constructed of large blocks of soft creamy poros. The monument, obviously an important one, may be dated on the evidence of pottery in the latter part of the 5th century, and a possible explanation is that this base carried the series of large marble stelai on which were carved the records of the Poletai dealing with the sale of the confiscated property of Alkibiades and others found guilty of parodying the Mysteries and mutilating the Hermes in 415 B.C. Many fragments of the stelai have been found, scattered over a wide area, but clearly concentrated around the proposed site of the Eleusinion (Pl. 78, b).

Andokides (I, 111) tells us that according to a law of Solon (this of course may be an anachronism) on the day after the Mysteries the Boule met in the Eleusinion, presumably to deal with mystic business. Inscriptions too mention such meetings, including one which apparently began in the Bouleuterion proper and transferred itself to the Eleusinion. One need not look for a specially provided council house; the Boule may well have gathered in the open area. One of the Eleusinian building accounts mentions various minor structures and architectural and decorative activities. We read of “nails for the doors of the postern (pylides) and for the doors into the Eleusinion in the City”; an entrance porch (prothyron) perhaps the one towards the southwest corner noted above; an oven or kitchen (ipnos; apparently cooking was done on occasion). Bricks are provided, and baskets for piling earth, presumably for terracing. It is not always quite clear what is at Eleusis and what is in the City, but a sacristy (neokorion) and a treasury seem to belong here too.

Stelai inscribed with decrees or other documents which were somehow concerned with the cult were naturally set up in the shrine or sometimes beside it. Dedications to the Two Goddesses were very numerous and varied in character. The larger bases made good material for the Post-Herulian Wall. Of one such base two large orthostates of Pentelic marble have been extracted from the wall (Fig. 38); it once carried a pair of statues. According to the inscrip-

bases, which may have been a minor shrine subordinate to the Eleusinion; in the early Roman period its western part was built over by a four-roomed structure; see Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 334.

In the Roman period too, probably in the 2nd century after Christ, the Eleusinion was extended southwards, and a stoa was built on its south side facing northwards; this stoa is 7.40 m. wide, and the excavated part (the eastern end has not been uncovered) is 25.40 m. long; ibid., p. 336; Guide, p. 94.

Hesperia, XVII, 1948, pp. 86ff.; cf. XXXVII, 1968, p. 282, no. 18. Note also another inscription concerned with cult regulations, found in fragments mostly near the Eleusinion, and possibly erected there; Hesperia, XXXVI, 1967, p. 72, no. 15.


tion Demopeithides of Acharnai dedicated portraits of his parents to Demeter and Kore. The sculptor, previously unknown, was Theoxenos, a Theban. The date is the second half of the 4th century B.C. A very curious dedication is a Herm of the Epicurean philosopher Phaidros (1st century B.C.) set up by his pupil, Appius Saufeius, who, though he had presumably been taught that the gods were remote and ineffectual beings, chose this way to show his respect and gratitude.186

The base illustrated in Plate 78, c was found northwest of the Agora, built into a wall of the 1st century B.C.187 Only the right hand portion of the base is well preserved; on it one can read the name of the dedicator, Kleiokrateia daughter of Polyeuktos and wife of Spoudias, and the name of the sculptor, Praxiteles. Traces on small fragments of the left hand portion of the base suggest that the name of Spoudias himself was inscribed and probably the name of a second sculptor. The statues on the base may well have been portraits of the couple, as in the case of the double base noted above. The base with the signature of Praxiteles, set up in the middle of the 4th century B.C. and dedicated to Demeter and Kore, may have stood not in the

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187 I 4165: Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 339–342; XXVI, 1957, pp. 200–203; Agora, III, p. 85. The family of Kleiokrateia, as pointed out by T. L. Shear in the editio princeps, was already known from the forty-first oration of Demosthenes. Pausanias (I, 2, 4) noted in the sanctuary near the Pompeion a group of Demeter, Kore and Iakchos with the name of the sculptor, Praxiteles, on the wall in Attic letters. The two groups must be distinct. The pedestal found in 1936 is inscribed in Ionic letters on the base itself; this pedestal, moreover, evidently carried a pair of portraits rather than images of the gods.
Eleusinion itself but in another shrine, not far from the finding place. Just after entering the
city, near the Pompeion, Pausanias noted a temple of Demeter (I, 2, 4).

Demeter was worshipped under many names and in many places. From her central throne
in the Eleusinion on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, her cults extended diametrically
over the city: south to the shrine at the western approach to the Propylaia where she was
called Chloe, the Green Goddess; to the far southeast where at her temple in Agrai the Lesser
Mysteries were celebrated; and northwest across the Agora to this shrine near the Dipylon
and the Pompeion where the material for the great processions was kept, and so on to Eleusis itself.

**POLITICAL HEROES: THE TYRANNICIDES**

In some cities the heroes of ancient legend were joined in course of time by historical person-
ages, benefactors of the state, many of whom received monuments in the agora. At Athens
Harmodios and Aristogeiton, though they killed Hipparchos because of a personal grudge and
failed to put an end to the Peisistratid tyranny, were subsequently canonized as the great
heroes of Athenian democracy and were the first men to receive honorary statues in the Agora.\(^{188}\)

The polemarch brought them *enagismata*, offerings made to the heroized dead,\(^ {189}\) either at the
site in the Agora, which may have been regarded as a shrine, or else at their grave on the road
to the Academy. The original bronze statues were by Antenor;\(^ {190}\) one cannot say precisely when
they were made; Pliny's statement that it was in the year in which the kings were expelled from
Rome, 510/9 B.C., i.e. the very year in which Hippias was expelled from Athens, is open to sus-
picion. They may have been made some years later, but we must allow a sufficient interval be-
tween them and their replacements to account for the fact that Pausanias characterized An-
tenor's work as obviously "older." These figures were taken away by the Persians in 480 or
479 B.C., and brought back to Athens by the favor of Alexander the Great or one of his suc-
cessors.\(^ {191}\) They were replaced in the archonship of Adeimantos, 477/6 B.C., with works by the
hands of Kritios and Nesiotes. For this we have the good evidence of the Parian Marble.\(^ {192}\)

It is usually assumed that the new figures reproduced the general design of the old, but we have
no definite evidence on this point. Standing prominently in the middle of the Agora, represented
as heroic figures striding forward menacingly, the Tyrannicides of Kritios and Nesiotes were
amongst the most familiar sights of Athens, and obviously they made a great impression. They
were copied countless times, and besides late full-size replicas there are large numbers of small-
scale representations of them, with sundry variations, in the minor arts.\(^ {193}\) Many other figures,
on vases and elsewhere, are thought to reproduce more or less closely their bold and character-
istic poses (Pl. 79, b). In spite of this there has been endless dispute about the iconography and
grouping of the figures, their posture and their swordsmanship. They have been placed closely
back to back, in a wedge-shaped formation, chest to chest, overlapping (with either Harmodios
or Aristogeiton leading), and even in tandem, or detached on separate bases. Even the dis-
covery of fragments of a base, followed by careful calculation of its dimensions, has brought
no agreement.


\(^{190}\) Pausanias, I, 8, 5.

\(^{191}\) Arrian, *Anabasis*, III, 16, 8, and Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, XXXIV, 70, say Alexander; Pausanias, I, 8, 5, Antiochos; Valerius
Maximus, II, 10, ext. 1, Seleukos.


\(^{193}\) The fullest treatment of the subject is S. Brunnsäker, *The Tyrant-Slayers of Kritios and Nesiotes*, Lund, 1955. Useful
bibliographies are given in A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications from the Athenian Akropolis*, p. 514; *R.E.G.*, LXX, 1957, p. 452;
In the present context one need hardly discuss these problems in detail. It will be sufficient to give the new evidence, epigraphical and topographical, from the Agora itself. This at least fixes the site of the groups with some precision.

In a modern or Turkish fill east of the temple of Ares, south of its altar and north of the Odeion the excavators found in 1936 two fragments of Pentelic marble which beyond any reasonable doubt belonged to the base or one of the bases (Pl. 79, a). The total width of the fragments is 0.323 m.; a section of the upper surface of the block is preserved, without any foot marks, and a little of the right lateral face. “The fragment has to be restored,” says Brunnsåker, “to a low, rectangular base of the type commonly used in the Late Archaic and Early Classical periods, especially for bronze statues.”

The front of the block bears an inscription in two lines, of which we have the ends, reading

\[
\text{[- - - - - - -]} \lambda \alpha \rho \mu \dot{o} \delta \iota [s] \\
\text{[- - - - - - -]} \pi \alpha \tau \iota \delta \iota \alpha \gamma \varepsilon \nu \iota \dot{e} \tau \varepsilon \nu
\]

Undoubtedly the first line gave the elegiac couplet quoted by Hephaestion in his handbook on meters:

\[\eta \ \mu \dot{e} \gamma \ \dot{A} \eta \eta \nu \alpha \alpha \alpha \iota \sigma i \phi \omega s \ \gamma \varepsilon \nu e \sigma \iota \, \, \, \iota \nu \iota k \ \dot{A} \rho i \sigma \tau o \gamma e \tau \iota \nu o n \, \kappa \aleph \ \dot{A} \rho \mu \dot{o} \dot{d} \iota \iota \sigma s]\n
Hephaestion says nothing about the monument; he is merely noting and condemning the continuation of a word in the second line. He attributes the couplet without question to Simonides. This has been doubted or denied by many modern authorities. The reasons usually given are hardly sufficient however. The couplet is not a very good one, but the poet is showing his metrical ingenuity rather than rising to the higher levels of poetic composition. Simonides was closely associated with Hipparchos; but such poets were certainly prepared to write for a wide variety of patrons, and some years may have intervened after the death of Hipparchos before the verses were written, even if they were inscribed on the earlier monument.

The question whether the inscription should be associated with Antenor's monument or Kritios' cannot be simply or confidently answered. Of course even if these letters were cut on the later base, the earlier too may have carried the same epigram. It is also possible that the old base, with the inscription, survived the Persian sack in sufficiently good shape to be used for the new group. Brunnsåker argues that the context in which the fragments were found, in a “modern heap of debris,” not an ancient fill, and probably near the original site, tends to show that the base was in being until late antiquity and is not one which was discarded in 479 B.C., but he admits that such evidence is not conclusive.

On the evidence provided by the letter forms, in particular the theta with a small circle instead of a central dot, Meritt is inclined to assign the inscription to Kritios' monument; but

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194 One point may be noted. In Aristophanes, Lysistrata, 634, the leader of the chorus says, "I will take my stand beside Aristogeiton"; and in Ecclesiastaeusae, 689, Praxagora says, "I will set up the kleroteria in the Agora beside Harmodios." C. B. Kardara, A.J.A., LV, 1951, p. 298; cf. LXIV, 1960, p. 281, finds some support in this for the view that the two stood comparatively detached, on separate bases. But even if they were very close together on one base, standing on one side one would naturally think of oneself as "beside Harmodios," on the other as "beside Aristogeiton."

195 I 3872, Hesperia, V, 1936, p. 355, no. 1; VI, 1937, p. 352; Picture Book, 10, no. 4.


197 Encheiridion, IV, 6 (16.29).


C. A. Trypanis, Hermes, LXXXVIII, 1960, p. 69, gives the text (restored by H. Lloyd Jones) of an epigram about the Tyrannicides carved with several others on a stone at Chios; he believes that it is a Hellenistic fiction.

he notes that in this period letter forms do not offer very precise criteria. One cannot be sure that Antenor's group was earlier than Kritios' by a sufficient number of years to make a decisive difference from the epigraphical point of view, and in any case it is possible that the "Simonidean" epigram was added some time after the statues were erected.

The first line is very near the top of the block. Both lines extend to the extreme right edge and so may be assumed to have begun on the extreme left of the base. Reckoning that there were sixty-six letters in the first line, Meritt calculated that the total width of the base was about 1.38 m. Brunnsåker and others make it somewhat wider. Even with a width of 1.38 m., there would be ample room for the two figures side by side (too much perhaps if they were precisely parallel), and still sufficient, though with little to spare, if they were shown advancing along converging lines, in the "wedge-shaped" scheme which many think most effective. One naturally assumes that the inscribed face is the main front of the base, toward which the figures were striding. The depth of the base from front to back was about 1.30 m., according to Brunnsåker.

These calculations are based on the dimensions of the full-scale replicas, which agree closely with one another and may be assumed to reproduce the dimensions of the originals. Kritios' tyrannicides, it appears, were what one might call heroic life-size figures, not colossi, but rather more than six feet in height. How Antenor's statues would have fitted the base we cannot say. Nor can we know what happened when the older statues were returned to Athens and set beside their replacements, or how the two groups were disposed in relation to one another when Pausanias (I, 8, 5) saw them together.

There is every reason to believe that the inscribed fragments were found very near the place where the Tyrannicides stood, certainly in the time of Pausanias and Arrian and probably also when they were first erected; there is no reason to believe that they were ever shifted far (except by the Persians). Pausanias, after noting statues near the Temple of Ares (p. 162), says that Harmodios and Aristogeiton (both groups) stand "not much farther on"; immediately afterwards he mentions portraits of the Ptolemies in front of the entrance to the Odeion (p. 111). Arrian, who knew Athens well, says that the bronze statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton, restored to Athens by Alexander, now stand "in the Kerameikos" (i.e. the Agora), "where we go up to the Acropolis, not far from the altar of the Eudanemoi, opposite the Metroon." Timaios in his Lexicon of Plato tells us that the statues stood in the festal area called the "orchestra" (p. 127); this is not very helpful, and we have to use the Tyrannicides to locate this elusive orchestra, which was probably in the middle of the Agora (p. 129), rather than vice versa. The Temple of Ares and the Odeion being satisfactorily identified, Pausanias gives us the general area. Arrian's account is peculiar, but in the light of our present knowledge of the topography of the Agora it points accurately to a site just west of the Panathenaic Way, directly east of the north end of the Hellenistic Metroon, and immediately north of the Odeion. The Metroon is some distance away, and the Acropolis somewhat remote; but Arrian must be thinking of the great processional route to the Propylaia, and reference to the Metroon certainly defines a location that is consistent with the described site.

201 Op. cit., pp. 88 ff. He notes that if, as is possible, the elided final vowels were actually cut on the stone, the width would be somewhat greater. He also notes that the spacing is slightly wider in the first line than in the second, perhaps because the cutter aimed at lines of equal length in spite of a difference in numbers of letters; and taking the spacing of the name Harmodios as normal for the first line, he arrives at a width of ca. 1.56 m. Note also Raubitschek, loc. cit., note 193 above.
202 Op. cit., p. 135. There is no trace of feet on the top of the stone in the preserved depth of 0.12 m. A recent writer, B. Shefton, A.J.A., LXIV, 1960, pp. 173-179, rules out the back-to-back parallel grouping favored by Brunnsåker, and himself favors a chest-to-chest arrangement, though admitting that it is impossible to decide between this and a wedge-shaped back-to-back arrangement.
203 Anabasis, III, 16, 8; Agora, III, no. 360, p. 94. Cf. p. 119 note 13 above.
204 S.v. orchestra.
205 See further Brunnsåker, op. cit., pp. 45, 132 ff. For the old interpretation see Judeich, Topographie, pp. 340 ff.
very short section of this. The statues can hardly have stood on the east side of the street; there they would have been altogether too remote from the Metroon. Nothing further is known of the situation of the altar of the Eudanemoi.

No identifiable remains have been found in situ. It has been suggested that a rectangular foundation, of which a few blocks have been found just north of the Odeion, carried both the groups (Pl. 8). It may have done so in the Roman period; it is sited in close relation to the Augustan Odeion, in front of the entrance and on the axis of the building. But the language of Arrian, who does not mention the Odeion, the obvious point of reference, suggests that the statues were more immediately adjacent to the street.

How long the Tyrannicides continued to stand we do not know. Probably they were amongst the casualties of A.D. 267.

The Athenians recognized that the site conferred a unique distinction on those who were honored there. For a long time they were very chary of granting any other honorary statues. To be "set up in bronze in the Agora" implied that a man was something more than an ordinary mortal, that he had attained in some degree the stature of a hero. "The Athenians of those days," says Demosthenes, "although Themistokles and Miltiades and many others achieved far nobler deeds for the city than the generals of today, did not set up bronze statues of them nor make a great fuss over them." Private dedications by an individual to an appropriate deity, such as Leagros' statue (p. 132), were a different matter.

Even when this austere attitude was abandoned, the rule was still selectivity and discrimination. "You will find that at other cities statues of athletes are set up in the agoras," says Lykourgos, "at Athens statues of good generals and the Tyrannicides." Great athletes naturally tended to assume heroic stature. At Athens we hear of no official statues of athletes in the Agora; Autolykos the pancratiast stood in the Prytaneion, but he had also distinguished himself by his courageous conduct in the time of the Thirty.

Konon, Demosthenes tells us (XX, 70), was the first man after Harmodios and Aristogeiton to receive the official honor of a bronze statue. He was regarded as one who had freed the Athenians from an irksome tyranny, the dominion of the Lakedaimonians; and very appropriately his statue stood in front of the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, along with those of his son Timotheos and Euagoras of Cyprus. Other famous generals of the early 4th century, similarly honored, were Iphikrates and Chabrias. One doubts, however, whether the ancient commentator is right in saying that Iphikrates received not only a bronze statue but all the prerogatives voted to Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Chabrias' statue was famous for its defiant posture, with shield on knee and spear thrust forward.

These figures had a touch of the heroic about them; but soon the practice began to be extended and abused. Demosthenes himself is bitterly attacked by Deinarchos because he proposed bronze statues for the tyrants of Pontos, and for his fellow orators Demades and Diphilos not only statues but also meals in the Prytaneion in company with the descendants of Harmodios and Aristogeiton. Lykourgos, to whom the finances and architecture of Athens owed so much, was more deservedly honored in 307/6 B.C. several years after his death; the decree, pre-

206 Guide, p. 70. Another possibility is a large foundation, of early Hellenistic date (suitable for the returning statues) set obliquely at the northeast corner of the Odeion. The large base at the kink in the Panathenaic Way (p. 95, note 67) is too far north in relation to the Metroon.

207 XXIII, 196; Agora, III, pp. 207, 214.

208 Against Leokrates, 51.

209 Pausanias, I, 18, 3; Agora, III, no. 533, p. 168.


211 Aischines, III, 243; Cornelius Nepos, Chabrias, I, 2-3; Schol. Demosthenes, XXI, 62; see further Agora, III, pp. 209, 213; Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 319.

212 I, Against Demosthenes, 48, 101; Agora, III, pp. 209, 311.
served by the author of the *Lives of the Ten* (852e), stipulated that the bronze statue should be set up “in the Agora anywhere except where the law forbids.” Demosthenes, a more controversial figure, had to wait until 280/79 B.C., when his famous portrait by Polyeuktos was set up and the eldest member of his family was granted maintenance in the Prytaneion. The statue was seen by Pausanias as he approached the Temple of Ares, and the author of the *Lives* says it was near the perischoinisma and the Altar of the Twelve Gods; this means it was in the northwestern sector of the Agora.213

Meanwhile the Athenians had naturally been looking to the past and setting up statues of great men whom their earlier scruples had prevented them from honoring in this way. Solon, whom they regarded with reverence as the great author of their laws, was placed in a conspicuous position in front of the Poikile on the north side of the Agora.214

The stipulation noted in the decree for Lykourgos is found in some later documents too; it embodies the remnants of the old scruples. The most important forbidden area was the very center of the square, around the Tyrannicides. No one was truly worthy to stand with these, and two extant decrees, of 314/3 B.C. and 295/4 B.C., contain the clause “except beside Harmodios and Aristogeiton.”215 Of course the heroic group needed plenty of space if it was to be seen to the best advantage, but such aesthetic considerations counted for little on a site where sculpture accumulated in quantity.

In the second of the two decrees mentioned above the formula reads “except by Harmodios and Aristogeiton and the Soteres.” Antigonos and Demetrios of Macedon were given for a time exceptional privileges and unlimited honors.216 They were called Saviors (Soteres); they were made Eponymoi (p. 40), with two new tribes named after them; they received an altar; and the decree passed in their honor stated that their statues, of gold and mounted in a chariot, were to stand beside Harmodios and Aristogeiton. The two new tribes were abrogated a century later, and presumably the Kings lost the rest of their honors too. The Roman tyrannicides were more ephemeral.217 The Athenians voted Brutus and Cassius bronze statues beside the statue of Harmodios and that of Aristogeiton (Dio Cassius’ precise language would seem to imply that they were to flank their prototypes, one on either side); but if ever these figures were erected, they must have been quickly whisked away, leaving Harmodios and Aristogeiton unique and alone once more.

But in spite of restrictions the door was now open. Many princes whom the Athenians wished to thank or flatter entered and took their stand in the Agora. Pausanias saw them arrayed in front of the Odeion—Philip and Alexander, the Ptolemies, Lysimachos, Pyrrhos.218 The erection of the Odeion and the Temple of Ares must have meant some reshuffling (pp. 111, 162), and there was no longer room for the Tyrannicides to stand in such isolation. Worthy citizens were honored too, including as we have seen distinguished generals and statesmen. For some foreigners an honorable but less pretentious site was found in the temenos of Demos and the Chares.219 The relevant inscriptions, all of the 2nd century B.C., came to light on the north slope

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213 Pausanias, I, 8, 2 and 4; Ps. Plutarch, Vit. X Orat., 847 a; Agora, III, pp. 210ff.; pp. 129–130 above.
214 Pausanias, I, 16, 1; cf. Ps. Demosthenes, XXVI, 26; Aelian, Var. Hist., VIII, 16.
215 I.G., II², 450, 646; Agora, III, nos. 278, 279, p. 97. The remains show that there were concentrations in front of the Stoa of Zeus, in front of the Metroon, and beside the Panathenaic Way east of the Odeion; see also p. 107.
216 Diodorus Siculus, XX, 46, 2; cf. I.G., II², 646; Agora, III, pp. 95, 97, 208. See also note 219 below.
217 Dio Cassius, XLVII, 20, 4; Agora, III, pp. 95, 208–209.
218 I.G., II², 46, 2; cf. I.G., II², 646; Agora, III, pp. 95, 97, 208. See also note 219 below.
219 I, 8, 6; 9, 3 and 4; 11, 1; 14, 1; Agora, III, pp. 161ff.; p. 205 below.
220 Note a statue of Antiochos (Epiphanes) beside which certain others were to be set up; Hesperia, XXXVI, 1967, pp. 63–68; Agora, III, p. 208.
221 I.G., II², 844, 908, 909, 987; Agora, III, pp. 59–61; add to the testimonia given there I 6127, Hesperia, XXX, 1961, p. 224, no. 21; Δεξατρ., XVIII, 1963, A¹, pp. 106f. (5148; above p. 94, note 63).
222 A. E. Raubitschek, Hesperia, XXXI, 1962, pp. 238–243, associates with this shrine a statue of Demokratia, near which, according to an honorary decree (Ath. Mitt., LXVI, 1941, p. 221, no. 8, lines 11–15), an equestrian statue of Demetrios (Poliorketes, son of Antigonos) was set up; see also Agora, III, pp. 91, 210; S.E.G., XXV, p. 55. For a possible Demokratia cf. p. 84.
of the Kolonos Agoraios, and so did a large marble altar, found in situ, inscribed with a dedication to Aphrodite Leader of the Demos and to the Charites. This fixes the site of the shrine; here the statues could be seen by people approaching the Agora from the Sacred Gate. We learn from Josephos that a Jewish high priest, Hyrkanos, was honored with a statue here in the 1st century B.C.21

Roman imperial benefactors were accorded something more exalted and lavish than heroic honors, as we shall see in examining the new temples in the Agora. Augustus was perhaps honored in a shrine built behind the Stoa of Zeus (p. 108); Hadrian, Savior and Founder, besides being made an Eponymos (p. 40) and receiving innumerable statues and altars elsewhere, was set beside Zeus Soter himself (p. 101).22

Meanwhile the title “heros,” like so many good words, was degenerating sadly in meaning. When one reads on a columnar monument of the 1st century after Christ, found in the Agora, “Konon Heros,”23 one does not look for another lesser hero cult. The title means nothing more than “the much respected and late lamented.”

TRANSPLANTED TEMPLES AND ALTARS

For several centuries the purely religious buildings within the confines of the Agora proper remained few and modest (p. 20). It was left to the Hephaisteion on the hill above to add an element of distinction and grandeur. The efforts of the Hellenistic architects were concentrated on stoas rather than temples. At the same time the central square was still a true Greek agora, an open space unencumbered by large structures; its stoas provided a setting for varied human activity, from the Panathenaic procession to an evening stroll, rather than a frame for large temples or other buildings.24 In the late Hellenistic and Roman imperial age a new architectural trend began; and the open square was felt to be a vacuum which needed filling. It was still not a temple, but the Odeion, a handsome covered theater (p. 111), which appropriated the dominant site, in the middle towards the south. When the Temple of Ares was added a little later, it was placed further north and pushed a little towards the west; its altar was set precisely on the axis of the Odeion. Another temple was built in the southwestern part of the Agora; a third was placed at its southeastern exit, outside the main square but dominating the small subsidiary plateia which was taking shape at this point (p. 114). For the construction certainly of two of these temples and possibly of all three building material was provided by dismantling and transporting the stones of ancient shrines outside Athens. In this way temples in the Attic demes which were threatened with dilapidation were given a new lease of life; at the same time the Agora was brought into conformity with the architectural modes of the age, and appropriate honors were paid to benefactors. Besides the temples, a great altar was moved into the Agora, not indeed from outside Athens, but probably from a site within the city which by now was comparatively neglected, the Pnyx.

ZEUS AGORAIOS

The handsomest altar found in the Agora stands just opposite the Metroon, behind the northern end of the Eponymoi (Pls. 12, 80, a).25 Its foundations are of squared blocks of conglom-
erate. Above these was the euthynteria, the outer blocks of which were of poros of Peireneus, tied originally with double T clamps, then four steps of Pentelic marble, reduced to narrow ledges on the north and south sides and on the back (east) as a fragment from one of the eastern corners shows. The steps survive to their full height in the northern half of the west front; in the southern half only the lower two remain. They are carved in pairs, the upper two from one block, the lower two from another. The preservation of so much of the steps is probably due to their formidable weight. The overall measurement on the lowest step was 8.76 m. north to south by 5.43 m. east to west. Presumably the altar proper stood on the eastern part of the base, leaving a broad platform on the west above the steps for the priest and his assistants.

Immediately east of the foundation a large orthostate of Pentelic marble came to light; it had clearly formed part of the altar and had simply been swung round from its original position for use in the construction of a Byzantine house. One of the ends forms a corner; the other end and the top are broken away; the present length is about 2.90 m. The block is carved with elaborate mouldings, at the bottom a broad guilloche surmounted by a Lesbian leaf pattern and a bead and reel, near the top an egg and dart above another bead and reel; one cannot say how the extreme top of the block or of the altar as a whole was finished off. A number of fragments of a companion orthostate have been found in the curbing of a late well in the porch of the Metroon. The mouldings, in spite of their apparent delicacy, show a certain carelessness and irregularity which one would not find in the best 5th century work. On grounds of style and technique the original construction of the altar is dated late in the 4th century B.C. It is a good example of the more elaborate type of altar of that time, contrasting with some of the simpler altars which we have seen, but still falling far short of the great Hellenistic altars in architectural splendor. The base has now been built up to a level platform with ancient material, and the orthostates have been set in position so that the scale and design of the altar can be more readily appreciated.

The monument was discovered in the first campaign, in 1931. It soon became evident from several small indications that it had at some time been dismantled and re-erected, presumably on a different site. Dowels inaccessible without shifting the blocks had been removed and not replaced. If any further evidence was needed, it was furnished by the presence of letters scratched on the ends of the blocks to guide the builders in replacing them. Their form is the only evidence for the date of the removal and points to the 1st century B.C. or 1st century after Christ.

At first it was suggested that the shift was part of a late Hellenistic rearrangement of this part of the Agora and that the altar was not moved far. But one cannot imagine why it should have been moved at all within the Agora itself, and no suitable site for its former location has been found there. Subsequently it was observed that the altar would fit very precisely a rock-cut bedding on the Pnyx, just above the bema (p. 50), made apparently for the altar associated with the assembly place of Lykourgos' time. If this was indeed the original location, then probably the altar was sacred to Zeus Agoraios, and the transfer was made when the Pnyx had long given way to the theater of Dionysos as a place of assembly. The theater would not be considered a suitable place to receive the altar. A note preserved in the scholia on the Knights (410), "Agoraios Zeus is established in the agora and in the ekklesia," may contain a vague reference to the removal. The identification is by no means certain. Zeus Agoraios has been sought in other places. R. Martin maintains that the altar to the east of the Stoa of Zeus be-

228 See Agora, III, pp. 122ff. for this and other testimonia.
229 Agora Grecque, pp. 327-328; in pp. 176ff. Martin brings out well the importance of the cult.
longed to Zeus Agoraios, but it can with more probability be assigned to Soter-Eleutherios. The great southwestern altar evidently belonged to a cult of major importance in the civic life of Athens. Even if there were no specific evidence Zeus Agoraios would have to be seriously considered. He was concerned with the assembly and the law courts. "From the servants of Zeus Boulaios and Agoraios and Polieus," says Plutarch, "we demand deeds not of feet and hands but of counsel and forethought and oratory." When the chorus in the Knights calls on Zeus Agoraios to protect the Sausage-seller, they are thinking not so much of his old trade as of his new career as Leader of the Demos. Aischylos associates the God with Peitho (Persuasion).

**TEMPLE OF ARES**

By far the most remarkable transplantation was that of the Temple of Ares, which in the time of Augustus was rebuilt near the very middle of the Agora. In 1937 the remains of a large temple (Fig. 39) were found east of the shrine of Apollo Patroos and at once identified as belonging to Ares on the strength of Pausanias' itinerary and other literary evidence. No other serious claimants have been put forward.

Fig. 39. Temple of Ares and Altar (J. Travlos)

A section of the foundations, built of re-used poros blocks on a packing of broken stone, was still in position at the east end (Pl. 80, b); elsewhere the shape of the building, with its overall dimensions of a little more than 17 m. by 36 m., could be seen in deep cuttings in the bedrock.

A single triglyph, marked AO, had been found as early as 1931, and Dinsmoor remarks that from this alone a bold restorer might infer the existence of a temple with six by thirteen columns, measuring 14.51 by 94.04 m. on the frieze, built in the age of Perikles, rebuilt in the age of Augustus. Well over two hundred marble fragments, representing almost every element of the temple, have now been identified; they can be recognized not only by general style and dimensions and finding-place, but also by the peculiar character of the marble, a Pentelic often veined with gray-green chlorite, and of course by the mason's marks (Pl. 81, a, b). Four more or less

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230 An Seni Resp. Gerenda Sit, 10 (769 d).
231 499–500; note also 409–410.
232 Eumenides, 970 ff.
234 I, 8, 4; Agora, III, no. 117, pp. 54 ff.
235 Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 2.
complete column drums are known. One was found just east of the temple. Another, found in the northwestern part of the Agora, is now incorporated as the bottom drum in the reconstructed northern pronaos column of the Hephaisteion, but it bears the mason’s letters and belongs unquestionably to Ares. Both the others were converted for use as millstones (Pl. 81, a); one came to light south of the Stoa of Attalos; the fourth lies south of the theater of Dionysos. Several fragments of cover tiles of Pentelic marble found near the site probably belong to the temple. Two large sections of its ceiling beams were incorporated in the Post-Herulian Wall, and with them may be associated more than eighty fragments of coffering found in the adjacent fill.236 On some of these last the elaborate painted decoration, in bright blue, vermilion and emerald green, was remarkably vivid when they were found (Pl. 81, c). They cannot have lain exposed for long after the Herulian sack of a.d. 267. The Wall must have been built and the material thrown into its fill not long afterwards. We owe it to the violence of the Herulians that these, like the fragments of many other buildings, are better preserved than if they had been subject to more gradual processes of attrition and decay.

To ensure that the blocks were re-set each in its own particular place, a thorough system of marking by letters was used.237 On each block, on a surface which would be invisible, at least two letters were carved, indicating on which side of the temple it stood and at what point in its course. Incidentally the position of the letters also ensured that no block was reversed; this might have caused difficulty in replacing the clamps. In dealing with such elements as the triglyphs the course to which the blocks belonged was self-evident. Where there might be doubt, a third letter was added. For example, in the steps the first letter showed the sequence of the blocks in their course, and for this nearly the whole alphabet was needed. The second showed the course, A being the top step, B the middle, Γ the bottom, and Δ the euthynteria. In the third position four symbols are used, AP, Δ, E and O, obviously abbreviations, perhaps for άριστερά, δεξία, στοιχεῖον, ὑποεύθυνος.238 Marks used by masons, both in construction and dismantling, are not uncommon in ancient architecture,239 but this is the most elaborate example known. The letters are larger and more deeply and carefully cut than was usual or necessary. No doubt they were incised on each course as the one above was removed. The forms of the letters point to a date for the operation at the end of the 1st century B.C., possibly in the time of Augustus, and this is confirmed by the discovery in the packing of the foundations of a terracotta bowl characteristic of the period. An inscription, dated in a.d. 2, in which C. Caesar, adopted son of Augustus, is honored as the “new Ares,” should probably be linked with the re-dedication of the temple.240

The original construction may be placed in the four-thirties. Dinsmoor makes it the third of the four temples which he assigns to the architect of the Hephaisteion (p. 142) and dates it 436–432 B.C. In dimensions and general design it is closest to the Hephaisteion, in spite of differences of detail and a somewhat later architectural style.

The stylobate measured a little over 16 m. by not quite 34 m. There must have been six by thirteen columns; their height is calculated as 6.10 m. The foundations are solid and do not

236 Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 38ff.
In addition to the material assembled here by M. H. McAllister another wall block was found later in a tower in the Post-Herulian Wall, Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 351.
There is evidence that as in the Temple of Hephaistos (p. 147), the vertical joints of the walls were leaded through narrow channels cut in the anathyrosis; Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 319; XXVIII, 1959, pp. 80ff.
A handsome sima with lion’s head formerly associated with this temple is now attributed rather to the Hephaisteion (p. 145).
238 One needs another noun to balance στοιχεῖον, rather than διάστροφον as suggested in Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, p. 51. ὑποεύθυνος can here be taken to mean the rear part of the building in general.
provide evidence of the position of the walls. The cella no doubt had a pronaos and an opisthodomos. Nothing is known of the arrangements within the cella.

One would expect sculpture in the pediments of the temple and perhaps some of the metopes as in the Hephaisteion; but though the floor of the pediments was strengthened as if to receive sculpture, no marks have been preserved and no fragments recognized, and the fragments of the metopes are too slight to be decisive. An akroterion may be attributed to the temple almost with certainty. When the railway cutting, not far to the north, was being made in 1891, a female figure of Pentelic marble was found, three-quarters life size, wearing a Doric chiton shown as if blown back by the wind; the head and the lower part of the legs were missing (Pl. 82, b). It was thought even then that the figure was an akroterion, and when in 1951 two joining fragments of the left leg were found just east of the Temple of Ares, the peak of the front of this temple seemed a very appropriate place for it. Dimensions and style are suitable. The figure is moving forward towards the spectator, unlike the Nike from the Stoa of Zeus, who moved laterally as she grazed the outer corner of the gable. The Ares figure can scarcely be Nike since she has no wings, but her identity is still to be established.

A terrace 6–8 m. wide was built along the north side and round the northeast corner of the temple. Beddings of hard gray poros show that the area between the temple and the altar to the east was paved, probably with marble. Many statues stood around the temple, but though a number of bases and beddings have been found, none can be identified as belonging to any of the monuments seen by Pausanias (I, 8, 4).

Pausanias mentions a statue of Ares by Alkamenes, two Aphrodites, and an Athena made by Lokros of Paros (a sculptor otherwise unknown). He implies that these stood within the temple, in contrast with the statues set up around it. No trace has been found of the Ares or the Aphrodites, but a torso in Pentelic marble found in a Byzantine wall just south of the temple represents Athena and may be the work of Lokros. It is of excellent quality and late 5th century date.

The altar was moved with the temple. Its foundations, measuring 6.30 m. by 8.90 m., made of large re-used poros blocks, lie about 10 m. to the east. Their arrangement shows that the altar proper occupied the eastern part of the foundation, with steps leading up to it on the west. A battered orthostate of Pentelic marble probably belongs to it, and also a number of fragments of richly carved moulding, whose style, together with the use of hook clamps, indicates that in this form at least the altar was built about a century later than the temple itself.

A number of fragments of figures carved in Pentelic marble in high relief were found to the east of the temple—a bearded head which lay on top of the foundations of the altar, several female heads and four draped female torsos (Pls. 82, a, c, 83). They are of a very high qual-

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241 By assigning the long ceiling beams to the pronaos Mrs. McAllister allows it an unusual depth; Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 38ff., 60ff.
242 Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 31f., 47f.; XXVIII, 1959, pp. 24f.
244 Mrs. Boulter in her original publication suggested Hebe, the sister of Ares. The problem will be reconsidered by E. B. Harrison as she prepares for publication all the sculpture from the temple.
246 North of the altar, near the Panathenaic Way, was found a marble block which had probably once been a small altar, embedded in the earth and fitted with a massive iron ring, probably for tethering sacrificial animals.
248 Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, pp. 4ff.
249 Ibid., XX, 1961, pp. 37f.; XXI, 1952, pp. 94f.; Guide, pp. 129f. The original height of the figures must have been close to 0.85 m., about the same as the figures of the Nike temple parapet.

This frieze, like the akroteria of the temple, will be discussed further by E. B. Harrison in a volume on the architectural sculpture from the Agora. Hesperia, XI, 1971, p. 272 gives two more heads possibly from this set.
ity and in a style which makes them contemporary with the temple. At first they were naturally associated with the altar and assigned to a parapet running along its north, east and south sides; but now that the altar is seen to be of a much later date, it is suggested that they stood somewhere within the temple itself; though unexpectedly large for such a position (the total height of the figures would be about 0.85 m.) they may have occupied a frieze over the pronaos. They represent graceful, quietly standing figures, apparently divine, but with no attributes which might help to identify them. A small fragment on which appear the heads of sheep suggests a scene of sacrifice.

