THE ATHENIAN AGORA

RESULTS OF EXCAVATIONS

CONDUCTED BY

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS

VOLUME XXIV

LATE ANTIQUITY: A.D. 267–700

BY

ALISON FRANTZ

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

HOMER A. THOMPSON AND JOHN TRAVLOS

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL OF CLASSICAL STUDIES AT ATHENS
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Roman Lamp. *Circa* A.D. 600 (L 1494, twice actual size)

"Athena Promachos strides away with grim determination, turning her back on this whole crew of saints and martyrs."

H. A. Thompson

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MEMORIAE

CAROLI RVFI MOREY

RERVM ANTIQVARVM AESTIMATORIS

AEVI OBSCVRI ILLVMINATORIS

EXPERTI IN STVDIIS MEDIAEVALIBUS

LITTERARVMQVE HVMANIORVM PROPVGNATORIS

DEVOTE DICATVM

The confusion of the times, and the scarcity of authentic memorials, oppose equal difficulties to the historian, who attempts to preserve a clear and unbroken thread of narration. Surrounded with imperfect fragments, always concise, often obscure, and sometimes contradictory, he is reduced to collect, to compare, and to conjecture: and though he ought never to place his conjecture in the rank of facts, yet the knowledge of human nature, and of the sure operation of its fierce and unrestrained passions, might, on some occasions, supply the want of historical materials.

EDWARD GIBBON

PREFACE

The paucity of literary documentation for the history of Athens during the six centuries following the Antonine period, and the physical destruction of most of the buildings, whether by war, negligence or natural decay, have combined to wrap these centuries in an obscurity that is only now beginning to be penetrated. The decline in the strategic importance of the Province of Achaea brought with it a similar decrease in the power of the province to exert financial pressure on the central government, and few historians found it necessary even to mention the city of which the chief reminders were the ancient works of art that now embellished Constantine's new capital.

Few new literary sources have come to light since Gibbon led the way in plumbing the depths of the *basse époque*, and although modern scholarship may attack his historical judgments, he alone has provided the wealth of leisurely detail, derived from primary sources, which make his work the delight of the reader and a boon for the scholar. No apology is made for unquestioning references to Gibbon's own accounts of peripheral interest and for accepting with gratitude the ease with which he has made it possible to follow back to their sometimes obscure sources statements which may have a direct bearing on the matter in hand.

A century after Gibbon the German scholars Gregorovius, Wachsmuth, and finally Judeich collected references to and interpreted almost all known passages relating to Athens, and these testimonia have formed the backbone of all subsequent writings on the subject, so that until recently it could be said, in Gibbon's words in another context, "all that learning can extract from the rubbish of the dark ages is copiously stated. . . ."

The meager literary framework is now gradually being filled out through the archaeological discoveries of the past few years: by the systematic excavation of the Athenian Agora and the area of the Dipylon, and by the vigilance of the Greek Archaeological Service in recording the remains of ancient buildings unearthed during modern building operations. The objective of this book has been to correlate the literary and archaeological aspects of the subject and so to present as full a picture as possible of Athens in Late Antiquity.

From the end of the 3rd century the Agora of classical times no longer had any significance as a separate entity within the city; therefore it can now be intelligible only as a part of Athens as a whole. But, except for the Agora and the areas of the Dipylon and Olympieion, almost all the ancient city lies under the modern (Pl. 1). In the course of new construction bits and pieces of ancient buildings, walls, streets, and graves are continually coming to light, but only sporadically, and it is seldom possible to follow them to their limits. Furthermore, they are usually promptly and permanently covered up once they have been recorded. Hope of recovering the complete plan of the city is no less elusive than is the vision that the lost histories of Dexippus and Eunapius will one day emerge from obscurity. In spite of these limitations it has been considered necessary to take into account the whole of the ancient lower city, however sketchily it must be presented, in the full knowledge that topographical theories may be made obsolete at any moment but in the hope that future investigators may find here some basis on which to build. In this survey, except in specific instances, little account has been taken of movable finds of Late Antiquity from the excavation. Special studies of the Agora series have already been devoted to the coins, pottery, terracotta figurines, and lamps (see the Bibliography).

The problem of transliteration familiar to all classical scholars is further complicated by dealing with a Greek province within the Roman Empire. At one extreme, names from classical antiquity in general call for a Greek spelling. At the other, names of Roman emperors demand the Latin form even when they are of Greek origin, e.g. Theodosius. In the middle ground subjectivity reigns, and inconsistency is claimed as a right.

The death of my collaborator John Travlos has deprived the book of some detailed descriptions and drawings which had been projected to fill out the architectural aspects of this survey. He had, however, completed all the most important drawings. The most serious lack in the text was the architectural description of the large "Palace of the Giants" in the middle of the Agora, for which he had drafted a preliminary version. On the basis of this, Homer Thompson, who had followed in detail the excavation and investigation of the building from start to finish, has kindly provided an expanded, revised, and updated description, with a new interpretation of its purpose, which appears as Chapter V. Travlos' contributions to the text are the short section on the water supply in Chapter III and the full description of the Post-Herulian Wall which appears as an Appendix. This bare listing in no way does justice to his invisible contribution. We exchanged views over the years on all aspects of the subject. He was generous with his knowledge and keen in his judgment. The finished product is poorer without his final work, but his influence throughout will be recognized by all who knew him. He was a revered colleague and a faithful friend.

That the excavation of the Agora has been a corporate undertaking from the beginning is evident from the number of colleagues whose help it is a pleasure to acknowledge. Above all, thanks are due to Homer A. Thompson who, as Field Director, championed the rights of Late Antiquity and from his command of the whole span covered by the excavations contributed toward putting this late period in a new perspective. I am also indebted to T. Leslie Shear, Jr. for permission to include some material uncovered since he assumed the Field Directorship in 1968. The field notebooks kept by the scholars supervising the various sections of the excavations have been the primary and sometimes the only source on which the present study of the Agora material is based. Opinions and even words of others have been freely used, and it is hoped that any unconscious plagiarism will be accepted as a tribute. The excavators charged with the chief areas under discussion were John McK. Camp II, Margaret Crosby, G. Roger Edwards, Richard H. Howland, James H. Oliver, Arthur W. Parsons, Henry S. Robinson, Rebecca W. Robinson, Dorothy B. Thompson, Homer A. Thompson, Eugene Vanderool, Frederick O. Waage, and Rodney S. Young. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Elizabeth G. Caskey, Fred S. Kleiner, John H. Kroll, D. M. Metcalf, the late George C. Miles, and Margaret Thompson for invaluable numismatic help; also to John W. Hayes for his wisdom on Roman pottery.

Thanks are due to the directors of the museums of Athens for many facilities: the late George Sotiriou, Manolis Chatzidakis, and Paul Lazarides in the Byzantine Museum; Nicholas Yalouris in the National Archaeological Museum; the late John Miliadis and George Dontas in the Acropolis Museum; Markellos Mitsos and Dina Peppas-Delmouzou in the Epigraphical Museum.

In Athens over the years the late Anastasios Orlandos was always generous with his time and counsel, as were other members of the Greek Archaeological Service: Angeliki Kokkou, Demetrios Pallas, the late John Papadimitriou, the late Stylianos Pelekanidis, Photios Petsas, Nicholas Platon, Eustathios Stikas, the late John Threpsiades, and the late Nicholas Verdelis.