The original site of the temple has been sought in various parts of Athens. Some have placed it on or near the Hill of Ares, but have failed to find a suitable spot or any traces. Dinsmoor suggested that it was brought from a site to the east of the Agora, “not far from the Anakeion which formed the center for military assemblies” (p. 124), to help make room for the great Roman market. But now that we have more evidence on the transplantation of such buildings or of their major elements, it seems much more probable that the temple came from a site some distance from the city. Temples in some of the demes of Attica were falling into decay. Athenian piety would resist removal from a venerable site within the city; but the same piety might well approve of the transfer of a neglected shrine to a distinguished place in the Agora itself, where at the same time as honor was paid to the imperial family the old cult could be given a new life.

Ares is known to have had a shrine at Acharnai, north of Athens at the foot of Parnes. An inscription, dated in the third quarter of the 4th century, mentions the construction of an altar, and in a relief on the stele Ares and Athena are shown together, as in the temple at Athens. The coincidences are striking, and though in this case we do not have the evidence of remains on the old site, it seems probable that the stones were transported from Acharnai. Pausanias, who visited Acharnai a century and a half after the transplanting of the temple, did not include Ares in his list of the local sanctuaries (I, 31, 6). Perhaps a thank-offering of the Acharnian community to Ares and Augustus, mentioned in another inscription, was for the completion of a timely rescue operation.

The temple was badly damaged by the Herculians in A.D. 267 and some of its marble, as we have seen, was carried off for re-use in the Post-Herulian Wall. Part of the building may have survived, however, to be incorporated in the Late Roman Gymnasium early in the 5th century after Christ (pp. 211–212). Georgios Kodinos, a Byzantine writer on the antiquities of Constantinople, adds a curious footnote to its history. Certain stelai carved with elephants, brought from the Temple of Ares at Athens by Theodosius the Less (A.D. 408–450), stood at the Golden Gate. By some chance these had escaped destruction.

Southwest Temple

Certain less comprehensive bodies of re-used material are more problematical. The temple was not always moved entire; sometimes it was regarded rather as a storehouse of ready-made architectural members, from which suitable material could be extracted for incorporation in a new building.

In the southwestern region of the Agora, north of the western part of the Middle Stoa, are traces of a rectangular structure which measures overall 21 m. east to west by 11 m. north to

249 Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 50ff.
252 47, 14; Preger, Scriptores Orig. Constant., Teubner, 1907, p. 182, II, 58; Agora, III, no. 116, p. 54.
The foundations, of heavy conglomerate blocks on a packing of broken stone set in lime mortar, are in place only at the southwest corner, but cuttings complete the main outlines. The building looks like a temple with a porch to the west, and as erected on this site it may be dated in the early Roman period, probably not long after the Odeion (Pls. 8, 13, a).

At first it seemed that nothing of the superstructure could be identified. Later a cornice block found not far away was associated with the temple and also with a number of Ionic architectural members carved in a distinctive milky-colored marble. These were found built into the Post-Herulian Wall, except for a couple of stray fragments picked up on the south side of the Agora. They include unfluted column shafts, a fragment of a base, fragments of capitals and one which is almost complete, a small piece from the crown of the epistyle, and a fragment of the epikranitis. The capital is of an early Attic type; the echinus has a cyma reversa rather than an ovolo profile and the ornament is not carved but painted. Some of the fragments bear mason’s marks of early imperial date. Next it was noted that capital, epistyle and cornice were exactly like the corresponding members found long ago at the site of the temple of Athena at Sounion. There can be no doubt that once again we have here a set of architectural pieces removed to the city from a distant Attic temple, presumably dilapidated. At first it seemed most probable that they were used in the construction of the Southwest Temple; but now one must take into account the possibility that they were used in one of the temples newly discovered in the South Square (pp. 70–71).

The Southwest Temple faced the old Tholos and stood near to the new civic offices, against the background of the colonnade which ran between these and the Odeion. Obviously the cult was an important one, but it cannot be identified with any confidence. Perhaps it was concerned with the imperial family; a clue may be provided by a marble base found (not in situ) near the northwest corner of the temple, bearing an inscription which says that the Council of the Areopagus set up a statue of Julia Augusta Boulaiia mother of Tiberius Augustus, i.e. Livia.

**Unidentified Ionic Columns**

Another set of wandering Ionic columns cannot be placed with any precision, whether one thinks of their original or their later site. They came to rest for sixteen centuries in the foundations of a tower in the Post-Herulian Wall, just south of the Library of Pantainos, and one has now been re-erected in the southern stairwell of the Stoa of Attalos. Three complete shafts have been found, one base and two capitals (Pl. 84). Curiously the columns are not all of the same height; two are 5.87 m. (overall); one 6.67 m. For guidance in resetting, the masons cut small letters near the joints, in forms which suggest an Augustan date. One suspects that there was a second tall column to make up the set; the alphabet would have sufficed. The columns are of fine Pentelic marble; each shaft is made of four drums, with 20 instead of 24 flutes and very delicate entasis. The capitals again rely largely on paint for their decoration and are uncanonical and probably pre-Mnesiclean in design; they were perhaps made a little earlier than those of the Propylaia.

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255 A. Orlandos, 'Apx. 'Ep., 1917, pp. 185–187; cf. W. B. Dinsmoor, Architecture of Ancient Greece, p. 184. The original date of the columns is towards the middle of the 6th century B.C.
Southeast Temple

A short distance below the site assigned to the Eleusinion, on the opposite side of the Panathenaic Way, stood another temple which was almost certainly dedicated to Demeter and Kore, and which may be considered as standing in close relation to the Eleusinion. It was placed at the extreme southeast corner of the Agora, encroaching on the northeastern part of the site formerly occupied by the Mint (p. 78). It was built here probably in the 1st century after Christ, but its columnar porch, facing down the Panathenaic Way, incorporated material from a temple of the 5th century B.C. (Pls. 8, 13, b).

The total length of the building was 20.60 m.; the porch was 12.20 m. wide, the cella 11.20 m. The walls of the cella were built of irregular re-used blocks of poros, set in shallow beddings without separate foundations. In the middle of the cella is a bedding for a large pedestal 4.40 m. by 6.70 m.; the core was roughly constructed of re-used material. Two large fragments of a standing female figure, draped in a peplos, and a left foot of the same statue were found near by; it may be assumed that this colossal stood on the pedestal.

The pronaos was of much more careful and solid construction, on foundations of re-used conglomerate blocks laid in a deep trench. Many column drums and two capitals which may be associated with it have been found, mostly in the near-by section of the Post-Herulian Wall (Pl. 104, a). They are Doric, of an off-white marble, neither Hymettian nor Pentelic, and their workmanship indicates a date in the latter part of the 5th century B.C. Other re-used Doric members found in the Post-Herulian Wall may also belong to the temple. On the other hand an anta capital of Pentelic marble is of Roman imperial date and must have been newly made at the time of construction on this site.

The precise source of the ancient columns re-used in the façade has been happily identified. The marble is of a kind quarried near Laurion and used in buildings at Thorikos. More than a century ago, a temple of Demeter was discovered at Thorikos, with a colonnade of 7 by 14 columns, of which those at one end were entirely missing. This temple was never finished; the fluting of the column drums was merely begun at top and bottom. Now in the drums from the temple in the Agora it was observed that the fluting had been begun with the care characteristic of 5th century architecture, but finished in more careless fashion, presumably when the columns were re-erected at Athens. The coincidence of material, dimensions and treatment is conclusive. A set of columns must have been transported from Thorikos to Athens. Apparently more material was brought than was needed. One of the capitals which have been found had not been incorporated in the late wall after the destruction of the temple, but laid at a much earlier date in the paving of the Panathenaic Way a short distance to the north.

One need hardly doubt that the Southeast Temple was dedicated to the Eleusinian deities and that the statue too came from Thorikos and represented one of the Two Goddesses. The temple may be the first of the two noticed by Pausanias (I, 14, 1) as he approached the Eleusinion, though it may more accurately be described as beside the fountain identified as Enneakrounos (p. 198) than "above" or "beyond" it as Pausanias says. One also wonders whether it was built on the site of the shrine of Persephone, in the Agora, called Pherrephattion. This, according to Demosthenes, was at a point where two gentlemen taking an evening stroll in the

258 Ibid., pp. 339-343.
259 Possibly with a companion. It may be dated in the latter part of the 5th century B.C. See Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 371-373.
261 Demosthenes, LIV, 8; Ἡσυχίος, Pherrephattion ("a place in the Agora"); Agora, III, p. 85; cf. pp. 122, 198 below.
Agora would naturally turn back; and in fact the road above the site of the temple quickly becomes too steep for idle strolling, as it passes the Eleusinion and ascends the Acropolis slope.

SOME LESSER SHRINES

Great numbers of shrines are known from the literary authorities, and great numbers from the archaeological finds. As we have seen again and again, it is difficult to coordinate the two types of evidence. But in spite of the many problems, between them they give a clear impression of the sanctity of the place, and of many sacred spots within and around it; and few shrines known from our authors or from inscriptions have not been associated, at least tentatively, with a particular site and particular remains.

Of exceptions perhaps the most notable is the shrine of Peace (Eirene). For the sake of completeness, to illustrate the great variety of the cults, and at the same time to show the limitations of even the most thorough archaeological investigation, it may be briefly mentioned here. In the late 5th and early 4th century many Athenians were obsessed with the idea of Peace, “fairest of the blessed gods,” who abhorred the shedding of blood, but it was not till 374 B.C., on the occasion of the “King’s Peace,” that the altar of Eirene was established. Pausanias (I, 8, 2) saw Kephisodotos’ statue of the goddess carrying the infant Ploutos (Wealth), known from coins and full-size copies, and the portrait of Kallias the reputed peacemaker of 449 B.C., after the Eponymoi and Amphiarao and before Demosthenes and the Temple of Ares. No doubt the altar stood close by. Thus the site is known to within a few yards and the area has been thoroughly investigated, but no identifiable traces have been found.

Paul found Athens as full of images of the gods as a forest is of trees, and standing in the midst of the Areopagus with the Agora below and the Acropolis above he told the Athenians that in all respects he found them excessively—and ignorantly—god-fearing. At Athens even more than in most Greek cities there were gods everywhere; and the objects of Athenian worship were of all kinds, from ancient heroes to political and ethical abstractions. A great and representative concentration accumulated in and around the Agora; the places of worship ranged from simple enclosures and tiny naiskoi to masterpieces of architecture and sculpture.

The Eleusinion and the shrines on the northwest slope linked the Agora with the Acropolis, the other great cult center. The Panathenaic Street (p. 193) was the main artery of the city’s religious life; northwestwards there were more shrines on the road to the Dipylon, at the gate itself, and reaching out towards the Academy.

But the shrines also spread out along the lesser streets around the Agora and were embedded amongst the houses and workshops. We shall see several curious and varied examples in the southwestward valley (p. 181). The shrine of Herakles Alexikakos stood on a street which leads down to the Agora from the southwestern Hills (pp. 148–149). A small temple of Artemis, prob-
ably under the title Aristoboule, has been found by chance southwest of the Kolonos Agoraios on the way to the Peiraic Gate.269

The streets themselves had their own peculiar gods. Apollo was worshipped at Athens as Agyieus, god of streets.270 His symbol took the shape of a pillar tapering at the top, which was set up in front of doors. These Agyieus pillars can hardly have been as common as Herms; none has been found. A little shrine excavated just below the Eleusinion,271 where the ancient east-to-west street crosses the Panathenaic Way (pp. 150, 192), may have contained one; but it is at least as likely that it was a Hekataion or shrine of Hekate, containing the customary representation of the deity, in triple form, a type first established, according to Pausanias (II, 30, 2), by Alkamenes. The Athenians were addicted to the worship of Hekate hardly less than to that of Hermes; and she too was concerned with roads, especially crossroads. Many small triple figures, mostly late Hellenistic or Roman, have been found in the excavations (Pl. 85);272 and there must have been many little shrines about the city where such figures were dedicated. The one near the Eleusinion is about three meters square, enclosed by a wall of rubble masonry, with an entrance at the east end of the north side (Fig. 37). Within are five bedding blocks, re-used; one in the center has a circular socket, perhaps for a pillar on which the image stood; the other four, placed around this one, have square sockets as if for posts, and in fact two marble posts similar to those used in the fence of the Eponymoi (p. 39) have been found. Presumably the wall replaced or supplemented the fence. The shrine as we have it was not built until after the Southeast Stoa (mid 2nd century after Christ, p. 109); but it is likely that such an important crossroad had a Hekataion much earlier.273

But the great god of the streets was of course Hermes. We have already examined the largest and most conspicuous group of Herms, at the northwestern approach to the Agora, in connection with the Stoa and the dedication of Kimon (pp. 94ff.). The biggest accumulation was naturally around the Agora. But the square figures stood everywhere about the city. The finest of all, the Propylaioi of Alkamenes, was at the approach to the Acropolis itself. The Herm which was dedicated by the tribe Aigeis, left intact in the mutilation of 415 B.C. and made notorious by Andokides,274 stood beside the orator's ancestral home, but also, be it noted, beside the hero-shrine of Phorbas. Some Herms were individualized and had a special character and epithet. There was the Whispering Hermes (Psithyristes), which stood beside the little house of Stephanos, according to Demosthenes, according to Demosthenes (LIX, 39). There was the Three-Headed Hermes (Trikephalos), comparable with the three-bodied Hekate, and the Four-Headed Hermes, at the crossroads in Kerameikos, on which was inscribed, “Hermes Tetrakephalos, noble work of Telesarchides” (otherwise unknown) “thou seest all.”275


271 Hesperia, XXVIII, 1939, pp. 95–96; XXIX, 1939, p. 333.


273 The builders of the Post-Herulian Wall still regarded the spot with awe and fitted the little shrine into the angle between the curtain and a tower. For a shrine of Hekate outside the Dipylon see A. Brueckner, Der Friedhof am Eridanos, Berlin, 1909, pp. 42-47.

274 De Mysteriis, 62 (cf. 146ff. for the house); Judeich, Topographie², p. 533; Agora, XI, pp. 117ff. When he says “the Herm which you all see,” Andokides does not necessarily mean that it was visible at that very moment from the court. When he says that this was the one and only Herm which was not mutilated, Andokides is no doubt exaggerating. Thucydides says (VI, 27, 1) “most of the Herms in the city.” Kratippos quoted by Ps. Plutarch, Vit. X Orat., 884 d, says “the Herms around the Agora”; this does not contradict Thucydides, but merely emphasizes the concentration in this region.

275 Eustathios on Ηιλιαν, XXIV, 334; see further Agora, III, p. 108. Note also P. Zanker, Wanders der Hermengestalt in der attischen Vasenmalerei, Bonn, 1965, pp. 91–108, “Die Herms und ihre Verehrung in Athen.”
VII. COMMERCIAL, DOMESTIC AND INDUSTRIAL QUARTERS

MARKET

The commercial and industrial district of Athens pressed in on the political buildings and public monuments from almost all directions, as we know from both literary and archaeological evidence.¹ Much of it, probably most of it, was outside the formal confines and yet belonged essentially to the Agora; the Athenian going to buy goods (agorazein) here might say he was going to the Agora, no less than when he was attending a political meeting. It was the brisk and noisy life of the bazaars which Aristophanes had in mind when he condemned the vulgarity of the Agora, exemplified in the Sausage-seller of the Knights.²

A distinction should be made between booths (skenai), light wooden structures flimsily covered,³ and more permanent shops or small factories (ergasteria)⁴, built of stone and brick. Except at times when it was improper or inconvenient, the former, which could easily be packed up and cleared away, might be allowed within the Agora proper, perhaps mainly on the open east side, away from the archeia. But even the small houses and workshops on the fringes were always ready to encroach jungle-like on the central square, especially in time of depression and decay. We have seen (p. 96) how the potters and bronzeworkers descended on the shrine of Zeus, to the northwest, after the Persian War, and marble cutters, metalworkers and potters took over the south side after the destruction wrought by Sulla (p. 71). Scattered remains show that ill-built structures, probably shops, invaded the northeast corner, reaching towards the Panathenaic Way, in the late fifth century,⁵ probably in the days of the Peloponnesian War when, as Thucydides tells us (II, 17, 1), there was a desperate shortage of living space within the city. Simon the cobbler on the other hand (p. 174) was more securely established outside the southwest corner of the Agora, in a prominent position on a well-built terrace with the boundary stone of the Agora set immediately against his wall.

Probably the greatest concentration was on the east. This side was for a long while more open than the others and less occupied by substantial public buildings and shrines. Evidence for the earlier periods is naturally slight. Wooden booths vanish completely; even shops of brick and stone are apt to leave little trace and in any case are hardly distinguishable from poor-class dwelling houses. However, besides the small establishments already noted, deposits of cattle bones found in wells and pits seem to show that there were butchers’ shops hereabouts.⁶

³ Agora, III, pp. 190 ff.; note especially Demosthenes, XVIII, 169; Demosthenes speaks of the skenai xarcti òn òγòpàv. òn òγòpàv would have been more appropriate if the booths had occupied the main central part of the square.
⁴ This word is used of both shops and factories; many establishments, but not all, were both; see Ehrenberg, op. cit., p. 133.
⁶ Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 51; some of these bones ultimately found their way to bone-carving workshops.
Another well, revealed when a block of the gutter in front of the Stoa of Attalos was raised for adjustment, contained a most remarkable mass of broken pottery of the late 6th and early 5th centuries (Pl. 86), including pieces by Epiktetos, a certain Gorgos (who may be the master previously known as the Berlin Painter, Pl. 87) and other notable artists. This appears to be rubbish from an establishment destroyed in the sack of 480 B.C. Since the number of vases of certain shapes (e.g. 250 lekythoi) far exceeded that needed by an individual family, the source was in all probability a near-by shop, presumably a retail pottery shop. But the strongest reason for assuming that a large part of the market of Athens was situated here is that when eventually great market halls were built the most important of them was placed to the east of the old Agora.

On the slopes of the Kolonos Agoraios to the west bronzeworkers manufactured and sold their goods, under the tutelage of Hephaistos himself (p. 142), but they also mingled with the marble-workers, koroplasts (makers of terracotta figurines) and others in the busy industrial district southwest of the Agora (p. 177). On the Kolonos too, near the heroon of Eurysakes, son of Ajax, men offering their services for hire took their stand. On the north side we hear of a barbershop near the Herms and a money lender behind the Poikile. In one form or another the market district extended on all sides, no doubt in diminishing degrees of density with outlying subsidiary centers at points of vantage such as the main gates.

Particular sections were called after the wares sold in them. "I am going to the olive oil," one might say, or the wine, the fish, the greens, the garlic, the pots, or whatever it might be. Xenophon says, "When you order a servant to buy something from the Agora, he will at once know where he must go to get each class of goods; the reason is that they are kept in their appointed places." No doubt there were groups and rows of booths and small shops, perhaps whole streets, as in the Athens of today, where wares of a particular kind were sold. But surely Xenophon's Ischomachos, who is reading his young wife a lecture on the virtue of domestic tidiness, gives an exaggerated impression. There must have been a certain amount of intermingling and distribution. The excavations show that the major trades of Athens, such as metalwork, marble cutting, and especially pottery, were scattered over a fairly wide area.

Books, it seems, were in a special position. By the end of the 5th century there was a brisk book trade at Athens. Sokrates in the Apology (26d, e) says that the works of Anaxagoras could be bought from the orchestra for a drachma. This remark is not altogether clear, but it is usually taken to mean that books were sold near the old orchestra in the very middle of the Agora (p. 127). Perhaps this quiet and sober trade was carried on where fish and vegetables would not have been tolerated.

1 Hesperia, XXIV, 1955, pp. 62–66; clearly the vases came from several different workshops.
2 Agora, III, pp. 90ff.; the site is tentatively fixed by the finding place of inscriptions southwest of the Temple of Hephaistos; note that Pollux, VII, 132, says "in the Agora beside the Eurysakeion."
3 Lysias, XXIII, 3.
4 Lucian, Dial. Meretr., 8, 2.
5 The lead tablets found in the Dipylon and previously associated with horsetrading (A.J.A., LXI, 1967, pp. 294f.) have to do rather with the registration of the cavalry; a number of similar tablets were found in 1971 in a well at the northwest corner of the Agora.
6 Pollux, IX, 47–48; Judeich, Topographie, pp. 359f.; Greece and Rome, 2nd series, III, 1956, pp. 5ff.; Agora, III, pp. 185ff., 193ff. From an inscription found in 1970 (I 7180) it may be inferred that "the tables" at which sat the money changers and bankers occupied a well defined and compact area; this was probably situated near the northwest corner of the Agora.
7 Secon., VIII, 22; Agora, III, no. 692, p. 189.
8 See pp. 185–191; the same applies to koroplasts; they have left their mark in the "industrial district" (pp. 177, 187), but they also seem to have had shops near important shrines. A waste dump, found just across the street from the Eleusinion (p. 150), containing many figurines and moulds of the second half of the 4th century, probably belonged to a modest establishment which produced dedications for the Eleusinion and other neighboring shrines; see Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 219; XXI, 1952, pp. 120ff.
Wine was sold “in the Kerameikos near the postern gate”; but we are also told, probably with reference to the local vintages, that the merchants called gleukagogoi “brought new wine into the Agora on wagons.” No doubt this trade was widely distributed. The virtually indestructible nature of the terracotta amphorae in which wine was brought from overseas assures ample documentation. Over 800 such jars more or less complete and some 15,000 of their stamped handles have been recorded from the excavations. Since in most cases the place of origin can now be determined and the date fixed within narrow limits, this body of material illustrates the history of the wine trade from the 6th century B.C. into the 6th century after Christ. The prized and costly vintages from Chios, Thasos and Mende are sparingly represented. In the Hellenistic period the Athenian market was clearly dominated by the plain but moderately priced wines of Rhodes and Knidos. The jars also attest a trickle of imports from other Aegean islands such as Kos, Samos and Lesbos, and from places as distant as the Crimea, Italy and Spain.

The activities of the market were kept under some degree of state control through the board of agoranomoi and more specialized officials such as the sitophylakes (corn-inspectors) and metronomoi (p. 78). But the Athenians were slow to put into practice the precepts of Aristotle, who says that there should be one agora devoted to buying and selling, another free from such vulgar activities, and of Xenophon, who suggests that for the market buildings and marts should be constructed both in Peiraeus and in the city, not only as an adornment but also as a source of rents. There is no reason to think that the Poikile or the Basileios was ever used as a market hall; and it now seems highly unlikely that the rooms behind South Stoa I were meant to be shops (pp. 76-77). We are told of stoas along the dromos (the road from the Dipylon) “in which the Athenians buy and sell,” but only by late authors (p. 108). The stoas discovered in this region (see p. 108) are not earlier than the 1st century B.C. The Alphopolis Stoa, mentioned by Aristophanes in Ecclesiazusae, 686 (391 B.C.), was presumably a flour market; its site is a matter for conjecture. The successive enclosures built on the east side of the Agora in the late 5th and 4th centuries B.C. were once thought to be market buildings, but there is now good evidence that they were law courts (pp. 56ff.). The market crowded around their flanks, appearing all the more intrusive since the great square peristyle planned in the time of Lykourgos was never fully built up. In the first half of the 2nd century B.C. what appears to be a row of two-roomed shops was built, running east to west just south of the peristyle (Fig. 17).

Soon however it was abandoned, like other structures in this region, in favor of the Stoa of Attalos (p. 103) which made amends on a grand scale for the architectural neglect of the market and solved once and for all the problems of the untidy east side. In one sense the Stoa was a compromise. It had proved impossible, indeed it was quite un-Athenian, to keep the market entirely out of the main square of the Agora. With the erection of the Stoa commerce presented a splendid and dignified façade; the colonnades in front of the shops provided elegant promenades. The ramshackle bazaar district was masked and kept in the background.

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15 Isaios, VI, 20; this postern was probably near the Sacred Gate; see Judeich, Topographie, p. 137, fig. 10; Travlos, Π.Ε.Α., p. 56.

16 Pollux, VII, 192-193.

17 The evidence provided by amphorae from the Agora will be presented in a series of volumes arranged by place of origin. In the meantime one may consult various special studies by Virginia Grace and such comprehensive summaries by the same author as “Standard Pottery Containers of the Ancient Greek World,” Hesperia, Supplement VIII, 1949, pp. 175-189; Picture Book, 6, Amphorae and the Ancient Wine Trade, 1961; “Les timbres amphoriques grecs” in Déllos, XXVII, L’Îlot de la maison des comédiens, Paris, 1970, pp. 277-382 (V. R. Grace and M. Savvatianou-Petropoulakou).

18 Politios, VII, II, 2; cf. Xenophon, Cyropaedia, I, 2, 3.

19 De Vecchiubius, III, 13.

20 Judeich, Topographie, pp. 364f.; Agora, III, pp. 21, 147, 193; p. 82 above.

It was not till the early Roman imperial age that a true market place, complete and self contained and architecturally impressive, was built at Athens. It stood a short distance to the east of the old Agora, from which the direct approach was by the street running immediately south of the Stoa of Attalos; it took the form of a great peristyle court, slightly irregular in shape, about 111 m. east to west by about 98 m. north to south (Pl. 1). There was a magnificent columnar gateway a little south of center on the west side and a smaller one towards the south end of the east. An inscription on the main gate records that the people dedicated the building from the gifts of Julius Caesar and Augustus to Athena Archegetis. Other inscriptions put the identification as a market beyond question. One of them, of Hadrianic date, is concerned with the sale of oil, but one may assume that many other commodities were also sold here.

The great Roman Agora was a far cry from the market of Aristophanes and even Menander. Euboulos' facetious remark, quoted above (p. 52) in connection with the law courts, that justice was sold alongside other commodities at Athens may have some reference to the untidiness of the east side and perhaps to the juxtaposition of the Heliaia and the Agora of the Kerkopes (the tricksters' market). The old market impinged on political life as well as forensic and not merely by simple propinquity. "We sit in the shops," says Isokrates (VII, 15), "denouncing the present order." The demesmen of Dekeleia used the barbershop near the Herms as a rendezvous. In fact, says Lysias (XXIV, 20), "Each one of you is in the habit of frequenting some place, a perfumer's shop, a barber's, a cobbler's, and so forth; and the greatest number visit those who have their establishments near the Agora, the smallest those who are furthest from it." In these resorts political problems and notorious lawsuits were thoroughly discussed. There must have been plenty of personal gossip and scandal too; and meanwhile in his shoeshop Simon listened to and noted the words of Sokrates (p. 174).

The sub-agora districts, the fringes around the political and religious center, and especially the southwestern offshoot of the Agora have provided the best archaeological evidence we yet have for Athenian houses of the classical period, the 5th and 4th centuries. A house which occupies the acute angle between the two streets which lead south and south-westward from the Agora is of unique interest. One of the boundary stones found in situ (p. 117) is immediately adjacent to its corner (Pl. 5), and the west end of the Middle Stoa (p. 67) even-
tually encroached on the site (Pl. 88, a). The house stood on a terrace, and the retaining walls, which no doubt also supported the outer house walls, were of good polygonal limestone masonry. Lesser walls had socles of rougher limestone blocks. The angle was occupied by what appears to be a courtyard measuring about 5.40 × 5.30 m. The discovery of a posthole suggests that on the north side there was an open shed facing south, probably a workshop; on the south side was a more substantial room. How far the house extended in this direction is not clear. Two successive wells were dug on the site. The earlier was abandoned after the house had been badly damaged by the Persians in 480 B.C. The material dumped in it included fine pottery which shows that the occupants of this modest house were not so poor as one might expect. In the yard was a pit which served as a rubbish dump or a cesspool, and in this were found ostraka bearing the names of Aristeides, Themistokles and others, presumably from the ostrakophoria of 488 or 482 B.C. The floors of the courtyard and of the room to the south were of smoothed yellowish clay, repeatedly renewed.

This ramshackle establishment was probably typical of many at Athens, especially in the quarters around the Agora. Lucky finds tell us who its occupant was in the latter part of the 5th century. Great numbers of short, large-headed nails, hobnails in fact, were found in the house (Pl. 88, b, c), together with small bone rings which were probably eyelets for boots. Just outside, with pottery of the third quarter of the 5th century, was found the foot of a cup, with the name Simon, in the possessive genitive, scratched in the black glaze on the top (Pl. 88, d). It is hardly rash to assume that the cup belonged to the cobbler and that he was the philosophical cobbler Simon with whom Sokrates is said to have spent much time, and who recorded their conversation in dialogues. We are told that Alkibiades sometimes joined them, but this would appear to be somewhat out of character. The ambitious and aristocratic young Kallikles certainly thought Sokrates was wasting his time in such company.

For a more complete and coherent picture of Athenian workshop-houses we have to go a little further southwestward, along the street which led in the direction of the Pnyx, up the valley which separates the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs (Fig. 40, Pl. 1). This region has a long and complicated archaeological history. On the western slope were found Mycenaean chamber tombs, and on the east an archaic cemetery. From the 6th century until Roman times the valley was occupied by houses in which various craftsmen carried on their business. The most important houses which can be dated in the 5th and 4th centuries are situated at a point where the street forks, one branch turning westward up the hillside, the other continuing further along the valley. In the early 4th century the southwestward extension of the Great Drain was taken along this second branch, necessitating much remodelling in the houses on either side (p. 195). In most of the houses only a little of the plan has been determined; their walls were largely obliterated by later construction and pit digging. But fortunately the plans of two, Houses C and D, have been almost completely recovered (Fig. 41). They stand adjacent to one another between the two streets. C is much the larger, with ten rooms on the ground floor, but both have the same general plan, with a small courtyard on the south or towards the south, and

29 Diogenes Laertius, II, xiii, 122.
30 Socr. Epist. 13 (Hercher, Epistolographi Graeci, p. 618); cf. Plutarch, maxime cum principibus viris philosopho esse disserendum, 1.
31 Plato, Gorgias, 491a.
Fig. 40. Residential-Industrial Area to Southwest of Agora (J. Travlos)
what looks like the most important room opening on to this from the north. The shape of each house and indeed of each room is quite irregular; right angles are few. The houses were entered from the street by way of a passage to the court. D had a second entrance from the back street, but this was blocked when the drain was constructed. In C a long room on the west had its own door from the street and its own well and cistern; presumably it was let as a shop, as were some similar rooms at Olynthos. Curiously it continued in use even after Houses C and D were abandoned in the late 4th century B.C. The purpose of many of the rooms cannot be determined. One of the small rooms on the east side of C had a drain and was probably a bathroom. Loomweights found in another seem to show that it was the women's workroom. There

Fig. 41. Two Houses of Classical Period to Southwest of Agora (J. Travlos)

34 Cf. a room in a house southeast of the Agora, with a bedding for a bath and a drain leading to the street drain; Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 218.
is no trace of stairs, but it is probable that the houses had an upper storey; the walls were quite
strong enough to bear it. In the general reconstruction of the 4th century Houses C and D
were combined to form one large establishment; it may be that D provided workshops, C
mainly residential quarters. The courtyard of D seems to have served as a working area. In the
earlier phase a kind of shed was constructed on its west side, supported by a single column, no
doubt wooden, of which the stone base has been found. This is the nearest approach to a colon-
nade which has been found in these houses. Remains of a large hearth have been found in the
yard too, and many scraps of iron and bronze. It appears that metalwork was carried on here;
there is evidence of stonework too; the floor of the court contained quantities of marble chips.
A curious sidelight on life in the “industrial district” is cast by the discovery, in one of the
rooms of House D, of a leaden curse tablet, calling down a dreadful fate on the bronze founders
Aristaichmos, Pyrrhias and Sosias, and all their works.

Other houses, though represented by no more than odd walls, corners and rooms, add inter-
esting detail. Some of the smaller ones must have been workshops only, with little or no resi-
dential accommodation; “House E,” to the north of D and separated from it by a little open
square, was a single rectangular room. The very narrow building H at the end of the wedge
between the two converging streets, was obviously another marbleworker’s shop. House G on
the opposite side of the street to the west, was also used by marbleworkers, and had a shed-
like structure on the north side of its courtyard. House F, between E and H, contained a room
in which a number of vats lined with waterproof cement were disposed behind a rubble wall
around a central area paved with pebbles; what process these vats served has not been satisfac-
torily explained, but at least we can see that a variety of trades mingled in this area.

House K, on the far side of the eastern street, south of the “Poros Building” (p. 74), was roughly
square in plan and divided into four by crosswalls running north to south and east to west.
The northeast quarter contained a tile-built well and was probably the courtyard. Early in the
4th century this house too was taken over by marbleworkers; the courtyard served as a work-
shop and the two south rooms, now joined into one and probably unroofed, were used for the
storage of quantities of marble chips in “bins” constructed of rubble walls. Later in the century
the walls of the house were almost obliterated, and on the northern part of the site a complex
but somewhat ramshackle system of tiled basins and channels was laid out. This was probably
used by the koroplasts or makers of terracotta figurines for whose work much evidence has
been found near by. House L next to the south, opposite C, seems to have had an unusual
feature in the shape of a balcony in front towards the street, supported by the wooden posts
which presumably stood on the flat stones found in a series of four pits.

Remains of 5th century houses have also been found on the slope which leads down from
the Areopagus to the Agora, and one group in particular provides important material (Fig. 42).
It forms a compact, approximately rectangular block between two narrow side streets which
descended the hillside to join the broad east-to-west street running along the south edge of
the Agora behind the South Stoa. A continuous party wall divided the block from north to

35 The normal width of the socles of main walls was about 0.45 m., i.e. 1 1/2 feet, comparable with what one finds at Olyn-
thos, where undoubtedly many houses had upper storeys; see Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 207.
36 Ibid., p. 228.
37 Ibid., pp. 228f.
38 Ibid., p. 223.
39 Ibid., pp. 228f.
40 There is also evidence of bone carving in F; ibid., p. 233; bone and ivory carving was a notable trade at Athens.
41 Ibid., pp. 233f.; note the odd way in which the walls were built; the main north-south walls were first built continu-
ously; then the east-to-west walls were inserted between them in sections.
42 Ibid., pp. 246ff.
43 Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, p. 147; XXVIII, 1959, pp. 98ff.; the area had been residential from a much earlier period.
Fig. 42. Houses of 5th Century B.C. at North Foot of Areopagus (J. Travlos)
south, and on either side of it were two houses, with two smaller units at the south end which may have been annexes of the southern houses rather than independent establishments. The only element which the house plans have in common is the small courtyard. This occupies various positions and is by no means always on the south; indeed in the northeastern house the main room is on the south side, facing northward on to the court. On the west side in this house we again find a single column which would support a small porch or shed, and there are traces of a similar structure in two other houses. One room in the southwestern house contains beddings for large jars and was obviously a storeroom; in others the discovery of terracotta grills and loomweights bears witness to various domestic activities. Several stone-lined pits were almost certainly cesspools; one is in the middle of a courtyard, another at the street door of the house. Sanitation in the Athens of Perikles was certainly very primitive. Southeast of the block, on the other side of the street, is a small rectangular building divided into two rooms, which may be a house of very simple type, or a shop with a storeroom behind.

All these houses were built in the manner usual in their period, with walls of sun-dried brick on a low stone socle. No brickwork has been preserved intact, but much disintegrated material from the bricks has been found. The floors were normally of hard earth topped with a layer of rolled clay, which was often renewed. In the 4th century phase some of the courtyards were paved with pebbles, set in cement on a bed of rougher stones. The only evidence for the roofing of the houses consists of a few tile fragments; probably the tiled roofs sloped towards the courtyards. The stone socles vary in solidity of construction and in technique. Those of many of the main walls are much better than mere rubble. The long east wall which is the principal surviving element of House B provides a notable example, which can be dated before the middle of the fifth century. It was built mostly of large polygonal blocks of limestone, carefully fitted to one another at some points, but with small stones, neatly stacked, filling the interstices at others. The outer face rose 1.20 m. from the street level; the inner floor level being higher, the inner face rose only 0.30 m. above it. Visible parts were dressed with some care. The upper surface provided a level base about half a meter broad for the brickwork; in other walls the normal width seems to be a little less, about 0.45 m. An interesting and rare variation occurs in the structure which forms both the west wall of the drain and the foundation of the east wall of House A, at the southern end of the area (Fig. 43). Here massive squared blocks of conglomerate alternate with sections formed of smaller, carefully fitted limestone blocks so as to create a kind of checker pattern.

One would hardly venture to say that these were typical Athenian houses; in fact one would infer from this evidence that there was no such thing as a typical Athenian house, except in a very broad sense. The small house consisting of a few rooms grouped according to no set plan around a little courtyard is a type which has persisted in Greece through mediaeval into modern times.

44 These were abandoned before the end of the 5th century, when a more efficient type of sewerage became commoner with lateral drains leading to the street drain; ibid., p. 102; cf. p. 196 below.

45 A small rectangular building of which slight traces were found just south of and above these houses is worth notice; ibid., pl. 16, it is labelled "Poros Building of the 4th Century n.c." It measured about 22 m. east to west and probably not more than 8 m. north to south. It can best be interpreted as a lesche or lounge, a kind of minor stoa. There were many leschae at Athens according to the Schol. on Hesiod, Works and Days, 493-495. One which is identified by inscriptions was found southwest of the Areopagus; see Ath. Mitt., XVII, 1892, pp. 91, 147-155; XIX, 1894, p. 503; Judeich, Topographie², p. 599; Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 53.

46 The thickness of a brick, 0.075 m., could be seen at one point in House C; the bricks would probably measure about a foot and a half square; see Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 208.