The substance of this book has been enriched by conversation and correspondence with Javier Arce, Timothy Barnes, Judith Binder, Graeme Clarke, Slobodan Ćurčić, John Dillon, Noel Duval, Garth Fowden, Frank Gilliam, André Grabar, Timothy Gregory, Christian Habicht, Christopher Jones, Ernst Kitzinger, Richard Krautheimer, Paul Lemerle, Arthur H. S. Megaw, François Paschoud, Kenneth Setton, Jean-Pierre Sodini, and Sir Ronald Syme. Special thanks are due to Glen Bowersock, whom I have consulted on many points. He has read my manuscript, made

many constructive suggestions, and delivered me from some egregious errors. He is not, however, responsible for any that remain.

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The photographs of Agora material are from the files of the Agora Excavations, the work successively of Hermann Wagner, Alison Frantz, James Heyle, Eugene Vanderpool, Jr., Robert K. Vincent, and Craig Mauzy. Air views were taken by J. W. and E. E. Myers in May, 1975. The rest, unless otherwise specified, are by the undersigned. Almost all the prints, sometimes from recalcitrant negatives, owe much to the skill of Nicholas Restakis, the Agora's darkroom technician for many years. For assistance of other kinds I am indebted to Margot Camp and Jan Diamant, secretaries of the Agora Excavation, and, in Princeton, to Enid Bayan for typing and to Marian H. McAllister and the staff of the School Publications Office for skill and forbearance in seeing the manuscript through final stages.

All dates, unless otherwise specified, are of the Christian era.

The dedication of this volume to the memory of Charles Rufus Morey is an inadequate expression of gratitude for leading me into the then almost uncharted realm of Late Antiquity and for continuing help and encouragement through the remaining years of his life.

1988

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SEG = *Supplementum epigraphicum graecum*

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ABBREVIATIONS OF PERIODICALS

AA = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*
AAA = Ἀρχαιολογικὰ Ἀνάλεκτα ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν
AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*
AJP = *American Journal of Philology*
AM = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*
Annuario = *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene*
Ἀρχ Ἐφ = Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς
BCH = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BSA = *Annual of the British School at Athens*
BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CP = *Classical Philology*
CRAI = *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*
Δελτ = Ἀρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον
DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
JdI = *Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts*
JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRS = *Journal of Roman Studies*
MonPiot = *Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres (Fondation Piot)*
ÖJh = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts*
OpusRom = *Opuscula Romana*
Πρακτικὰ = Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας
Proc.Phil.Soc. = *Proceedings of the American Philological Society*
REG = *Revue des études grecques*
RM = *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
SymbOsl = *Symbolae Osloenses*
ZPE = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

I

INVASIONS AND THEIR AFTERMATH

THE PRE-HERULIAN THREAT (A.D. 254–267)

The upheavals and chaos that pervaded the Roman Empire in the 3rd century of our era became acute, as far as Greece was concerned, in 254, when a determined but finally unsuccessful siege of Thessalonica was followed by disturbances all over Greece.[1] According to Zosimus, Athens was virtually unprotected at this time, the city walls having been allowed to fall into neglect since their destruction by Sulla in 86 B.C.[2] But now the threat from the north had become so acute that all the Greeks took thought for their defenses, the Athenians for their own city, the Peloponnesians for the Isthmus, and "a common defense was undertaken for the security of the whole country."[3]

Zosimus' account may be an oversimplification. Excavation on the Pnyx showed that some repairs were made to the walls there in the late Hellenistic period, and a statement by Cassius Dio (XLII.14.1) that Caesar's legate Calenus, who, in 48 B.C., had captured the Piraeus because it was unwalled, was unable to take Athens indicates that some part of the fortifications was in order.[4] But in the main Zosimus is probably to be trusted. The "Valerian Wall" (to distinguish it from the Post-Herulian Wall erected later in the century) was solidly built on the foundations of the Themistoclean Wall of which apparently little survived above ground (Pl. 2).[5] The new wall was extended eastward to include the new quarter of the city believed to have been founded by Hadrian,[6] but the whole area was far larger than Athens, with its present resources, could defend, and it was powerless to resist the attack that soon followed.

THE HERULIAN INVASION

Historical Accounts

Among the barbarians invading the European continent during the latter part of the 3rd century, the Heruli made up for an otherwise undistinguished role in history by leaving an indelible impression on the city of Athens.[7] Their appearance was brief but savage. Suddenly emerging from the

[1] Zosimus, I.29.2–3; Syncellus, 381 (*CSHB*, p. 715); Zonaras, XII.23. For a date of 254 for these events, see Paschoud, *Zosime* I, pp. 150–151.

[2] Plutarch's account of Sulla's bombardment and his demolition of the walls (*Sulla*, 14) is amply supported by archaeological evidence (*Agora* XIV, p. 23 and *passim*).

[3] This chapter is often taken to mean that the Emperor Valerian, in whose reign the activity took place, personally saw to the rebuilding of the walls of Athens and the other Greek cities, in contrast to the private enterprise which was responsible for the Athenian Post-Herulian Wall (below). But the text indicates no more than a general interest in the defenses of all the provinces of the Empire: Παρελθὼν δὲ Βαλεριανὸς κοινῇ γνώμῃ πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν σπουδὴν ἐποιεῖτο τὰ πράγματα εὖ διαθεῖναι. . . . Καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι μὲν τοῦ τείχους ἐπεμελοῦντο μηδεμιᾶς, ἐξότε Σύλλας τοῦτο διέφθειρεν, ἀξιωθέντος φροντίδος, Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ τὸν Ἰσθμὸν διετείχιζον, κοινὴ δὲ παρὰ πάσης φυλακὴ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπ' ἀσφαλείᾳ τῆς χώρας ἐγίνετο.

[4] H. A. Thompson and R. L. Scranton, "Stoas and City Walls on the Pnyx," *Hesperia* 12, 1943, pp. 362–372.

[5] Cf. Travlos, *PDA*, p. 161 with references; also Thompson and Scranton, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

[6] R. E. Wycherley, *The Stones of Athens*, Princeton 1978, p. 23 with references; A. J. Spawforth and S. Walker, "The World of the Panhellenion," *JRS* 75, 1985, p. 93.

[7] The precise origin of the Heruli and their activities both before and after their attack on Athens lie outside the scope of this book. Some looseness of terminology on the part of the historians has led to confusion over the relation of "Scythians", "Goths", and other tribes and hence to discrepancies in references. For the subject in general and also the complexities involved in the accounts of the invasion of Greece, see P. Damerau, *Kaiser Claudius II. Goticus* (*Klio*, Beiheft n.s. 33, 1934, pp. 62–75; A. Alföldi, "Notes 1. The Sources for the Gothic Invasions of the Years 260–270,"

northeast, they crossed the Black Sea, ravaged much of Asia Minor, and went on to Greece. Their precise route varies in the accounts of different chroniclers, but it is a matter of historical record that they sacked Athens and were finally worsted by a band of 2000 Athenians under the leadership of P. Herennius Dexippus. From Attica they passed through at least the northern part of the Peloponnese before being driven off and dispersed westward.[8] They left no settlers, only a trail of fire and devastation and, in the pages of the historians, only a vague memory.