48 Built early in the 4th century n.c.; Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 192-193. For other varied examples note p. 208, a wall in House C, with polygonal limestone on a bedding of squared poros; and p. 295, a wall in G, of thin limestone slabs set back to back, and packed between with rubble; the slabs were polygonal, and even the small bits were carefully finished. Good polygonal work in Acropolis limestone is also found in the main walls of some of the houses on the north slope of the Areopagus; the socles of the inner walls were mainly of rubble, with small blocks laid in clay; Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, p. 101.
times. Travlos notes a Byzantine house of the 12th century, on the northwest slope of the Acropolis, which is almost identical in size, shape and arrangement of its parts with one of the group of houses found below the Areopagus.\textsuperscript{49} The Athenian houses of the 5th and 4th centuries have no peculiar and recurrent features, such as would give them a distinctive architectural character; they do not fall clearly into any of the categories formulated by J. W. Graham in his analysis of Greek house types.\textsuperscript{50} House C in the Industrial District is closely comparable, in size, general arrangement, and the accommodation it offers, with the good houses of Olynthos; but it does not have the characteristically Olynthian pastas, a corridor on the north side of the court extending across most of the width of the house and giving access to the important rooms on the north; and it has no colonnade, not to speak of a peristyle.

A house to the south of the Areopagus (Fig. 44, Pl. 89), recently re-examined by Graham, takes us a little further from the Agora and a little higher in the scale of sophistication and domestic comfort, close in fact to the best Olynthian standards. This region, at the head of the valley in which the Industrial District is situated,\textsuperscript{51} was first excavated by Dörpfeld in the eighteen-

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{Fig. 43. Elevation and Plan of House Walls. 4th Century B.C. (H. Whipple)}
\caption{Elevation and Plan of House Walls. 4th Century B.C. (H. Whipple)}
\end{figure}

\textsuperscript{49} T.E.A., p. 154, fig. 104.
\textsuperscript{50} Phoenix, XX, 1966, pp. 3ff.
\textsuperscript{51} Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 51ff.
nineties. It is occupied by houses and modest shrines, which include the Amyneion, a sanctuary of healing, standing cheek by jowl in characteristic Athenian fashion. The house of the Greek Mosaic is dated by pottery to the end of the 4th century B.C., somewhat later than most of

Fig. 44. House of the Greek Mosaic. 4th Century B.C. (M. H. McAllister)

52 Judeich, *Topographie*, pp. 288ff.; the street, gentle in gradient and well drained, curving round the west flank of the Areopagus ascends the valley, with side streets entering it. The area also contains the shrine with Dionysiac associations which Dörpfeld thought to be the Dionysion in Limnai, a tiny unidentified naikos with a round altar in front (cf. *Hesperia*, XXXVI, 1967, p. 98), the lesche mentioned in note 45 above, and a small fountain. Graham shows that this last was a small local supply, not a major public fountain house; most of what Dörpfeld took to be Enneakrounos (pp. 183 note 60, 199) belongs to a house; *Hesperia*, XXXV, 1966, p. 52.
those we have examined, and it continued in use well down into the Roman imperial period. The greatest dimensions were nearly 23 m. north to south and 17 m. east to west; thus the house was larger than any we have yet examined. There was a central courtyard, entered from the west by a prothyron or recessed porch, with narrow porticos on east and west and a broader one, approximating to an Olynthian pastas, on the north. These porticos, in the form revealed by the remains, seem to belong to a somewhat later reconstruction; but it is not unlikely that there was at least one portico from the beginning in such a comparatively spacious court. The main rooms were on the north and were regular in shape; the rooms towards the south were smaller, and both the outline of the house and the shape of individual rooms were very irregular in this section. The courtyard effected a compromise. In the northwest corner was a dining room (andron) of Olynthian type, entered through a small anteroom. The floors of both these rooms were decorated with pebble mosaics in simple but attractive geometric patterns, and on all sides of the andron was a raised border of yellow plaster for the dining couches. There is no clear evidence for an upper storey, but the house may well have had one, at least over the northern rooms. The main walls, with solid socles of limestone blocks, are strong enough.

Limited though it is, the evidence is now probably sufficient to illustrate the kind of domestic conditions in which the majority of the Athenians lived. One could wish for a wider range. There were probably meaner houses at Athens than any we have looked at; there may have been a few more handsome and spacious. The house of the wealthy Kallias had in its courtyard at least two colonnades, one of them sufficiently roomy for the peripatetics of a visiting professor and his attendant “chorus.” But even the house of Kallias or Alkibiades was not vast or palatial. And its contents and furnishings were surprisingly meager. On this point we now have a mass of detailed evidence in the records of the sale of the confiscated goods of Alkibiades and his associates, whom we can assume to have been men of property. “There was little sense of personal luxury in Athens in the last quarter of the fifth century,” Pritchett concludes, “even among men of wealth”; and “by modern standards, certainly, the Greek house must have been relatively empty.” The principal items were chairs, chests, couches and beds, tables, lampstands, and doors, which were considered not fixtures but moveable articles of furniture. If a man allowed himself a touch of extravagance, it was in coverlets, drapings, and rugs.

Demosthenes (III, 25) says that a century before his own time even the great men of Athens lived in houses not notably superior to those of their neighbors, and we can believe that he is exercising no more than an acceptable rhetorical license. We do not yet have the house of a Kallias; but even the modest dwellings on the Areopagus slope were occupied by men of moderate means, to judge by their contents, which include fine pottery. As far as the archaeological evidence goes, there had been no great transformation in Demosthenes’ own time, and he is doing his contemporaries some injustice if he is imputing to them more than a little domestic luxury.

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54 This belongs to the original construction. Another room too, on the northwest, has evidence of couches around the walls.

55 For a pebble floor in another 4th century house see Hesperia, XXVI, 1957, p. 100; for a fine figured pebble mosaic at Peiraecus see Hesperia, XXXIV, 1965, pp. 77 ff.; cf. C. K. Williams, A.J.A., LXI, 1967, p. 95. Note also a mosaic in an andron found recently in north Athens, Delkr., XXII, 1968, Xρονδιά, pp. 98 ff. On pebble mosaics in general see C. M. Robertson, J.H.S., LXXXV, 1965, pp. 72–89; LXXXVII, 1967, pp. 153–156. One should probably imagine the walls of the main rooms as plastered and painted, as at Olynthos, where a favorite scheme was red with a white border at the bottom (see Olynthus, VIII, p. 176); fragments of colored plaster have been found.

56 As described by Plato, Protagoras, 314c–315e.

57 Hesperia, XXV, 1956, pp. 210 ff.

58 The survival of a pair of wooden bedposts, in a well whose contents are dated in the latter part of the 6th century, is very remarkable and unusual; see Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 270.

59 For soft furnishings see G. M. A. Richter, Archaeology, XVIII, 1965, pp. 26–38; and for furniture generally the same author’s The Furniture of the Greeks, Etruscans and Romans, London, 1966.
For this one has to wait till Hellenistic and Roman times, as in Greece generally. But on the other hand it is quite wrong to imply that the builders of the Parthenon and the Erechtheion or the contemporaries of Lykourgos, the great Minister of Works, lived mostly in hovels.

It is in the houses of the earlier period that the excavations have made a unique contribution to the history of domestic architecture. Houses continued to be built and rebuilt around the Agora in later times too, but these can be dealt with more summarily. The valley to the southwest, with the adjoining slopes, continues to furnish the best material. Hellenistic remains are comparatively slight; the most impressive houses, which have left more substantial traces, were built during the revival of Athens in the Roman imperial age. In this period, though similar in general type and construction, Athenian houses tend to be larger and more regular in shape, with more spacious courtyards and in some cases a complete peristyle.60

Two of the best examples are illustrated here, both situated on the western slope of the Areopagus. The first (House N, Figs. 40, 45;)61 measures 20.30 m. north to south by 16.50 m. east to west, with a slight deviation from the rectangular in the southern part. The site was prepared by cutting into the rock of the hillside on the east and terracing on the west, where one and the same wall, constructed of large squared blocks of conglomerate, provided both the retaining wall and foundation for the house and the east wall of the Roman drain at this point. The eastern retaining wall too was of this construction; elsewhere the socles were of miscellaneous re-used material; no doubt the walls above were of unbaked brick. In the northern part of the

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60 See Travlos, Π.Ε.Α., p. 116 (note 1 gives a bibliography); for the House of Aristodemos, on the site of Dörpfeld's Enneakrounos (see p. 199 below), see J. W. Graham, Phoenix, XX, 1966, p. 12, fig. 27; Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 52.

61 Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 272ff.; other remains of houses in the Industrial District are more fragmentary and do not yield such a complete plan.
cutting are traces of walls which may be as early as the 5th or 4th century B.C. The later house, dated by the contents of a well in the southern part of the court, was built apparently in the 1st century after Christ and destroyed by the Herulians but subsequently repaired. The courtyard, which had no colonnades, was paved with marble chips laid in mortar on a bed of small stones. The rooms, of various sizes, were disposed on all four sides; on the north was a large room, later divided into two, on the south a kind of alcove, with a corridor behind it. There was no doubt an upper storey, which on the east was probably at the level of the street which ran along the higher ground on that side.

Fig. 46. House of Roman Period on Northwest Shoulder of Areopagus (W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.)
Our second example was built on a similar site, part cutting, part terrace, high on the northwestern shoulder of the Areopagus, looking down over the western part of the Agora (Fig. 46, Pl. 1). There is evidence of habitation on the site from early Hellenistic times; but the house whose plan can be clearly traced, in spite of the scantiness of the remains, is of the early Roman period. The dimensions were about 21 m. north to south by about 20 m. east to west, and the plan was almost but not quite rectangular. The southwestern part was occupied by a courtyard, elegantly laid out with a complete peristyle and a water basin in the middle. The largest rooms were at the northwestern and southeastern corners; the latter had a marble-chip floor; the room in the middle of the north side had a vestibule in front of it and a bench along its eastern wall. Cuttings in the rock scarp on the east were no doubt intended to receive the beams for an upper storey; the stair which gave access to this is conjecturally restored on the west side of the court.

One can imagine that the internal appointments of such houses were a little more elegant than in their predecessors. In several, remains of more elaborate mosaics have been found. The most interesting (Pl. 90) adorns a floor laid in the second century after Christ in a house originally built several centuries earlier. It consists of a circle within a square, with a rectangular diapered panel at either end. Right in the center is a small circle said to have contained "a female head with Dionysiac attributes," of which very little now remains. The larger circle has a geometric rosette; in each of the angles between the circle and the enclosing square is a drinking cup, on the rim of which perch two parakeets, dipping their beaks into the wine. The parakeet's propensity for wine was encouraged by the ancients; it was known to stimulate wanton behavior (Aristotle, Hist. Anim., VIII, 12, 597b).

There are even traces of refined wall decoration. In a spacious house on the northeast slope of the Hill of the Nymphs, southwest of the Agora, we find a pattern consisting of a series of panels, with borders of various colors, separated by vertical floral motifs, above a continuous white dado (Pl. 91, a). This may be dated in the 3rd century after Christ, for this house perished in the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 (p. 208). Other walls of the 2nd and 3rd centuries exhibit varying arrangements of large vertical panels above horizontal dadoes (Pl. 91, b–d). Even in the Roman period we still do not find any regular plan or particular architectural formula in Athenian houses, as far as the limited evidence goes; and one can be sure that alongside the more elegant establishments of the well-to-do much humbler types of house, which have left little trace, continued in use in Athens throughout antiquity, as indeed they do today.

INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITY

In our discussion of private houses we have repeatedly noted evidence indicating that light industry was carried on in parts of the dwelling. Such household industry on a family scale was undoubtedly the normal pattern in ancient Athens, as indeed it continued to be until very recent years in the modern city. There were exceptions, no doubt, but the excavations have revealed no trace of "factories" in anything like the modern sense of the term. A brief survey of the scattered finds may be of interest.

62 This site, first examined by German archaeologists at the end of the last century, has recently been thoroughly re-worked by J. W. Graham and W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr.; Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, p. 69, fig. 12.
65 The evidence from the excavations fully confirms the picture drawn from the literary evidence by such sympathetic scholars as G. Glotz (Ancient Greece at Work, London, 1926, Ch. IX: "Industry") and V. Ehrenberg (The People of Aristophanes, Ch. V: "Traders and Craftsmen").
The region in which the Agora lay was called, as we have seen, the Kerameikos, i.e. the dis-

trick of the potters. It is not surprising, therefore, that the earliest and most ubiquitous indi-
cations of industrial activity have to do with the making of pottery. The principal clay beds,
to be sure, lay outside the city limits toward the northwest, but many potters evidently pre-
ferred to have their workshops near their dwellings and near the place where their wares could
be displayed for sale.

The earliest evidence of potters’ activity has come from a well of about 1000 B.C. beneath the
Odeion of Agrippa. A number of large fragments of coarse pots are streaked with daubs of paint.
The sherds appear to have been test pieces which could be withdrawn from the kiln at intervals
in order to check the progress of the firing. Similar trial pieces were included in a mass of potter’s
waste of the 7th century B.C. in a well outside the southeast corner of the Agora (Pl. 92, b).

Slight remains of shops of many different periods have been found widely scattered through
the area. The bottom of a small potter’s kiln, round with a central pier for the support of its
floor, came to light at a level of the 8th–7th century B.C. to the southeast of the Tholos (Pl.
92, a). In a well at the north foot of the Areopagus, closed in the middle of the 6th century
B.C., had been dumped a large mass of refined potter’s clay. Why the clay was discarded is
not clear, but it came, no doubt, from a near-by shop. A potter’s shop on the east slope of
Kolonos was sacrificed to the construction of the Stoa of Zeus in the 490’s. There remained a
deep terracotta basin full of potter’s clay and a mass of black-glazed pottery, fragmentary but
of exquisite quality. One of the best preserved potters’ works came to light within the Heliaia
where it had operated in the 1st and early 2nd centuries after Christ at a time when the old
building was ruinous (Pl. 92, c). The fire chamber of a small rectangular kiln survived. Near
by were two clay pits, one full of yellow clay and one of red, the combination still employed
by the village potters of Attica today. At the west foot of the Areopagus a kiln for the making
of pottery or of roof tiles operated as late as the 9th or 10th century. The latest establishment
of which any structural remains were found comprised two kilns which were destroyed to make
way for the Church of the Vlassarou above the west side of the Agora in the 17th century. They
produced the blue and white painted ware so characteristic of “Turkish” Athens.

In some instances the proximity of potters’ shops is attested by unusual deposits of broken
pottery. One such was found in the Rectangular Rock-cut Shaft, a pit measuring about 1.20 ×
2.40 m. in cross section sunk to a depth of 19.60 m. in the solid rock of Kolonos to the north-
east of the Temple of Hephaistos. Whatever its original purpose this pit was used intermit-
tently from the third quarter of the 6th century until the Persian sack of 480 B.C. as a dump-
ing place for great quantities of broken pottery. We have already seen an early grave amphora
from the shaft (Pl. 25). Among the later vases were several misfired pieces. In several instances,
moreover, the same painter’s hand could be recognized on a number of pieces. The inference is
that some of the potters of the period lived and worked close by, sharing a common dump for
their waste. The finest single object salvaged from this dump is a plastic vase in the shape of a
kneeling boy apparently in the act of binding a victor’s ribbon around his head; the date is
about 540 B.C. (Pl. 93).
The north and west slopes of the Areopagus were favored, especially in the 4th century and the Hellenistic period, by the koroplasts, the makers of terracotta figurines. Their activity is documented chiefly by the clay moulds used in the manufacture both of figures in the round and of plaques in relief. Scores of such moulds have been found in the abandoned cisterns and rubbish dumps of houses that must also have contained the craftsmen’s workshops (Pl. 94, a, b). Such material is valuable not least because it establishes with certainty the manufacture of various types of figurines in Athens.

The most distinctive and most pleasing type of tableware produced in Athens in the Hellenistic period was the Megarian Bowl. These hemispherical drinking cups with a great variety of relief decoration on their walls were made by pressing clay into a concave mould; the rim was then shaped on the potter’s wheel. Fragments of such moulds are ubiquitous among the pottery dumps of the 3rd, 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. (Pl. 94, e, f).

Distinct from the moulds used for making terracotta figurines and plastic vases are the ancient impressions in clay taken from metal reliefs, especially the ornaments on bronze armor of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. For the ancient craftsman this was a practical way of keeping a record of some outstanding piece that might later be copied or adapted for other purposes (Pl. 94, c, d). For us the impressions are invaluable inasmuch as they enable us to enjoy the extraordinary virtuosity and beauty of a branch of Athenian craftsmanship of which the actual products have almost completely perished.

Evidence of marbleworking has already been observed among the houses of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. on the western slopes of the Areopagus (above, p. 177). Here the remains consisted chiefly of marble chips, tons of them heaped in the courtyards of the little shops, white layers of them in the adjoining street. Along with the chips was found an occasional piece of abrasive stone used in finishing sculpture (Pl. 95, c). In the Hellenistic and Roman periods the marbleworkers appear to have been more active outside the southeast corner of the Agora. Here again in the houses or shops adjoining the main roads have been found deposits of marble chips. Little basins sunk in the clay floors and coated with emery powder mark the places where craftsmen sat polishing small objects of marble (Pl. 95, d). One of the most characteristic shops of this period occupied a suite of rooms in the southwest part of the Library of Pantaionos. The activity of this shop and of many others in the area was abruptly terminated by the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. A few years later the builders of the Post-Herulian Wall gathered up the sculpture left unfinished in the shops and used it as filling in the core of the wall.

Most of the products of these shops were copies of famous ancient statues, and the unfinished works illustrate the technique of copying by means of pointing machines (Pl. 95, a). Of interest in this connection is a large fragment of a plaster cast of a statue that was found in the Post-Herulian Wall along with the unfinished marbles; it had presumably served as a model for the copyists.

Other interesting manifestations of marbleworking have been observed in the east end of the South Square; like the pottery works in the Heliaia, they date from the 1st and early 2nd centuries after Christ when the area was still desolate as a result of the sack of 86 B.C. Great quantities of marble chips had been dumped in the open square. The workshops had been

established in the ruins of South Stoa II and the East Building. Here were found innumerable little floors pits with deposits of emery powder. A specialty of these shops was the making of small basins for household and kitchen use. A number of unfinished examples, broken while being carved, show how the design was laid out on the block and how the carving proceeded. In one case the basin was being shaped from an ancient inscribed stele of which a few letters remain (Pl. 95, b).83

It would be wrong, of course, to assume that all Athenian sculpture of the Roman period was imitative or mechanical hack work. In the long spell of economic depression and cultural stagnation that intervened between Sulla and Hadrian many of the most enterprising and creative artists undoubtedly emigrated to Rome, Corinth and other more prosperous parts of the Empire. Yet those who stayed behind produced some distinguished work, notably in the field of portraiture. Out of some fifty portrait heads or busts found in the excavations we illustrate two (Pl. 96).84 The one is a fresh, crisp study of a youthful patrician of the Julio-Claudian period, the other a sympathetic portrayal of an aging man across whose care-worn face flickers a sceptical smile. Although in both cases the sculptor may have been following trends established elsewhere, the portraits demonstrate the persistence of Athenian sensitivity in the shaping of marble and the perennial Athenian interest in human personality.

In addition to the marble that was carved by hand in the shops at the east end of the South Square, much marble was sawn into thin slabs for flooring and the revetment of walls. For ease in working, the large masses of marble were set up on the bedding blocks in the east room of the East Building. Occasionally the saw went too deep and scarified the top of the bedding block (Pl. 45, a). In antiquity, as in modern times, the cutting was done by water-borne sand activated by a long metal saw. The sludge, comprising sand, water and powdered marble, was drained off into the east end of the South Square where it solidified into a travertine-like mass as much as 0.75 m. in thickness. The marble used in this operation was probably taken from the temple that had stood in the South Square until it was ruined in the sack of 86 B.C. (supra, p. 71). It may indeed have been this readily available source of raw material that attracted the marbleworkers to the area.

Beneath the level of the marbleworking in the South Square, especially within the limits of South Stoa II, the excavators came on evidence of ironworking: slag, ash and charcoal, though no structural remains of furnaces.85 One may conjecture that the ironworkers also were drawn to the place by the availability of raw material which in this case would have been the iron clamps and dowels in the now ruinous ancient buildings.

Ironworking is attested also in the area to the north of the Temple of Hephaistos. Masses of slag have been found, one in an unfinished cistern near the northwest corner of the temple,6 a second in a large open pit in the ruins of a shop at the north foot of Kolonos.87 In both cases the context was of the 4th century B.C.

Bronze casters also did their work in modest establishments close around the Agora. Most interesting in this department is a series of casting pits for the making of bronze statues that range in date from the 6th century B.C. into the 5th century after Christ. Insofar as one can judge from the remains, the technique remained remarkably constant throughout this long period. All that survives in most cases is a pit in the soft bedrock in which the mould was planted upright to receive the molten metal; in the filling of the pits are found fragments of

83 Ibid., pp. 360f.
84 Agora, I, nos. 7 and 19. In this volume Evelyn B. Harrison has assessed the state of portrait sculpture in Athens of the Roman period.
85 Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, pp. 360f.
86 Hesperia, VI, 1937, p. 897, fig. 1; the cistern falls in the line of the "EARLY PERIBOLOS."
87 Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 300.
the clay moulds. In all cases we may assume that the lost-wax (*cire perdue*) process was employed. A core of fine clay was built up over an armature and modelled with some care into the shape of the intended figure. Over this core was applied a layer of wax several millimeters in thickness the surface of which was carefully finished and given the textures appropriate to flesh or drapery. The figure was then enveloped in two or three successive layers of fine clay with a total thickness of 2–3 cms. Openings with funnel-shaped mouths were left for the admission of the fluid metal, and passages for the escape of air were made by the insertion of hollow reeds. Before the clay had hardened metal nails were driven through the mould into the core in order to maintain a proper interval between the two after the disappearance of the wax. The wax was induced to flow out by baking the ensemble. In the case of the earliest of our moulds, for a statue of Apollo type only about three feet in height, the baking took place above ground, after which the mould was lowered feet down into a small pit where it was packed firmly with earth to withstand the strain of the fluid metal (Fig. 47, Pl. 97, a). This mould (Pl. 97, b) dates from the middle of the 6th century B.C. In the later establishments, intended for larger statues, the pit was made spacious enough so that core and mould could be fabricated upright on its floor (Pl. 97, c). The fire was then kindled in the pit; after firing the pit was filled with earth in preparation for the pouring of the metal. In the case of large statues the torso might be cast in more than one piece; heads and protruding limbs were normally cast separately.

Cult statues were cast as close as possible to the temple. The mould for the statue of Apollo type noted above was found just to the south of the archaic Temple of Apollo Patroos. A large pit within the west end of the sacred enclosure of the Temple of Hephaistos was undoubtedly

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Fig. 47. Casting Pit for a Bronze Statue. 6th Century B.C. (J. Travlos)
used in the making of the bronze statues of Hephaistos and Athena that were to stand in that temple.90 Other statues might be fabricated in the work places of individual craftsmen who in early times appear to have favored the slopes of Kolonos. Remains of such establishments dating from the 4th century B.C. have come to light to the north of the Temple of Hephaistos,91 to the southwest of the temple,92 and at a point far to the south on the east slope of the hill.93

A casting pit of the 2nd century B.C. appeared on the west slope of the Areopagus (Fig. 48)94 while fragments of a mould for a draped statue of life-size were found in a context of the 5th or 6th century after Christ beside the Nymphaeum at the southeast corner of the Agora. After the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 small bronzeworking establishments were set up at various points: one in the ruins of the Heliaia, another near the middle of the South Square.95 Fragments of ancient statues found near by suggest the source of their metal.

It is a pleasure to turn from the desolate remains of the workshops of Athenian sculptors in bronze to a brief contemplation of one of their products. In 1932 from a well that had been abandoned in the 3rd century B.C. behind the Stoa of Zeus emerged a bronze head of about two-

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90 *Hesperia*, Supplement V, pp. 109f. For the plan cf. *Hesperia*, VI, 1937, p. 399, fig. 2, below "B."
91 Cf. note 89.
93 *Hesperia*, XVIII, 1948, pp. 170-172; XX, 1951, p. 269.
thirds life-size (Frontispiece, Pl. 98). The bust had been fitted into the draped torso of a female figure identifiable from its type as a winged Victory or Nike. Eyes, topknot of hair and earrings were all made separately, and all have vanished. A series of grooves that encircles the hairline and runs up the neck and over the skull once served to secure sheets of silver overlaid by sheets of gold; small masses of both metals remain in the channels. The final appearance would have been a figure all of gold. Our little statue is to be associated with the series of “Golden Nikai” that began to be created in the Periclean period to serve as repositories for a part of the gold reserve of the state. Placed in some sanctuary the figures came under divine protection while open to the admiration of the citizens. In time of financial crisis the gold might be stripped off and turned into coin. This happened, as we know from literary sources, toward the end of the Peloponnesian War (407/6 B.C.); the event is recorded on the Agora head by an earlier set of grooves re-filled with bronze. With the recovery of prosperity in the second half of the 4th century the Nikai recovered their golden epidermis only to be stripped once again by the tyrant Lachares in the early 3rd century. On this occasion even the bronze core of our head was discarded, a touching gesture of despair.

A tantalizing hint of another industry practised in the area is provided by a mass of shells found outside the southeast corner of the Agora in a context of the 11th or 12th century after Christ. Most of the shells prove to be of a large, spiny variety: *murex brandaris*. They appear to have been opened carefully to permit the removal of the sac containing the fluid used in making the precious purple. Hence they may be regarded as the waste from a near-by dye works; to judge from their position, they were thrown outside the city wall to spare the neighbors the notorious stench.

One final industry is the making of lime. A number of the characteristic kilns have been found scattered throughout the area. Limekilns were round with an inner diameter of 2–3 meters. To facilitate filling they were set down much of their depth in the earth. The lower walls were of rubble stonework, the upper of crude brick. A ledge projecting from the face of the wall helped to support the mass of stone above the fuel. Most of the kilns are of the Byzantine period and were built no doubt to provide lime for plastering the many houses erected in the 10th to the 12th centuries. Several in the immediate vicinity of the Holy Apostles may be associated with the construction of that church. It would be invidious to attribute to the Byzantine limemakers the destruction of ancient marble sculptures; at the time of their activity, alas, little ancient marble was to be found in the area of the Agora.


97 The identification is based on the article by M. Besnier in DAREMBERG et SAGLIO, Dictionnaire, s.v. Purpura, fig. 5887. Cf. Ath. Mitt., LVI, 1931, p. 95 for similar evidence of the making of purple dye in one of the shops established in the ruins of the Pompeion after its destruction in 86 B.C.
VIII. ROADS AND WATER SUPPLY

STREETS

Naturally the Agora was a main center of the street plan of the city and indeed of the road system of Attica. We have already noted that the Altar of the Twelve Gods (p. 133) was a kind of central milestone. Some of the streets in the area were much older than the Agora, which developed in the sixth century around and along them. The Agora was more than a single, simple carrefour and there was more than one focal point.

The northwest corner was especially important (Fig. 1, Pl. 1). Three roads converged upon it from northwestern Athens, and three diverged from it across the square. Of the incoming roads the most important and probably also the earliest was that which led in from the Dipylon. This was the Dromos or Street of the Panathenaia. The lesser road which paralleled this main road to the south dates, as we have seen (p. 108), only from the early Roman period; in earlier times the road from the Sacred Gate had probably joined the main road soon after entering the city. The third street approached from a direction slightly west of north; its line was revealed in 1958 by a chance find during building operations in Hastings Street. On entering the Agora, near the Altar of the Twelve Gods, the Dromos put out a branch to the east and another to the south, besides continuing on its original course. The southward branch was the western edge of the Agora, and towards its southwest corner (near the boundary stone, see p. 117) divided to form two streets which served the region between the Areopagus, the Hill of the Nymphs and the Pnyx, and the whole southern and southwestern quarter of Athens. An important east-to-west road, coming from the Peiraeus Gate, crossed both these streets, and continuing eastwards crossed the Panathenaic Way near the southeast corner of the Agora. Some distance to the north of this the course of another west-to-east street has recently been detected, cutting across the square and making of its southern part a kind of separate plateia (Pl. 6). The streets on the western and southern borders of the Agora are both much older than the Agora itself and both played an important part in its growth. Less is known as yet of the north side, since most of it is in the unexcavated area beyond the railway. But the excavations of 1970 have revealed a street that entered the north side of the Agora toward its northeast corner, coming in probably from the Acharnian Gate; this was blocked in the second century after Christ by the construction of the Basilica. Chance finds in the course of modern building

2 Ibid., pp. 296ff.
3 Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 300; XVII, 1948, p. 167; XXIV, 1955, p. 52; XXVII, 1958, p. 146. At the southwest corner the street was crowded westward when the Middle Stoa was built; cf. Hesperia, XXXVIII, 1969, p. 416.
had indicated the line of another street that approached from the north to enter the square near the middle of its north side; the point of junction was established in 1971.

These various streets linked the Agora with the rest of the city and at the same time provided a ready-made frame on which it was gradually built. One can contrast the process with what happened in a systematically planned city, in which streets and agora alike were parts of a single, uniform and contemporary scheme.

The Panathenaic Way or Dromos,7 running from the Dipylon and the Pompeion (the building for the preparation of processions) to the Acropolis, traversed the Agora from northwest to southeast and formed its main axis.8 This street played an especially important role on festal occasions (p. 121) and was used by processions and cavalcades. Important monuments, including the Tyrannicides, stood along it.9 But for the siting and orientation of the principal buildings the streets on the north, south and west sides were more decisive, especially the last. This western street had been in use as early as the eighth century B.C.,10 and we have seen how in the archaic phase and the 5th century a whole series of shrines and public buildings ranged themselves along it. The Great Drain (p. 194) followed its line. On the north side one presumes that the Stoa Poikile faced the street, and obviously the large square peristyle court (p. 60) was sited in relation to it.11 On the south the various buildings turned their backs to the street, but conformed with its line, as did the aqueduct which served the fountain houses (p. 200).

The streets of Athens were usually constructed in the simplest possible manner, with a surface of hard-packed earth and gravel. The road metal had to be constantly supplemented, replaced or renewed, a process which often provides useful evidence for dating. In the Street of the Marble Workers, southwest of the Agora, Young notes six successive layers of road metal containing sherds from the late 6th to the 4th century B.C.12 Occasionally larger stones were used to produce a cobbled surface; an example was found in the 6th or 5th century stratum in the north-northwestern street.13 Stone paving is late at Athens and even then rare; the paving of solid blocks, resting largely on bedrock, found in the section of the Panathenaic Way where it leaves the Agora and climbs the steepening slope towards the Acropolis, was laid in the 1st or more likely the 2nd century after Christ (Pl. 99).14 The layers of earlier road gravel in this street, where they survive, go back at least to the 5th century B.C.15 Rough stone steps were sometimes introduced on the steeper slopes, for example in the narrow alleys which climbed up from the Agora towards the Areopagus.16 Drains and water channels followed the streets and are often helpful in determining their line.

Widths vary,17 even at different points of the same thoroughfare, but with few exceptions are exiguous. About 3 m. or a little more was sufficient for ordinary streets, enough in fact to allow loaded donkeys to pass one another; some alleys had even less. More important streets,

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8 Its course changed a little from time to time. Originally it ran slightly further west than later; see Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 45-46; cf. XX, 1951, p. 56.
9 See pp. 157ff. above.
10 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 4-5; Supplement IV, p. 106.
11 Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 322, 326.
12 Hesperia, XX, 1951, p. 163; note also p. 160; and cf. Supplement IV, p. 106.
14 Hesperia, XXVIII, 1959, p. 94; XXIX, 1960, p. 332; see also p. 114 above.
15 Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 332.
16 Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 164, 166; XXVIII, 1959, p. 99. In late Hellenistic and Roman times steps inserted in some of the more important streets restricted wheeled traffic in the agora area; see Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, p. 218; XX, 1951, pp. 147, 164, 166.
17 On plateiai and stenopoi see Judeich, Topographie 2, pp. 178ff. On colonnaded streets in the later period see pp. 108ff. above.
such as the one which formed the southern edge of the Agora, might be allowed up to twice as much, with a certain amount of variation in different sections. The Panathenaic Way was exceptional. In its course from the Dipylon to the Agora the roadway between the bordering colonnades of early Roman date measured about 20 m.; on the Acropolis slope, where the width can again be measured, it varied from 10 to 12 m.; within the Agora only the west side of the thoroughfare was defined by a stone water channel. The unusual width was appropriate to the arterial importance of the road for regular traffic; it was needed also for such special occasions as the Panathenaic Festival with its procession, chariot races and cavalry displays. There is little evidence of sidewalks, except towards the west end of the southern street, where curbs of rough masonry have been found.

DRAINAGE

The position of the Agora, favorable in other respects, meant that it suffered from the water which descended after rainstorms from the near-by slopes. In addition to the immediate effects, in course of time the lower lying parts tended to become covered with heavy layers of silt (the depth of soil which had to be removed in excavation was due to the same cause). By the end of the 6th century the need for efficient artificial drainage had become obvious, and soon thereafter it was provided by the construction of a great stone channel running south to north under the old street on the west side of the Agora (Pl. 4). Throughout antiquity this continued to be the main artery in the drainage system, and it has resumed its function in modern times. In 1931, in the first campaign of excavation, the site was deeply flooded by a heavy storm, but after a while a vent opened through which the water rapidly disappeared, and this was found to lead into the drain, which was subsequently cleared and brought into use again.

Further south, in the region of the west end of the Middle Stoa, a deep and broad channel has been found cut in the bedrock, continuing the line of the drain. Apparently a southward extension was planned and the ground was prepared, but this part of the project was never completed.

The drain was splendidly constructed, with a heavy stone floor and walls of a hard gray breccia, carefully fitted in polygonal style, resting on a levelling course of irregular masses of Acropolis limestone (Pl. 100, a). The original cover slabs were of yellow poros; but the extant slabs, in a variety of re-used material, are mostly late replacements. The channel measured about one meter in both width and depth. The date of construction, at first thought to be Peisistratid, is now placed early in the 5th century. Stratification, orientation and technique indicate that the drain probably belongs to the building program which included the Bouleuterion (p. 29). To ensure a steady northward down-gradient, the irregular ground level was carefully adjusted, with a considerable depth of filling in places.

Most later drains were subordinate to this and ultimately debouched into it. Side channels brought in the effluents and overflows of fountain houses and public buildings. The Tholos will provide an example (Pl. 100, b). Its drainage system was modified many times to suit the various extensions and rebuildings but remained essentially the same. The floor of the rotunda

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19 See, for example, Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 137 ff. (the valley to the southwest, which suffered particularly in this way), and XXII, 1953, p. 27, the southeastern area, at the foot of the gully between the Acropolis and the Areopagus.
20 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 39-40, for an attempt earlier in the 6th century to provide for the drainage of the eastern part; by means of rough stone walls a gully was converted into a channel of about one meter in both width and depth, but this was soon abandoned. Cf. also Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, p. 61.
22 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 88 ff.; for the drainage of the earlier buildings on the site see pp. 28 ff. For other good examples see Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 521-522 (Square Peristyle), and, in a later period, XIX, 1950, p. 77 (Odeion).
sloped gently down to a point on the east, where a sink-hole gave access to a channel which led to the Great Drain (later to its southwestern branch). The earliest drain of the Tholos, probably contemporary with the original building, was made of terracotta pipes, with lidded holes to facilitate sealing the joints. It entered the Great Drain through a small rectangular hole in its west wall. This drain was replaced, probably about 300 B.C., by a channel cut in a series of blocks of soft gray poros, covered in the western part by re-used marble slabs, in the eastern by terracotta roof tiles. The kitchen annex had its own drain, running further north, roughly constructed of broken pieces of roof tiles, with complete tiles on top, except where it approached the Great Drain; here terracotta pipes were used. This drain too seems to have belonged to the original 5th century building.

The main drainage system was greatly extended, probably at the beginning of the 4th century, by the construction of two major branches, one of which flowed northeastward down the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs (p. 174), the other westward across the southern part of the Agora itself (Pl. 6). The southwestward extension, in the “industrial district,” has been studied in detail in connection with the adjoining houses (p. 174), and it offers a good specimen of the development and methods of drainage at Athens, and incidentally of a nicely constructed bridge (Fig. 49). No vestige has been found here of an artificial drain of pre-Persian times. Before the middle of the 5th century a deep channel about 1.40 m. wide was

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22 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 75-76.
23 Following the line of the ancient street which crossed this part of the Agora (see p. 192), and then turning southeastward to the extreme southeast corner. This section too was finely built of stone throughout (Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 65). Both extensions had to have their course adjusted later to accommodate neighboring buildings.
24 Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 233 ff.; for the northern section, near the junction, see Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 111-114.
cut in the bedrock. It could best be observed at the south end of the excavation, where its line diverged a little to the east; further north it was almost obliterated by its successor. Since the rock face shows little sign of wear by the water, it may be deduced that there were screen walls, though nothing of them survives. The later form of the drain may be dated on the evidence of pottery early in the 4th century. The construction of its wall varies curiously in technique. One can see checkerboard construction (Fig. 48), small rubble, well-fitted but rough-faced limestone, square conglomerate on a poros bedding, and large irregular conglomerate blocks interspersed with stacked work, all on the west side; and there is much variety on the east too, though more obscured by later repairs. The changes of style are abrupt and normally occur where house-properties meet (Fig. 43). Apparently the neighboring householders were allocated sections of the drain walls, and employed each his own mason (p. 179). Yet the whole must have been somehow coordinated and was presumably in some sense a public work. There is something characteristically Athenian about the procedure. Plans of some of the houses had to be modified to accommodate the passage of the drain. At the same time the channel itself took a somewhat erratic course, and its width varied from 0.60 to 1.50 m.; its depth was about 1.50 m. It is clear that this section was not given covering slabs, and the narrow street between houses A–H and J–M (p. 174, Fig. 40) must have been made practically unusable.25

Where it crossed the street from the Peiraeus Gate, which was no less than 8.60 m. wide at this point, the drain took the form of a strongly constructed bridge,26 built originally early in the fourth century (Fig. 49). The side walls are set on a bedding course of conglomerate, left rough, surmounted by a second course of squared conglomerate. Above are three courses of poros, corbelled, and with curved inner faces. These faces are not continuous, a narrow ledge being left at the top of each course. The width of the channel at the level of the bedding course is 1.40 m. The corbelling brings it down to about 0.80 m. and the gap was bridged by slabs of stone.27 The extant covering slabs are again later replacements and include a grave stele, which with another used as a support was probably put there in the process of clearing up after the Sullan destruction. The depth of the drain from the underside of these stones is about 2.40 m. For the corbelled technique Young finds a parallel in an arch of the River Eridanos (the ultimate recipient of the effluvia of this part of Athens) near the Sacred Gate, and suggests that the same engineer may have been responsible for both.28

Holes were left in the walls of the drain channel as inlets for the effluents of the adjacent houses. These house drains too were constructed in various ways; one for example had carefully built stone walls and was covered with tiles and flat slabs; others were simply made of inverted roof tiles.29

Many streets had stone gutters running alongside them. The street on the south side of the Agora, of which a further section has recently been investigated, provides a good example.30 The gutter was cut in a series of poros blocks, and tributaries entered it from the side streets coming down the Areopagus slope. In the Street of the Marble Workers short stretches of light low walls have been found placed obliquely in front of several of the houses, designed apparently to divert the rainwater and prevent it from undermining the foundations.31 In Roman

25 After the Sullan destruction the southern section was abandoned and replaced by another drain which ran about 10 m. further east, and then turned west to join the original channel near House D; see Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 263ff.
26 Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 151ff.
27 Water channels which ran along Peiraeus Street were carried over the bridge. Four side drains, two on each side, flowed into the main channel under the bridge through apertures created by omitting a couple of courses at the appropriate point and level; the southwestern was for the drain of the Street of the Marble Workers, the northwestern for the street from the Peiraeus Gate, and those on the east for the two eastward branches of the latter.
29 Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 198, 201, 203, 205, 206, 213, 216; cf. XXVIII, 1959, p. 102.
times a more efficient drain was cut. One can well imagine that in many of the lesser streets drainage was very primitive or left to nature.

Public latrines were a luxury not known at Athens till Roman imperial times. The finest and best preserved, built in the 1st century after Christ, is adjacent to the Roman Market (p. 173, note 23; cf. J. Travlos, P.D.A., p. 342, figs. 443–445). It was a rectangular building, 16.20 × 11.74 m., roofed except for a small central opening. There was a narrow vestibule across one end. Along all four sides of the main room ran a continuous bench perforated with holes to accommodate over sixty persons. Deep below the bench was a capacious drain; in front of it ran a shallow channel for clean water. Far from being a “privy,” such a building was a special adaptation of the characteristic Athenian lesche or communal lounge (pp. 92, 102, 179 note 45).

WELLS, AQUEDUCTS AND FOUNTAINS

Athens is poor in water. The Athenians have always had to make the most of their supplies. A law attributed to Solon and quoted by Plutarch (23,5) encouraged the use of wells. Both for public buildings and for houses, wells which tapped underground water and cisterns in which rainwater was collected remained indispensable throughout antiquity.32 Large numbers of both have been found in the region of the Agora. The wells varied in depth from about two meters to over thirty, with a general average of ten; about 0.90 m., i.e. 3 ft., was the normal diameter. The earliest were usually unlined; sometimes, especially in the 6th century, a lining was built with masonry of small stones, and from the 4th century drums consisting of strong and well-made terracotta segments were used. In the earlier periods wellheads were made from the upper sections of pithoi or large storage jars; from the 6th century they were specially constructed of terracotta and later of marble or other stones. Some wells proved abortive and were at once abandoned; some were in use for only a few years, others for several centuries. Pottery and a great variety of other material accumulated in some of them over a long period; in others a large mass of varied waste was dumped at one and the same time, especially after the city had suffered serious destruction. From the 4th century B.C., perhaps because of the threat of siege, cisterns too were increasingly used, fed by rainwater from the roofs through terracotta pipes and terracotta or stone channels. The common form was a flask-like chamber about two or three meters wide at the bottom, coated with hydraulic cement, diminishing upwards to a mouth about 0.60 m. in diameter. Sometimes two or more such chambers were connected by channels to form a single system. By keeping down the size of the individual chamber the danger of collapse was reduced.

The supply was augmented in course of time by means of aqueducts and public fountains. The Peisistratids seem to have played an important part in making this provision; under the democracy the system was further developed and placed under the care of an Overseer of Fountains.33

In the latter part of the 6th century a fountain house was built in the southeastern corner of the Agora (Fig. 50, Pl. 5).34 It had an unusual design; or rather it consisted of two basins of usual type facing one another from either end of a rectangular porch. The south side flanked the old road which ran along this edge of the Agora. One can presume that this was the back of the building and that the central part of the north side opened on the square, with probably two

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32 For a concise account of these see Guide1, 1954, pp. 91–96; cf. pp. 2, 3, 16 above. For the whole subject of water supply see Picture Book, 11.
34 Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 29–35.
or three columns. The overall dimensions were 6.80 m. north to south by 18.20 m. east to west. The smaller sections at either end were undoubtedly water basins. Their foundations are of a hard gray poros, with careful polygonal jointing; some blocks of the first course above ground level also survive. Their floors are of thin marble slabs, supported on irregular masses of limestone. The slabs are of variable shape and size, but they are very finely jointed, and between the edges of the floors and the stone of the walls waterproofing was effected by means of a packing of clay. One may assume that users of the fountain held their pitchers under spouts set in the face of the wall at either end of the building; the basins must have been shallow, since the waste-pipes were set at ground level, and they were intended to gather the waste rather than hold deep water. At the inner northern corners channels cut through the walls led to two terracotta pipelines, which converged on each other (Figs. 50, 51, Pl. 101, c). In this way superfluous water was carried off for other uses. The floor of the central area was at a higher level than that of the basins; nothing is left of it, or of the walls in this section, merely beddings for their foundations.

The Southeast Fountain House is the strongest candidate now known for the name of Ennea-krounos, the most famous fountain of Athens, constructed by the tyrants, according to Thucydides (II, 15, 4), where formerly there was a simple open spring called Kallirrhoe. It fits precisely into the sequence of monuments seen and mentioned by Pausanias (I, 14, 1), lying as

35 Hesperia, XXV, 1956, p. 50.
it does between the Odeion (p. 111) and the Eleusinion (p. 150); and it is of the right date. There are difficulties in the way of the identification; the ground plan leaves it far from obvious how a “nine-spouted” arrangement can have been contrived; and the main supply of water was brought from a distance, whereas Thucydides implies a copious source on the spot. Now only a meager spring rises. However, it is possible that water rose more freely here in early times. And the name Enneakrounos might be more easily explicable if we knew more of the superstructure of the fountain house; indeed the nine-spouted system may have involved something more than the two basins of this building.

The Southeast Fountain House was probably the main terminal of a new system of water supply which, because of the dating of the remains and their known construction of Enneakrounos, one may attribute to the tyrants. The principal sources which fed it are assumed to have been away to the northeast, in the direction of Pentelikos and Hymettos. The line of the aqueduct as it approached the city was traced long ago in the region of the Royal Gardens. One branch passed along the south side of the Acropolis in the direction of the problematic structure known as “Dörpfeld’s Enneakrounos,” southwest of the Areopagus. Recent investigation has shown that there was a northern branch too, which entered the Agora at its southeast corner. Following the line of the southern street, the excavated section breaks off at a point a little to the south of the fountain house, but one can safely assume that the pipe originally turned north to supply the building. It runs at a level more than two meters higher than the floors of the basins; so the water may have poured in through spouts built into the walls. The pipeline was constructed of sections 0.60 m. long, with a maximum diameter of 0.30 m., laid at the bottom of a trench (Pl. 101, a, b). Each section had a round or square hole cut in the top, through which the builders could insert their hands to seal the joint securely, the detached piece being subsequently replaced like a lid. The joints are carefully made, with flanges and grooves. Some of the pipes are of a buff-colored clay, some gray, and on a number of the latter variety the name of the maker Charon (Cha- for short on some sections) is clearly incised.

![Diagram of Pipeline to North of Southeast Fountain House](https://example.com/diagram.png)

Fig. 51. Pipeline to North of Southeast Fountain House (A 233. Piet de Jong)

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27 *Hesperia*, XXVII, 1958, pp. 147–148; note also IV, 1935, p. 560 (in that year the water flowed quite freely); XXV, 1956, p. 52; XXVIII, 1959, p. 99 (a possible source higher up the Areopagus slope); *Guide*, p. 98.
31 The system operated through gravity, not pressure.
The water brought to the center of the city by the aqueduct may have been made available at other points too, and for other purposes. It is in this period that representations of fountains on vases become especially popular. In any case the growing archaic city now had a well contrived water supply, and with additions and modifications the system laid down by the Peisistratids remained effective for a very long time.

Early in the 4th century the scheme was greatly extended. The old fountain house was drastically remodelled; the thin marble floor of the western basin was removed, and in its place was laid a solid packing of large blocks of soft creamy poros, which probably extended over the central room and the eastern basin too. The outlets on the north side were now blocked, but the water was carried off by an open stone channel starting at the southeast corner; this shows that the building was still used as a fountain house, though its interior arrangement is not clear in this phase. The channel ran a short distance eastward towards the Mint (p. 78), and then turned north and followed the west side of the Panathenaic Way. How long the old fountain house continued in use is uncertain, and also to what extent it was superseded by its Hellenistic and Roman successors just to the north (pp. 202-203); but it may be that the name Enneakrounos clung to this spot throughout, whatever developments took place.

The need to bring additional supplies of water to the Agora from a distance continually increased. The archaic pipeline of terracotta which approached the Agora from the east and supplied the old fountain house was eventually replaced by a great stone-built underground aqueduct. This too followed the line of the street which skirts the Agora on the south and continued further westward to supply a new fountain house at the southwest corner (Pl. 6). It ran at the same level as the old pipeline and no doubt drew its water from the same ultimate source, wherever that was. It probably supplied other buildings besides the two fountain houses; there are traces of pipelines of terracotta or lead diverging from it. The channel or specus of the aqueduct is nearly half a meter (1½ feet) wide and about 1.20 m. (4 feet) high. It is built of great blocks of soft, cream-colored poros (Pl. 102, a, b). First a series of blocks was laid crosswise, with a curved channel cut in them for the water, and narrow ledges left either side on which a stooping workman could walk or crawl. The side walls consisted of orthostates which supported a roof made of another row of transverse blocks. At some later date terracotta pipes were inserted, built up against the north wall to carry a second stream at a higher level. The construction of the aqueduct is now dated early in the 4th century; it continued in use throughout antiquity. The eastward branch of the Great Drain (p. 195), designed to carry off rainwater more efficiently from the region southeast of the Agora, was probably contemporary.

Just beyond the square enclosure now identified as the Heliaia (p. 62) the aqueduct turned northwards to supply a new fountain house, built at the same time, which it entered at the southeast corner (Pl. 13, a). Remains are very slight, but enough to show that we have here an L-shaped version of the common type with a columnar porch in front of the draw basins.47
The foundations, of which a little survives, were of gray poros. A couple of blocks from the stylobate have been found near, and there are traces of unfluted columns 0.62 m. in diameter. A fragment of an orthostate from the parapet, in hard limestone, is deeply worn by the jars of water-drawers. In the late 4th or early 3rd century the west wing was given an extension, and provided with means of filling the pots from spouts. The later Hellenistic remodelling of the fountain house can best be described as part of the general replanning of the buildings south of the Agora (p. 70).

This is the largest fountain house yet discovered at Athens, and architecturally the handsomest. But we cannot give it a name, so it is labelled simply "Southwest Fountain." When it first came to light, in 1934, long before its southeastern equivalent, one was tempted to call it Enneakrounos, but later investigation showed that its construction did not go back to the time of the Peisistratids; and the Southeastern Fountain fitted much better into Pausanias' itinerary.

The Southwest Fountain House turned its southern back wall to the street on the south edge of the Agora and its façade to the street which approached from the southwest. By virtue of its receding angle it interfered as little as possible with the flow of traffic into the Agora. As in the Southeast Fountain superfluous water was carried off in a stone surface channel fitted with basins at intervals. It was important that usable water should not simply run to waste. In successive later periods veritable skeins of channels and pipelines accumulated, mainly in two bunches, leading northward from the Southwest Fountain, and diagonally northwestward along the line of the Panathenaeic Way. Most of the pipes were of terracotta, one or two were of lead; being expensive and difficult to repair, lead pipes were comparatively rare at Athens.

By such means water was distributed over much of the Agora for various secondary uses. Plato in the Laws (761c) suggests that water from the fountains should be employed to irrigate and embellish the precincts of the gods, and in the Kritias (117b) he describes how at Atlantis the overflow was conducted to the grove of Poseidon. The channels in the Athenian Agora took water to the Altar of the Twelve, with its sacred grove (see p. 135), and no doubt also to other shrines.

Many public buildings needed water. Some had to remain content with wells and cisterns; but, especially in the later periods, many were equipped with small fountains of their own. The provision of water in the region of the Tholos and Bouleuterion proved difficult. Successive wells and cisterns were sunk, and in the end a complex system of cisterns was created which remained effective till it was wrecked in the Sullan destruction. In the second half of the 4th century B.C., a simple fountain, apparently of the column-and-basin type, was placed at the east end of the passage between the Metroon and the Tholos, so that Councillors could quench their thirst as they went to the Bouleuterion. Water was no doubt brought from the Southwest Fountain; waste flowed into the Great Drain. Some time in the first century B.C. a small fountain house was placed against the southeast wall of the Tholos precinct, facing the rotunda; it was fed by a pipeline coming from the southeast. Only the substructure survives, built of re-used poros and conglomerate blocks and no doubt designed to carry a simple columnar porch. The site of another fountain house is marked by a large rectangular foundation on the

48 The "fountain amongst the osiers" also comes to mind. Here Phrynichos was assassinated in 411 B.C., when he had just left the Bouleuterion (Thucydides, VIII, 92, 2; Lykourgos, Leokrates, 112; Agora, III, no. 405, p. 132); but this is too early for the present dating of the Southwest Fountain; and in any case one can hardly imagine osiers growing there.
49 Hesperia, XXIII, 1954, p. 51.
50 Hesperia, Supplement IV, pp. 95ff.
51 Ibid., pp. 103ff.
52 Ibid., pp. 96ff.
south side of the courtyard of the Bouleuterion. This too is of re-used blocks, of marble, poros and conglomerate. A feed pipe which enters the middle of the south side and a drain pipe leading away to the northeast show that the structure was a fountain, perhaps of the type with a colonnade in front of a draw basin. It was built probably at the end of the 1st century B.C. and was not in use for long.

Sometimes a small fountain was incorporated in a larger structure. We have already noted the provision for water at the south end of the terrace of the Stoa of Attalos (p. 104). A niche in the middle of the back wall of the Hellenistic South Stoa (p. 68) contained a water basin filled by an underground channel from the south which took its water from the great stone aqueduct beneath the adjacent road. In the arch which spanned the street between the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos a simple fountain in the form of a bronze pipe was inserted in the western face of the southern pier. Thus in all ages care and ingenuity were shown in distributing the limited supply.

The water clock built on the south side of the Agora about the middle of the 4th century may be considered a specialized variation of a type of fountain (Fig. 21, Pl. 41, b). It was set against the north front of the Heliaia (p. 65), towards its western end. Water which was no doubt brought from the great southern aqueduct entered first a basin placed at a high level and then a vertical shaft about two and a half meters deep and nearly a meter square in plan, constructed of good poros masonry and plastered inside; near the bottom of the north side of the shaft the water flowed out through a small metal-lined aperture. Steps set between the shaft itself and a wall which formed an outer shell led down to the pipe. This is no ordinary fountain, and there can be no doubt that it was a kind of klepsydra; by means of a simple mechanism the falling water level must have operated an indicator visible to the public in the Agora. This is one of the earliest known examples of such a water clock.

Probably in the course of the Hadrianic reorganization of the Athenian water supply, the main channel bringing water to the Agora from the southeast was completely remodelled in the style and constructional methods characteristic of the age, with an arched aqueduct and a highly ornamental terminal, the "Nymphaeum," just north of the old Southeast Fountain (Pls. 8, 18, b). The new channel approached from the east at a much higher level, following the street which ran south of the Eleusinion. In this section it was built of brick with a vaulted roof. Passing beneath the Panathenaic Way it entered a settling basin. Here it divided, and one branch continued westward, the other turned north along the Way. In the latter the channel, made of massive poros blocks, was carried on a concrete underpinning, continuous at first but in the northern section consisting of piers which no doubt carried arches. The stonework was almost completely removed after the Herulian destruction of A.D. 267; later the aqueduct was crudely reconstructed, probably to serve the late Gymnasium (p. 212).

This great aqueduct obviously supplied the Nymphaeum, though the junction is missing, and it may well have sent a branch westward to the Southwest Fountain. The Nymphaeum too has been almost completely stripped of its masonry, but its position and form are clearly marked

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35 Ibid., pp. 102, 149–150. C. Picard, Rev. Arch., XII, 1938, pp. 97ff., located here the Altar of the Mother of the Gods whose temple he wrongly placed in the New Bouleuterion; but the structure has been clearly shown to have been a fountain.
34 Another small fountain existed at the northeast corner of the Odeion; Hesperia, XIX, 1950, p. 72.
by a semicircular underpinning of concrete, 7.10 m. in radius, bordered by a broad trench for the back wall. The underpinning presumably carried the marble floor of the water basin. In front was a rectangular platform 3.60 m. wide with three steps leading up to it. The few surviving fragments of the superstructure include a section of curved epistyle and a Corinthian capital. The basin was probably covered by a half dome. Precise reconstruction is impossible, but as in the Exedra of Herodes at Olympia, which served a similar purpose, one can imagine an elaborate architectural treatment of the curved façade with niches containing statues. One figure which certainly belongs to the building was found a little to the north (Pl. 102, c). It is a draped female of the type known as Venus Genetrix; a pitcher in the left hand in place of the apple of the prototype gives an appropriate touch. Fountain houses of this design were called Nymphaea because they were thought of as sophisticated versions of the grottos in which Nymphs were worshipped.

In this phase too the water was carried on northward for further use. The little circular building, 8.10 m. in diameter, found in front of the northern part of the Stoa of Attalos, has proved to be a fountain house, fed by a lead pipe which has left traces to the south (Pls. 8, 11). Part of the foundation, a single ring of blocks of hard white poros, is in place. Three cornice blocks and fragments of composite capitals have been found; these are of Pentelic, but numerous fragments show that the shafts were of a mottled green marble. The building may be restored as a monopteros or single ring of columns (ten in number) with no inner wall. It carried a brick-built dome, of which sections have been found, a very unusual feature in Greece in this period (mid 2nd century after Christ). Thus we have a curious addition to the various types of fountain represented in the Agora. These now range from the simplest to the most elaborate; Roman aqueduct and Nymphaeum alike are a far cry from Kallirrhoe and Enneakrounos.


Pausanias will provide a synopsis of the classical Agora and a brief retrospect. He is an interesting figure in his own right too; we have depended on his evidence at many points, and the general character and value of his work deserves a little further consideration. He is the only author who has left a deliberate and more or less systematic description of the Agora, and the time at which he composed it is particularly fortunate for our purposes. He travelled and wrote in the middle of the 2nd century after Christ. As a result of the Augustan and Hadrianic revivals the architectural growth of the Agora was complete; the final break-up was not to come until a century later. Pausanias saw an Agora in which many elements of the early periods survived amongst the imposing additions of Hellenistic and Roman times. On the north and west were concentrated the most venerable shrines and stoas of the Agora of Kimon, Perikles and Lykourgos; on the east and south were the vast colonnades which Athens owed to royal benefactors; in the middle area, which had formerly been an open square, were the Odeion of Agrippa and the transplanted temple in which Ares was associated with the family of Augustus.

Pausanias' credibility, already well-established, ranks even higher as a result of the Agora excavations. No one doubts that he is giving a careful and mainly first-hand description. His peculiar methods continue to create difficulties, as we have seen again and again, and his limitations have been even more emphatically underlined. We should be lost without him in the Agora, but even with him we are often left frustrated and baffled. Of course one has to accept the fact that he wrote not for future archaeologists but for contemporary travellers, and readers too. Even then his approach and his method impose certain further restrictions. Though he obviously intended his book to be of use to visitors on the spot, especially in drawing their attention to what was best worth seeing, he composed it not as a plain description or a purely practical guide but as a work of literature too; and he aimed, not very successfully, at rhetorical effects and elegancies of style. His accounts lack the completeness and precision of a guide-book. For the archaeologist in particular, he is often distressingly vague or even misleading in matters of distance and direction and the relation of adjacent monuments to one another. He gives certain groups and sequences, but quite apart from the long mythological and historical digressions, the topographical thread has kinks and tangles and even breaks.

Again, he has a strong bias towards the sacred and the antique, and in architecture, sculpture and painting towards the old masters; because of this, buildings which were prominent in the Agora of the later periods, and even determined its whole character, received only a passing mention or were completely ignored. For this reason, and because of his inability or disinclination to give the reader a general, overall impression of the appearance of a site, early attempts to reconstruct the Agora on the basis of his description were very diverse and uni-

formly unsuccessful. He had little conception of the architectural evolution of the site, of the well-marked stages by which it is now seen to have reached its contemporary form. For example one might have expected him to be interested in the fact that the Temple of Ares was a Periclean building transferred to the middle of the Agora in comparatively recent times; the event must have been recorded and known at Athens and Acharnai, but Pausanias has nothing to say of it.

But his account has great merits too. The Agora was his first major site, and he was not defeated by its complexities. In his eccentric fashion he covered the area with notable thoroughness, and he has something to say about nearly every important monument and public building. On such a complicated site there was no infallible method and no obvious itinerary. Pausanias entered at the northwest corner (Fig. 52). From this point he would have had an impressive view up the Panathenaic Street towards the Acropolis, with the great stoas to left and right on the opposite side of the square and the Odeion towering above. Without hesitation he turned along the street to the right and concentrated first on the ancient shrines and buildings of the west side, recognizing that the monuments in which he was especially interested were to be found in the greatest numbers in this quarter. It is at this stage that his description is most detailed and his route most continuous. Here was the venerable Stoa Basileios overshadowed by the Stoa of Zeus with its great paintings and notable sculpture; the Temple of Apollo Patroos, with statues of the god by three famous sculptors; and the Metroon, where Pausanias draws attention to the cult-image by Pheidias but provides no clue to the complex architecture of the Hellenistic building. Next come the Bouleuterion and the Tholos, with notes on cults and works of art (nothing on the weights and measures, or, more strangely, on Artemis). Other notable monuments remain to be seen on the opposite, eastern side of the street; so Pausanias now doubles back northwards and describes the Eponymous Heroes, Amphiaraoe, the Eirene and Ploutos of Kephisodotos, and other remarkable statues, leading on to the Temple of Ares. He is now in the middle of the square, near the dominant figures of the Tyrannicides. Turning southwards again, he mentions the great Odeion only for the purpose of locating the statues of Egyptian and Macedonian kings and a notable Dionysos. Proceeding no longer pedetemptim but in a series of jumps, he follows the general line of the Panathenaic Street, past Enneakrounos, up the slope south-eastwards beyond the confines of the Agora proper to the Eleusinion and its associated shrines. In the rest of the account it is difficult to find a continuous clue; perhaps one should not try. Certain important monuments still await description, and they are introduced in a more disconnected and arbitrary manner. The Temple of Hephaisos, standing aloof on the hill to the west, where it was not noticed during the account of the buildings on that side, seems to be the object of a special excursion or perhaps a backward glance. A fresh approach is made to the northern part of the Agora, where interest is concentrated on the Stoa Poikile, with its famous paintings, and the statues near by, and on the Altar of Eleos, if this is rightly identified with the Altar of the Twelve Gods. The east side of the square offers nothing to detain the periegete; he does not mention the Stoa of Attalos, though one might have expected that one or two of the monuments which had accumulated in front of it would have caught his eye. Leaving the square apparently through its northeast corner he comes to the Gymnasium of Ptolemy "not far from the Agora," and "beside the Gymnasium" he notes the sanctuary of Theseus. Both these establishments are presumably to be sought in the unexplored area to the east of the present excavation. At first sight it would appear that Pausanias ignores the great complex of Hellenistic stoas and other buildings on the south side too and passes on without a word about them. But if we are correct in our identification of this complex (p. 65), it is referred to later (I, 28, 8) when after describing the Areopagus he enumerates the law courts of Athens, including the Heliaia.
Fig. 52. Pausanias' Route in the Agora (H. Besi)
In the end the *periegesis* is reasonably complete. There are a few omissions, some of which are surprising even when one has made allowance for the writer's special interests. The altar of Zeus Agoraios is not mentioned nor is the Leokorion. But in spite of his defects, Pausanias gives a powerful impression of the great conglomeration of cult spots, public buildings, and masterpieces of art which had grown up in the center of Athens. It was left for excavation in modern times to reveal the extraordinarily varied and composite architectural character which the Agora (like a great cathedral complex built piece by piece in the course of centuries) had attained in this its latest phase.

\[\text{Cf. Gr. Rom. Byz. St., II, 1959, pp. 26f. The excavation of 1971 has shown that the Leokorion had been obscured by the rising ground level long before the time of Pausanias.}\]
X. AFTER THE HERULI

Inasmuch as our principal theme is the Agora as city center we may deal in a more summary fashion with the long period subsequent to the abandonment of the area for civic purposes. On the other hand the light cast by the excavations on the fate of the city in late antiquity and on the process by which the pagan community became Christian must be rated among the important contributions of the undertaking.¹

Several of the late Greek historians report the capture of Athens by a band of northern barbarians, the Heruli, in the year A.D. 267. One of these writers, Synkellos, records specifically the burning of the city.² Some modern historians had been sceptical, but the recent excavations have confirmed the literary record at least for the area of the Agora.³ It is now clear that the Agora and its environs were devastated at this time and that most if not all the buildings both public and private suffered from fire. Among the public buildings the destruction by fire is especially well documented in the case of the Stoa of Attalos and the Odeion of Agrippa. In the Stoa one can still see the heavily calcined inner face of the south wall against which the woodwork of the upper floor fell and burned (Pl. 69), while the capitals of the interior colonnades that supported wooden epistyla were all cracked into small fragments by the heat of the fire.⁴ The floors of the Odeion in various parts of the building as found by the excavators were overlaid by a layer of debris as much as one meter in thickness comprising broken roof tiles, shattered marbles, ash and charcoal (Pl. 103, a).⁵ A particularly vivid record of the damage done among private houses was preserved in one room of a house at the northeast foot of the Hill of the Nymphs (Pl. 103, b). In a corner of the room, evidently the kitchen, lay a heap of household utensils, pottery and glass, a purseful of bronze coins thirty-four in number, and the skeleton of a donkey.⁶ Most of the private houses destroyed at this time were rebuilt in the course of the 4th and 5th centuries,⁷ but even in these cases the events of A.D. 267 are attested


³ Among the sceptics were Wachsmuth, *Stadt Athen*, I, pp. 707ff. and Judgeich, *Topographie*, p. 104. For a more recent statement cf. Travlos, *P.E.A.*, pp. 124–126, who shows that other parts of the lower city also suffered at this time, but not, apparently, the Acropolis.


⁵ *Hesperia*, XIX, 1950, pp. 32, 134, pl. 25.


⁷ Typical of the wells is that which yielded Group M of *Agora*, V, pp. 82–120: Deposit M 17:1. Of the marble portrait heads published in *Agora*, I, no less than three (Nos. 30, 38, 48) were found at the level of the 3rd century after Christ in a well to the west of the Tholos (Deposit G 11:2). Cf. “Index of Roman Deposits” in *Agora*, V, pp. 123–127.
by the household wells. In some instances the wells were now abandoned and subsequently used as dumping places for rubbish. In others, at the appropriate level, a small deposit of debris containing such things as broken sculpture marks a break in the use of the well in the second half of the 3rd century; above this level the usual accumulation of fallen water jugs resumes, indicating the resumption of use which normally continued thereafter into the 6th or occasionally even the 7th century. The coins associated with this wave of devastation uniformly break off in the reign of Gallienus (A.D. 253–268) thus confirming the literary evidence for the date of the Herulian incursion.

Shaken by the events of A.D. 267, fearful of the return of the barbarians, and with little hope of assistance from the central government, the people of Athens quickly took measures for their own protection. Since they were no longer capable of defending the whole of the vast outer circuit of walls, even if those walls were to be reconditioned, they laid out an inner fortress of much smaller compass. The new enceinte contained the Acropolis and the ground at its north foot; the area of the old Agora was left outside. High officials and perhaps also individual citizens of means assumed responsibility for building sections of the wall. They recorded their contributions in inscriptions set in the face of the wall, e.g. "As Amphion raised the walls of Thebes by the music of his kithara so now do I, Illyrios, follower of the sweet-voiced Muse, build the walls of my home city." Building proceeded rapidly. The combined evidence of coins found inside the wall and of stratification alongside it indicates that the west side at least was under construction in the last quarter of the 3rd century.

In their haste the Athenians were driven to sacrifice many of their ancient buildings. Over much of its length the new wall was set down on the stripped foundations of older buildings, e.g. the Eleusinion, the Southeast Stoa and the Library of Pantainos. Where the walls of the older buildings were tall and solid, as in the case of the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Hadrian, they were reinforced and incorporated in the fortifications. The new walls were constructed entirely of material taken from older buildings (Pl. 104). Blocks from the Metron, the Odeion of Agrippa, the Temple of Ares, the Middle and South Stoas and the Southeast Temple have been recognized. But in many cases the original buildings are not yet known, and some of them, no doubt, stood outside the Agora. The wall had an average thickness of about 3 ½ meters. Carefully built inner and outer faces enclosed a tumbled mass of architectural blocks, broken sculpture and inscriptions. Mortar was used sparingly; clamps and dowels do not occur. Gates were inserted in the wall on the lines of important ancient streets. The principal gateways were flanked by rectangular towers on either side; lesser gates were covered by a single tower or by none.

As the city recovered, the old outer circuit of walls was again made defensible, but the inner circuit, the Post-Herulian wall, was also maintained. In the line of its west side repairs or adjustments are attested for the 6th century and for the 13th or 14th century. Parts of it may well have continued in use even into the Turkish period.

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8 I.G., IP, 5199. The author, Claudius Illyrios, was honored by the Athenians with statues on the Acropolis, I.G., IP, 3689, 3690 in which he is entitled proconsul. He appears to have been governor of Cyprus when the walls of the city of Lapethos were rebuilt; T. B. Mitford, "New Inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus," Byzantion, XXI, 1950, pp. 136–139, reviewed by L. Robert, RE, LXIV, 1951, pp. 206–208. On his career cf. also E. Groag, Die römischen Reichsbeamten von Achaia bis auf Diokletian, Vienna and Leipzig, 1939, pp. 94f. I.G., IP, 5200 is clearly a pendant to I.G., IP, 5199, and I.G., IP, 5201 is probably also concerned with the same program of fortification. The chronological problems raised by the post-Herulian dating of the "Valerian Wall" require further study. For another donor of walls cf. A. E. Raubitschek, "Iamblichos at Athens," Hesperia, XXXIII, 1964, pp. 63–68. Iamblichos' activity is dated ca. A.D. 400.


In their search for material the wall builders stripped the public buildings of the Agora and most of the surrounding houses. The Temple of Hephaistos was left standing on its hilltop to brood over the desolate scene. We do not know why it was spared, perhaps because it was held in especial veneration, more likely because it was remote from the place of wall-building. Several other buildings around the northwest corner of the Agora may also have survived the storm of A.D. 267 in whole or in part. Thus the lowest deposit above the floor of the Stoa of Zeus is of the early 5th century after Christ. In this layer, as we have seen, were many fragments from both the stonework of the façade and its sculpture which had been broken up at this time. Scraps of marble from the Stoa are to be seen in the foundations of the large building with the central court erected to the east a little later in the 5th century. The lowest deposit over the ruins of the Stoa Basileios was also of the 5th century. The relationship between the foundation platform of the Temple of Ares and the structures of the 5th century after Christ to north and south strongly suggests that something of the temple still stood when those buildings were erected. The tone in which Bishop Synesios wrote ca. A.D. 400 of the removal of the wall paintings from the Stoa Poikile by a proconsul implies that the event had occurred recently (p. 94). Ominously enough architectural fragments attributable to the Stoa have been recovered from a wall erected in the first half of the 5th century after Christ (p. 90).

However this may be, the sack of A.D. 267 disturbed seriously both the economy of Athens and her civic institutions. The old administrative buildings, i.e. the Bouleuterion, Tholos, Metroon and various civic offices, now went out of use, and as yet we have no idea what took their place. We do know that much of the area of the ancient square in the years after A.D. 267 was used as a dumping ground and that its level rose with accumulations of domestic rubbish, bones from slaughter houses and great heaps of ash. Fragments of ancient bronze statues found among the ruins of small metalworking establishments in the south part of the area indicate the fate of some of the furnishings of the old square. On the other hand the resumption of use of many domestic wells as noted above implies a fairly speedy revival of habitation in some areas. This is in accord with the literary evidence which leaves no doubt that in the second half of the 4th century and in the 5th century Athens was again an educational center capable of attracting pupils from near and far. Nor does the city seem to have suffered directly from Alaric and the Visigoths in A.D. 396; the barbarians were frightened off, we are told, by the appearance of the Goddess Athena and the Hero Achilles.

At the turn of the 4th and 5th centuries an outburst of building and rebuilding occurred in the area of the Agora proper (Pl. 9). New structures were raised on the sites of several of the early buildings on the west side. In the case of the Stoa of Zeus and the Bouleuterion these late buildings are represented only by scraps of wall. The circular part of the Tholos was restored but probably not its porch. In the Metroon the north room was rebuilt in the form of a

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12 For the schools of Athens in the 4th and 5th centuries cf. Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, I, pp. 711ff.; J. Day, op. cit., pp. 262–270; H. Marrou, Histoire de l’éducation dans l’antiquité, 6th ed., Paris, 1965, pp. 321ff., 451–471; M. L. Clarke, Higher Education in the Ancient World, London, 1971, pp. 100–103. To illustrate the diverse origin and the distinction of the students it will be enough to recall that in the 850’s they included Basil, the future author of the rules for eastern monasticism, Gregory of Nazianzos, later to be known as “the Theologian,” and the young prince Julian, soon to become “the Apostate.” All three had been brought up in the Christian faith. Basil and Gregory were natives of Cappadocia; Julian had been reared in the same district. Among their teachers were the distinguished rhetoricians Himerios, a native of Bithynia, and Proairesios from Cappadocia.

For Alaric at Athens cf. Wachsmuth, op. cit., pp. 715ff. The principal source is Zosimus, V. 5. The invaders may have been influenced also by the gifts which they are reported to have received from the citizens. But most probably the city owed its salvation to the timely strengthening of its defences. Cf. J. Travlos, Π.Ε.Α., pp. 129ff. The outburst of building in the early 5th century in the area of the Agora outside the Post-Herulian Wall implies the previous restoration of the old outer circuit.
basilica with an apse to the west and so not intended as a church; the adjoining room was re-
stored to use by lowering the floor level (so as to reduce the height of the new walls) and by 
laying a new floor of coarse mosaic. The porch of the Metroon was probably not rebuilt. In 
all these cases the late re-builders paid so little attention to the original design of the buildings 
as to make improbable any continuity in function.

A more interesting development occurred at the beginning of the 5th century in the middle 
of the site. Above the ruins of the South Square and the Odeion rose a large complex of build-
ings which, despite the seeming irregularity of the ground plan, appear to be all contemporary 
and parts of a co-ordinated design (Pls. 9, 106). The main entrance was at the north and was 
approached from the Panathenaic Way. The placing of the new complex and of a contemporary 
building farther north indicates that this ancient roadway was still an important thoroughfare.
The complex comprised three parts each consisting of a colonnaded courtyard bordered by a 
series of rooms, the scale descending from north to south. Enclosure walls thrown out toward 
the southwest and southeast fixed the limits of the establishment and perhaps protected garden 
areas.

Of this vast complex little remains but the massive concrete foundations. Several Ionic col-
umn bases and capitals found in the area may derive from the colonnades. The walls were of 
rubble masonry banded at intervals by levelling courses of brick. Remnants of brick vaults 
are to be seen in the southeast block (Pl. 107, a).

The great north court was bordered by colonnades on its east, west and south sides. The 
north side was pierced by three doorways, and was given a monumental treatment appropriate 
to the main entrance. The passages were flanked by colossal figures ("the Giants") salvaged 
from the debris of the Odeion (Pl. 107, b). All three openings were undoubtedly arched. The 
considerable difference in level between the interior of the court and the lower ground to the 
north was perhaps made good by a broad flight of stairs across the façade; but no trace of such 
was found in the excavation.

On passing between the "Giants" the visitor found himself in a spacious courtyard measuring 
about 29 x 38 meters and bordered by porches about 5 m. wide. Through the west portico one 
entered two rooms, a large semicircular chamber and a smaller rectangular room. Opening off the 
est side of the court were three rooms, all rectangular, two near the middle, the third at the 
extreme southeast corner. This last room appears to have been an entrance porch providing a 
second means of access directly from the Panathenaic Way; in the later history of the build-
ning it was demolished and its foundations were overlaid by one of the enclosure walls. All the 
other rooms opening off the colonnades were apparently entered only from the courtyard. We 
have no evidence for the treatment of their façades, but some if not all were probably exedrae 
opening on the colonnades through columns rather than doors. A cross foundation at the north 
end of both the east and the west colonnade suggests that here too were exedrae provided 
with benches on three sides, an arrangement reminiscent of the Stoa of Attalos. The foundation 
for the south wall of the court is thickened in six places, no doubt to accommodate niches for 
the display of statuary.

From the great North Court one proceeded southward up a broad stairway into a large rect-
tangular chamber for the furnishings and purpose of which we have no evidence. Thence one 
continued by a semicircular corridor, perhaps opening through a colonnade on a small semi-
circular court, into a long rectangular gallery which presumably communicated both with the 
South Court and with the bath that lay to the west of that court.