Only Dexippus, the historian, eyewitness and participant in the defense, gives a detailed account of the capture and liberation of Athens,[9] which elsewhere receives scant attention except for the (unfortunately probably apocryphal) episode of the Herulian decision not to burn the books of the Athenians on the ground that their pursuit of letters rendered them less likely to make war.[10] It was Dexippus himself who led the 2000 Athenians who established themselves in the woods near Athens to harass and finally repel the invaders.[11] Their action would explain why the Acropolis seems to have escaped damage, or at least in large measure, but they could not prevent the destruction of a great part of the lower city.[12]

Few physical traces of Herulian depredations have been observed in mainland Greece to help determine more precisely their route up to the time they reached Athens. More precision can be attained for its later stages as archaeological evidence has begun to corroborate the sketchy literary accounts that have survived. In the Peloponnesus a hoard of coins found at Sparta and a similar discovery at Corinth, added to extensive remains of destruction by fire, confirm to some extent the literary evidence for the devastation of these cities.[13] Inner city walls built of re-used materials,

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CAH XII, 1939, pp. 721–723; *idem*, *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus*, Darmstadt 1967, esp. pp. 320–325; L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung: Die Ostgermanen*, Munich 1941 (reprint 1969), chap. VI; J. Straub, *Studien zur Historia Augusta*, Bern 1952, esp. chaps. I and II. Two recent articles which came to my attention while this book was in press deal with the origin and later history of the Heruli: Alvar Ellegård, "The Ancient Goths and the Concepts of Tribe and Migration," *Vetenskap. och Omvärdering* (Festschrift for Curt Weibull), 1986, pp. 49–50 (brief summary), and *idem*, "Who were the Eruli?" *Scandia* 53, 1987, pp. 5–34.

[8] Syncellus (381 [*CSHB*, p. 717]) takes them across Lake Meotis to Pontus with 500 ships. He then traces their route via Byzantium, Cyzicus, Lemnos, and Skyros, whence they went on to "burn and devastate Athens, Corinth, Sparta, Argos and all Achaea." The *Historia Augusta* (*Vita Gallieni*, 13), Aurelius Victor (33), and Zonaras (XII.26) prefer a more northerly course by way of Thrace and Macedonia. Zosimus (I.39) limits his reference to "Greece and Athens itself", but recent studies suggest that this is the same event as that in I.42–43. Cf. Straub (footnote 7 above), pp. 59 ff.; Paschoud, *Zosime* I, pp. 37, note 67, and 157–159. (But cf. Damerau [footnote 7 above, p. 1], pp. 63–66.) Cedrenus (259 A [*CSHB*, I, p. 454]) speaks of "the cities and even Athens"; Ammianus Marcellinus (XXXI.5.15–17) mentions "Epirus, Thessaly and all Greece".

[9] It may be found in Jacoby, *FGrH* 100, 28 and Müller, *FHG* III, p. 680, frag. 21.

[10] The first known mention of the incident is by the 6th-century writer Petrus Patricius (Müller, *FHG* IV, p. 196, 9, frag. [1] under "Continuator of Cassius Dio"), and the tale caught the imagination of other writers, e.g., Cedrenus (259 A) and Zonaras (XII.26), apparently using the same source as Petrus. Is this perhaps a variation of the old theme of encouraging one's enemies in unwarlike pursuits, as found in Herodotus, I.155, where Croesus urged Cyrus to pardon the Lydians and to command them to teach their sons to play the lyre and sing and dance? (Larissa Bonfante kindly called my attention to this parallel.)

[11] Dexippus, "in whom the writing and making of history momentarily coalesced," came of a distinguished Athenian family, and his role in repulsing the Heruli is the subject of a definitive article by Fergus Millar (Millar, "Dexippus"). For Dexippus, see also E. Kapetanopoulos, "The Family of Dexippos I Hermeios," Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1972, pp. 133–172 (family connections only).

[12] For the view that the Acropolis also was taken and the Parthenon badly damaged, see J. Travlos, Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1973, pp. 218–236 and Travlos, *PDA*, p. 444. For a contrary argument, cf. Frantz, "Julian."

[13] Sparta, M. Karamessines-Oikonomidou, *Χαριστήριον εἰς Ἀναστάσιον Κ. Ὀρλάνδον* III, Athens 1966, p. 377; Corinth, O. Broneer, *Corinth*, I, iv, *The South Stoa and Its Roman Successors*, Princeton 1952, p. 134, and for more

similar to the Post-Herulian Wall at Athens (pp. 5–11 below), have been found at Olympia, Eleusis, Beroea, and elsewhere.

As long as the only available evidence was literary the damage inflicted by the Heruli was underestimated by scholars.[14] It was only in the course of the excavation of the Agora that the impact was shown to have been catastrophic. From the beginning of the excavations, it became gradually apparent that a major conflagration had consumed a great part of the lower city, so that A.D. 267, the year in which the city was sacked,[15] defines clearly the end of the ancient city and its transition to the status of a minor provincial town,[16] a character which it retained all through the Middle Ages, with life disrupted to such an extent that the old pattern could never be resumed.[17] That the damage was not confined to the Agora has since been shown by the work in the Kerameikos and at scattered points elsewhere in the city.[18] The destruction around the Dipylon is reflected in the sudden cessation of the lamp industry in the latter part of the 3rd century.

Physical Damage

Until 267 the appearance of Athens had probably changed little since its transformation by Hadrian and the Antonines, when the city reached its architectural peak (Pls. 2, 3). To the great Classical and Hellenistic monuments had been added the products of the Roman period, e.g., the Tower of the Winds, the Market of Caesar and Augustus, the Odeion of Agrippa, the Temple of Ares in its new location in the Agora, and later, the buildings of Hadrian and the Antonines, e.g., the Library of Hadrian, the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, and the Southeast and Southwest Temples in the Agora.[19] In the Agora all the important buildings, with the exception of those on the south side of the square, were still standing and in a good state of preservation.[20] But in this one raid the Agora lost, temporarily at least, all of its monumental character as a civic center, and although some

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recent discoveries, C. K. Williams, II and O. H. Zervos, "Corinth, 1981: East of the Theater," *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 118, 132–134; "Corinth, 1982: East of the Theater," *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 23–24.

[14] E.g., Wachsmuth, I, pp. 707–724; Judeich², p. 104.

[15] Whether the invasion took place during the last months of 267 or the first of 268 is uncertain owing to the confusion of the sources regarding the actual number of invasions by "Goths" during the decade 260–270. Alföldi, in the two references cited (footnote 7 above, p. 1), gives a summary of the known facts. Paschoud (*Zosime* I, pp. 157–159) opts for a date in 268 but still in the reign of Gallienus. All commentators agree that the invasion took place toward the end of Gallienus' reign. It seems certain that the Heruli launched their invasion of Asia Minor in 267 whether or not they reached Athens in that year. I have therefore adopted 267 as the starting point.

[16] Cf. T. L. Shear, Jr., "Athens: From City State to Provincial Town," *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 356–377. Technically speaking, it reached that status under Augustus when Greece became part of the Roman Empire as the Province of Achaea, but the transition was almost imperceptible through the Antonine period.