13 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 195-203. 
14 Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 134-137; J.R.S., XLIX, 1959, pp. 67f. No detailed account of this building complex has yet 
been published.
The South Court was bordered by colonnades on all four sides. The open area measured about 20 × 22.50 meters; the porches were about 5.50 meters deep. Of the superstructure nothing has been found.

The bathing establishment to the west of the South Court was small but elegant. The cold bath (frigidarium) occupied the large northern compartment; three water basins, one semicircular and two rectangular, opened off its north side. The two rooms to the south, one circular and one apsidal, were both heated from below by hypocausts. The apsidal room may be designated as the hot room (caldarium); the small round room was perhaps a sweat-bath (laconicum). The dressing rooms (apodyteria) may be recognized to the east of the heated suite. Marble revetment was used for the floors and walls of the principal rooms, for the door jambs and for the lining of the water basins. The water for the bath was drawn from a cistern, the remains of which are still to be seen above the west end of South Stoa II.

The space between the South Court and the high rear wall of South Stoa II was occupied by a group of rooms of uncertain purpose. Some of them were floored with large square tiles of terracotta.

Immediately to the east of the South Court lay the much smaller East Court, its open central space measuring only about 7 meters square. This court was flanked by numerous small rooms to north, south and east. Of particular interest is the eastern series of rooms. The existing rooms formed a shallow basement, their floors lying about 1.40 m. below that of the courtyard. This suite was entered by way of a sloping ramp that led down from the southeast corner of the court. The southeast corner of the block was formed by an octagonal room of particularly fine masonry. All these rooms were plainly finished, the walls unplastered, the floors of clay save for a rough flagging in the northernmost room.

Among the debris that filled the basement rooms were architectural elements that must have fallen from the piano nobile: a couple of small marble column shafts, a marble anta capital, fragments of marble wall revetment and scraps of mosaic from floors or possibly from walls. The upper rooms were evidently well finished.

To the northwest of the main complex just described stood a semi-detached unit that appears to have formed a part of the same establishment. The building was rectangular in plan, measuring about 25 × 27.50 meters overall. It consisted of a series of twelve rooms of various sizes grouped around a central colonnaded court. The entrance was presumably in the middle of the east side where it could be conveniently approached from the Panathenaic Way. Nothing remains above ground level, but the foundations are built of the same tough concrete as those of the principal complex. The coins and pottery found beneath the floor level of the building also indicate a similar date, i.e. the beginning of the 5th century.

The excavations have yielded no specific evidence for the identification of this extensive complex. Since its discovery, however, it has been regarded as a gymnasium because of the combination of extensive colonnaded courtyards with exedrae and bathing facilities. It may not be too fanciful to suppose that a library was housed in the block to the east of the East Court; the underlying basement would have protected the main floor from dampness, and the fine interior finish would have been appropriate. The semi-detached northern unit is perhaps most plausibly identified as a substantial dwelling, conceivably the official residence of the head of the establishment.

A marble portrait statue found near the northeast corner of the North Court may be presumed to have some connection with the complex and with the institution that it housed (Pl. 107, c). Though headless and sadly battered the figure is recognizable from its formal toga as the likeness of a high-ranking official of the imperial government. The style points to a date in the 5th century, making this one of the latest statues in the round known from Athens. The high honor represented by a statue of life-size in this period is most likely to have been in recognition of some substantial benefaction.

Granted the identification of the building complex as a gymnasium, we must nevertheless admit complete ignorance as to how it was administered and by what school, if any, it was occupied.

Some light has been shed by the excavations on the later history of the complex. The floors of the basement rooms to the east of the East Court were found covered with domestic rubbish: broken pottery, many terracotta lamps and glass candlesticks, delicate drinking glasses, oyster shells. The deposit was sufficient in bulk to suggest that the building, even if it had not been damaged, had entered on a period of abandonment or neglect. The date of the rubbish is the early part of the 6th century, close, that is, to the closing of the schools of Athens by the Emperor Justinian in A.D. 529.

On the north slope of the Areopagus, across the street from the Gymnasium, are two of the largest of several houses that flourished in the environs of that great complex (Fig. 53). Al-

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Fig. 53. Large House or School at North Foot of Areopagus. 5th Century after Christ (J. Travlos)


17 Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 45.
though informal in plan, both houses comprised inner courtyards bordered by rooms both large and small, and each contained a spacious salon closed at one end by an apse with niches suitable for small sculptures. It is tempting to identify these houses as the dwellings of successful teachers (sophists) who are reported to have met their pupils in well appointed rooms in their private homes.18

Mention may be made of two small industrial establishments that bordered the Panathenaic Way near the southeast corner of the old Agora. One of these was a flour mill driven by an overshot water wheel, surprisingly like the mills of which a few still function in the Greek countryside (Fig. 54, Pl. 105, a).19 Hundreds of small bronze coins which had fallen through the cracks in the plank floor indicate that the mill had been active from about A.D. 450 until its destruction by fire in the 580's. The water to operate the mill was supplied by a reconstruction of the Hadrianic aqueduct which came down from the south (p. 202). The same water turned a series of at least three mills of which the one described was the second.

Across the road from the flour mill are the remains of a small olive mill of approximately the same period (Pl. 105, b, c).20 The marble bed-block for the press remains in place; a round pedestal in the same room must have supported the machine for grinding the olives. Whether these modest establishments served the needs of the Gymnasium or of the townspeople, their very existence in this place strikes a rustic note in startling contrast with the sophisticated atmosphere of the ancient Agora.

Some aspects of the life of the period between the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 and the late 6th century are illustrated by the small finds from the excavation, especially the pottery, lamps and terracotta figurines (Pl. 108).21 The general level of craftsmanship and taste held up well until after the middle of the 3rd century. The sack of A.D. 267, however, worked havoc with

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18 Eunapius, Vitae Sophistarum, 483, 5; Himerios, Orat., XVIII, 3.
19 A. W. Parsons, Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 70-90; Picture Book, 7, no. 2. The upper mill was set into the ruins of the Southeast Temple (Hesperia, XXIX, 1960, p. 349); a lower mill at the extreme north edge of the Agora was utterly destroyed in the making of the Electric Railway in 1891.
20 Picture Book, 7, nos. 3, 4.
21 The most vivid evidence is provided by the lamps (J. Perlzweig, Agora, VII) and by the terracotta figurines (C. Grandjouan, Agora, VI; D. B. Thompson, Picture Book, 3, nos. 67-78). For the pottery cf. H. S. Robinson, Agora, V.
the industry that produced lamps and figurines. Quality fell off and so too did inventiveness. Brief revivals were to occur subsequently, and some new techniques, crude but effective, were devised. But in general the tendency is a gradual decline. The making of terracotta figurines apparently stopped early in the 5th century, hastened perhaps by official disapprobation of idols however humble. Lamps were a practical necessity. They continued to be made in quantity into the 6th and even the 7th century, by which time the utter crudity of the product attests the artistic and technical bankruptcy of the age.

Throughout the 3rd century the terracottas document a persistent interest in the theater (Pl. 108, e). Masks (Pl. 108, d) are common, and the collection includes also occasional figures of actors. Representations of gladiatorial combats and animal fights imply an interest in coarser forms of entertainment. Among the most common, and most pleasing, types were toys, often rattles, in the form of birds and animals (Pl. 108, f). A striking portrait study of an ancient philosopher set in the bottom of a terracotta bowl of the 3rd century is a casual reminder of higher things.22

The same modest media also illustrate trends in religious beliefs within the period. Until well on in the 4th century the familiar pagan divinities, gods, goddesses and heroes, are commonly represented on the tops of terracotta lamps and in figurines in the round (Pl. 108, a). The old Greek repertory is occasionally supplemented by a representative of some imported cult: Isis (Pl. 108, b) and Serapis from Egypt, a matrona (Pl. 108, c) from northern Europe, a 7-branched candlestick from Palestine. About the middle of the 4th century Christian symbols begin to appear on the tops of lamps, first the Constantinian monogram sometimes with alpha and omega between the bars, next the cross with rho, then at the beginning of the 5th century the simple cross. As the Christians gradually became a larger and more respectable element in the population the symbolism became bolder: an occasional martyr recognizable from his palm branch, Saint Paul, and Saint Peter bearing his cross. But it was only in the first half of the 5th century that Christian symbols came to predominate.

Within the area of the Agora excavations no trace has been found, or at least recognized, of a Christian place of worship datable before the 6th century. The seeds sown by St. Paul in A.D. 51 had fallen on stony ground in this community that was already well populated by its own gods, and where thinking men were for the most part satisfied with philosophy of indigenous origin. For centuries, therefore, the Christians of Athens were undoubtedly few in number and were drawn chiefly from the lower classes. They will have met in private homes.23 Already by the 5th century, however, substantial buildings for Christian worship had begun to be erected in other parts of the city and in its environs.

In the year 529 the Emperor Justinian sent an order to Athens “forbidding anyone to teach philosophy or to expound the law.”24 The central government could no longer tolerate the spectacle of pagans dominating one of the most influential centers of higher learning. The principal teachers, deprived of their salaries, departed for Persia in the hope, vain as it proved, of finding a more congenial spiritual climate. The incident represented one of the last confronta-
tions between paganism and Christianity in this part of the world. It must also have had economic consequences for Athens since it reduced the attraction of the city for scholars from abroad. This may well be the cause for the abandonment of parts at least of the great gymnasium, as we have seen, at some time around A.D. 580.

Other troubles were to follow. Buildings in various parts of the Agora area were damaged by fire in the 580's, presumably during some especially savage raids by Slavic peoples that are attested by the authors for this period. From now on life in the old city gradually ebbed away. There were, to be sure, still flickers of intellectual activity. St. Gislenus, a man of Attic origin, had studied philosophy in Athens in the middle of the 7th century, as did also Theodore of Tarsus, a future Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 669-690). And about the same time (A.D. 662/3) the Emperor Constans II chose to spend a winter in Athens.

By the late 6th or early 7th century the Christians had become bold enough to adapt some of the old pagan temples to the needs of their liturgy. On the Acropolis the Parthenon and Erechtheion were converted. Of the temples in the area of the Agora only that of Hephaistos had survived in a usable state. It was probably early in the 7th century that this building was altered for Christian use. To shelter the altar of the new faith the east end of the temple was closed by an apse and the main entrance was moved to the west end. Two lesser doors were opened in each of the long side walls. The interior columns were removed. The barrel vault which now covers the old cella may date from this time or from later. As the Church of St. George the building was to serve the Christian faith until 1834 when it was desanctified and became a Museum.

From the late 7th until the 10th century human activity in the area of the ancient Agora is attested by little more than a meager scattering of small bronze coins. Thereafter habitation revived so that by the end of the 12th century various groups of modest houses covered most of the area. These buildings were separated from the ruins of earlier structures by deep deposits of silt that had gathered during the Dark Ages. The only element of continuity was provided by the roads. The Panathenaic Way had remained in use through all the centuries. So too had the street that bordered the south side of the ancient square. A remarkable concentration of large storage pits (pithoi) at the side of the road just to the south of the Southwest Fountain House marks that area as a commercial center of the Byzantine period; it was supplied, no doubt, by the road coming in through the Peiraeus Gate.

This Byzantine community was served not only by the Church of St. George on Kolonos Agoraos but also by the new church of the Holy Apostles, the first Christian church known to have been erected in this part of Athens (Fig. 55, Pl. 109). The new building, dating from early in the 11th century, was pleasantly situated at the junction of the two main roads outside the southeast corner of the old Agora. From this high point the church overlooked its parish. Although small in scale the building shows such distinction of design as to suggest the hand of an architect from some metropolitan center. The ground plan is marked by the symmetrical placing of apses on all four sides of the central square, that on the west being largely concealed from the outside by the narthex. Four columns support a central dome. The masonry, of shell limestone alternating with thin courses of tile, is given a touch of sophistication by the insertion of characters from the ornamental Arabic script known as Kufic. The paintings that must once have covered the interior have utterly vanished; one sees now only remnants of replacements.

27 Ibid., pp. 202–205.
28 Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, p. 58.
29 Travlos, P.E.A., p. 151; Frantz, Picture Book, 7, nos. 46–58; Byzantium, XXIV, 1954, pp. 518–520; Agora, XX.
Fig. 55. Church of Holy Apostles. Restored Plan and Section (J. Travlos)
done in the 16th or 17th century. After suffering from cannon fire, neglect and several enlargements, the latest dating from 1882, the church was restored to something like its original form in the years 1954–56.

The houses of the Byzantine settlement were destroyed abruptly. Coins and pottery found on the floors indicate a date near the beginning of the 13th century so that the destruction may be attributed to the savage assault made by Leon Sgouros, the dynast of Nauplia, in A.D. 1204.30

The two and one-half centuries that followed, when Athens was ruled successively by French, Catalan, Florentine and Venetian overlords, constituted one of the lowest periods in the long history of the city.31 For the area of the Agora it was a time of complete desolation. The old outer circuit of fortifications was now finally abandoned; the shrunken population withdrew behind the Post-Herulian Wall, and the ruins of the Byzantine settlement in the area of the Agora were covered by several more meters of sterile silt.

Nor did the coming of the Turks in the middle of the 15th century (1456 for the lower town, 1458 for the Acropolis) have any immediate effect on our site. Gradually, however, the expanding population ventured again beyond the limits of the inner circuit and spread over the Agora area. The development can be traced on the various early plans and views of the city, beginning with the panorama of the Capuccini (1670). Scarcely anything has survived of the houses of the Turkish period, but a fairly large population is attested by the numerous churches erected chiefly in the 16th and first half of the 17th century (Pl. 3). No less than four were built on the line of the Post-Herulian Wall and in large part with stone quarried from the ruins of the wall (Hypapanti, Christ, St. Spyridon, Panagia Pyrgiotissa). The western part of the area was served by the parish church of the Panagia Vlassarou and the chapel of the Prophet Elias and Charalambos. In the north central part rose the parish Church of St. Philip. A tiny chapel of St. Athanasios was perched high on the northwest shoulder of the Areopagus.

On the northeast shoulder of the Areopagus stood the much larger church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite, Paul’s convert and the patron saint of Athens (Fig. 56).32 The building of which one now sees the ruins was erected about the middle of the 16th century, but the existence of a much earlier church on the site is suggested by the presence of a graveyard of the 6/7th century. Through most of the period from the middle of the 16th century to the end of the 17th the Archbishopric of Athens was housed in a monastic-like annex to this church.

As one might infer from the number of churches that flourished in the Turkish period, the area of the Agora at that time was chiefly residential and its inhabitants were Christians. There is no trace of a mosque. The bazaars of the period were to be found to the east, among the ruins of the Roman Agora and the Library of Hadrian.

The latest city wall of Athens, completed in 1778 under the notorious Governor, Hadji Ali Hasekis, included the area of the ancient Agora together with the Church of St. George (Hephaisteion).33 Remnants of this wall came to light in the excavations on and to the west of the Areopagus. The buildings of the area suffered severely in the War of Independence (1821–1833) especially in the year 1826/27 (Pl. 110, a). A grim reminder of this era is the east front of the

30 The excavations have yielded a large number of coins of Manuel I (A.D. 1143–1180). Out of a total of 11,240 coins of Byzantine imperial issues found between 1931 and 1949, 3,775 were of Manuel (Agora, II, pp. 4f., 85f.). This will be due in part to the flourishing state of the area in the 12th century, in part to the fact that many coins of Manuel were trapped in the debris of A.D. 1204. On the destruction of the lower town by Sgouros cf. Travlos, T.E.A., p. 163.
31 For this and subsequent periods consult the historical sketch, with ample illustrations and bibliography, given by Travlos, T.E.A., chs. IX–XII.
Temple of Hephaistos; its columns and cornice were hit repeatedly in November of 1826 by cannon balls fired from the Acropolis, then in Greek hands.\textsuperscript{34}

With the coming of peace and the decision to make Athens the capital of the new kingdom (1834) the population of the city, which had fallen as low as 4,000, steadily increased. The area of the Agora was gradually rebuilt, and before the end of the century it was virtually covered by houses, modest buildings of one or two storeys with walls of stuccoed rubble masonry, tiled roofs and garden courts (Pl. 111, a). Here and there in the ground floors of the houses were small shops serving local needs. Since the area fell within the archaeological zone around the Acropolis it was wisely and fortunately spared the intrusion of new roads or substantial buildings of any kind. The district continued to be served by a network of narrow streets which still preserved the lines of the natural thoroughfares established at the dawn of Athenian history.

\textsuperscript{34} A. K. Orlandos, "Πότε καὶ ἀπὸ πολὺς καταστράφη τὸ ἀνατολικὸν ἅτομα τοῦ Θησείου," Νέα Εστία, 1962, pp. 144–146.
XI. THE EXCAVATIONS

As one of the most historic spots in Greece the Athenian Agora early attracted the attention of local archaeologists. Its exploration was long regarded as the duty and privilege of Greek scholars. Throughout the second half of the 19th and the early years of the 20th century whenever property became available Greek archaeologists working under the auspices either of the Archaeological Service or of the Archaeological Society did in fact conduct excavations. The results were particularly significant along the east side of the area.

The most substantial result of Greek activity was the clearance of the Stoa of Attalos by the Archaeological Society in the years 1859–62 (S. A. Koumanoudes) and 1898–1902 (K. D. Mylonas; above, p. 109). The enterprise involved protracted negotiations for the acquisition of property and the expenditure of very considerable sums of money. The modern buildings were entirely removed and the remains of the Stoa were for the most part cleared of the masonry of the Post-Herulian Wall. Before the excavation many ancient names had been attached to the ruins, the most popular being “Stoa Poikile” whence the names given to the near-by streets to the east of the Stoa, “Poikile” and “Polygnotos.” The discovery of many ephebic inscriptions in the first years of the excavation had suggested the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, and this too was soon reflected in the name of another modern street, to the west of the Stoa. But in 1861 the dedicatory inscription came to light permitting the secure attribution of the building to Attalos II of Pergamon (159–138 B.C.) and hence its identification with the Stoa previously known through a single literary reference. The great building was published by two German scholars in succession. Their restorations of the upper floor and roof suffered, however, from lack of complete evidence. Nor did the early excavations give more than an inkling of the remarkable series of earlier buildings that had preceded the Stoa on the site.

A second structure in the area with which Greek scholars concerned themselves was the “Porch of the Giants” (above, p. 211). The towering marble figures had been mentioned (as statues of Zeus) and one had been drawn (as a mermaid) already in the 15th century, but...
they were later obscured by houses and did not come back to public notice until destruction of the houses in the War of Independence (Pl. 110, a). The huge and curious figures naturally invited speculation. By some they were regarded as Atlantes for the support of an architectural façade. The sober German scholar Ludwig Ross took the group for a reconstruction in Roman times of the Monument of the Eponymous Heroes, hence the new name for the adjacent street, "Eponymoi." In the hope of solving the problem of identification the Archaeological Society began excavations in 1859, returning to the site in 1871 and 1912. By now it was clear that the series of statues formed only a part of a large structure, of which, however, the plan, purpose and date were all enigmatic. According to the most serious restoration proposed before the complete excavation the structure would have been a basilica of the Roman period lying on an east-to-west axis so as to mark the division between a northern commercial and a southern civic part of the Agora (Pl. 110, b). It was only by the complete clearance of the area, as carried out in the 1930's, that one could possibly have arrived at the correct solution in which the Giants adorn the north entrance of a huge gymnasium of late antiquity.

In the middle of the 19th century hopes were raised high by the discovery of many inscriptions among ancient foundations at a point between the Stoa of Attalos and the foot of the Acropolis. On the basis of these finds, the Greek scholar Pittakys proposed to locate here the Bouleuterion, Tholos and Metroon, and his hypothesis was commemorated in the names of three near-by streets. In 1910, however, the area was re-examined by K. Kourouniotes who concluded that the only structural remains belonged to the fortification wall of late antiquity for the construction of which the inscriptions had been assembled from elsewhere. This view has been corroborated by the complete excavation of the 1930's.

In the years 1891–98 scholars of the German Archaeological Institute under the direction of Wilhelm Dörpfeld embarked on a systematic effort to determine the position of the Agora. A series of deep soundings were made to the south, west and north of the Areopagus, to the east and to the north of Kolonos Agoraios. In following up the indications thus gained the German scholars excavated a large area of private houses and small sanctuaries in the valley between the Areopagus and the Pnyx. This excavation has given us the most vivid glimpse we are likely ever to enjoy into a residential district of ancient Athens with the narrow streets and shabby houses which shocked even a visitor of the 3rd century B.C. (above, pp. 173ff.). But in his insistence on recognizing the Enneakrounos in this area and in his view that the main road from the Dipylon to the Acropolis passed through this valley Dörpfeld long confused some of the basic issues of Athenian topography. The German Institute’s trench to the north of the Areopagus brought to light burials of the early Geometric period belonging to a cemetery of which many more graves have since been found (above, p. 10). This same trench came down on a small building of late Roman date then thought to be a villa, now recognizable as a bath. A little farther to the north was exposed a corner of a poros foundation

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7 Das Theseion und der Tempel des Ares in Athen, Halle, 1852, pp. 65–69; Archäologische Aufsätze, I, Leipzig, 1855, p. 259.
9 Ch. van Essen, B.C.H., L, 1926, pp. 183–212; Judeich, Topographie², p. 390.
10 Hesperia, XIX, 1950, pp. 81–141; Guide², pp. 70–74.
11 Εφ. Αρχ., 1853, col. 880, note 1; 1854, col. 1280, note 1; K. Kourouniotes, Προκρίκως, 1910, pp. 136–143; Judeich, Topographie², pp. 331, 343, note 2, 353.
13 F. Pfister, Die Reisebilder des Herakleides, Vienna, 1951, p. 72. The translation of the text is conveniently available in J. G. Frazer, Pausanias' Description of Greece, I, pp. xiii–xlix. Supplementary excavation was carried out in this area in 1965 and 1966 by the American School with a view to preparing the houses for publication; Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, pp. 51–53.
14 Ant. Denk., II, 1899–1901, pl. 37, p. 1; Hesperia, II, 1933, pp. 469f. For a study of all the graves of this area found by both German and American excavators cf. an article in preparation by E. L. Smithson.
bordered by a water channel and evidently of good Greek date. The excavations of the 1930's brought to light the whole building which is now known as the Southwest Fountain House (above, p. 200).\(^{16}\) To the northwest of the Areopagus the German scholars succeeded in fixing the line of the street that led westward to the Peiraeus Gate, one of the major thoroughfares in the ancient city.\(^{17}\) A still more important artery was defined by a sounding made in 1897 to the north of Kolonos. A small trench in this area exposed the north edge of an ancient street which was at once recognized by Dörpfeld as the main road leading in from the Dipylon to the Agora, a very important clue to the basic topography of the Agora (above, p. 192).\(^{18}\)

Still more significant for the topography of the site was the excavation of an area of ca. 2500 square meters at the east foot of Kolonos Agoraios directly below the Temple of Hephaistos.\(^{19}\) Begun in 1896–97 by the German Institute, this section was completed in 1907–08 by the Greek Archaeological Society. The combined but schematic plan published many years later by Judeich shows that the early excavators had uncovered virtually the whole of the Temple of Apollo Patroos (above, p. 136), the south side of the little Temple of Zeus and Athena (above, p. 129), the Metroon (apart from its front colonnade) (above, p. 36), the area of the Bouleuterion (above, p. 31), and the series of four long stone benches on the east slope of Kolonos (above, p. 71). Dörpfeld immediately identified the temple-like building which we know as the Temple of Apollo Patroos with the Stoa Baileios, and the larger building to the south, now known to be the Metroon, as the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios; and he held to these views to the end of his life long after the complete excavation of the west side had convinced other scholars of their untenability.\(^{20}\) Nevertheless Dörpfeld's excavation in this area was of basic importance inasmuch as it gave the first firm indication of the western limit of the Agora.

The most significant discovery of the Greek excavations to the east of the Temple of Hephaistos was a statue of Apollo found in 1907 some 20 meters to the south of the building now known to be the Temple of Apollo Patroos (Pl. 69). The colossal scale and fresh condition of the statue, combined with the fact that it was not incorporated in late foundations, were rightly taken by the finders to indicate the close proximity of the temple.\(^{21}\)

Before leaving this area we may note that in 1893 the German scholar G. Körte opened a trench in the cela of the Hephaisteion in search of the statue base.\(^{22}\) No trace of the base came to light, and since by chance the trench descended through a gap in the foundations for the interior colonnade that important element went unnoticed.

One further instance of early exploration deserves mention even though many of its topographical implications could not be assessed until long afterwards. In 1890–91 the Athens–Peiraeus Electric Railway was extended into the middle of the city.\(^{23}\) This necessitated the opening of a trench about 15 meters wide down to the solid levels of classical antiquity across the whole north side of the Agora. Conditions were far from ideal for the archaeologist, and no systematic record has been preserved. Nevertheless valuable observations were published...
by various scholars, and a series of sketches with dimensions made by German scholars and now on file in the German Archaeological Institute have been of great help in establishing the position of various ancient monuments encountered in the trench.24

Among the most interesting discoveries, and most tragic victims, of the railway extension was the Sanctuary of Demos and the Graces with whom were associated Aphrodite as Leader of the People and the Goddess Roma.25 The sanctuary lay at the extreme north foot of Kolonos and has been completely obliterated; the inscriptions, a large monument base and the altar of Aphrodite were transported to the National Museum. Although the Sanctuary appears to have fallen just outside the Agora proper its cults were intimately connected with civic life, and the inscriptions found in the temenos have to do chiefly with honors paid to individuals for benefactions to the people of Athens (p. 159).

Farther to the east and just to the north of the Stoa of Zeus (as we now know) was found in situ the marble base signed by Bryaxis on which are recorded victories won in cavalry displays (anthippasia) by a man and his two sons while serving as phylarchs (above, p. 96).26 It was shrewdly surmised at the time by the German scholar Lolling, and it is now abundantly clear, that the monument stood near the northwest corner of the Agora, the point from which the cavalry began their elaborate displays in the square.

Another important monument discovered, but not recognized, by the railway builders was the Sanctuary of the Twelve Gods.27 Some 43 years later when the southwest corner of the temenos was found and identified by the American excavators they were encouraged by the indications on the sketch made in 1891 to renew the exploration of the monument beneath the railway and so to establish its whole plan (above, p. 129).

At the northeast corner of the Agora where the line of the railway was fixed by the north end of the Stoa of Attalos the trench brought to light various foundations which were quite unintelligible at the time but which can now be assigned to the Square Peristyle beneath the Stoa of Attalos (above, p. 60) and to a great basilica of the Hadrianic period which faced on the square (above, p. 23).

In its course between the northwest and northeast corners of the Agora the railway cut came down for the most part on the open square and so did a minimum of damage to the ancient monuments.

Among the displaced finds recovered from the railway cut may be mentioned a large Corinthian capital which was recognized in 1950 as coming from the Odeion of Agrippa (above, p. 111; Pl. 58, b).28 Here too was found a marble statue of a girl in swift movement, evidently an akroterion of the 5th century B.C. Joining fragments found in 1951 close by the Temple of Ares have led to the attribution of the akroterion to that Temple (above, p. 164; Pl. 82, b).29 With the marked increase in the population of Athens after World War I and the subsequent exchange of population with Turkey more housing was desperately needed, and the value of real estate rose accordingly. The owners of property in the archaeological zone be-

24 Zeichnung Inv. No. 887, 888 b, d, e, f, g, h, i (obverse & reverse), k, l and m. We are grateful to the Institute for making available photographs of the drawings.
27 The foundations exposed in 1891 appear on Dörpfeld's plan; Ant. Denk., II, pl. 37.
29 'Αρχ. Δεξ., 1891, p. 89, no. 18; P. N. Boulter, Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 141–147. Kavvadias' proposal to combine this statue with the Bryaxis base ('Εφ., 'Αρχ., 1893, cols. 39–48) is unconvincing; the base undoubtedly supported a short column crowned by a real tripod of which miniature representations appear in the reliefs on the base. A similar combination occurs on the Monument of Lysikrates.
came restive since they were prevented by the building restrictions from developing their holdings. The obvious solution was for the Greek state to buy the property and to proceed with the long cherished plan for excavating the Agora. A movement toward this end was initiated in 1922 by the Greek archaeologist Alexander Philadelpheus, but a bill to implement his proposal was rejected by parliament in 1924.\textsuperscript{30} The Greek authorities then consulted with the foreign schools of archaeology. Having received assurance of financial support from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. and the Rockefeller Foundation, the American School of Classical Studies entered into an agreement with the Greek Government whereby the School undertook to compensate the private owners of property and to carry out the excavation. The negotiations, begun in 1924, resulted in the passage of a law which went into effect on April 9, 1930. Within the following year the first properties were acquired and cleared of houses. Excavation began on May 25, 1931 with the blessing of the priest of the neighboring Church of the Panagia Vlassarou.\textsuperscript{31}

The original concession granted to the American School was laid out in the expectation that it would cover approximately the area of the Agora of classical times. The concession was delimited on the west by the Temple of Hephaistos, on the east by the Stoa of Attalos, on the south by the slopes of the Acropolis and the Areopagus, on the north, in the absence of any natural boundary, by the line of the Athens-Peiraeus Railway. The area measured about 99,350 square meters or 24\textsuperscript{1/2} acres. It comprised 365 separate parcels of land almost all of which were occupied by houses. In 1939 an additional block of land was acquired to the west of the Areopagus with a view to the construction of a museum, and still later (1958–1959) a half dozen scattered parcels were expropriated along the east side to permit the regularization of the eastern limit of the Agora. The total area excavated by the American School through the year 1968 amounted to about 115,000 square meters or 28\textsuperscript{1/2} acres.

Although already by 1931 there was a fair degree of unanimity as to the general location of the Agora there was no consensus as to the placing of the individual buildings known from the ancient authors. Only one building in the whole area had been identified with certainty, viz. the Stoa of Attalos. A comparison of the restored plan of the Agora published on the eve of the excavation by the German scholar Judeich (Fig. 57)\textsuperscript{32} with a plan based on the subsequent excavations will reveal that even the best founded conjectures had fallen very wide of the mark (Pl. 8).

The demolition of the first houses showed that great care was needed even at this stage since the masonry contained much ancient material: building blocks, fragmentary sculpture and inscriptions. The deep accumulation of earth which overlay the ancient ground level also proved to be impregnated with antiquities brought up through the ages by the digging of foundation trenches, wells and cesspools. All excavation was therefore done with pick and shovel under close supervision. The accumulation consisted for the most part of silt brought down


\textsuperscript{31} For an account of the negotiations cf. E. Capps, \textit{Hesperia}, II, 1933, pp. 89–95. On the Greek side the principal negotiator was Dr. K. Kourouniotis, Director of the Archaeological Service. The American School was represented by the Chairman of its Managing Committee, Professor Edward Capps, by its Director, Dr. B. H. Hill until 1926 and Professor Rhys Carpenter from 1927, by the Secretary of the Agora Commission, Mr. A. Adossides and its Legal Advisor Mr. A. Kyriakides. Dr. Abraham Flexner was instrumental in securing the support of Mr. Rockefeller and of the Rockefeller Foundation. The first Field Director of the excavation was Professor T. Leslie Shear who served until his death in 1945. Mr. Raymond B. Fosdick, Trustee and subsequently Director of the Rockefeller Foundation, was most helpful at this time, and his continuing interest in the project has been a constant stimulus. Chief Foreman from the beginning until his death in 1957 was Sophokles Lekkas of Old Corinth. The history of the enterprise up to World War II has been recorded by Louis E. Lord in \textit{A History of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882–1942}, Cambridge, Mass., 1947, pp. 177–179, 193–194, 200–209, 281–244.

THE EXCAVATIONS

from the neighboring hill slopes by water wash especially in the long periods of comparative desolation when the ancient drainage system was out of repair. The depth of the deposit varied greatly, increasing in general from south to north and from east to west. Thus in the line of the ancient road that bordered the south side of the square the gravelled surface of the 5th century B.C. appeared in places only a foot beneath the modern road gravel. In the extreme northwest and southwest corners of the excavated area, on the other hand, a depth of ten to twelve meters was encountered. The earth was removed, in the 1930's in two-wheeled, horse-drawn carts, after World War II in motor trucks, to be dumped in low-lying areas in the outskirts of the city.

Field work was normally confined to a season of four or five months in the spring and early summer. The intervals between seasons were devoted to processing and studying the finds. An excavation headquarters was established in a group of 19th century houses on Observatory

Fig. 57. Plan of Agora as restored in 1931 (W. Judeich, Topographie², fig. 49)
Street near the southwest corner of the concession at the foot of the Areopagus. Here were installed workrooms, studies, storerooms, archives and a provisional museum. The high-ceilinged rooms, the shady courtyards and the terraces commanding views of both the Acropolis and the renascent Agora constituted a convenient and pleasant base of operations for a quarter of a century (1932–1957; Pl. 111, b).

In the upper levels the excavation proceeded rapidly. In the early campaigns between two and three hundred Greek workmen were normally employed in four or five groups each in charge of a supervising scholar (Pl. 112, a). In this way the area of the ancient square proper was roughly cleared by the end of 1936, and virtually the whole of the original concession by the end of 1940. In the post-War years, since the field work was largely concerned with the painstaking exploration of the lower levels and individual monuments, the numbers of workmen were greatly reduced. As the definitive exploration neared an end attention was given to the conservation of the ancient buildings, to the construction of a permanent museum and to the landscaping of the area.

Since there was reason to believe that the buildings discovered by the German and Greek excavators at the foot of Kolonos Agoraios had stood on the west side of the square, this seemed a logical place to begin the new program.32 By the end of 1934 the whole series of structures on the west side had been superficially cleared. The last to come to light was the Tholos (1934; above, p. 42).34 Immediately and indubitably recognizable from its shape, this small building provided the first secure basis for the identification of its neighbors to the north: Bouleuterion, Metoon, Temple of Apollo Patroos and Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios, all of which had been listed in sequence by Pausanias (I, 3, 1–4).

The same season (1934) saw the discovery of another major fixed point in the topography of the Agora, the Altar of the Twelve Gods, founded by the younger Peisistratos in 521/0 B.C. (above, p. 129).35 From the literary evidence the altar was known to have occupied a prominent position in the city plan, and its date was an assurance of the early development of the area where it stood.

With a view to working out from the known to the unknown another area of excavation was opened in 1933 southward of the Stoa of Attalos. The first season's work revealed a well preserved section of the fortification wall of late antiquity, then commonly known as the "Valerian Wall," the dating of which had been subject to violent fluctuations (above, p. 209).36 Careful stratigraphic study established the fact that the wall was erected soon after the Herulian sack of A.D. 267. The observation that the wall was built entirely of material taken from earlier structures provided a ready explanation for the desolate condition of the older buildings of the Agora.

However melancholy the prospect for finding well preserved buildings, the excavators were cheered by compensating discoveries of unexpected nature. Thus in 1932 at the north foot of the Areopagus there had come to light a votive deposit of the 7th century B.C., the otherworldly implications of which have been clarified subsequently by the discovery of numerous early burials in the environs (p. 17 note 50, p. 119 note 13).37 A deep rectangular rock-cut shaft sunk into the shoulder of Kolonos Agoraios to the northeast of the Temple of Hephaistos was cleared in the summer of 1932 (above, p. 186).38 The shaft yielded a vast quantity of pottery of the later 6th and early 5th centuries B.C., apparently waste from near-by potters' shops. From the upper
levels of the fill came the first of more than 1200 ostraka to be found in the Agora; the sherd bore the name of "Aristeides"; it was found by a workman of the same name! In 1933, deep beneath a tangle of Byzantine foundations in the northwest part of the area, appeared a burial of the Mycenaean period (above, p. 8).\textsuperscript{39} It was a simple pit grave, but among the offerings was a gold signet ring (Pl. 17, c). This was the first grave of its period to be found in a controlled excavation in Athens and the first of nearly two hundred early burials to emerge from beneath the Agora. From now on the excavators were encouraged by the knowledge that however harshly fate might have dealt with the buildings of the area the persistent explorer could hope to find evidence for the early history of the city by carefully probing the bedrock.

The great buildings in the south central part of the square emerged gradually in the mid-1930's. First to appear (1933) was the west end of the Middle Stoa (above, p. 66), to be followed by its east end in 1935.\textsuperscript{40} The scale of the building was startling (146 m. long) and its Janus-like double design was puzzling until the season of 1936 brought to light the South Stoa (above, p. 68); it now became clear that the Middle Stoa was designed to face both northward across the main square and southward over a lesser "South Square."\textsuperscript{41} Only a good deal later (1952) was the design of the small building that closed the east end of this square recognized (above, pp. 68, 70).\textsuperscript{42}

In the season of 1934 the southwest corner of the Odeion was exposed though not recognized (above, p. 111).\textsuperscript{43} The meter-deep layer of burnt debris that overlay the floor of this building brought home as nothing before had done the fury of the Herulian sack of A.D. 267 (Pl. 108, a). In the following season, the emergence of orchestra and seats indicated the function of the building and led to its identification with the "theater called the Odeion" mentioned by Pausanias\textsuperscript{44} (I, 8, 6; 14,1). Since this reference was imbedded in Pausanias’ account of the Agora between the Temple of Ares and the Enneakrounos, it was to play an important role in the identification of neighboring buildings.

The clearance of the Odeion, the Middle Stoa and the South Square had been achieved only by going down through the vast, seemingly shapeless skeleton of a building complex of late antiquity. Only gradually did the overall plan emerge and become recognizable as appropriate to a gymnasium.\textsuperscript{45} The date of construction, ca. A.D. 400, was indicated clearly by the coins and pottery found beneath its floor levels. The date of its abandonment, ca. A.D. 529, was to be vividly documented by the debris removed from its basement rooms in 1965.\textsuperscript{46}

Scattered burials had been found earlier, but the season of 1935 witnessed the first appearance of well defined cemeteries. Of particular interest was the discovery of a family burial plot with 22 graves, chiefly of the late 8th century, to the south of the Tholos (above, p. 10).\textsuperscript{47} At the same time a more scattered group of burials of the Protogeometric period was beginning to appear on the top of Kolonos Agoraios (above, p. 10).\textsuperscript{48} In subsequent years, as tombs and graves sporadically found were plotted on the general plans (Pl. 2), other early cemeteries, usually in the form of family burial plots, could be distinguished: one of the Mycenaean period.