[17] On this whole subject see Thompson, "Twilight" and *Agora* XIV, pp. 208–210. Also *Agora Guide*³, pp. 32–34. For the individual buildings, Thompson, "West Side," pp. 76, 114, 171, 195; *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 101, 136.

[18] For Athens in general, Travlos, *PDA*, chap. VI. For the Kerameikos, including the Dipylon and Pompeion, *Agora* VII, *passim* and K. Kübler, "Die späten Einbauten im griechischen Pompeion," *AM* 56, 1931, pp. 80 ff.; also Hoepfner, pp. 174–175.

[19] For the new dating of the Agora temples, see W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., "Anchoring Two Floating Temples," *Hesperia* 51, 1982, pp. 410–452.

[20] The south side had incurred the heaviest damage in 86 B.C. Most of the buildings were destroyed, and for the next 200 years the area was given over to small industrial establishments. In the early 2nd century, however, these were abolished, and at least two of the major buildings, the Law Court on the south side and the East Building, were rebuilt, and the wall of South Stoa II was repaired to form the southern limit of the Agora and to support the "Antonine" Aqueduct. *Agora* XIV, p. 71, also *Hesperia* 28, 1959, p. 97 and *Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 362 (Thompson); *Agora Guide*³, p. 162.

of its functions were restored, it suffered encroachments from small industries,[21] most of these after a considerable period of desolation.[22]

Of the buildings on the south and east sides of the Agora not one remained intact, and to most the damage was so serious as to make them of little use except as a quarry.[23] The center of destruction was the Odeion, whose huge ceiling beams provided ample fuel. The mass of burned debris overlying the site at the time of excavation left no doubt of the cause of the ruin, and coins sealed under the debris, running down to the reign of Gallienus (A.D. 253–268), provided evidence for the date.[24] After the Odeion the heaviest concentration of damage was to the buildings of the south and east sides: the Middle Stoa, the Library of Pantainos, and the Stoa of Attalos, which showed the greatest evidence of burning, particularly at the south end. The Stoa, although not completely destroyed, was rendered unusable as an independent building.[25]

Along the west side of the Agora the damage was confined to the southern half, with only the Metroön and Bouleuterion totally ruined at this time.[26] But the Tholos suffered enough to necessitate surrounding the lower part of the walls with a heavy ring of masonry; it was rebuilt and, with the Stoa of Zeus, the Temple of Apollo Patroös, and the Stoa Basileios, survived until the end of the 4th century.[27]

The absence of debris from the Herulian destruction in the north half of the west side of the Agora leads to speculation that the invaders entered Athens in at least two bands, one storming the Dipylon which provided ample evidence of fighting around it. From there it advanced along the Panathenaic Way, leaving sporadic tracks, until it reached the center of the Agora.[28] The destruction on the south side of the Agora and the north slopes of the Areopagus, as well as that of the Bouleuterion and Metroön and the partial destruction of the Tholos, may have been the work of a force approaching by a road that led from the Piraeus Gate to the southwest corner of the Agora. A third band might have entered through a gate on the Pnyx, the "St. Demetrios Gate", whose foundations were overlaid by a thick accumulation of Herulian debris.[29] This would have provided easy access to the south side of the Acropolis, which also suffered heavily in the raid.

The evidence for the north side is still incomplete. The porch of the large Roman basilica at the northeast corner, formerly called the Northeast Stoa, is known to have been burned.[30] The building to which it was attached was completely destroyed, the work begun by the Heruli having been

[21] For these industries, see pp. 79–80 below.

[22] The word "Agora" by this time is a misnomer, but the term is convenient and will be retained as denoting a geographic area, even though most of its original functions had ceased.

[23] *Agora* XIV, pp. 208–209.

[24] *Hesperia* 5, 1936, p. 9 (Shear, Sr.); Thompson, "Odeion," p. 134.

[25] *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 319 (Thompson).

[26] Roof tiles of the Metroön (identified by brick stamps) were found in contexts of the 3rd century, an epistyle block was incorporated into a modern foundation in the line of the Post-Herulian Wall, and pottery and 13 coins of the 2nd and 3rd centuries covered the floor (Thompson, "West Side," p. 195 and excavation notes). For the destruction of the whole west side, *ibid.* (see under the individual buildings), also for their later history, and below, p. 25. The fill inside the Bouleuterion had all been removed by the Greek and German excavators in the 19th century, but in the courtyard in front of the building was a considerable deposit of 3rd-century pottery and lamps ("West Side," p. 171).

[27] Below, pp. 53–55.

[28] A concentrated deposit of coins, metal objects, and pottery along with much ash in the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, which later became Tower W 7 in the Post-Herulian Wall, was one of the key pieces of evidence for Herulian destruction in the Agora. Of 105 coins found there the latest (46) were from the reign of Gallienus.

[29] Thompson and Scranton (footnote 4 above, p. 1), p. 370.

[30] *Hesperia* 20, 1951, pp. 53–56 (Thompson).

completed by pillagers.[31] At the northwest corner the Stoa Basileios, along with its neighbor across the Panathenaic Way, the Stoa Poikile, evidently escaped with only minor damage, as the attackers turned southward into the Agora proper. The Poikile, at least, must have remained in a usable condition until well into the 5th century.[32]

Outside the Agora, as the Panathenaic Way runs up toward the Acropolis, the buildings bordering it (the Southeast Building and the Eleusinion) were all destroyed or damaged, and the devastation continued along the lower slopes of the Acropolis. The extent of damage to the Library of Hadrian cannot be determined at present. It has long been evident that a number of column bases of late workmanship in the east colonnade of the court were replacements necessitated by some catastrophe.[33] More recently work on the south side of the library has uncovered three more bases of the same series; also, "displaced material from the north and east internal peristyle was identified and replaced."[34] It may be concluded that the library was out of commission for a considerable period, probably until the early 5th century.[35]

The Post-Herulian Wall

A few buildings had escaped damage almost entirely, and others might have been repaired, but the necessity of reducing the circuit of the defenses outweighed other considerations. Accordingly, the more realistic solution was adopted of systematically stripping the damaged buildings and using the abundant building material salvaged from them to erect an inner fortification wall to enclose only that part of the city lying immediately to the north of the Acropolis (Pls. 4, 5, 7:a).[36] A precedent for using material from earlier buildings for the construction of new defenses had already been set by the Athenians after the Persian sack of 480 B.C., as told by Thucydides (1.90.3, 93.1–2) and substantiated by archaeological evidence. Also, in 69 B.C., after the pirate Athenodoros had ravaged the island of Delos, the Roman admiral Triarius erected a wall around a much restricted area of the town in order to protect at least the sanctuary from a new attack. He, too, used as construction material the ruins left by the invader.[37] The closest analogy in time and place is to be found at Olympia, where a similar wall was built to protect the Temple of Zeus and a small area to the south. The wall, originally attributed to the 6th century after Christ, has now been shown to date from the second half of the 3rd.[38]

[31] *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 261–265 (Shear, Jr.).

[32] Below, pp. 55–56.

[33] J. Travlos, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ ἐν τῇ Βιβλιοθήκῃ τοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ», Πρακτικά 1950, p. 55; A. Frantz, "Honors to a Librarian," *Hesperia* 35, 1966, p. 379 and pl. 91.

[34] H. Catling, *Archaeological Reports* (*JHS*) 1982–1983, pp. 8–9.

[35] Below, p. 63.

[36] Not all the material found its way into the wall. During the rest of the 3rd century the Agora served as a quarry for private individuals, including the squatters who settled in the ruins, especially along the west side. For the history of the excavation of the wall, the scholarship relating to it, and a detailed description, see Appendix.

[37] Phlegon of Tralles (2nd century after Christ) is the source of information for the attack and the building of new fortifications (Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 97 [Henry, II, p. 65]). His account was confirmed when the French excavators of Delos discovered the wall itself, composed of much re-used material including architectural members, statues, and four inscriptions (P. Bruneau and J. Ducat, *Guide de Délos*, 3rd ed., Paris 1983, p. 198).

[38] A. Mallwitz, *Olympia und seine Bauten*, Munich 1972, pp. 110–112; *Olympia Bericht* VI, 1953–1954; 1954–1955 (1958), pp. 5–6. One may venture to question the opinion that the wall was built in anticipation, rather than as a result, of the Herulian attack, out of material taken from buildings deliberately demolished for the purpose. The apparently haphazard choice of structures and the piecemeal approach (e.g., only the columns of the Leonidaion, only the south wall and the colonnade of the Bouleuterion) are more easily explained by the chances of war than by deliberate planning, and one would expect the sanctity of the Pelopion to outweigh the meager supply of building material that it might afford.

During the century and more since the wall was discovered it has been known under a variety of names, being attributed at one time or another to Valerian (A.D. 253–260), Justinian (A.D. 527–565), and the Florentine Dukes of Athens, the Acciaiuoli (A.D. 1402–1435). Now investigation of different parts of the wall in the area of the Agora has established beyond doubt that at least part was under construction during the last quarter of the 3rd century. One of the striking features of the destruction debris left by the Heruli is the numismatic evidence, with considerable numbers of coins leading up to, but sharply cut off with, issues of Gallienus (A.D. 253–268). A similar situation prevails in the case of the wall, with the exception that here the coins stop abruptly with Probus (A.D. 276–282). One of the most convincing bits of evidence is a pocketful of 16 coins dropped on the mortar bedding for the wall when it was still wet, in a section of the west flank on the slope of the Acropolis (Pl. 15:b). The earliest were ten coins of Aurelian (A.D. 270–275), followed by two of Severina (A.D. 274–275) and one each of Florian (A.D. 276) and Probus. Another coin of Probus was found in a footing trench in the same part of the wall.[39] It is apparent, therefore, that the wall was built as a direct result of the invasion and was probably begun during Probus' reign. A delay of ten to fifteen years before fear was translated into action might seem excessive. The necessary prod was perhaps furnished by another threat, this time from Franks to whom Probus had granted lands to settle. Some revolted and, having an ample supply of ships, spread disaster over all Greece.[40]

The new wall enclosed three sides of a trapezoidal area north of the Acropolis, the Acropolis itself forming the southern limit (Pl. 5). Only the west flank and a little of the north lie within the area of the Agora. The irregular shape of the enclosure was dictated by the desire to economize in materials and labor by utilizing, so far as possible, the remains of earlier structures and to respect important existing roads. Thus, the west flank of the wall took its line from the ruined buildings along the east side of the Agora, while the north followed a slightly southerly course from the north end of the Stoa of Attalos to follow the line of the ancient east–west street and to make use of some still standing walls of two buildings, the Library of Hadrian and another, possibly the Pantheon or, more probably, a basilica for meetings of the Panhellenic Union.[41]

The course of the west flank has been preserved for its entire length almost without interruption. The south end was solidly built against the rock of the Acropolis. The wall then descended the

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(For a plan and a photograph of a model, see N. Papachatzes, *Παυσανίου* ῾Ελλάδος *Περιήγησις: Μεσσηνιακά,* ᾿Η*λιακά*, Athens 1979, p. 241.) Another consideration is the close resemblance of the wall at Olympia to that in Athens, which can be dated during or very shortly after the reign of Probus (A.D. 276–282), below, p. 6. Both use the same techniques: two outer faces composed of re-used architectural members separated by a thick core of rubble made of field stones and smaller fragments of ancient marbles. The masonry of the outer faces is carefully laid with some eye to the esthetic effect, which might not have been a matter of concern in the face of very real and present danger.

The widespread fear of barbarian invasion is well illustrated by walls of the same nature found scattered through the whole empire, from Spain to Asia Minor, which are only now beginning to be recorded, and many of which are still unrecorded. For a series of walls of the middle of the 3rd century in Spain and France, see I. A. Richmond, "Five Town Walls in Hispania Citerior," *JRS* 21, 1931, pp. 86–100. For Anemurium, E. Alföldi-Rosenbaum, "Matronianus, Comes Isauriae: An Inscription from the Sea Wall of Anemurium," *Phoenix* 26, 1972, pp. 183–186 and C. P. Jones, "The Inscription from the Sea Wall at Anemurium," *Phoenix* 26, 1972, pp. 396–399. Also, L. Robert, "Epigrammes relatives à des gouverneurs," *Hellenica* 4, 1948, pp. 60 ff. for epigrams commemorating the building of fortifications in the east.

[39] *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 332 (Shear, Sr.).

[40] Zosimus, I.71.2: "*καὶ Φράγκων τῷ βασιλεῖ προσελθόντων καὶ τυχόντων οἰκήσεως μοῖρά τις ἀποστᾶσα, πλοίων εὐπορήσασα, τὴν* ῾Ελλάδα *συνετάραξεν ἅπασαν.*" A single coin of Maximian (A.D. 286–305), found in a footing trench of the wall in one of the lower stretches, may lower slightly the date of the wall, or it may indicate normal progress in what may have been a time-consuming operation.

[41] Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 439–443 (Pantheon); Spawforth and Walker (footnote 6 above, p. 1), p. 97 (Panhellenion).

slope, following the east side of the Panathenaic Way, where the builders were able to take advantage successively of the foundations of the peribolos of the Eleusinion and the stylobates of the Southeast Building and the Library of Pantainos. All these buildings were cleared of whatever remained of walls and columns, and the fortification wall was laid on the firm and level surface of their floors. The column drums themselves took their place with the architectural members of other structures as material for the wall (Pl. 8). At the north end of the Library of Pantainos the course of the wall changed slightly to utilize the wall of the shop fronts of the Stoa of Attalos by taking an eastward jog with the south wall of the Stoa. The north end of the Stoa formed the northwest corner of the enceinte.

The north flank takes off at an acute angle from the northeast corner of the Stoa of Attalos. Its line has been established at intermittent points, including the east end where its projected end forms a right angle with the northernmost preserved section of the east wall, thus determining the northeast corner of the enceinte.[42]

The course of the east wall is the most problematic since most of it lies under the thickly settled district of the Plaka (Pl. 1). Two sections were uncovered by the Greek Archaeological Society in 1861 and demolished by the excavators in order to retrieve the many inscriptions and pieces of sculpture built into them.[43] The wall undoubtedly ended near the northeast corner of the Acropolis.