\textsuperscript{39} Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 318–320.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., pp. 323f.; Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 4–6. At this stage, before its place in the overall design of the Agora was known, the building was called the South Stoa.
\textsuperscript{41} Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 357f.
\textsuperscript{42} Hesperia, XXII, 1953, pp. 36f.; XXXV, 1966, pp. 41f.
\textsuperscript{43} Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 362f.
\textsuperscript{44} Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 6–14.
\textsuperscript{45} J.R.S., XLIX, 1959, pp. 66–68; Guide\textsuperscript{2}, pp. 70–72.
\textsuperscript{46} Hesperia, XXXV, 1966, p. 45.
\textsuperscript{47} Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 24–31; R. S. Young, Hesperia, Supplement II.
\textsuperscript{48} Hesperia, V, 1936, pp. 23f.; VI, 1937, pp. 364–368.
on the north slope of the Areopagus (1939, 1947; above, p. 6), others of the same period beneath the northeastern and northwestern parts of the classical square (1949–1953), one of the early Geometric period at the northwest foot of the Areopagus (1982, 1967), and, finally, an enclosed burial plot that had continued in use from the 8th into the late 6th century B.C. on the west slope of the Areopagus (1939; above, p. 10). As noted above (Ch. I) these cemeteries have been very illuminating for the early history of the settlement and for Athenian burial customs.

The exploration of the top and slopes of Kolonos Agoraios continued from 1985 through 1989.49 What began as a routine examination of the familiar Temple of Hephaistos yielded unexpected results, the first knowledge of an interior colonnade and of a garden in the temenos, together with very welcome ceramic evidence for the date of construction (above, p. 142).50 The discovery to the southwest of the Temple of several large inscriptions from the sanctuary of the Salaminian hero Eurysakes indicated the proximity of the hero’s shrine (above, p. 40).51 This in turn strengthened the identification of the major temple since both sanctuaries are reported to have been on Kolonos Agoraios. Additional evidence for the identification was provided by the discovery of the remains of metalworking establishments: bronze casting to the south of the Temple and ironworking to the north, all appropriate in the environs of a sanctuary of the patron god of the forge. Among the more surprising results of the careful exploration of Kolonos was the discovery to the north of the Temple of Hephaistos of a large rectangular building of early Hellenistic date, perhaps a state arsenal or magazine (above, p. 80).52 Many wells and cisterns attested the existence of private houses on the hilltop to the south of the Temple of Hephaistos. Their clearing yielded vast quantities of domestic debris, but also an occasional piece of outstanding interest. Such, for instance, was the bronze shield captured by the Athenians in 425 B.C. at Pylos; this was recovered from the bottom of a cistern in 1936 (above, p. 92; Fig. 26, Pl. 49, d).53

In 1986 it became possible to explore in depth a small plot at the north foot of Kolonos Agoraios prior to the area being turned into a park by the City of Athens. A second season was devoted to the area in 1989, after which it was re-filled.54 The results were of no little topographical interest. Beneath the south edge of the area passed the ancient road connecting the Agora with the Sacred Gate; this road was bordered on the north by a Doric colonnade of early Roman date (above, p. 108). Beneath the north edge of the plot stood a boundary marker of the Kerameikos, a continuation of the series of such markers known outside the Dipylon (p. 118 note 5).55 At the extreme northwest corner of the site continuous stratification was observed between the level of the modern Hadrian Street and a thin Neolithic deposit overlying bedrock, an accumulation of 5000 years with a depth of 12 meters. Among the movable finds from the site was a large statue base of the 4th century B.C. inscribed with a dedication to Demeter and Kore, and signed by Praxiteles (above, p. 154; Pl. 78, c).56 The great marble block had been hacked through in the laying of a modern sewer.

In these same years a major effort was made to unburden the northeastern quarter of the square of a deep accumulation of late Roman and Mediaeval times. Among the monuments that came to light were the Square Peristyle of the late 4th century B.C. beneath the north

53 Hesperia, VI, 1937, pp. 347f.
54 Ibid., pp. 338–342; Hesperia, IX, 1940, p. 261.
55 Ibid., p. 267.
end of the Stoa of Attalos (1936; above, p. 60), the charming circular fountain house of the
Antonine period (1936; above, p. 203) and the speaker’s platform “built for the use of the
Roman generals” (1937; above, p. 51), both in front of the Stoa of Attalos, and finally, in
1938, the small colonnade long to be known as the Northeast Stoa but recognized, in 1970, as
an adjunct of the large basilica facing on the square (above, p. 29).

Farther to the west the removal of more of the same heavy accumulation led in 1937 to the
discovery of the Temple of Ares (above, p. 162). The proximity of the Temple to the Odeion
was in accord with Pausanias’ account. A startling discrepancy soon became apparent, however,
between the superstructure of the building, clearly of Periclean date, and its foundations which
were demonstrably of the Augustan period. This was the excavators’ first encounter with what
is now a well documented phenomenon, the transplanting of famous old temples from country
districts of Attica to the Agora in early Roman times.

With the Agora square proper now largely cleared a long narrow salient was opened between
the southeast corner of the Agora and the northwest shoulder of the Acropolis. Three full
seasons were devoted to this operation: 1937, 1938, 1939. The topographical results were of
major importance. The full course of the Panathenaic Way could now be plotted. The identi-
fication, previously much disputed, was put beyond question by the discovery on the Acropolis
wall of an inscription referring to “the Street of the Panathenaia” (1938; above, p. 193). The
uppermost reaches of the ascent on the steep hillside were shown to have been supported on a
stepped ramp corresponding with the representation on a series of Athenian coins of early
imperial date. The late antique fortification wall that bordered and in places overlay the Pan-
athenaic Way was also carefully examined throughout its length. Coins found in its mortar con-
firmed a date in the last quarter of the 3rd century.

On a ledge below the cliffs of the Acropolis a cluster of shallow wells attested the existence
of a hamlet in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages (above, p. 2). In clearing this area the Agora
excavators joined forces with another expedition from the American School led by Oscar Broneer
who was conducting a systematic exploration of the whole north slope of the Acropolis. In
classical times the meager flow of a natural spring that issued below the northwest shoulder of
the hill was made accessible in a cleverly contrived spring house, the Klepsydra. The
history of this installation, which was intertwined with the history of the Acropolis
itself, was worked out and eventually (1943) published in detail by the excavator, Arthur W.
Parsons.

Another important result of the work on the northwest slope was the discovery and identi-
fication of the Eleusinion, the principal sanctuary within the city of the Eleusinian goddesses,
Demeter and Persephone (above, p. 150). The area of the sanctuary, on the east side of the
Panathenaic Way, was cleared in the seasons of 1937 and 1938. The identification was put
on a solid basis by the discovery on the spot of many vessels used in the Eleusinian rites (ker-
noi; Pl. 78, a), inscribed votive offerings and fragments of the “Attic stelai” recording the sale of
the goods of Alkibiades and his associates which were known to have stood in the Eleusinion (Pl.
78, b). This discovery meant another major gain in the consolidation of Athenian topography

59 Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 324.
60 Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 213; XL, 1971, p. 263.
62 Hesperia, VIII, 1939, p. 207.
63 Hesperia, VII, 1938, p. 322.
64 Ibid., pp. 325–338; VIII, 1939, p. 221.
since the vague literary evidence which alone was available before the excavation had permitted scholars to place the Eleusinion at many other points around the Acropolis, on the Areopagus and even on the Pnyx.67

Another gratifying event of the season 1938 was the discovery in situ of a boundary stone of the Agora at the southwest corner of the square (above, p. 117; Pl. 64, a).68 Thirty years later and twenty one meters to the south another marker of the same series was to be found, also in place (above, p. 117).69 Nothing could have been more helpful for fixing the precise formal limits of the ancient square.

In 1939 the clearance of the north slope of the Areopagus was begun. Whereas before the excavation responsible scholars were inclined to place many of the civic buildings of the Agora high up on this slope, it now became clear that throughout antiquity the area had been occupied almost entirely by private houses of which only exiguous remains survived. But in the middle of the hillside a crater full of broken bedrock led down into a Mycenaean chamber tomb, the first of four to be found in that area and the most richly furnished tomb of the period yet known in Athens (above, p. 6).70

In the same year (1939) the removal of the Chapel of St. Spyridon to the south of the Stoa of Attalos permitted the recognition of the foundations of the Library of Pantainos, erected ca. a.d. 100, the existence of which had been known from the previous discovery of its dedicatory inscription (1933) and a library notice (1935; above, p. 115).71

As the first major phase of the excavation neared an end thought was given to the provision of a permanent museum for the finds. With a view to the construction of a suitable building outside but in convenient proximity to the Agora proper an additional block of land was acquired in the valley between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs. The hollow was soon found to be filled with a formidable mass of silt, the removal of which was begun in the seasons of 1939 and 1940.72

In view of the imminence of war in 1940 the more precious of the finds were packed in twenty-six wooden cases and deposited in the basement storerooms of the National Museum. The records of the excavation were removed for safekeeping. For the next five years the project stood still. No damage of any consequence was suffered during the five-year interval so that on the return of the staff in 1946 work could be resumed where it had been interrupted.73

During the war years a model of the buildings on the west side of the Agora had been begun in plaster at Paris at a scale of 1:200. As the study of the individual buildings has proceeded the model has been extended from time to time, most recently in 1970 to show the whole extent of the Agora proper as then known (Pl. 11).74

The clearance of the “Museum site” to the west of the Areopagus was renewed in 1946 and pushed vigorously for four more seasons. In 1951 appeared a detailed publication of the results by the chief excavator, Rodney S. Young, in the form of two studies: “Sepulturae intra Urbem” and “An Industrial District of Ancient Athens.”75 Particularly significant was the in-

67 Judeich, Topographie, pp. 287-289.
68 Hesperia, VIII, 1939, pp. 205f.
69 Hesperia, XXXVII, 1968, pp. 61-63.
70 Hesperia, IX, 1940, pp. 274-293.
71 Hesperia, IV, 1935, pp. 330-382 (dedicatory inscription); V, 1936, p. 42 (library notice); IX, 1940, pp. 294f. (recognition of building).
72 Ibid., pp. 212f.; Hesperia, X, 1941, pp. 1f.
73 Ibid., pp. 1-8; Hesperia, XVI, 1947, pp. 193-197. The excavations were watched over by two members of the scientific staff, John Travlos and Eugene Vanderpool, who spent most of the war years in Athens, and by the Chief Foreman, Sophokles Lekkas, who lived with his family on the spot throughout the period of the War.
74 Ibid., pp. 212f.; Hesperia, Supplement VIII, pp. 382-389; XXXVII, 1968, pp. 68f. The model has been the creation of John Travlos with the technical assistance of Christos Mammelis.
75 Hesperia, XX, 1951, pp. 67-288.
sight afforded by this excavation into the way of life, both domestic and professional, of a middle-class district of Athens in the period from the 5th to the 1st century B.C. But the excavation had also revealed that the area was not suitable for the construction of a modern museum; for this problem another solution was to be found.

From 1946 onward the program for the definitive exploration of the areas hastily opened up before World War II has been steadily pursued. A large proportion of the effort has been devoted to elucidating the history, the plan and the functions of the buildings that bordered the south side of the square (1947, 1948, 1951–1954, 1959–1965). The history of the site is now tolerably clear. But since not one of the many structures in this large area can be identified indubitably through ancient authors or inscriptions, their interpretation is largely a matter of conjecture and is subject to debate. For a statement of current views the reader is referred to pp. 62–71.

A special case is presented by the two large fountain houses that formed part of the series of early buildings on the south side of the square. The building at the southwest corner of the square, now known to date from the 4th century B.C., was discovered in 1934 but was not cleared until 1948 nor seriously studied until 1965 (above, p. 201). The superstructure has almost completely vanished, but since the construction and materials used in the lower parts suggested a date in the archaic period the building was at first regarded as a candidate for the distinction of being named the Enneakrounos. However, the discovery in 1952 of another fountain house of indubitably late archaic date at the southeast corner of the square produced a more likely candidate (above, p. 198). The southeastern building also fits tolerably well the reference in Pausanias, I, 14, 1, so much so that there can be little doubt that this was indeed the fountain house referred to by Pausanias in that passage as the Enneakrounos. Even today, however, a certain amount of doubt still hangs over this, one of the most persistently controversial points in the study of Athenian topography.

Over several seasons, starting in 1955, the ancient east-west road that bordered the south side of the square has been explored in depth, section by section. Beneath the road the round terracotta water pipe that fed the Southeast Fountain House (Pl. 101, a) and the great stone aqueduct that supplied the Southwest Fountain House (Pl. 102, a) have been traced and studied. Houses of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C. and of the 5th and 6th centuries after Christ have been found to the south of the road. In the years 1966–1969 was completed the clearance of the junction between the east-west road and an equally important north-south road outside the southwest corner of the Agora. This has provided a very illuminating picture of the informality of Athenian “town planning” and has revealed the woeful inadequacy of street maintenance even in the heart of ancient Athens.

The systematic combing of the whole area has led to many other individual discoveries of interest: the shoemaking shop of Simon, the friend of Sokrates (1953; above, p. 173); a room used for judicial purposes in the 4th century B.C. (1953; above, p. 56); a semicircular fountain house (Nymphaeum) of the Antonine period (1954; above, p. 202); a remarkable votive deposit beside the Panathenaic Way (1957; above, p. 119); a temple of the early Roman

81 Hesperia, XXXI, 1954, pp. 54f.
82 Ibid., pp. 53–61.
84 Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, pp. 149–153.
period in the southeast corner of the Agora (1959; above, p. 167), a triangular temenos of the 5th century B.C. outside the southwest corner (1966; above, p. 120).

The visitor to the excavation now walks approximately at the same level as Pausanias in the 2nd century after Christ. Over considerable areas, however, the excavators continued down below this level to bedrock, and elsewhere they examined the lower stratified deposits by trenching. These deep excavations and trenches have been re-filled. By deliberate policy a substantial proportion of the early deposits over bedrock has been left undisturbed. This means that many early burials, wells and small monuments have gone undetected, but it means also that scholars in the future will be able to check the conclusions arrived at by the first excavators.

Mention has been made of the intention to erect a museum in the area to the west of the Areopagus. By 1948, however, the excavation of this area had brought to light so many ancient remains as to rule out the construction of a large modern building. Among various alternatives the one finally adopted was the reconstruction of an ancient building for museum purposes. The choice fell on the Stoa of Attalos because of its size, the adaptability of its design and the abundance of evidence for a faithful reconstruction (above, p. 108). Another consideration was the desirability of defining the ancient square on the east side. It was felt too that a trustworthy reconstruction of a stoa would bring to the attention of the modern world this most characteristic type of ancient civic architecture.

In 1949 began the intensive exploration of the area of the Stoa. The last remnants of the Post-Herulian Wall were demolished. Hundreds of ancient marbles left by earlier excavators were removed and stacked elsewhere. The construction fill of the Stoa was dug away. Beneath the level of the Stoa emerged the remains of a series of earlier public buildings, of the 2nd, 4th and 5th centuries B.C., a number of tombs of the Mycenaean and Protogeometric periods, and a series of wells which attested the intensive habitation of the area from the Geometric Period down to the time of the Stoa.

The next phase began in 1953 with the reinforcement of the ancient foundations of the Stoa and the quarrying of stone and marble. A force of seventy-five workers in stone and marble (Pl. 55, a) and an equal number of other workmen were assembled from all over Greece. The reconstruction and the museum installation were substantially complete when the building was dedicated on September 8, 1956. In the following year the transfer of archaeological material from the old excavation house to the Stoa was finished and the building was turned over to the Greek archaeological authorities for maintenance and safe-keeping.

The Stoa of Attalos as reconstituted serves a multiple purpose. Within its walls are housed all the movable objects found in the excavations of the Agora since 1931, as also some noteworthy finds from earlier excavations, such as the statues of Apollo Patroos, the Iliad and the Odyssey and the head of a Triton. A representative selection of this material is on public display in the galleries and colonnades; a much greater mass is kept in magazines where it is conveniently accessible to scholars. The building also contains all the records pertaining to the

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86 Hesperia, XVIII, 1949, pp. 226-229. The reconstruction was made possible by a generous contribution from John D. Rockefeller, Jr. matched by donations from many individuals and institutions in the United States and in Greece. In securing financial support a leading part was taken by Ward M. Canaday, Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the American School. The operation was carried out under the overall authority of the Department of Antiquities and Restoration then directed by Professor A. Orlandos. The original design of the building was recovered by John Travlos. The actual construction was in the hands of the New York architectural firm of W. Stuart Thompson and Phelps Barnum, represented on the spot by Manuel Tavares as Resident Engineer. George Biris of Athens served as Consulting Engineer.
89 Hesperia, XXVII, 1958, pp. 145f.; XXVIII, 1959, pp. 91f.
recent excavations: field notebooks, inventories and published reports. A small library and technical facilities complete the equipment of the Stoa as a working center for both the excavation staff and for visiting scholars concerned with the results of the excavations. At the same time the full restoration of this one building assists the visitor in visualizing the scale and the general appearance of the public square once bordered on all sides by colonnaded buildings.

In no other case is an ancient building of the Agora sufficiently preserved to justify complete restoration. Beginning in 1950, however, conservation has been carried out on most of the ancient monuments. This has been kept to a minimum; it is intended primarily to assure the preservation of the remains and secondarily to make them intelligible to the visitor.

More far-reaching measures were needed in the case of the Church of the Holy Apostles (above, p. 216). This charming example of Byzantine architecture had suffered grievously, as we have seen, through the ages. The precarious state of both the original parts and the ill-constructed new called for drastic treatment. With the approval of the Greek authorities the American School proceeded to strip away the late accretions, to consolidate the original fabric and to restore the building to its original form (Pl. 109). This was done in the years 1954–1956 with the financial support of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation of New York.90

In the law of 1930 covering the excavations of the Agora is a clause requiring the American School on the completion of exploration to turn the area into a park. With the completion of the massive excavation in the early 1950’s a survey was made (1953) by Ralph E. Griswold, a landscape architect of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and a program was prepared for the landscaping of the site. Basic to this program was the conviction that only native Greek plants should be used and that particular attention should be paid to literary or archaeological indications of planting around specific monuments. Elsewhere within the Agora proper planting has been deliberately kept sparse whereas the hillslopes to west and south have been planted thickly to emphasize the contrast between the open square and the densely built residential and industrial areas by which it was enframed.

The landscaping program was initiated on January 4, 1954 when King Paul of the Hellenes planted an oak and Queen Frederika a laurel to the south and north respectively of the Altar of Zeus Agoraios. The main planting took place in the winter months of 1954–1955. The program was vigorously supported by a specially constituted group of Athenian friends, as also by many individuals and garden clubs in the United States and Canada. The Agora Park now takes its place in the belt of green that is gradually encircling the Acropolis.91

As the exploration and study of the original concession neared an end the desirability of clearing the north side of the Agora was felt ever more intensely. The northward extension of the excavation has now been made possible through the joint support of the Greek state and of two American organizations, viz. the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.92

90 *Hesperia*, XXIV, 1955, pp. 55–57; XXV, 1956, pp. 65f.; XXVI, 1957, pp. 101–103. The work of reconstruction was supervised by Alison Frantz and John Travlos. For the assistance given by the Kress Foundation toward the reconstruction of the church the School expresses its appreciation to Mr. and Mrs. Rush H. Kress, Mr. Guy Emerson and Mr. A. C. Campbell. For the interest shown subsequently by the Foundation in the study and publication of the church and related material we have to thank President Franklin D. Murphy and Vice President Miss Mary M. Davis for their personal concern.

91 *Hesperia*, XXIII, 1954, pp. 66f.; XXIV, 1955, pp. 70f. The Athenian Committee for restoring the Agora Park, presided over successively by Mr. Alexander Pallis and Mrs. A. Eliasos, not only raised a substantial sum of money for the planting but also aroused much interest among local groups, notably the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. They too were responsible for the bronze memorial to John D. Rockefeller, Jr. now exhibited in the Stoa of Attalos (Pl. 112, b). Mr. Emmanuel Vathis of the Superior School of Agriculture has been most helpful through the years in giving technical guidance in the maintenance of the park. The late John Threpsiades while Ephor of Antiquities assisted greatly in the organization of the park, the maintenance of which has been assumed by the Greek Archaeological Service.

92 The undertaking on the part of the Greek state, initiated by the late John Papademetriou, was subsequently brought to fruition through the vigorous support of Professor Spyridon Marinatos. The contribution from the Ford Foundation was
The Greek state has undertaken to bear the cost of the property, while the expense of the actual excavation, the conservation and publication are met by contributions from the American sources. In 1969 a row of nineteen modern buildings was demolished making available a narrow strip of land across the whole width of the north side of the ancient square. In 1970 this area was excavated down to the level of classical antiquity. The results have been gratifying. With the discovery of the Stoa Basileios an old and troublesome topographical problem has been solved; the line of public buildings on the west side is now firmly anchored both north and south (above, p. 83, 42). The colonnaded treatment of the Panathenaic Way between the Dipylon and the Agora, which had been mentioned by the ancient authors, can now be visualized from the actual remains (above, p. 108). Farther east the discovery of a row of modest houses or houses-cum-shops of the classical period on the northern edge of the square confirms earlier indications that monumental development came late in the eastern part of the Agora. These private buildings were supplanted in the early Roman period by a southward-facing stoa. Finally, the intrusion of a large and lavishly appointed basilica on the north side of the square toward its northeast corner illustrates both the recovery of Athens in the Hadrianic period as reported by Pausanias (I, 20, 7) and the impact on the old Greek city of Roman fashions in civic architecture. These various new discoveries, of very considerable interest in themselves, have cleared the ground for the final stage in the search for the last of the famous buildings known to have bordered the classical square, viz. the Stoa Poikile and the Stoa of the Herms. assured largely through the personal interest shown in the project by Mr. John J. McCloy, Chairman of the Board, Mr. Henry T. Heald, President, and Mr. Shepard Stone, Director of the International Affairs Program. Mr. Laurance S. Rockefeller, Mr. Dana S. Creel and Professor W. Kelly Simpson were particularly helpful in negotiations with the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. To these individuals as well as to the organizations which they represent the Agora project is deeply indebted.
## CONCORDANCE

Objects found in the Agora Excavations and referred to in this book by inventory number are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inv.</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Plate</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARCHITECTURE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>51, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>51, b</td>
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<td>233</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>Fig. 51</td>
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<td>256</td>
<td>3241</td>
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<td>37</td>
<td>30, c</td>
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<td>62, b</td>
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<td>79, a</td>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Plate</th>
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<tr>
<td>BRONZE</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Page</th>
<th>Plate</th>
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<tr>
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<td>IRON AND LEAD</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>1361</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>88, b, c</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Inv.</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Plate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>JEWELRY</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>17, c</td>
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<table>
<thead>
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<th>Inv.</th>
<th>Page</th>
<th>Plate</th>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>215</td>
<td>108, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>16</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<td>POTTERY</td>
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<td>186</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1247</td>
<td>15</td>
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<tr>
<td>2084</td>
<td>55, 61</td>
<td>89, a</td>
</tr>
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<td>51</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3562</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>34, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4778—4785</td>
<td>14, 15</td>
<td>23, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4885</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5959</td>
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<td>88</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6107</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7054</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>76, c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7261</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>76, c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9950</td>
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</tr>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>15, b</td>
</tr>
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<td>15, a</td>
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<td>78, a</td>
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</tr>
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<td>150</td>
<td>78, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12148</td>
<td>150</td>
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</tr>
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<td>78, a</td>
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<tr>
<td>12492</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14481</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>34, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>51</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14871—14872</td>
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<td>14, a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15261—15267</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26, a</td>
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<tr>
<td>15458</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16600—16607</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26, b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16755</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
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<td>94, f</td>
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<td>23556—23560</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>19, b</td>
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<td>42, c</td>
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<td>108, c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1421—1424</td>
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<td>94, c, d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3444</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>108, a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

AUTHORS

See further Agora, III.

Inscriptions are not listed by number here; they can be found by reference to subject or place in the Subject Index.

Acts of the Apostles, 17

AELIAN

Varia Historia

VIII, 16
IX, 39

AISCHINES

I, 21
II, 5
45
59
85
III, 13
38f.
56
176
188f.
207
243

AISCHINES SCHOLIA

II, 45
III, 187

Ps. Aischines

Epistles, IV, 3

AISCHYLOS

Eumenides, 970ff.
Persians, 238

ALKIPHRON

Epistles, III, 5 (III, 2) 1

AMMONIOS

Frag. 3 (Jacoby, F.G.H., no. 361)

168 Andokides

I, 40
45
62
71, 76
78
82, 84, 85
89
110
111
118
142
169
172

152, 244
47, 121

157, 40
84

59, 170
41
59, 170
40
118

59, 170

43, 105

86, 1834

162
78

122

49, 105

86, 1834

207
202

159, 214
47, 121

Apollosodoros

Frag. 118 (Jacoby, F.G.H., no. 244)

19

Bibliotheca

III, 14, 1f.
192

15
4f.
12

159, 214

93

ARISTEIDES

XIII, 191

159, 214

Aristophanes

Acharnians,

21 ff.
202
50

Clouds,

207
72

Ecclesiazusae,

675 f.
71

682
159, 214

684 ff.
85, 102, 172

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For personal use only. License: CC-BY-NC-ND.
Knights, 181
410, 499 161f.
640ff., 675 33
885ff. 51ff.
979 41
1311ff. 125
Lysistrata, 684 156ff.
678ff. 90
Peace, 1019f. 168
1183
Thesmophoriazusae, 395 128ff.
657f. 152ff.
Wasps, 92f.
387ff. 71
875 169ff.
1108ff. 59, 71

Aristophanes Scholia
Frogs, 320 150
369 150
399 150
Knights, 410 161
Platys, 885 92

Aristotle
Ath. Pol., 8, 5 47, 72
7, 1 87, 88
7, 3–4 14
18, 3 124
38, 1 50
43, 1 197
44, 1 44
53, 4 39
55, 5 88
56, 6 87
57 47
58, 1 155
62, 1 125
63–66 52
68–69 54
Historia Animalium, VIII, 12 185
Politics, VII, 11, 2 172
Rhetoric, I, 9, 38

Arrian
Anabasis, III, 16, 8 119ff.
Periplus,

Athenaeus
IV, 167, f 126
V, 212, e–f 51, 104, 220
IX, 407, b–c 35

Ps. Demosthenes
VII, 33
XXV, 23
XXVI, 23

Augustine
De Civitate Dei, XVIII, 12 146

Chamaeleon (of Herakleia Pontica)
in Athenaeus IX, 407, b–c 35, 35

Cicero
De Natura Deorum

Clement (of Alexandria)
Protrepticus, III, 45 150
Stromateis, IV, 19, 21 93

Cornelius Nepos
Chabrias

Demosthenes

Arrian
XXX, 32 59

Athenaeus
IV, 167, f 126
V, 212, e–f 51, 104, 220
IX, 407, b–c 35

Ps. Demosthenes
VII, 33 35
XXV, 23 84, 87
XXVI, 23

Augustine
De Civitate Dei, XVIII, 12 146 71
INDEX

Demosthenes Scholia

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XX</th>
<th>112</th>
<th>86¹³, 90²³</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XXI</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>155²¹¹</td>
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<tr>
<td>XXIII</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>47¹³⁸</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dexippos

Frag. 28 (Jacoby, F.G.H., no. 100) | 208

Dio Cassius

| XLVII | 20, 4 | 159 |

Diodorus Siculus

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>XII</th>
<th>89, 1</th>
<th>183</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>XIII</td>
<td>22, 7</td>
<td>185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XX</td>
<td>46, 2</td>
<td>40, 159</td>
</tr>
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Diogenes Laertius

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I, ii</th>
<th>50 and 65</th>
<th>73²¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II, xiii</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI, ii</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII, i</td>
<td>5, 14, 22</td>
<td>71¹³⁰, 93</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Etymologicum Magnum

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ἐπαλέξις</th>
<th>47¹³⁸</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Θησείου</td>
<td>124, 125, 125⁴⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θέλος</td>
<td>42, 46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Euboulos

Frag. 74 (Kock and Edmonds) | 52, 173

Eunapius

Vitae Sophistarum, 488, 5 | 214

Euripides

Heraclidae | 185⁵⁵ |

Supplices | 185⁵⁵ |

Eustathios

on Iliad, I | 529 | 102
| on Iliad, XXIV | 384 | 169
| on Odyssey, I | 395 | 85

Gregory of Nazianzos Scholia

Contra Julianum, I | 92

Harppokration

| ἄγνις     | 169 |
| αἰσθής    | 47¹³⁸ |
| βασιλείας στοά | 85 |
| ἐπὶ προτάτου κρατῆρα | 47¹³⁸ |
| θάλος     | 88 |
| λίθος     | 88 |
| ὑπὸ διαμαρτανει καὶ Δημοσθένης | 92²⁴⁴ |
| Πολύγωντος | 92, 124⁴² |

Hegesias

(in Strabo, IX, 1, 16) | 123

Hephaestion

Encheiridion, IV, 6 (16, 20) | 156

Heraclides Kretikos

On the Cities of Greece, I, 1 | 221

Herodotus

| II | 7, 1   | 183 |
| V  | 66, 69 | 40⁸⁸ |
| VI | 108, 3 | 182 |
|    | 108, 4 | 46¹³⁰ |

Hesiod Scholia

Works and Days, 493–5 | 179⁴⁵

Hesychios

ἀγορὰ Κερκύτων | 173
| ἀγωνίας     | 169 |
| βασιλείας στοά | 86¹³ |
| Διαγόρας    | 150 |
| ἐπὶ Ληναία ἀγών | 128⁶⁶ |
| θησείον     | 124, 125⁴⁸ |
| παράβουστον | 59 |
| προτάτειον | 75²¹⁹ |
| Φερρεφάττιον | 167 |

Himerios

Oratio, III, 12 | 108 |
| XVIII, 3 | 214 |

Hist. Aug., Vita Gallieni 13.8 | 208

Homer

Iliad, XI | 706–761 | 15 |
| XXIII | 688–642 | 15 |

Hyperides

| V | 22 | 59¹⁷⁰ |

Ioannes Malalas

Chron., XVIII, p. 451, 16 (Bonn.) | 215²⁴

Isaios

| V | 20 | 59¹⁷⁰ |
| VI | 20 | 173 |

Isokrates

| VII | 15 | 178 |

Josephus

Antiquitates Judaicae, XIV, 8, 5 | 160
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kratinos</strong></td>
<td>Frag. 323 (Kock and Edmonds)</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kratinos</strong></td>
<td>Frag. 323 (Kock and Edmonds)</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lucian</strong></td>
<td><em>Anacharsis</em>, 7</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lucian</strong></td>
<td><em>Dialogi Meretricii</em>, 8, 7</td>
<td>171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lucian</strong></td>
<td><em>Iuppiter Tragoedius</em>, 15, 16, 32, 33</td>
<td>94, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lykourgos</strong></td>
<td><em>Leokrates</em>, 51</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysias</strong></td>
<td>XIII, 37</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysias</strong></td>
<td>XIX, 55</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysias</strong></td>
<td>XXIII, 3</td>
<td>171, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysias</strong></td>
<td>XXXIV, 20</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lysias</strong></td>
<td>XXX, 9</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Menander</strong></td>
<td><em>Dyskolos</em>, 173</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Menekles-Kallikrates</strong></td>
<td>Frag. 2 (Jacoby, <em>F.G.H.</em>, no. 970)</td>
<td>85, 95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Menesimachos</strong></td>
<td>Frag. 4 (Kock and Edmonds)</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Musonius</strong></td>
<td>XIV (Hense)</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>General</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>I, 2, 4</td>
<td>106, 138, 139, 155, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>3, 2–4</td>
<td>85ff., 97, 99, 101, 186ff., 158, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>3, 5</td>
<td>31, 32, 34, 36, 38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>12, 39, 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>8, 2–4</td>
<td>86, 180, 138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>159, 162, 164, 168, 229</td>
<td>122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>8, 5</td>
<td>155, 157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>8, 6</td>
<td>111, 159, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>9, 3–4</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>11, 1</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pausanias</strong></td>
<td>14, 1–4</td>
<td>113, 129, 150, 152, 159, 167, 198, 201, 227, 231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photios</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photios</strong></td>
<td>Θησείον</td>
<td>42, 46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photios</strong></td>
<td>θόλος</td>
<td>127, 128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photios</strong></td>
<td>Κρίστη</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photios</strong></td>
<td>Αθήναον</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photios</strong></td>
<td>Μητραγύρτης</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photios</strong></td>
<td>θρυάτηρ</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Photios</strong></td>
<td>προδικαστα</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pindar</strong></td>
<td><em>Dithyramb</em>, frag. 75 (Snell)</td>
<td>20, 86, 127, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plato</strong></td>
<td><em>Apology</em>, 26d, e</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plato</strong></td>
<td>32 e–d</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plato</strong></td>
<td>36 a</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plato</strong></td>
<td><em>Euthydemos</em>, 302d</td>
<td>140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plato</strong></td>
<td><em>Euthyphron</em>, 2a</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Plato</strong></td>
<td><em>Gorgias</em>, 491a</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Source</td>
<td>Page Numbers</td>
<td>Reference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kritias</td>
<td>112 b, 148, 149</td>
<td>120, 47134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laws</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protagoras</td>
<td>761 c, 314 c-e, 315 e, 281, 8722</td>
<td>141, 59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theaetetos</td>
<td>210 d</td>
<td>IX, 47-8, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps. Plato</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eryxias</td>
<td>392 a, 102</td>
<td>Polyainos I, 21, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theages</td>
<td>191 a</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plato Scholia</td>
<td></td>
<td>Polybios V, 88-90, 68130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protagoras</td>
<td>337 d, 78</td>
<td>Sextus Empiricus Adversus Mathematicos, IX, 187, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pliny</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naturalis Historia, XXXIV, 70</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>Sopatros</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXV</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Διαίρεσις Ζητημάτων, 340 ff. 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>XXXVI</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plutarch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristides</td>
<td>7, 4, 51</td>
<td>Sophokles Oedipus at Colonus, 136102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demetrios</td>
<td>10, 8-4, 40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demosthenes</td>
<td>5, 2, 59170</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kimon</td>
<td>4, 6, 92</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8, 5-6, 124</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18, 8, 20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikias</td>
<td>5, 1, 73</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13, 2, 133</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perikles</td>
<td>17, 143</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solon</td>
<td>8, 2, 48</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19, 3, 47138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23, 5, 197</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25, 1, 47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30, 5, 47, 73</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Themistokles</td>
<td>19, 4, 50147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theseus</td>
<td>36, 2, 124, 125</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an seni respublica gerenda, 10</td>
<td>162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de exilio</td>
<td>17, 124</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maxime cum principibus philosopho disserendum</td>
<td>174</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praecessa gerendae reipublicae, 24</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ps. Plutarch</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vitae X Oratorum</td>
<td></td>
<td>Synthellos I, 717 (Bonn.), 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>834 d, 169274</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>841 d</td>
<td></td>
<td>Theokritos XV, 39, 43106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>849 f, 189132, 139</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>847 a</td>
<td>180, 159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>847 e, 47138</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>852 e</td>
<td>159</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pollux</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>125, 126</td>
<td>Thucydides I, 98, 3, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>II, 15, 1, 11, 19, 198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192-3</td>
<td>172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>33, 71138</td>
<td>VI, 27, 1, 95, 169274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>54, 6-7, 181, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>155</td>
<td>57, 3, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>61, 2, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72, 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>92, 2, 201</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Work</th>
<th>Pages</th>
<th>Lines</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Timaios</strong></td>
<td><em>Lexicon Platonum</em></td>
<td>127, 157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Δρυχίστρα</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Valerius Maximus</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II,</td>
<td>10, ext. 1</td>
<td>155^201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII,</td>
<td>11, ext. 3</td>
<td>147</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ZenoBios</td>
<td>IV, 36</td>
<td>88^24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>V, 5</td>
<td>210^11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vitruvius</strong></td>
<td>V, 1, 1-3</td>
<td>111^3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1, 8</td>
<td>72^191</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zonaras</td>
<td>XII, 26</td>
<td>208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Xenophon</strong></td>
<td><em>Cyropaedia</em> I,</td>
<td>172^18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2, 3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>Hellenica</em> II,</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3, 55 etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zonaras</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zosimos</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX 243

GENERAL

see also Eleos, Eudanemoi, Twelve Gods, Zeus Agoraios

Amazons: 90, 91f., 124
Amber bead: 5
Ammonios, tilemaker: 37
Amphiaraos: 168, 20956, 205
Amphiktyons, Delphic: 36
Amphora handles: 6679, 67, 172
Amphorae: 12, 13, 15, 45, 56, 81, 172, 179; see also Panathenaic amphorae, Wine jars

Amyneion: 181
Anakeion: 12440, 165
Anaxagoras: 127, 171
Andron: 76, 77, 182, 1835
An Tap capital: 91, 167, 212
Antae: 99, 103, 138, 142
Antefixes: 28, 43, 84, 98
Antenor: 155, 156f.
Antigonos, King of Macedon: 3881, 40, 45, 101, 159
Antigone, copy-clerk: 36
Antiochis, tribe: 40, 55
Antiochos Epiphanes: 159318

Aphrodite: 164

Hegemone (Leader), 19, 142127, 160, 223
Ourania, 142127
Pandemos, 19
Venus Genetrix, 203

Apolobai: 121

Apollo: Agyieus, 169
Alexikakos, 138, 139
Kitharoidos, 139
Lykeios, 139uL
Patroos, 21, 21, 31, 36, 37, 71, 136ff., 160222, 162, 189, 205, 222, 226, 232
Prostaterios, 34, 45
Pythios, 1195, 138, 148