Towers in the West Flank

The wall on the west side of the enceinte was pierced by three gates[44] and protected by seven rectangular towers composed, like the curtain, of re-used material.

Tower W 1 stood almost equidistant from the south end of the wall and the Hypapanti Gate, thus covering the upper slopes of the Acropolis.

Tower W 2 protected the Christ Church Gate from the south side (Pl. 14:a).

Tower W 3 stood at the southwest corner of the Library of Pantainos and the north end of the Southeast Building (Pl. 9). It protected no gate but instead completely blocked a narrow street which had led into the Agora from the east between the two buildings. In order to provide drainage for the surface water that must have previously flowed freely from east to west over the Panathenaic Way, a drain was carried under the west foundations of the Southeast Building and thence under the tower itself to communicate with the eastern branch of the Great Drain. This tower, like Towers W 1 and W 2, projected into the Panathenaic Way and blocked most of its width at this point.[45] It was demolished in 1959, leaving enough of its foundations to indicate its dimensions.[46]

Towers W 4 and W 5 flanked the Pyrgiotissa Gate. W 4 was preserved to a height of 3.45 m. W 5 incorporated the anta of the south wall of the Stoa of Attalos along with the first of the front columns and a stretch of the steps (Pl. 10:b). In Turkish times the Church of the Pyrgiotissa (Virgin of

[42] For details, see Appendix, pp. 136–137.

[43] See Appendix, pp. 137–138.

[44] In later times each of the gates was incorporated in or overlaid by a church. To avoid confusion with the other flanks the gates will be given the additional designation of the names of these churches: South Gate = Hypapanti Gate; Middle Gate = Christ Church Gate; North Gate = Pyrgiotissa Gate. The towers will be designated by flank starting at the south end of the west flank: W 1, etc.

[45] Below, p. 29.

[46] This tower was particularly rich in fine early marbles, e.g., the series of Ionic columns with painted capitals (A 2972 and A 2973) and an over-life-size, flamboyantly draped female statue, perhaps Aphrodite (S 1882). For these and other architectural members and pieces of sculpture found with them, see *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 350–359 (Thompson) and E. B. Harrison, "New Sculpture from the Athenian Agora, 1959," *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 373–378.

the Tower) was built into Tower W 5, the rubble filling, if any, having been removed for the purpose.[47] Both the church and most of the tower were demolished in 1859.[48]

Tower W 6 stood in the middle of the Stoa of Attalos, in front of shops X and XII. Plate 11:a shows the tower as it still stood just before its demolition in 1900. In Plate 12:a the foundations appear after being cleared prior to the reconstruction of the Stoa.

Tower W 7, the largest, at the northwest corner of the circuit, was built into the north end of the Stoa of Attalos (Pl. 11:b). Four piers were set down fairly symmetrically inside the outer walls to a depth of 3.60 to 4.45 m. These presumably supported an upper storey and perhaps a platform for artillery (Pl. 13).

Gates in the West Flank

The South, or Hypapanti, Gate stood midway between Towers W 1 and W 2 to provide an outlet for a narrow road leading from the inner city to the Panathenaic Way. The street and gate appear to have been in continuous use until Turkish times, when they were blocked by the Church of the Hypapanti which was built over them. Door frames with moldings characteristic of the 6th century were found in the church, indicating probable repairs to the gate at that time.

The Middle, or Christ Church Gate, just below the Eleusinion, was protected by a single tower (W 2) and allowed passage of the South Road which from earliest times had skirted the lowest slopes of the Areopagus (Pl. 14:a, b). By setting the gate at an angle the builders were able to respect the road and conform to its course. The gate had a checkered history which was tied in with that of a small sanctuary tucked in the angle between Tower W 2 and the gate (Pl. 14:c). The sanctuary was probably constructed in the 2nd century, perhaps as an open-air shrine of Hecate.[49] It had already undergone one remodeling when the wall was built. The sanctuary was spared by the builders of the wall, but Tower W 2 was permitted to encroach slightly on the southeast corner. Sometime in the second half of the 4th century the shrine fell into disuse; it was stripped of its sacred tokens, the walls were demolished, and not long after, terracotta water channels were laid over it. The late survival of this pagan sanctuary adds another dimension to the picture of Athens as still a pagan city well along into the 4th century. This was a much frequented route, and to preserve the shrine required an effort which cannot be observed in any other part of the wall. In general, the ruling principle was apparently to obtain construction material at any cost.

The North (Pyrgiotissa) Gate gave access to the road leading past the south end of the Stoa of Attalos to the Roman Market (Pl. 14:d). It had been a main thoroughfare since traffic between the two Agoras had been facilitated by the demolition of the south stair of the Stoa, *ca.* A.D. 100. As befitted its importance, the gate was flanked by the two most massive towers (W4 and W5) except for W7 at the corner.

Gates in the North and East Flanks

In these flanks the position of only one gate (Krystalliotissa) can be determined with certainty, not far from the east end of the north wall. In its present state, with an elaborately decorated door frame, it undoubtedly dates from the time of Justinian,[50] but this is very likely a repair of an earlier gate in the same place.[51]

[47] Below, p. 133.
[48] G. A. Sotiriou, EMME I, p. 110.
[49] *Hesperia* 39, 1960, p. 333 (Thompson); *Agora* XIV, p. 169.
[50] G. A. Sotiriou, EMME I, pp. 28–30; also Appendix, p. 140.
[51] For the probable positions of the other gates, see Appendix, pp. 138–141.

Building Inscriptions

An inscription found in the wall near the East (St. Demetrios) Gate[52] gives the name of the builder as Illyrius. There can be little doubt that this was Claudius (Leonticus) Illyrius, Proconsul of Achaea, who was honored by the city with two statues, the bases of which carry identical inscriptions giving the names and offices of himself, his father (Claudius) Teres (formerly called Tebens),[53] eponymous archon and Areopagite, and his grandfather Cn. Claudius Leonticus, Proconsul of Achaea and Corrector.[54]

A corresponding epigram was found in the vicinity of the Pyrgiotissa Gate in the west flank (Pl. 15:a).[55] Although the name of the builder is missing and the phraseology is different, the similarity of the subject, in which a comparison is made between the ease with which the walls of Thebes were erected by Amphion's lyre and the unaided effort required in the present circumstances, makes it likely that the west flank also was built by Illyrius. That being the case, it is probable that he was responsible for the whole wall and that one of the gates in the north flank would have borne yet another variation on the same theme.[56] There were apparently two distichs side by side on 5200: one complete (a); on a now missing piece (b), only the last word of each line.[57]

Soon after its discovery the wall became fixed in the minds of the scholars concerned with it as part of Valerian's program for fortifying the cities,[58] thereby providing a date of 250–260 for the approximate limits of the career of Claudius Illyrius. This belief was bolstered by the fact that the man charged with setting up the statues, M. Iunius Minucianus, was said by the *Suda* to have lived in the time of Gallienus,[59] and to have been the son of Nicagoras, a sophist, who lived in the time of Philip the Arab (A.D. 244–249),[60] giving Minucianus a precociousness of dubious credibility. That it was the date of Minucianus that was in error is made clear by the activities of his son, Nicagoras (II), a priest of Eleusis who accompanied Constantine to Egypt in 326, probably in an official

[52] *IG* II^2, 5199; see footnote 56 below for the text. The text is said to be from a drawing by Cyriac of Ancona, but E. W. Bodnar has shown that this is not the case. The stone was rediscovered in 1861 and another small piece was found on the same site in 1949 (*Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* [*Collection Latomus* XLIII], Brussels 1960, pp. 175–177).

[53] For the corrected spelling, see P. Graindor, "Inscriptions d'époque imperiale," *BCH* 38, 1914, pp. 386–388. The name is otherwise unknown.

[54] *IG* II^2, 3689, 3690. Cf. Groag, *Diokletian*, cols. 88–89. Claudius Illyrius was also responsible for building the walls of Lapethos in Cyprus. J. and L. Robert ("Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 64, 1951, pp. 206–208), commenting on an inscription published by T. B. Mitford ("Some New Inscriptions from Early Christian Cyprus," *Byzantion* 20, 1950, pp. 136–139), revised the date proposed by Mitford, and G. W. Bowersock showed that the subject was not a senator from Cyprus ("Roman Senators from the Near East: Syria, Judaea, Arabia, Mesopotamia," *Tituli* 5, 1982, pp. 669–670).

[55] *IG* II^2, 5200.

[56] The text of the two inscriptions runs as follows:

IG II^2, 5199: Ἀμφίων μούσαις κιθάρης ἔσ[τ]ησ' ἐ<πὶ> Θήβης τείχεα· νῦν δ' ἐπ' ἐμᾶς πατρίδος Ἰλλυριός,
ἀδύλογον μοῦσαν μεθέπων· τῷ καὶ δοκέουσι ἄκμητες ῥέζειν πείρατα πάντα τέ<χ>νας.

IG II^2, 5200: a — b

οὐ τάδε θελξιμελὴς Ἀμφιονὶς ἤρα[ρε φόρμιγξ] — --- πειθοῦς
οὐδὲ Κυκλωπείας χειρὸς ἔ̣δ[ειμε βία]. — -------ἀρετ̣ᾶ̣[ς].

[57] For commentary, see J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 79, 1966, pp. 741–742.

[58] Above, p. 6. The opinion is still current. Cf. B. E. Thomasson, *Laterculi Praesidum* I, Göteborg 1984, col. 196.

[59] *Suda*, M 1087. Mommsen was the first to suggest this identification (quoted in annual report, Δελτ 5, 1889, p. 133).

[60] *Suda*, N 373.

capacity.[61] If Nicagoras was from 40 to 60 years old at the time, he would have been born *ca.* 265–285, and his father's career would have been from 15 to 35 years behind him. But with the wall now firmly established in the reign of Probus (A.D. 276–282) or slightly later, and the *Suda*'s dating set aside, Minucianus' career falls at a reasonable time, *ca.* 255–295. It also makes unnecessary an adjustment in the date of the archonship of Claudius Illyrius' father, Teres or Tebens, given in *RE* II, col. 598 as *ca.* 258/9 (between 239 and 261). Graindor noted the unlikelihood of the father holding the archonship when his son was already eligible for the proconsulate, and so he moved Teres back into the second quarter of the century.[62] The new dating of the wall, however, allows Teres' archonship to remain in its alloted place, and so the offices of father and son fall into a normal chronological relationship. Also, the added 20 to 30 years give a more reasonable span for the careers of the three generations. Cn. Claudius Leonticus, the grandfather, is generally agreed to have flourished in the first quarter of the 3rd century.[63] The old dating would have allowed barely 40–45 years for the careers of grandfather, son, and grandson; the new gives a more realistic period of 65–75 years.

Another inscription relating to the fortifications (Pl. 15:c) records repairs to a "dilapidated tower".[64] Inscribed on a *tabella ansata*, to be inserted into masonry, it reads as follows:

> *τὸ<ν π>ρὶν ἄκοσμον ἐόντα πύρ/γον σθένος ἐν πολέμοισιν*
> *νῦν ὄντως πύργωσεν λαμ/πρὰ χὶρ ἡγεμονῆος*
> *οἴκοθεν εὐφραδέως Πανα/θη[ν]ίου ἐξόχου ἀνδρῶν*
>
> The tower, a bulwark in wars but recently in disrepair, has now been truly fortified as a tower by the glorious hand of Panathenius, outstanding among men, in his wisdom and at his own expense.

A precise date of A.D. 267 has been assigned to the inscription on the basis of a passage in the *Historia Augusta* stating that Gallienus charged "the Byzantines" Cleodamus and Athenaeus with restoring and fortifying the cities and that a battle was fought around Pontus in which the barbarians were defeated by the Byzantine leaders.[65] Panathenius is interpreted as an enhancement of the name Athenaeus in recognition of his deeds. Zonaras, presumably referring to the same event but omitting Gallienus' directive about the fortifications, speaks of "Cleodemos an Athenian" (*Κλεόδημος δὲ Ἀθηναῖος ἀνὴρ*) as victorious in a naval engagement with barbarians (after the Herulian sack),[66] but this has been generally regarded as an error on the part of Zonaras.[67]

[61] See O. Schissel, "Die Familie des Minukianos," *Klio* 21, 1927, pp. 361–373. See also K. Clinton, *The Eleusinian Mysteries* (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 64, 3), Philadelphia 1974, pp. 66–67.

[62] Graindor, *Archontes*, pp. 262–263.

[63] Groag, *Diokletian*, cols. 88–89.

[64] *IG* II², 5201. First noted by S. Ricci ("Miscellanea epigrafica," *Monumenti antichi* 2, 1893, col. 253) as found in a house in Hermes Street. The two pivot holes indicate at least two periods of re-use. Another translation of *ἄκοσμον* would be "unadorned", but the reading adopted here seems better to fit the comparison between the former and present states. For another example in a similar context see *IG* II², 3193 (see below, p. 118).

[65] *Vita Gallieni*, 13.6. "Quibus compertis Gallienus Cleodamum et Athenaeum Byzantios instaurandis urbibus muniendisque praefecit, pugnatumque est circa Pontum, et a Byzantiis ducibus victi sunt barbari."

[66] XII.26.

[67] A. Alföldi, who alone raised doubts about two commanders (*CAH* XII [footnote 7 above, p. 1], p. 722), now restates this view more positively in "Redeunt Saturnia regna, VII," *Chiron* 9, 1979, p. 594. He still, however, equates Cleodamus with the "Panathenius" of the inscription (and also with the Cleodamus to whom, with Porphyry, Longinus had dedicated a work; for Longinus and the dedication, see Porphyry, *Plot.* XVII.83). Various aspects of the inscription, in addition to the identification of "Panathenius", have caught the attention of scholars: the rank of the *ἡγεμών*, the exact meaning of *εὐφραδέως*, etc. Cf. A. von Premerstein, "Zu den Inschriften der Ostgermanen," *Zeitschrift für*

According to the *Historia Augusta* the instructions to fortify the cities and the victory over the Scythians at sea preceded the attack by the Goths (Herulians) on "Cyzicus, Asia and then all of Achaea", including Athens. Whether there was time within this period to carry out all the actual construction work on the fortifications is uncertain. If our inscription does relate to these events and "Panathenius" is one with Athenaeus, the rebuilding of the tower should have been completed not long after, while the memory of "Panathenius" was still green. In any case, the inscription can have no connection with the Post-Herulian Wall, which incorporated no earlier fortifications and was not built until the reign of Probus (A.D. 276–282) or slightly after. The tower itself might have been originally part of the Themistoclean Wall, repaired in the course of the building of the Wall of Valerian along the same line, or one built expressly for the Wall of Valerian and damaged during the Herulian attack.