Apollonios of Tyana: 52

Apolonios, Queen: 106

Apollinis, Queen: 106

Appius Saufeius: 154

Aqueducts: brick, 202, 203
stone, 21, 64, 65, 68, 70, 193, 197, 200, 202, 214, 231
terracotta, 20, 21, 197, 199, 209, 231

Arbitration: 71, 88, 93

Archea: 20, 25, 28, 29, 38, 42, 45, 72, 73, 74, 77, 170, 20238

Arches: 105, 110, 114, 115, 196, 202

Archives: see Record office

Archons: 51, 72, 74, 77, 78, 87, 89

Basileus, 47, 74, 88, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89
Eponymos, 47, 81240, 87, 113, 115
list, 181
oath, 87

Abaton: 120
Academy: 28, 107, 155, 168, 21524
Acharnai: 143, 154, 165, 205
Achilles: 210
Acropolis: called Polis, 1, 79226, 150
north slope, excavations, 25, 229
south slope, early settlement, 1, 3, 191
way up, 18, 19, 157, 193, 205, 221; see also Panathenaic Way

Adeimantos, archon: 155
Adrastos: 183
Aglouros: 46
Agorakritos: 31
Agoranomoi: at Athens, 172
at Peiraeus, 1185
Agrai: 155
Agraulos: 12440
Agrippa, M. Vipsanius: 23, 107, 111, 204
Agrippeion: 111; see also Odeion
Aiantis, tribe: 41, 51153
Aigeis, tribe: 169
Aigeus: 40, 79, 126
Aigina: 182; see also Poros
Aischines: 125, 128
Aischyleia: 45
Ajax: 40, 171
Akratia: 142127, 147, 148
South Stoa I, 76217
Stoa Basileios, 85
Stoa of Zeus, 99, 100
Temple of Ares, 164, 223
Tholos, 43306
Alaric: 210
Alexander the Great: 21, 155, 157, 159
Alkamenes: 147, 164, 169
Alkibiades: 21, 35, 153, 174, 182, 229
Allotment machines: see Kleroteria
Alphites: 40, 171
Araxes: 182; see also Poros
Archives: see Record office
Archons: 51, 72, 74, 77, 78, 87, 89
Basileus, 47, 74, 88, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89
Eponymos, 47, 81240, 87, 113, 115
list, 181
oath, 87
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Polemarchos, 47, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone, 88, 89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also Thesmothetai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areopagus: Ares tried on, 182\textsuperscript{79}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boule of, 20, 34, 87, 88\textsuperscript{24}, 107, 166, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Paul on, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also Burials, Houses, Semnai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ares, temple of: 823, 23, 86, 95\textsuperscript{67}, 119, 120, 130, 138\textsuperscript{44}, 142, 143, 156, 157, 159, 160, 162ff., 165, 168, 203, 205, 209, 210, 223, 227, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Acharnai, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>akroterion, 164, 223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altar, 160, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“New,” 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>statue, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tried on Areopagus, 182\textsuperscript{79}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argonauts: 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argyrokopion: see Mint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariadne: 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ariarathes: 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristides: 174, 227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristogeiton: see Tyrannicides</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrowheads: 8, 119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arsenal: on Kolonos, 80f., 86n, 102, 149, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Peiraeus, 60, 81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artemis: Amarya, 169\textsuperscript{60}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aristoboule, 168f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulaia, 34\textsuperscript{57}, 45, 166\textsuperscript{25}, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phosphoros, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>statue, 45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asklepieion: at Athens, 42\textsuperscript{97}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Corinth, 77\textsuperscript{218}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asklepios: 36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assos: 79\textsuperscript{230}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asylum: 34, 125, 133, 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena: 45, 54, 101, 118, 125, 164, 165, 210, 215\textsuperscript{23}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Acharnai, 165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Archegetis, 45, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boulaia, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Hephaisteion, 142, 145, 147, 148, 149, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Pergamon, 88, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phratria, 139f.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polias, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Poseidon, 131</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Sounion, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and Zeus, 119\textsuperscript{18}, 137, 139f., 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athenion: 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athletic contests: 82, 132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attalos I: 38\textsuperscript{81}, 40, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attalos II: 104, 106, 107; see also Stoas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attica: 129, 182, 160, 165, 192, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unified by Theseus, 1\textsuperscript{4}, 147, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Augustus: 23, 46, 67, 75, 81\textsuperscript{67}, 107, 111, 115\textsuperscript{5}, 162, 163, 165, 166, 173, 204, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>altars, 108\textsuperscript{116}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cult, 108, 160, 204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soter, 108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Autolykos, pancratist: 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Axones: 47\textsuperscript{130}, 88\textsuperscript{26}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BALCONY: 177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballots: 55, 56, 57, 61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balustrade, marble: 105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bankers: 123, 171\textsuperscript{12}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbershop: 123, 171, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basileus: see Archon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Basilicas: 23, 71, 90, 108, 192, 211, 221, 222, 234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom: 176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baths: 23, 176\textsuperscript{34}, 211, 212, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bazaars: 173, 218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bema: in Agora, 48, 51, 220\textsuperscript{5}, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Bouleuterion, 38, 39\textsuperscript{49}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on Pnyx, 49, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benches: 6, 29\textsuperscript{25}, 30, 59, 70, 71, 77, 79, 88, 87, 94, 97, 99, 102, 105, 113, 138, 149, 185, 197, 211, 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin Painter: 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boards: painted, 91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whitened, 38, 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bone: pins, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rings, 174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bones: 2, 6, 12, 14, 28, 119, 170, 177\textsuperscript{40}, 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Theseus, 21, 124, 142, 149, 222\textsuperscript{22}</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Books: 38, 115, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Booths: see Skenai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boukoleion: 47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boule: Four Hundred, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Five Hundred, 20, 24, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 41, 44, 51, 53, 68f., 79, 89, 126, 149, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Six Hundred, 107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Eleusinion, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Theseion, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also Areopagus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bouleuterion: discovery and excavation, 222, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laws of Solon in, 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Mantinea, 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New, 21, 25, 27, 30, 31ff., 37, 38, 39\textsuperscript{58}, 41, 42\textsuperscript{97}, 45, 52, 61, 63, 153, 194, 201, 201\textsuperscript{48}, 202, 202\textsuperscript{58}, 205, 210, 226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old, 20, 21, 25, 26, 27, 29ff., 31, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 39\textsuperscript{3}, 63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one established by Theseus, 148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrongly located, 221</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boundary stones: 20, 25, 51\textsuperscript{182}, 74, 96\textsuperscript{78}, 117ff., 137, 170, 173, 192, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Kerameikos, 115\textsuperscript{5}, 120, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braziers: 77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick: baked, 208, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unbaked, 12, 25, 27, 48, 56, 61, 75, 129\textsuperscript{72}, 158, 170, 179, 183, 191; surviving unbaked, 25\textsuperscript{5}, 27, 75, 179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bridge, over Great Drain: 74, 195, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Broiling pits: 28, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bronze: amphora, 56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>arrowheads, 8, 119</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX

ballots, 56
bowl, 8
bracelet, 13
casting of, 137, 142, 145, 188ff., 228
coins, 78, 208
dagger, 8
jewelry, 10
knife, 4
mirror, 6, 123
pins, 13, 14
pipe, 202
razor, 4, 8
reliefs, clay impressions of, 187
rings, 13, 14
roof, 43
tickets, 53
weights and measures, 44
see also Stelai

Bronzeworkers: 81, 170, 171, 173, 177, 188ff.
Brutus: 159
Bryaxis: 95, 121, 223, 223
Building accounts: 153
Building A (N.E.): 57, 59
Building B (N.E.): 57, 59, 60
Building C (N.E.): 57ff., 59, 61, 64
Building C (S.W.): 26, 27
Building D (N.E.): 59
Building D (S.W.): 26, 27, 28
Building E (S.W.): 26
Building F (S.W.): 27, 30, 41, 44
Building I (S.W.): 28

Bull, bronze: 152
Burials: 1ff., 119ff., 218, 227, 232
archaic cemeteries, 15, 16, 174, 227, 228
cease in Agora region, 10, 19
of children, 4, 10, 12, 14
at church of St. Dionysios, 218
at Corinth, 121
cremation and inhumation, 4, 12, 18, 14
in Dipylon cemetery, 9, 12, 15
Geometric, 6, 10ff., 18, 120, 221, 228
in Hephaisteion, 117, 148, 144
on Kolonos Agora, 9, 10, 227
in middle of Agora, 3, 52, 119, 120, 123
Middle Hellenic, 3
Mycenaean, 3ff., 9, 18, 119, 120, 174, 227, 230, 232
on N. slope of Areopagus, 8, 6ff., 8, 179, 226, 228
N. E. of Agora, 3, 9, 10, 17, 123, 228
N. W. of Agora, 119
at N. W. foot of Areopagus, 13, 228
Protogeometric, 10ff., 227, 232
in relation to streets, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 1645, 17, 18
respect for ancient tombs, 10, 14, 119ff.
"sepulturae intra urbem," 230
S. W. of Agora, 10, 120, 227
Submycenaean, 9
on W. slope of Areopagus, 10, 15, 16, 223

Canaanite jar: 8, 9
Caesar, C., adopted son of Augustus: 163
Caesar, C. Julius: 23, 173
Calendars, sacred: 88
Candlesticks: 213, 215
Capitals: used as bases, 84, 91
Composite, 203
Egyptian palm, 105, 208
Pergamene, 106
see also Corinthian, Doric, Ionic orders
Capuccini: 218
Cassius: 159
Catapult balls: 148
Cavalry: 95, 159, 194, 223
Ceilings: 142, 145, 163, 164
Cement: 46
pebble-studded, 77, 179
waterproof, 78, 177, 197
Cemeteries: see Burials
Centaurs: 80, 124, 147, 148
Cesspool: 174, 179, 224
Charabias: 158
Chamber tombs: see Burials
Chandler: 147
Chariot groups: 67, 68, 107, 119, 159
Charites: 159f., 223
Charon: 199
Checkerboard masonry: 196
Chests: 38, 70, 182
Chios: 156, 172
Christian symbols, on lamps: 215
Christians, early, at Athens: 215, 215
Churches: Christ, 218
Holy Apostles, 78, 191, 216, 233
Hypapanti, 218
Panagia Pyrgiotissa, 218
Panagia Vlassarou, 186, 218, 224
Prophet Elias, 218
St. Athanasios, 218
St. Charalambos, 218
St. Dionysios, 218
St. George, see Hephaisteion
St. Philip, 90, 134, 218
St. Spyridon, 218, 223
Circular buildings: 41ff., 122, 203
Cire-perdue: 189
Cisterns: 61, 73, 80, 92, 176, 187, 188, 197, 211, 212
228
Civic Offices: 50, 79, 118, 126, 166, 210
Clamps: 163, 188, 209
Double T, 82, 89, 119, 139, 140, 161
Hook, 188, 164
Z, 84
Claudius, Emperor, 160
Clementia: 136
Cobblers: 74, 170, 173, 174, 231
Coffering: 145, 146, 163
Coins: 46, 54, 67, 78, 191, 208, 209, 212, 214, 216, 218, 227, 229
blanks for, 78
Colonnaded courts: 27, 37, 57, 114, 182, 211, 212; see also Peristyle court
Columnar porches: 29, 31, 46, 57, 73, 79, 81, 102, 111, 121, 137, 138, 142, 144, 166, 167, 197, 200; see also Propylon
Composite capitals: 203
Concrete: 46, 109, 198, 202, 203, 211, 212
Conglomerate stone: 6, 7, 33, 34, 37, 40, 54, 75, 77, 78, 97, 98, 102, 104, 129, 137, 138, 149, 150, 160, 166, 167, 179, 183, 194, 196, 201, 202
Conservation: 226, 233
Constans II: 216
Cobblers: 74, 170, 173, 174, 231
Dromos, 121
Peirene, 203
Doric order: 38, 40, 94, 95, 113, 167, 268
Lenaios, 128
Limnaios, 113, 128, 181
statue found, 129
see also Theater (for Dionysos Eleuthereus)
Dioskouroi: 46
Diphilos: 158
Dipylon: 9, 15, 51, 71, 81, 84, 108, 116, 120, 128, 155, 168, 169, 171, 192, 193, 194, 221, 222, 228, 234; see also Burials
Doctor Hero: see Heros latros
Dodekathoeon: 192
Dodwell: 105
Dörpfeld’s excavations: 97, 137, 180, 199, 221
Dome: 46, 203, 216
Donkeys: 193, 205
Donor’s monument (Stoa of Attalos): 51, 68, 107
Doodles: 108, 116
Doric order: 38, 61, 66, 68, 73, 78, 79, 75, 76, 84, 90, 98, 103, 104, 106, 108, 118, 119, 136, 140, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 166, 167, 168, 194, 225
Dowry chest: 13
Drains: 1, 128, 79, 85, 183, 193, 194, 201, 220, 225 near Basileios, 85
Civic Offices, 79
Great, 29, 43, 45, 73, 77, 74, 78, 85, 89, 101, 174, 176, 179, 193, 194, 200, 201
Heliaia, 62
Houses, 176, 178, 179
Metroon, 38
South Stoa I, 76
South Stoa II, 68
Southeast Stoa, 110
Square Peristyle, 61, 220
Tholos, 43, 195
Dracon: 88, 89
Dromos: Panathenaic, 20, 108, 118, 121, 172, 192
of tombs, 4, 6, 119
Druphaktoi (wooden barriers): 34, 59, 193
Dye works: 191
INDEX

EARRINGS: 24, 191
East Building (of South Square): 65, 66, 68, 71, 188, 200
Egypt: 7, 13, 14, 205, 215
Eion: 94
Eirene: 47, 168, 205
Ekklesia: 19, 20, 24, 25, 41, 45, 48ff., 63ff., 161
Eleos, altar of: 9247, 135f., 205
altars of, 135
Elephants, stelai: 165
Eleusinian stone: 145
Eleusinion: 98, 121, 122, 124, 126, 150ff., 167, 168, 169, 1714, 199, 202, 205, 209, 228, 230
Boule in, 153
Eleusis: 1, 17, 44, 47, 77, 93, 118, 185, 150, 153, 155, 192
Eleven (officials): 59
Emery dust: 114, 187, 188
Enneakrounos: 17, 20, 150, 152, 167, 18152, 1836, 198, 20046, 201, 203, 205, 221, 227, 228
Eleusinian stone: 145
Eleusinion: 98, 121, 122, 124, 126, 150ff., 167, 168, 169, 1714, 199, 202, 205, 209, 228, 230
Boule in, 153
Eleusis: 1, 17, 44, 47, 77, 93, 118, 185, 150, 153, 155, 192
Eleven (officials): 59
Emery dust: 114, 187, 188
Enneakrounos: 17, 20, 150, 152, 167, 18152, 1836, 198, 20046, 201, 208, 205, 221, 227, 231
Eos: 85
Ephebes: 36, 93, 125, 220
Ephebes: 36
Epikouros: 36, 113
Epiktetos, vase-painter: 171
Epilykeion: 47
Epimenides: 152, 171
Epistatai: of Fountains, 197
of Mint, 78, 79
at Delphi, 4088
at Samos, 4091
Erechtheion: 46, 79, 183
made church, 216
Erechtheus: 1, 40
Eretria: 120, 19
Ergasteria: 170; see also Workshops
Erichthonios: 146, 148
Eridanos: 19, 196
Eschara: 121, 132
Euagoras: 86, 158
Eudanemoi: 119, 13, 157, 158
Eueteria: 168, 267
Eumenes of Pergamon: 37, 104, 112
Euphranor: 101, 102, 137, 189
Euripides: 36
Eurysakeion: 40, 41, 171, 228
Exedra: 37, 38, 70, 105, 208, 211, 212
FENCE: 84, 89, 50, 123, 184
Field Stones: 27, 31, 79, 109, 129, 182, 136
Fire-pits: 28, 44
Floors: clay, 17, 25, 26, 27, 43, 56, 57, 67, 68, 76, 78, 83, 97, 100, 174, 179, 212
gravel, 27, 59
hard-packed earth, 46, 60, 62, 79, 188, 179
marble chips, 70, 104, 140
marble slabs, 83, 46, 97, 103, 116, 149, 144, 188, 198, 200, 212
mortar, 140
mosaic, 46, 104, 182, 185, 211, 212
Forum, Roman: 23
Fountains: 194, 197ff.
  near Bouleuterion, 32, 48
  circular, 203, 229
  column-and-basin, 201
  Mycenaean, 26
  "among osiers," 201
overseer of, 197
  in Roman Market, 173
  in South Stoa II, 68, 202
Southeast, 17, 20, 78, 193, 197ff., 201, 202, 231
Southwest, 21, 70, 71, 135, 193, 200, 201, 202, 216, 222, 231
near Stoa of Attalos, 104, 106, 114, 202
near Tholos, 201
on vases, 200
west of Areopagus, 181
see also Areopagus, 181
GALLENUS, emperor: 209
Garden: of Hephaistos, 185, 142, 149
  in Late Gymnasium, 211
  in Prytanikon, 45
Gates: Acharnian, 192
  in Agora, 51, 112, 95
to Peiraeus, 169, 192, 196, 216, 222
  postern, 172
  in Post-Herulian Wall, 209
Sacred, 9, 108, 160, 172, 192, 196, 228
see also Dipylon
Gauls: 34, 102
Generals: see Strategoi
Geometric period: 6, 94, 10ff., 120, 221, 232
George, St.: 149
German Archaeological Institute: 108, 222, 223, 226
Giants, façade: 113, 120, 211, 220, 221
Gislenus: 216
Gladiatorial combats: 52, 215
Glaukippos, archon: 83
Gleukagogoi, 172
Golds: 4, 6, 7, 8, 14, 78, 88, 123, 159, 191, 227
Goldsmiths: 174
Gorgos, vase-painter: 171
Grammateis: see Secretaries
Greek Archaeological Society: 81, 220, 221, 222, 226
Gymnasia: 21, 51
  near Dipylon, 108
Late, 24, 126, 165, 202, 212, 214, 216, 221, 227
at Pergamon, 212
of Ptolemy, 42, 65, 82, 96, 114, 116, 125, 205, 220
at Salamis in Cyprus, 212


Harmodios: see Tyrannicides

Hearth: in Bouleuterion, 34
in houses, 177
in Prytaneion, 47
in South Stoa I, 77
see also Hestia

Hebe: 164

Hekate: 169

Heliaia: 17, 20, 23, 52, 65, 66, 70, 71, 76, 125, 129, 156, 167, 190, 202, 205

Hellenistic Building (on Kolonos): see Arsenal

Hephaisteion: 21, 23, 24, 29, 40, 71, 80, 81, 86, 91, 92, 98, 100, 113, 117, 124, 126, 139, 139, 140, 150, 156, 171, 186, 188, 189, 190, 205, 210, 218, 219, 222, 224, 228
akroteria, 142, 143, 148
architect, 142, 163
as church, 142, 149, 168, 177, 180, 191, 216, 218
epistyle, 145
floor, 144
foundations, 143, 222
friezes, 142, 147
garden, 135, 142, 149, 228
inner colonnade, 142, 144, 145, 222, 228
metopes, 142, 147, 164
pediments, 142, 143, 147, 148
statue base, 145, 148, 222
statues, 143, 147, 148ff., 148, 189
see also “Theseion”

Hera: 34

Herakleidai: 92, 135

Herakles: 15, 126, 136, 147, 148

Alexikakos, 142, 149, 168
archaic head, 149
with Theseus, 142, 149

Herculus, prefect of Illyricum: 213

Hermes: 107, 186, 169

Agoraioi, 95
Propylaioi, 169
Psithyristes, 169
Psychopompos, 82
Tetrakephalos, 95, 169
Trikephalos, 169

Hermes: 73, 83, 84, 85, 95ff., 118, 154, 169
early fifth century head, 95
“The Herms,” 94ff., 118, 123, 150, 156, 169, 171, 173
mutilated, 44, 95, 125, 133, 153

Hieron: 113, 129, 203, 203
Odeon of, 113

Heroes: 76, 119ff., 121, 168, 210, 215
Aiakos, 132
Eurysakes, 171, 228
Latros, 125
Kalamites, 128
local Attic, 131, 132
Strategos, 73, 121
see also Eponymoi, Theseus

Herules: 34, 47, 168
Hierophantes: 93, 129, 150

Hipparchia: 93
Hipparchos: 122, 123, 155, 156
Hipparch: 94

Hippodamos: 21

Hippocrates, ostrakon of: 117

Homer, statue of: 115

Horses, on lids: 14

Houses: 1, 2, 26, 27, 28, 47, 74, 152, 168, 169, 170, 173ff., 221, 228, 234

Archaic, 17
of Aristodemos, 183
 Byzantine, 88, 161, 180, 191, 216, 218
with columns, 177, 180
of the Greek Mosaic, 180ff.
of Kallias, 182
on Kolonos Agoraioi, 228
of Mikion and Menon, 173
mode of construction, 179

Myceenal, 3

19th century, 219, 221, 224, 225
N. of Agora, 57, 90, 94, 107, 234
N. of Areopagus, 170, 177, 179, 179, 180, 182, 210, 213, 230, 231
N.W. of Areopagus, 2, 74, 185
at Olynthos, 76, 176, 180, 182
of Poulityon, 15ff.
of Roman date, 183ff., 208, 210, 212, 213, 215
of Simon, 118, 174, 231
S.E. of Agora, 150, 187
of Turkish period, 218
two storeyed, 177, 182, 184, 185
W. of Areopagus, 16, 174ff., 181, 188ff., 187, 195, 196, 221

See also Peristyle court

Hymettos: 199; see also Marble

Hypocasts: 212

Hyrcanos, Jew: 160
IAKHOS: 150, 154, 157
Iamblichos: 209, 210
Ikria: 33, 49, 126
Iktiopoiia: 126
Iliad, statue representing: 115, 232
Ilissos River: 1
Illyrios, wall-builder: 209
Imperial cults: 23, 165, 166
Industrial district: 118, 170, 174, 180, 183, 185ff., 195, 230
Inscriptions: on Acropolis wall, 229
boustrophedon, 153
built into Post-Herulian Wall, 209
found in situ, 117, 120, 129, 132
in houses, 224
retrograde, 118
see also Stelai
Ionian agora: 82, 108
lonians: 136
Ionic order: 33, 37, 82, 104, 105, 109, 110, 114, 138, 166, 211
Iphikrates: 158
Iron: fibulae, 14
pins, 14, 91
ring, 164
Ironworkers: 71, 81, 177, 188, 228
Ischomachos: 171
Isis: 215
Ivory: 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 139, 177
JASON, SCULPTOR: 115
Jewish high priest: 160
Julia Augusta Boulia (Livia): 166
Justinian, emperor: 213, 215
KALAMIS: 137, 138, 139
Kalamites: 128
Kallaueria, stoa: 101
Kallias: 182
peace of, 143, 168
Kallikles: 174
Kallikles: 174
Kallippos: 34
Kallirrhoe: 198, 200, 203
Kallistratos: 138
Kara: see Limestone
Karneades: 107, 135
Kassandros: 95
Kebris, archon: 95
Kekrops: 40
Kephalos: 85
Kephisodotos: 168, 205
Kephisodotos: 168, 205
Kephisos: 17, 18
Kerameikos: 93, 123, 164, 19, 20, 51, 73, 82, 94, 111, 115, 169, 172, 186
horos of, 115, 228
meaning Agora, 51, 84, 86, 108, 122, 142, 157
Kerkopes, agora of: 173
Kerno: 150, 229
Kerykes: 153
Kilns: 17, 186, 191
Kimon: 21, 24, 90, 914, 100, 169, 204
brings bones of Theseus, 124, 142
dedicates Herms, 94ff.
ostracized, 913
plants trees, 20
Kinechlis: 33, 34, 53
Kings: 46, 47, 72, 83, 87; see also Archon Basileus
Kitchen: 13, 28, 43ff., 153, 195, 208
Kithara: 139, 209
Kleioekrateia: 154
Kleisthenes: 20, 24, 25, 28, 29, 40, 40, 160
Kleon: 33
Klepsydra: fountain, 229
water clock, 52, 55, 202
Kleroteria (allotment machines): 42, 52, 52, 53, 59, 61, 70, 156
Kneeling Boy (vase): 186
Kodinos, Georgios: 165
Kollytos: 174
Kolonos Agoraios: 9, 10, 15, 17, 19, 20, 27, 40, 71, 73, 81, 83, 86, 108, 142, 149, 150, 160, 169, 171, 186, 216, 221, 222, 223, 226, 228
benches on, 25, 126
metalworkers on, 188, 190, 228
see also Burials, Houses
KOLONOS HIPPIOS: 94
Kronon: 86, 101, 168
Konon Heros: 160
Kore: 93, 150ff., 167, 228; see also Eleusinion, Persephone
Kroplasts: 171, 171
Krates, Cynic: 93
Kritias: 34
Kritios, sculptor: 155, 156
Kydias: 102
Kykeos: 88
LACHARES, TYRANT: 191
Lakedaimonians: 91, 92, 158
Lamps: 6, 16, 183, 213, 214, 215
showing Hephaistos, 146
Landscaping: 228, 228
Late Roman Wall (Post-Herulian Wall): see Walls
Larina: 79, 173, 197
Laurels: 135, 233
Laurion: 45, 162
Law codes: 33, 88
Law courts: 20, 25, 34, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52ff., 74, 76, 82, 87, 88, 162, 163, 173
in Basilica, 71
in covered building, 52, 59, 65, 72
Heliaia, 20, 23, 52, 62ff., 66, 173
INDEX

Hellenistic, 23, 65 ff.
Homicide, 52, 87
N.E. of Agora, 21, 56 ff., 66, 71, 87A, 123A, 172
of Philokleon, 71, 149A
in Poikile, 71, 76, 98
in Prytaneion, 47
on slope of Kolonos, 71, 149A
in Stoa of Zeus?, 102
in Theseion?, 125
see also Parabyston, Trigonon

Laws: 88, 210
anti-tyranny, 61173, 102
kept in Stoa Basileios, 87, 88
sacred, 88
see also Drakon, Solon

Lead: 40, 87, 109, 120, 134, 146
ballots, 56
curse tablets, 79, 132, 177
pipeline, 200, 201, 203
seal, 45
tablets, 171
for waterproofing wall, 97, 101, 147, 163
weight, 44

Leadworkers: 174
Leagros: 129, 131, 158
Lemnos: 148
Lenaia: 87, 128
Lenos: 128
Leochares: 188, 199
Leokorion: 41, 120, 121 ff., 207
Leokoros: 122
Leokritos: 86, 102
Leonis, tribe: 95
Leos: 40, 41, 122
Lesche (lounge): 76, 90, 92, 102
Leukoma: see Boards, whitened

Livy: 166
Lokros, sculptor: 164
Loomweights: 128, 176, 179
Lutatius, Quintus: 107
Lyceum: 139
Lykourgos: 21, 24, 48, 36, 50, 137, 139, 158, 159,
161, 172, 188, 204
Lyre: see Kithara
Lysanias, bellows blower: 79
Lysikrates, monument of: 223
Lysimachos: 159

Magistrates’ Offices: 21, 25, 50, 72 ff., 75, 77, 79 f., 82
Manilea: 101
Manuel I: 219
Marathon: battle, 40, 91, 92, 96
in Heracleidae, 135

tomb, 8
Marble: (for types of marble see Agora, XI, pp. vi f.)
green-veined, 162, 203
“Hymettian” (blue-gray), 37, 38, 40, 46, 67, 97,
100, 104, 107, 107A, 109, 114, 134, 188, 140
Island, 12B, 117, 139
from Laurion, 166, 167
Parian, 137, 142, 142
Pentelic, 32, 33, 34, 37, 40, 45, 46, 79, 96,
97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 109, 119, 120, 132,
137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 144, 153, 156, 161,
162, 163, 164, 166, 167, 203
vari-colored, 113
altars, 34, 96, 129, 134, 138, 140, 158, 160, 164
antae, 167, 212
bases of monuments, 40, 79, 102, 108, 107, 126,
132, 134, 137, 145, 153, 154, 156, 166, 228, 228
ceiling, 142A, 145A
chips, 32, 46, 70, 114, 137, 140, 177, 184, 187
door frames, 104, 104, 188, 212
fences, 38, 40, 105, 169
omphaloi, 138
orthostates, 97, 104A, 153, 161, 164
panels, 194
plaques, 150
revelments, 114, 116, 134, 188, 212
seats, 70, 84, 87, 105, 111, 113
string course, 43, 46
tiles, 106, 142A, 145A, 163
see also Boundary stones, Floors, Metopes, Peri-
rhanteria, Sarcophagus, Stelai, Triglyphs
Marbleworkers: 23, 71, 74, 114, 170, 171, 177, 187,
188, 292
Market halls: 107, 171 f., 172
Masks: 215
Mason’s marks: 161, 162, 163, 166

Lithos: see Stone

Mycenae: 312

N.E. of Agora, 21, 56 ff., 66, 71, 87A, 123A, 172
of Philokleon, 71, 149A
in Poikile, 71, 76, 98
in Prytaneion, 47
on slope of Kolonos, 71, 149A
in Stoa of Zeus? 102
in Theseion? 125
see also Parabyston, Trigonon

Laws: 88, 210
anti-tyranny, 61173, 102
kept in Stoa Basileios, 87, 88
sacred, 88
see also Drakon, Solon

Lead: 40, 87, 109, 120, 134, 146
ballots, 56
curse tablets, 79, 132, 177
pipeline, 200, 201, 203
seal, 45
tablets, 171
for waterproofing wall, 97, 101, 147, 163
weight, 44

Leadworkers: 174
Leagros: 129, 131, 158
Lemnos: 148
Lenaia: 87, 128
Lenos: 128
Leochares: 188, 199
Leokorion: 41, 120, 121 ff., 207
Leokoros: 122
Leokritos: 86, 102
Leonis, tribe: 95
Leos: 40, 41, 122
Lesche (lounge): 76, 90, 92, 102, 179A, 181A, 197
at Delphi, 91

Leukoma: see Boards, whitened

Levelling of ground: 1, 16, 20, 51, 63

Library: of Hadrian, 23, 114, 209, 213A, 218
in Late Gymnasium, 212
at Pergamon, 38

see also Pantainos

Lily bowl: 4

Lime making: 191

Limestone: 39A, 43, 61, 62, 84, 97A, 104, 152, 174,
174, 182, 196, 198, 201, 216
Acropolis, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 33A, 37, 73,
97, 77, 120, 137, 188, 152, 179A
dark Eleusinian, 145
Kara, 967, 138
reddish brown, 152
see also Poros for less hard types

Lions: lion’s head, 163
lioness, painted on lintel, 31A
with Mother of Gods, 81
poros, 20A
relief, 95

See also Boundary stones, Floors, Metopes, Peri-
rhanteria, Sarcophagus, Stelai, Triglyphs

Marbleworkers: 23, 71, 74, 114, 170, 171, 177, 187,
188, 292
Market halls: 107, 171 f., 172
Masks: 215
Mason’s marks: 161, 162, 163, 166
## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measures: 25³, 36, 44ff., 79, 205</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bronze, 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medea: 79, 126, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megalopolis: 101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Megarian bowl: 187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meidias: 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meletos (accuser of Sokrates): 88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melite: 40, 122, 148, 152, 174³²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menidi: 8, 119³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menon: 17³⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Messene: 79²³⁰</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metalworkers: 20, 23, 26, 81³³⁹, 96, 142, 170, 171, 177, 210, 228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metopes: Hephaisteion, 142¹²⁸, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Stoa, 67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoas Basileios, 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoa of Zeus, 98⁴, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple of Ares, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metragyrtes: 35⁵⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metronomoi: 44, 78, 172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metroon: 17³⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hellenistic, 30, 31, 35, 36ff., 88, 71, 73, 79, 101, 157, 158, 159¹²⁵, 160, 161, 201, 205, 209, 210, 211, 222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temple, 29²⁵, 30f., 35, 36, 37, 38, 20³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wrongly located, 32⁴², 20³³³, 221, 22²²³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikion: 17³⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mikon, painter: 90, 92, 124, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milos: 21, 82, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mill: flour, 94, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olive, 214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Millstones: 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miltiades: 158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minerva: 115, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see Athena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minos: 9, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minotaur: 8²², 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mint: 44, 78f., 167, 200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minyan Ware: 2, ³³⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirror, bronze: 6, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misericordia: 135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mithridates of Pontus: 23, 51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnesikles: 10⁰⁰⁵, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Model: of Agora, 80, 230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Southeast Fountain, 20⁰⁰⁴⁷</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Stoa of Attalos, 10⁶¹²³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moliones: 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money lender: 171, 17¹²³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monolithic columns: 109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortar: 27, 46, 109, 140, 166, 184, 209, 229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mosaics: 46, 104, 182, 185, 211, 212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother of Gods: 20, 30, 35, 38, 45¹¹³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>relation to Demeter, 35⁵⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>statue, 31, 205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>statuettes, 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>see also Metroon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moulds: 91, 137, 145, 17¹¹⁴, 187, 188, 189, 190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muses: 115, 208</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Museum: 224, 226, 230, 23²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Stoa of Attalos, 10⁴, 23²²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mycenae: 3, 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mysteries: 59, 87, 93, 150, 153, 169³³⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesser, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nails: 15³, 17³⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naiskoi (miniature temples): 31, 73, 168, 18¹³²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nemesis, at Rhamnous: 14³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neolithic period: 1, 2, ³³⁹, 17, 22³², 22²²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neoptolemos: 1³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nesiotes: 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nestor: 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nettos Painter: 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikai: 99, 100, 101, 164, 210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Golden,” 19¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikanor, C. Julius: 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nike temple parapet: 16³³³³³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikias: 73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peace of, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikias, archon 28²/1 b.c.: 9⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikolaos, Syracusan: 1³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nomothetai: 41, 8⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notices, public: 38, 40, 4¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nymphæum: 23, 78, 190, 20²f., 2³¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at Olympia, 20³, 20³⁶¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nymphs: 2³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hill of, 185, 192, 195, 208, 2³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oath: in Library, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Plataea, 14³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odeon: of Agrippa, 23, 5², 67, 79, 10⁴, 11³¹f., 12⁰¹⁵, 12³, 12⁰²³, 12⁹, 12⁹¹³, 15⁶, 15⁷, 15⁸, 15⁹, 15³³², 1⁶⁰, 1⁶⁶, 1⁶⁶, 1⁴⁴¹, 1⁹⁹, 2⁰³⁴, 2⁰⁴, 2⁰⁵, 2⁰⁹, 2¹¹, 2²³, 2²⁷, 2²²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Herodes Atticus, 1²³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Perikles, 7¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odyssey, statue representing: 11⁵, 2³²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices, civic: 5⁰, 7²f.; see also Magistrates’ Offices</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oinoe, battle at: 9¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olbiades: 3⁴³⁸</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Old Agora: 1⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olive oil: 8²⁰, 1⁶, 8¹, 1⁷¹, 1⁷³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olive trees: 1³³, 1³³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olives: ³², 4⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mill, 2¹⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympia: 1³³, 1⁴⁶</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>exedra of Herodes, 2⁰³, 2⁰³⁶¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temple of Zeus, 9⁹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olympos, son of Alexandros: 4⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olynthos: 7⁶, 1⁷⁶, 1⁷⁷³⁸, 1⁸⁰, 1⁸², 1⁸²³⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omphalos: 2⁰, 1²³, 1⁸³, 1⁸³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchestra: in Agora, 4⁸¹⁴, 1²³, 1²⁹, 1⁵⁷, 1⁷¹</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Bouleuterion, 3², 3³, 3⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in Odeon of Agrippa, 1¹¹, 1¹³, 2²³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in theater of Dionysos, 1²³</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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INDEX

Oropos: 168
Orpheus: 185
Ostracism: 34, 50, 91
Ostraka: 50, 74, 117, 142, 173, 174, 227
Oval enclosure: 175, 120

Paint, in architecture: 43, 67, 91, 105, 117, 113, 147, 163, 166, 182, 185

PAINT, in architecture: 43, 67, 91, 105, 117, 113, 147, 150, 163, 166, 182, 185

Painted Stoa: see Stoa Poikile

Paintings: in Bouleuterion, 34
in church of Holy Apostles, 216
in Hephaisteion? 147
in Poikile, 90ff., 124, 205, 210
in Stoa of Zeus, 91, 124, 205
in Theseion, 124

Palace: of Archbishop, 218
Mycenaean, 3, 46

Pallas, Attic hero: 147

Pamphilos, painter: 92
Pan Painter: 94, 96
Panainos: 92

Panathenaic amphorae: 81, 200
Panathenaic festival: 104, 107, 109, 121, 122, 124, 126, 190, 194

inscription on wall, 229

see also Dromos

Pandion: 40, 41

Panathenaic amphorae: 81, 200
Panathenaic festival: 104, 107, 109, 121, 122, 126, 190, 194


inscription on wall, 229

see also Dromos

Pandion: 40, 41
Pandion, T. Flavius, Library of: 109, 110, 114ff., 115, 116, 117, 120, 121, 122, 126, 190, 194

Papyrus: 35, 38, 52

Papyri: 35, 38, 52

Parableston, court: 59

Parakeets, mosaic: 185

Paredroi of archons: 87

Parian Marble (inscription): 155

Parkinson, Law of: 72

Parthenon: 21, 103, 113, 124, 142, 143, 147, 183
made church, 216

Pastas: 180, 182

Paul, St.: 168, 215, 218

Paving: 110, 114, 126, 131, 132, 134, 164, 167, 177, 179, 193

Peace: “King’s,” 168
of Nikias, 21

see also Eleusinon, Kallias

Pedimental sculpture: 20, 113, 142, 148, 164

Peiraeus: 1, 18, 21, 44, 50, 84, 118, 172, 182, 185

see also Arsenal, Gates, Philo, Poros, Streets

Peirene: 205

Peirithoos: 136

Peisianax: 24, 90

Peisistratos: 20, 25, 48, 73, 190, 124, 194
sons of, 20, 24, 28, 155, 197, 198, 200, 201
younger, 20, 131, 134, 226

Pelias: 136

Peloponnesian War: 21, 57, 100, 120, 150, 170, 191

Pentelikes: 199

Perachora: 77

Pergamon: 23, 31, 104, 106, 107, 212, 220

Library, 38

Perikles: 21, 24, 21, 27, 100, 162, 179, 204, 229

Periphragma: 40, 184

Perirrhanteria: 79, 118f.

Persianism: 34, 50, 87, 130, 159

Peristyche court: in houses, 180, 183, 185

in Library, 115

N.E. of Agora, 21, 57, 60ff., 65, 66, 68, 104, 193, 194, 220, 223, 228

in Roman Market, 172, 173


Persephone: 122, 167, 229
see also Eleusinon, Kore, Pherephattion

Persians: 2, 18, 20, 28, 29, 29, 31, 41, 46, 49, 84, 85, 90, 94, 95, 96, 101, 120, 182, 183, 137, 143, 155, 156, 157, 170, 174, 186, 215

Philadelpheus, Alexander: 224

Philip of Macedon: 73, 101, 102, 159

Philo: 81

Philokleon: 55, 71

Phoenicia: 14

Phorbas: 169

Phosphoroi: 45

Phraehria: 119, 140

Phrynichos: 201

Phylarchs: 94, 95

Phylais: 94, 95

Pick-a-back group: 148

Pinakia (jurors): 53, 57, 61, 70, 74

Pindar: 21, 31, 38, 40, 88, 133, 147, 147

Pheraphattion: 122, 167

Philip of Macedon: 73, 101, 102, 159

Philo: 81

Philokleon: 55, 71

Phoenicia: 14

Phorbas: 169

Phosphoroi: 45

Phraehria: 119, 140

Phrynichos: 201

Phylarchs: 94, 95

Phylais: 94, 95

Pick-a-back group: 148

Pinakia (jurors): 53, 57, 61, 70, 74

Pindar: 21, 31, 38, 40, 88, 133, 147, 147

Pheraphattion: 122, 167

Philip of Macedon: 73, 101, 102, 159

Philo: 81
INDEX

Knyx: 20, 25, 48ff., 60, 128, 125ff., 149, 150, 152ff., 160, 161, 174, 192, 221, 230

Poikile: see Stoas

Polemarchos: see Archons

Poletai, Poleterion: 73, 153

Polyeuktos, sculptor: 159

Polygnotos: 92, 94, 124, 147, 220

Polygonal masonry: 26, 29, 33, 84, 120, 152, 174, 179, 179ff., 194, 198

Pompeion: 71, 109ff., 154ff., 155, 191ff., 193

Pontos, tyrants of: 158

Poros: Aeginetan, 62, 67, 90, 97, 98, 99, 102

hard, 31, 31ff., 37, 43, 83, 84, 88, 90, 97, 104, 114, 114ff., 138, 144, 198, 203

soft, 29, 32, 43, 71, 75, 84, 96ff., 97, 97ff., 103, 119, 180, 182, 184, 144, 149, 153, 195, 200

altars, 29, 103, 131, 140, 164

anta capital, 91

bases or beddings for monuments, 79, 95ff., 96, 118, 119, 126, 138, 153

basins, 135, 200

benches, 33, 83, 149

boundary stone, 117

bridge, 196

capitals, 75, 119

channels, 195, 196, 200, 202

columns, 43, 67, 84, 90, 91, 108, 136

cornice, 91

drain, 194, 196

euthynteria, 37, 144

foundations of buildings, 29, 30, 31, 32, 83ff., 87, 91, 97, 102, 144, 179ff., 196, 201, 221

paving, 184

pedimental sculpture, 20ff.

posts, 39ff., 190, 194

sill, 120, 130, 132, 134

steps, 67, 84, 108, 109

stylvate, 31, 75, 84

thrones, 87

glyphy, 67, 84, 91, 98, 99

underpinning of floors, 144, 164

walls, 29, 31ff., 32, 37, 43, 62, 67, 68, 75, 84, 91, 97, 97ff., 102, 104, 120, 140, 152, 166

Poros Building: north of Areopagus, 179ff.

to southwest, 74, 177

Poseidon: 94, 118, 131, 201

at Sounion, 142

Post beddings: 30ff., 34, 87ff., 130, 134, 169, 177

Post-Herulian Wall: see Walls

Post holes: 87, 59, 61, 126, 177

Pots, for plants: 149

Potters: 8, 14, 17, 179ff., 20, 26, 81, 96, 100, 170, 171, 185ff., 187, 226

Poulytion: 168ff.

Pratinas: 127

Praxiteles: 154, 228

Priene: 77, 82

Priest: of Phosphoroi, 45

of Roma and Augustus, 103

of Zeus Agoraios, 161

Prison: 125ff.

Propylaia: 43, 88, 97, 100, 107, 155, 157, 166

Propylon: 73, 73ff.

of Acropolis, 91ff., 124, 142

to Bouleuterion, 33, 34, 37

to Eleusinion, 152

of Roman Market, 173

Protogenes: 34

Protogeometric period: 10ff., 13, 16, 17

Prytaneion: 41, 44, 46, 72, 78, 158, 159, 168ff.

decree about, 47ff.

at Eleusis, 47ff., 77ff.

laws of Solon in, 47, 87

one established by Theseus, 148

Prytanais: 20, 25, 28, 33, 41ff., 43, 44, 45, 47, 64, 72ff., 79, 89

Prytanion: 41, 45

Psephoi (ballots): 55, 56, 57, 61

Psykter (wine cooler): 15

Ptolemaion: see Gymnasia

Ptolemy, eponymos: 38ff., 40

Pylos: 92, 228

Pyrrhos: 159

Pythais: 118ff.

Python: 138

Pythodoros: 122, 123

Pyxis: 5, 9, 13, 14, 15, 16

Railway cutting: 83, 97, 122, 129, 142ff., 164, 214ff., 222ff., 224

Record office: 31, 88

associated with Mother of Gods, 23, 30, 35ff., 79

modern, in Stoa of Attalos, 232

in Old Bouleuterion, 31, 35

Reliefs, three-figured: 135

Remus: 101

Retaining wall: 26, 27, 31, 32, 50, 68, 84, 96, 97ff., 118, 150, 183


Rhamnous: 148

Rhodes: 68ff., 172

Rock-cut shaft, rectangular: 186, 226

Rockefeller Foundation: 224

Roma, goddess: 103, 223

Roman generals: 51, 220ff.

Roman Market: 23, 81ff., 109ff., 110, 165, 173, 197, 218

Rome: 23, 71, 155, 188
Romulus: 101
Rope barrier: 94, 57, 59, 61, 87, 126
Round building, northwest: 122f.
Royal Stoa: see Stoa Basileios
Rubble masonry: 4, 56, 57, 76, 114, 169, 177, 179, 17948, 191, 196, 197, 211, 219

Sacred Way: see Streets
Sarcophagus: 1228
Sanides (boards): 35, 41, 89, 91, 102
Satyra, priestess: 152
Satyros: 34
Sauce-boats: 2
Sausage-seller: 33, 34, 162, 170
School: 125, 213
Screen walls: 29, 32, 57, 66, 67, 68, 91, 113
Sculptors: 95, 114, 1732, 17432, 187
Sculpture: relevance to cult, 136, 148
unfinished, 187
Seating: lettered, 33
stone, 33, 84, 87, 111
wooden, 27, 30, 33, 59, 87, 19, 126ff.
see also Benches
Secretaries: 35, 44, 72, 77
Semnai: 125
Senate, Roman: 51
Serapis: 215
Sgouros, Leon: 218
Shells (murex): 191
Shields: bronze, 92, 119, 228
of Chabrias, 158
"Dipylon," 15
gilded, 348, 429, 107225
of Leokritos, 86, 102
Spartan, 92, 228
on weight, 44
room let as, 174
Sticlia: 21
Sicilian expedition: 21
Silver: 8, 191
coins, 78
mines, 73, 78
Simon, cobbler: 74, 118, 170, 173, 174, 231
Simonides: 165, 157
Sitesis: 165, 157
Skiosis (free meals): 47
Sitophylakes (grain officers): 172
Skene (booths): 48, 170, 171
Skias: 41; see also Tholos
Skiron: 85

Skyros: 124
Slaves: 125
public, 35, 44
Slaves, raids by: 216
Snakes: 113, 146, 148
Sokrates: 21, 42, 87, 88, 93, 102, 119, 127, 140, 171, 173, 174, 231
Solon: 24, 25, 27, 41, 47, 48, 72, 73, 87, 122, 159
temple of, 19
laws, 47, 87, 88, 197
Sophilos, vase-painter: 126
Sophists: 52, 113, 182, 214
Sophokles: 36, 73
picture, 92
Sounion: 167
temple of Athena, 166
temple of Poseidon, 148
South Square: 17, 62, 65ff., 71, 74, 82, 103, 125, 160, 166, 187, 188, 190, 200, 205, 211, 227, 231
South Stoa I and II: see Stoa
Sphakteria: 92
Sphinges: 15
Spoudias: 154
Springs: 199, 229
Squatters, in shrines: 121, 150
Stacked masonry: 179, 196
Stadium: 60, 121, 125
Stairs: to Bema, 51
donor's monument not a stair, 107
in East Building, 70
in front of Stoa Basileios, 84
in houses, 177, 185
on Kolonos Agoraios, 149
in Late Gymnasium, 211
near Library of Pantainos, 109, 114
in Metroon, 37
in Pyx, 50
in South Stoa I, 76
in Stoa of Attalos, 104, 105, 107
west of Middle Stoa, 67
Stamps: on measure, 45
on tiles, 37, 76, 113
Statues, honorary: 158ff.
sites for, 150
Stelai: 6, 35, 36, 61, 102, 125, 188, 196
on Acropolis, 35, 44
"Attic" (sale of confiscated property), 153, 229
bronze, 338
near Civic Offices, 79
in Eleusinion, 153, 229
in front of Bouleuterion, 35, 39, 42, 57
in front of Stoa Basileios, 88
in front of Stoa of Zeus, 102
funeral, 15, 186
INDEX 255

beside Herms, 94
at Mycenae, 6
opisthographic, 89
in Prytanikon, 42, 44
re-used, 188, 196
in Stoa Basileios, 84, 88f.
in Stoa of Herms, 94
Stippling: 9784, 147
Stoas: 21, 25, 71, 72, 74, 80, 82, 89, 96, 100ff., 108, 179ff., 204, 206
Stoics: 98f.
Stone: Archons’, 88, 89
Herald’s, 48
of Hybris and Anaideia, 88f.
Strategion: 73f., 89
Strategoi (generals): 51, 72, 73f., 89, 94, 182, 158
Strategos, Hero: 73
Streets: 1, 2, 3, 17, 20, 80, 95, 109, 118, 149, 150, 152ff., 168, 169, 173, 174, 177, 181, 184, 192ff., 195ff., 197, 209, 209, 220, 221, 222
in Byzantine times, 216
colonnaded, 84, 85, 108ff., 194, 234
construction, 193
continuity, 17, 219
doing Marble Workers, 177, 187, 193, 196, 196f.
on North, 17, 20, 57, 107, 192, 193
to Northwest, 1, 17, 82f., 83, 192
to Peiraenous, 1, 17, 18, 74, 192, 196, 222
Sacred Way, 115f., 192, 228
on South, 3, 18, 20, 62, 68, 75, 76, 120, 126, 177, 192, 198, 198f.
construction, 193
continuity, 17, 219
South of Stoa of Attalos, 104, 105, 110, 114, 173
to Southwest, 4,1, 51, 67, 73, 74, 79, 117, 118, 168, 231
stepped, 193, 229
on West, 10, 17, 20, 26, 27, 35ff., 62, 84, 85, 192, 198, 194
width, 198f.
see also Burials, Panathenaic Way, Paving
Strepsiades: 72
String course: 37, 43, 46
Stucco: 43, 75, 84, 138, 147, 219
Submycenaean period: 3, 9ff., 12, 16
Swords: 8, 9, 12
Symbolon: see Token
Synedria: 72
Synoikia (apartment house): 74
Syria: 7, 14
Syssition (communal dining room): 41ff., 47, 78, 89
TABLES: household, 182
for libations, 43
in market, 107
of money changers, 171f.
for offerings, 123
Taxiarchoi: 73
Telesarchides, sculptor: 169
Temples: on Acropolis, old, 46ff.
Aphrodite Ourania (?), 142ff.
Apollo Patroos, 20, 21, 32ff., 36, 37, 71, 119f., 186ff., 162, 179, 222, 226
Demeter (N.W.), 155
Dionysos, 128ff.
early in Agora, 20^2, 30, 137
in Eleusinion, 150ff.
made into churches, 142^22, 143, 144, 145, 208^3, 216ff.
Roma and Augustus, 103
in South Square, 70f., 160^224, 188
Southeast, 109, 152f., 160, 209, 214^19, 231
Southwest, 79, 160, 165
in Strategion, 73
Theseus (?), 124
transplanted, 23, 160ff., 204, 229
Zeus and Athena,
119^13, 137, 139ff., 222
see also Ares, Hephaisteion, Mother of Gods, Naikoi
Terracottas: 12, 13, 17, 31, 31^32, 67, 85, 100^94, 119, 121, 163, 171, 177, 179, 185, 187, 214, 215;
see also Akroteria, Lamps, Masks, Pipelines, Tiles, Wells
Terracottas: 12, 13, 17, 31, 31^32, 67, 85, 100^94, 119, 121, 163, 171, 177, 179, 185, 187, 214, 215;
see also Akroteria, Lamps, Masks, Pipelines, Tiles, Wells
Thasos: 92, 101, 172
Theater: in Agora, 20, 48, 82, 127, 129
“Lenaean theater,” 128^63
on south slope of Acropolis, 20, 21, 48, 50, 51, 52, 60, 84, 100, 104^12, 127, 128, 161, 163
see also Agrippeion, Odeion
Theatrical area: 27, 129
Thebes: 3, 209
Themis: 84
Themistokles: 1^3, 84, 117, 158
Theodore of Tarsus: 216
Theodius the Less: 165
Theoxenos, sculptor: 154
Theramenes: 34
Therrikleion: 140^30
“Theseion” (Hephaisteion): 86, 140, 147
Theseus: 1^3, 8, 9, 85, 186, 143, 147, 148, 220^1
with Herakles, 142, 148
painting, 91, 101, 147
shrine, 20, 63^77, 66^79, 121^20, 122, 122, 124ff., 142, 147, 205
on tripod base, 79, 126
unifies Attica, 1^3, 147, 148
Thesmophorion: 152^78
Thesmochetai: 34^85, 41, 47, 64, 70^83, 78, 89, 125
picture in Bouleuterion, 34^85
Thesmochetaeon: 47, 72, 74, 77, 89, 125^46
Thirty (“Tyrians”): 33, 34, 42, 43, 50, 50^147, 71^98, 93, 158
Tholos (Skias): 14, 15, 17, 20, 24, 25, 26, 28, 29, 32, 33^46, 34, 37, 39^82, 41^ff., 47, 61, 64, 66, 73, 78, 79, 81^27, 85, 89, 95, 100, 166, 186, 201, 205, 210, 226, 227
annex, 28, 43
discovery, 226
drainage, 194f.
WALLS: City, 50, 59, 209, 218
Cyclopean, 3, 9
of Hadji Ali Hasekis, 218
Long, 123
War of Independence: 143, 218, 220, 221
Water basins: 59, 64, 78, 109, 135, 149, 177, 185, 197, 200, 200, 209, 212
Water channels: 57, 58, 67, 85, 104, 135, 149, 170, 177, 195, 195, 196, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 203, 212; see also Aqueducts, Drains
Water clocks: 52, 55, 61, 65, 70, 202
Water pipes: see Pipelines
Water supply: 1, 2, 20, 197, 143
Hadrianian, 23, 202
Waterproofing: 198; see also Cement, Lead
Watson, George: 143
Weights: 25, 36, 44, 79, 205
Wells: 1, 2, 3, 10, 16, 17, 19, 29, 44, 55, 74, 89, 114, 115, 119, 123, 139, 150, 140, 145, 170, 171, 174, 176, 177, 182, 184, 186, 190, 197, 201, 207, 209, 210, 224, 228, 229, 232
break off in Agora, 16
construction, 197
Windows: 32, 43, 104, 105
Winds: cult of, 119
see Tower of Winds
Wine cooler: 15
Wine jars: 173
used as hearth, 77
Wine trade: 172
Wooden: altar enclosure, 99
amphora, 56
beams, 105, 145
bedposts, 182
benches, 27, 30, 33, 59, 67, 126
chests, 38, 70
coffin, 4, 5
columns, 27, 29, 177
door frames, 76
doors, 104
frames for paintings, 91
frame for statue, 146
 Kingstonia, 58, 59
kyrbeis, 88
posts, 57, 61, 177
rails, 39, 134
roof, 68, 75, 106
statue, 34
table, 8
tables, 35, 89, 147
see also Druphaktoi, Ikria, Sanides
Workshops: 17, 168, 170, 173, 174, 177, 185

ZENO: 93, 94
Zeus: 20, 119, 135, 148, 220
Agoraios, 40, 135, 160
of Artemision, 101
Basileus, 86
Boulaios, 34, 162
Eleutherios, 31, 88, 86, 96, 99, 101, 103, 137, 158, 161, 170; statue, 96, 97, 99, 101
Herkeios, 140
Hypstos, 52
Ktesios, 45
Phratrios, 137, 139, 222
Polieus, 162
Soter, 101, 103, 137, 142, 160, 162
temple at Olympia, 99
see also Altars, Athena, Stoas
The Agora and Environs in 2nd Century after Christ
Early Burials and Wells in the Agora and on the Acropolis
The Agora, Plan of Actual State
The Agora in Late 5th Century B.C.
The Agora in Late 4th Century B.C.
The Agora in Late 2nd Century B.C.
The Agora in Late 2nd Century after Christ
PLATE 9

AGORA
LATE ROMAN PERIOD

The Agora in the Late Roman Period
The Agora and Environs: Air View from Northwest (Photo by the Royal Greek Air Force, 1963)
Model of the Agora, from Northwest
Model of the Agora, West Side
a. From West

b. From East

Model of the Agora, South Side
a. Neolithic Jars from a Well on the North Slope of the Acropolis (P 14871, H. 0.196; P 14872, H. 0.204) [p.2]

b. Neolithic Marble Figurine (S 1097, H. 0.09) [p.2]

Neolithic Period
a. Middle Helladic Jar, Light on Dark (P 10522, H. 0.158. Watercolor) [p.2]

b. Middle Helladic Jar, Dark on Light (P 10521, H. 0.12. Watercolor) [p.2]

c. Trench Grave. Late Helladic III A/B [p.4]

d. Vases from the Trench Grave (P 21530, H. 0.165; P 21529, H. 0.187) [p.4]

Bronze Age
a. Vases from a Child's Grave. Late Helladic III A (P 21300-21309, H. of largest 0.185)  [p.4]

b. Vases from a Chamber Tomb. Late Helladic III A (P 27448-27458, H. of largest 0.33)  [p.4]

Mycenaean Tombs
a. Model of a Chamber Tomb on the Areopagus. Late Helladic III A  [p.6]

b. Ivory Pyxis from the Chamber Tomb (BI 513, H. 0.052)  [p.6]

c. Gold Ring from a Trench Grave (J 5, L. of bezel 0.019)  [p.8]

d. Two Swords and a Razor from a Chamber Tomb (B 781, L. ca. 0.46; B 782, L. 0.19; B 778, L. 0.74)  [p.8]
Child's Burial, Protogeometric Period. 10th Century B.C.  [p.13]
PLATE 20

a. Mouth of Burial Pit (to the left a Hellenistic Cistern)

b. Model of Chest and Granaries (P 27646, H. 0.253)

Ash Urn from Woman’s Burial of about 850 B.C. (P 27629, H. 0.715) [p.14]
a. Bronze, Gold and Glass

b. Detail of Gold Earring (J 148a, W. 0.0205)

Jewelry from Woman's Burial of about 850 B.C. [p.14]
a. Graves

b. Vases from a Single Grave (P 4778-4785, Diam. of largest pyxis 0.275)

Cemetery near the Tholos. 8th Century B.C. [p.14]
Wine Cooler with Scene of Combat. From a Grave near the Tholos. 8th Century B.C. (P 4885, H. 0.228)
Protoattic Amphora by the Nessos Painter. Late 7th Century B.C. (P 1247, H. 0.457. Watercolor)  [p.15]
a. Vases from a Grave on the Areopagus. 550-525 B.C. (P 15261-15267, H. of largest 0.158) [p.15]

b. Vases from a Pyre. Late 4th Century B.C. (P 16600-16607, L 4021, ST 339, H. of alabastron 0.223) [p.16]
a. Porch of the Metroon with Earlier Foundations beneath. From North  [pp.25,37]

b. Steps and Column Base of Hellenistic Metroon  [p.37]

Metroon
a. Poros Base near the Tholos [p.29]

b. Marble Altar from the Tholos or Bouleuterion (ST 71, Diam. ca. 0.85) [p.34]

c. Stamped Roof Tile from the Hellenistic Metroon (A 304, L. of stamp 0.188) [p.37]

d. Marble Basin from the Bouleuterion About 500 B.C. (14869, Diam ca. 0.62) [p.30]
Marble Statuettes of the Mother of the Gods

a. Phiale and Tympanum in her Hands, Lion by her Side (S 731, H. 0.338)
b. Phiale and Tympanum in her Hands, Lion in her Lap, Attendants by her Side (S 922, H. 0.31)
c. Phiale and Tympanum in her Hands, Lion in her Lap (S 925, H. 0.196)
d. Unfinished (S 957, H. 0.347)
a. Foundations as excavated, from Southeast (1951)

b. Section of Fence Restored (H. above sill 1.25)

Monument of the Eponymous Heroes  [p.38]
a. Official Bronze Weights. About 500 B.C. (B 497, W. 0.034; B 492, W. 0.039; B 495, W. 0.064) [p.44]

b. Official Bronze Measure. About 400 B.C. (B 1082 bis, H. 0.064) [p.44]

c. Flans for Bronze Coins (B 1046, Average Diam. 0.013) [p.78]
a. Official Terracotta Measure. 4th Century B.C. (P 3562, H. 0.135)  [p.44]

b. Measure for Fruit and Nuts. About 100 B.C. (P 14431, H. 0.105)  [p.45]
a. Eaves Tile and Antefix from the Tholos (A 880, 861, restored H. of antefix 0.306. Watercolor)  [p.43]

b. Pottery from a Well in the Predecessor of the Tholos. Early 5th Century B.C. (H. of largest 0.265)  [p.44]
a. Dedication of Plants to the Phosphoroi, About A.D. 200 (I 4745, H. 0.21) [p.45]
b. Tile Standard. 2nd Century after Christ (A 1133+1283, H. of marble 1.44) [p.79]
a. Klepsydra. Late 5th Century B.C. (P 2084, H. 0.172. Watercolor) [p.55]

b. Lower Part of a Kleroterion. 2nd Century B.C. (?) (I 3967, W. 0.73) [p.53]

c,d. Bronze Symbolon, Obverse and Reverse. 4th Century B.C. (B 1169, Diam. 0.0181) [p.54]

c. Bronze Pinakion. 4th Century B.C. (B 822, L. 0.102) [p.53]

Law Courts
a. Cornice Block from the Square Peristyle (A 3399, W. 1.05) [p.61]

b. Bronze Psephoi, Symbolon and Kybos (?). Found in the "Ballot Box" (B 1055-1061, 1176, Diam. of psephoi ca. 0.065) [pp.54,56]

c. Room of the "Ballot Box" [p.56]
a. Site of Heliaia, from Northwest (1967) [p.62]

b. Water Clock, from North [p.65]

Law Courts
a. Wall Blocks from Heliaia (A 1645, 3283, Thickness of wall 0.48) [p.62]

b. Foundations for South Wall of Heliaia [p.62]

c. Catapult Balls Found in Ruins of Heliaia (ST 703-708, Average Diam. 0.17) [p.71]

d. Terracotta Antefix and Lion’s Head Water Spout from the Heliaia, Latest Phase (A 2284, H.b.1.295) [p.71]
a. Area of the South Square, from Northeast (1965) (Only the three columns in the foreground were found in situ) [p.65]

b. East End of Middle Stoa, Columns in situ [p.66]
a. Middle Stoa, Terracotta Sima and Antefixes (Watercolor)  [p.67]

b. Model of Middle Stoa, West End after addition of Stairway, from Northwest  [p.67]

Middle Stoa
a. Bedding Block in East Room of East Building (W. 0.98)  [p.70]

b. Fountain in Back Wall of South Stoa II  [p.68]

c. Front Foundations of South Stoa II  [p.68]

South Square
a. South Stoa I, Rooms Viewed from the Colonnade  [p.75]

b. Inscription Found in South Stoa I. Traditio published by the Metronomoi of 222/1 B.C. (I 7030, H. 0.275)  [p.78]
a,b,c. Reliefs on a Marble Tripod Support found in the Civic Offices. 2nd Century B.C. (S 370, H. 1.09) [pp.79,126]
a. Stoa Basileios, from South (1970)  [p.83]

b. Drakon's Law on Homicide (I.G., 1, 115, H. 0.88)  [p.88]

Stoa Basileios
c. Wall Block with Nail Holes probably from the Stoa Poikile (A 1560, H. 0.26) [p.91]

b. Anta Capital Restored [p.90]

Stoa Poikile

d. Bronze Shield Taken at the Battle of Pylos, 425 B.C. (B 262, Diam. 0.97) [p.92]

a. Poros Anta Capital probably from the Stoa Poikile (A 1595, H. 0.402) [p.90]
a. Stoa of Zeus, Cornice Block from Interior Angle (A 49, W. 1.00) [p.98]

b. Stoa of Zeus, Top Drum of Doric Column (A 150, Upper Diam. 0.599) [p.98]

c. Stoa of Zeus, Head of Nike Akroterion (S 373, H. 0.18) [p.99]
Nike Akroterion from the Stoa of Zeus (S 312, H. above plinth 1.20)  [p.99]
a. Decree against Tyranny. 336 B.C. (I 6524, H. 1.43) [p.61, note 173, p.102]

b. Emperor Hadrian. A.D. 117-138 (S 166, H. 1.52) [p.101]
a. Stoa of Attalos, Rebuilding the Entablature (1955) [p.104]
b. Stoa of Attalos, Model of North End  [p.105]
c. Inscribed Base for Statue of Karneades (I.G., II², 3781, H. 0.33)  [p.107]

Stoa of Attalos
a. Stoa of Attalos, Northeast Corner in Early 19th Century
   (E. Dodwell, *Views and Descriptions*, London, 1834, Pl. 71)

b. Stoa of Attalos on Completion of Excavation, from Northwest (1952)
a. Stoa of Attalos as Rebuilt, Upper Floor, North End

b. Stoa of Attalos as Rebuilt, Main Floor, from North

Stoa of Attalos  [p.103]
a. Odeion of Agrippa during Excavation, from South (1935)

b. Capital from Free-standing Column of Odeion (NM 1469, H. 1.075)

c. Capital from Interior Column of Odeion (Watercolor)
a. Model of Odeion, Original State, from Northwest

b. Odeion as Remodelled, against the Middle Stoa

Odeion [p.111]
a. Odeion, Perspective Section by George C. Izenour

b. Odeion Seating

c. Female Head from Stage-front of Odeion (S 554, H. 0.23)

d. Male Head from Stage-front Damaged in Fire of A.D. 267 (S 558, H. 0.24)
Head of a Triton from Facade of Odeion as Remodelled (S 1214, H. 0.57) [p.113]
a. Model of Library of Pantainos, from Southwest  [p.114]
b. Library Rules, Library of Pantainos (I 2729, W. 0.316)  [p.115]
c. Dedicatory Inscription of Library of Pantainos (I 848, W. 2.383)  [p.115]
d. Inscribed Base of Iliad (I 6628, W. 0.90)  [p.115]
a. The Iliad (S 2038, H. 1.43) [p.115]
b. The Odyssey (S 2039, H. 1.29) [p.115]
a and b. Horoi of the Agora. About 500 B.C. (I 5510, W. 0.31; I 7039, W. 0.315) [p.117]

c. Perirrhanterion from Southeast Corner of the Agora (A 2115, H. 1.095)

d. Horos of the Sacred Way to Delphi (1 5476, W. 0.339)
a. Stone-curbed Repository beside Panatheniac Way

b. Votive Material from Repository

Cult of Heroized Dead [p.119]
a. Monument Base commemorating the Victory of an Apobates (S 399, H. 0.49) [p.121]

b. Horos of Triangular Temenos outside Southwest Corner of Agora (17012, W. 0.27) [p.120]

c. Circular Base under North End of Stoa of Attalos (Diam. 1.35) [p.123]
a. Peribolos of the Twelve Gods, from West [p.129]

b. Base of Statue dedicated by Leagros to the Twelve Gods (I 1597, W. 0.56) [p.132]

The Twelve Gods
a. Sanctuary of Apollo Patroos, from Northeast (1969)  [pp.137,149]

b. Altar of Zeus Phratrios and Athena Phratria (I 3706, W. 0.75)  [p.140]

Civic Cults
Apollo Patroos by Euphranor (S 2154, H. 2.54)

Seen against the Fire-damaged South Wall of the Stoa of Attalos  [p.139]
Temple of Hephaistos, from Northwest (1957) [p.140]
a. Miniature Copy of Apollo Patroos (S 877, H. 0.29) [p.139]


c. Part of Expense Account for making Statues of Athena and Hephaistos (I.G., Γ, 371, H. 0.50) [p.145]
a. East Front

b. Easternmost Metope on South Side, Theseus vs. the Minotaur

c. Easternmost Metope on North Side, Theseus vs. Prokrustes

Temple of Hephaistos  [p.147]
a. Battle Scene

b. Athena, Hera and Zeus

Temple of Hephaistos, East Frieze  [p.147]
a. Centauromachy

b. Kaineus assailed by Centaurs

Temple of Hephaistos, West Frieze  [p.147]
a. Theseus in East Frieze

b. Theseus in West Frieze

Temple of Hephaistos [p.147]
a. Ancient Planting Holes on South Side

b. Ancient Flower Pot as found

c. Two Ancient Flower Pots (P 7261, H. 0.185; P 7054, H. 0.188)

Temple of Hephaistos  [p.149]
a. North Slope of Acropolis from Northwest (1959). Arrow points to Eleusinion

b. Ruins of Late Archaic Temple in Eleusinion, from Northeast (1959)

Demeter and Kore  [p.150]
a. Kernoi from the Eleusinion (P 12132, 12291, 12138, 12146, 12148, H. of largest 0.145) [p.150]

b. Fragment of "Attic Stele" recording prices paid for Slaves of Alkibiades (I 236bb, H. 0.23) [p.153]

c. Dedication to Demeter and Kore with signature of Praxiteles (I 4165, H. 0.672) [p.154]
a. Fragment from Base of Tyrannicides (I 3872, H. 0.104) [p.156]

b. Harmodios and Aristogeiton on a late Red-Figured Oinochoe in Boston (Acc. No. 98.936; Courtesy, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Pierce Fund) [p.155]

The Tyrannicides
a. Altar of Zeus Agoraios (?), from Southwest (1951) [p.160]

b. Foundations of Temple of Ares, from Northwest (1951) [p.162]

Zeus and Ares
a. Column Drum re-used as Millstone (A 2257, H. 0.78)  [p.162]  
b. Triglyph re-used as Millstone (A 2277, H. 0.83)  [p.162]  
c. Painted Ceiling Coffer (Watercolor)  [p.163]  
d. Crowning Member of Altar (A 1651, spacing of eggs 0.095)  [p.164]  

Temple of Ares
Temple of Ares, Figures from a Frieze (S 870, 679, 1072, 676, Restored H. of figures ca. 0.85) [p.164]
Ionic Columns re-used in Post-Herulian Wall  [p.166]
a. S 1277, H. 0.60

b. S 852, H. 0.397

Hekataia [p.169]

c. S 1145, H. 0.33
a. Pottery from Well in course of Mending

b. Clearing Well (1954)

c. Lekythoi from Well

From a Well at Southwest Corner of Stoa of Attalos [p.171]
a. Duel of Achilles and Memnon in presence of Thetis and Eos

b. Youth with Rabbit

c. Revel with Dionysos, Satyrs and Maenad

Red-Figured Cup from Well at Southwest Corner of Stoa of Attalos. About 500 B.C. (P 24113, Diam. 0.18) [p.171]
a. Site of Simon's House at Southwest Corner of Agora, from Northeast (1970)

House of Simon  [pp.173ff.]

b,c. Hobnails found in Ruins of Simon's House (IL 1361)

d. Foot of Simon's Cup (P 22998, Diam. 0.073)
a. Street to South of Areopagus, looking South (1964)

b. House to South of Areopagus, looking Southwest. Late 4th Century B.C.

c. House to South of Areopagus, Dining Room

d. Mosaic in Dining Room

House to South of Areopagus [pp.180ff.]
a. House between Areopagus and Pnyx with Mosaic of 2nd Century after Christ

b. Detail of Mosaic, Parakeets at a Wine Cup (Watercolor)

Mosaic Floor of House  [p.185]
Typical Wall Decoration in Houses to West of Areopagus. 2nd and 3rd Centuries after Christ (Watercolors) [p.185]
a. Potter's Kiln of about 700 B.C. near Tholos

b. Trial Pieces from a Potter's Dump. 7th Century B.C. (P 26569, 26571, 26580, 26581)

c. Potter's Kiln in Heliaia. 1st-2nd Centuries after Christ

Potters' Works [p.186]
Plastic Vase in shape of Kneeling Boy. About 540 B.C.
(Ribbon is modern. P 1231, H. 0.255) [p.186]
a,b. Mould of 4th Century B.C. and Modern Cast (T 2059, H. of mould 0.067)

c,d. Ancient Impression in Clay of Belt Ornament, Reverse and Modern Cast: Mourning Odysseus. About 430 B.C. (T 3393, H. 0.118)

e,f. Mould for making Megarian Bowls and a Bowl from this Mould, both Ancient. Early 2nd Century B.C. (P 18683,18688, H. of mould 0.088)
a. Unfinished Marble Statuette (S 918, H. 0.207)

b. Unfinished Marble Bowl with Traces of Early Lettering (ST 532, Diam. 0.227)

c. Abrasive Stone used in finishing Sculpture (ST 456, L. 0.075; ST 464, L. 0.077)

d. Pit coated with Emery Powder for polishing of Marble

Marbleworking [pp.187f.]
a. Portrait Bust of Julio-Claudian Period. 10 B.C.-A.D. 20 (S 356, H. 0.48)
b. Portrait Bust of time of Trajan. A.D. 98-117 (S 1299, H. 0.475)
a. Casting Pit for Bronze Statue near Temple of Apollo Patroos. 6th Century B.C.

b. Mould for Archaic Bronze Statue (S 741, H. 0.75)

b. Mould for Archaic Bronze Statue (S 741, H. 0.75)

b. Mould for Archaic Bronze Statue (S 741, H. 0.75)

Bronzeworking [pp.137,189]

b. Mould for Archaic Bronze Statue (S 741, H. 0.75)

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Bronze Head of Nike. About 425 B.C. (B 30, H. 0.20) [pp. 190f.]

Originally overlaid with sheet gold secured in the grooves.
a. Upper Stretch from North. Post-Herulian Wall to left of Paving

b. Paving outside Southeast Corner of Agora

Panathenaic Way  [p.193]
a. Great Drain on West Side of Agora (W. of channel 0.90) [p.194]

b. Succession of Drains issuing from Tholos, from East [p.194]

Drains
a. Pipeline leading to Southeast Fountain House

b. Detail of Pipeline showing Bend

c. Y-junction in Drain from Southeast Fountain House (A 2663, Inside Diam. 0.28)

Waterworks  [p.199]
a. Aqueduct leading to Southwest Fountain House [p.200]

b. Interior of Aqueduct showing inset Pipes [p.200]

c. Water Carrier of "Venus Genetrix" type from Nymphaeum (S 1654, H. 0.93) [p.203]

Waterworks
a. Destruction Debris of Odeion of Agrippa

b. Kitchen of a House destroyed in A.D. 267

The Herulian Sack [p.208]
a. Inner Face

b. Outer Face
c. Interior of Wall

Post-Herulian Wall to South of Stoa of Attalos  [p.209]
a. Water Mill set against Post-Herulian Wall. 5th-6th Centuries after Christ

b. Mill Stones for grinding Olives

c. Bed-block of an Olive Press

Late Roman Industrial Establishments [p.214]
a. Late Roman Gymnasium, Vaulted Room in Southeast Part  [p.211]
b. Triton in Entrance to Late Roman Gymnasium  (H. of figure 2.76)  [p.211]
c. Portrait of a Distinguished Official.  5th Century after Christ  (S 657, H. ca. 1.33)  [p.213]
a. Muse (T 3444, H. 0.136)
b. Isis (?) (L 3017, H. 0.221)
c. Matrona (T 511+519, Restored H. ca. 0.18)
d. Mask of Comedy (T 478, H. 0.27)
e. Relief of Comedy and Pylades (T 2404, H. 0.12)
f. Birds and Animals from a Child's Grave (T 1421-1424, H. of largest 0.115)

Terracottas of 3rd-4th Centuries after Christ [p.214]
Church of Holy Apostles after Conservation, from Southwest (1965) [p.216]
a. Area of Agora after War of Independence (Watercolor by J. J. Wolfensberger, 1834)  [p.218]

b. The Agora as envisaged ca. 1880, View from Northwest (Drawing by J. Buhlmann)  [p.221]
a. Area of Agora, before Excavation, from Southwest (1931) [p.219]
   Compare Plate 27

b. Courtyard in Excavation House, Asteroskopeiou Street (1957) [p.225]
a. Excavation Staff and Work Force (1933) [p.226]

b. Plaque in honor of John D. Rockefeller, Jr. in Agora Museum [p.233 note 91]