A concrete example of the repair of towers at about that time is to be found in the extensive reconditioning of the fortifications of the Pnyx, especially one of the towers of the gate at the east end, probably in the second half of the 3rd century.[68]

deutsches Altertum 60, 1923, pp. 77 ff.; Groag, *Diokletian*, pp. 96–97, with other references; G. Barbieri, *L'albo senatorio da Settimio Severo a Carino*, Rome 1952, Appendix III, "Praeses ed **ἡγεμών**", p. 577; L. Robert (footnote 57 above, p. 9), p. 741; L. Robert, *CRAI* 1968, p. 423, note 6; also in J. des Gagniers *et al.*, *Laodicée du Lycos*, *Le Nymphée*, Quebec/Paris 1969, pp. 339–351; E. Manni, *Trebellio Polliore. Le Vite di Valeriano e di Gallieno*, Palermo 1969, p. 102, note to *Vita Gallieni*, 13; T. D. Barnes, "Some Persons in the Historia Augusta," *Phoenix* 26, 1972, p. 148, and *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (*Collection Latomus* CLV), Brussels 1978, pp. 68, 73; L. de Blois, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus*, Leiden 1976, p. 4. For an epigram possibly relating to the same battle, cf. P. E. Rizakos, «*Γυθείου ἐπίγραμμα ἐπιτύμβιον*», Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1912, pp. 40–43. Cf. also David Armstrong, "Gallienus in Athens, 264," *ZPE* 70, 1987, pp. 235–258.

[68] Thompson and Scranton (footnote 4 above, p. 1), pp. 366–372.

II
RECOVERY

POST-HERULIAN ATHENS (A.D. 267–300)

By the middle of the 3rd century, even before the Herulian sack, the economic situation in Athens had deteriorated. The production of sculptured sarcophagi, the most important export, had ceased,[1] leaving the manufacture of lamps as the only important source of income from abroad. During the 3rd and 4th centuries these continued to be exported all over Greece and also overseas.[2] Practically no pottery, other than wares for strictly utilitarian use, was made in Athens in Late Antiquity. Athenian potters were no match for the artisans of Asia Minor and North Africa, whose fine wares began to be imported in small quantities in the late 4th century and in increasing volume through the 5th.[3]

The economic decline of the 3rd century was accompanied by a general loosening of political organizations. All through the 2nd century and the first third of the 3rd, prytany decrees and lists existed in profusion, ceasing suddenly about 230–240, the date of the latest known example being 231/2.[4] The institution of the ephebes shared the same fate except that it lasted right up to the Herulian sack, the latest known inscription dating between 260 and 267.[5]

The Council of the Areopagus lasted at least until toward the end of the 4th century but with reduced responsibilities.[6] The archonship continued until 485, the year of Proclus' death in the archonship of Nicagoras the Younger.[7]

An increase *ca.* A.D. 270 in the membership of the Boule from 500 to 750 is unexplained. Day suggests that it might reflect a shortage of members affluent enough to fulfill the necessary financial responsibilities. In the 4th century the membership reverted to the pre-Hadrianic 300 for equally mysterious reasons.[8]

The Panathenaic Festival was still being held close to the time of the Herulian raid, with P. Herennius Dexippus as agonothete;[9] on its later history, see below, pp. 23–24.

The disaster of 267, although of the first magnitude for Athens, would not in itself have been enough, without contributing causes, to smother the civilization that the city represented. Through sheer vitality Athens had survived the Persian sack of 480/79 B.C. and emerged more powerful and magnificent than before. Recovery from Sulla's siege in 86 B.C. was both slower and less complete,

[1] See Day, p. 261. On the export, from its beginning in the time of Hadrian to its cessation after 267, cf. A. Giuliano, *Il commercio dei sarcofagi attici*, Rome 1962.

[2] *Agora* VII, p. 9; Thompson, "Twilight," pp. 70–72.

[3] For this subject in detail, see Hayes.

[4] *Agora* XV, p. 338, no. 491.

[5] For the prytaneis, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. XII, p. 92; for the ephebes, *ibid.*, p. 1, note 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 61; cf. Himerius, *Or.* VII (VII), addressing the body as those who "now judge for the Athenians concerning freedom."

[7] *PLRE* II, Nicagoras iunior.

[8] Day, pp. 277–278; *Hesperia*, Suppl. XII, p. 91; Millar, "Dexippus," p. 21; *IG* II^2, 3669 (750 members), 4222 (300 members).

[9] *IG* II^2, 3198. His holding of the *agonothesia* cannot be said to be in exactly 269/70 (*Hesperia*, Suppl. XII, p. 133), a most unlikely time for the celebration. The date comes from *IG* II^2, 3669, which honors Dexippus not for his role in freeing Athens from the Heruli but for his *History*, which must postdate that event. His *agonothesia* is included only as part of his *cursus honorum* (as also in *IG* II^2, 3670, on the base of a statue of Dexippus erected by his sons).

no doubt because the city had already lost its preëminence and with it some of its motivation.[10] By the 2nd century after Christ the great revival of building and the other arts came largely through the energy and generosity of individual benefactors such as Hadrian and Herodes Atticus, and the relative prosperity that lasted through the Antonine period had little chance of survival in the troubles and uncertainties that were the general lot of the Empire in the second half of the 3rd century.

After the departure of the Heruli, Athens enjoyed an uneasy peace, under constant threat of further attack, until the last decade of the 4th century. During the first part of this period, i.e., the last third of the 3rd century, there seems to have been little activity beyond basic measures for survival. No new construction was undertaken in the area of the Agora except the fortification wall (Pl. 5), but destruction debris was cleared away in order to make some of the buildings habitable, if only by squatters. Need for water prompted the cleaning out of as many wells as possible, while most of the rest served as dumping places for unsalvageable material.[11] It would be surprising to find the Athenians defying the danger, at the same time that it was being recognized by the builders of the wall, to the extent of putting up elaborate houses in the undefended part of the city. The Agora proper, bounded by Kolonos Agoraios, the Panathenaic Way, the South Road, and some as yet undefined line on the north side, certainly remained almost desolate until well along in the 4th century, and the deep hollow at the west end of the Middle Stoa provided almost limitless space for dumping.

The new circuit could never have accommodated the entire population, however depleted by now; it could only have been intended as an emergency line of defense in case of an actual raid. At other times the inhabitants went about their business outside, but with a lack of confidence that is reflected in the absence of substantial buildings.[12] Although the Agora remained desolate for many years the adjacent areas outside the wall gradually took on new life, especially to the south and southwest.[13]

THE AGORA

The appearance of the area south of the Agora during the period from 267 to the end of the 4th century can never be quite clear. Seventeen centuries of erosion on the slope and of rebuilding, sometimes gradual and sometimes involving clearance of fairly large areas in a concerted program, have removed all but the smallest traces of buildings, including evidence of date. Compensation for this lack, however, is afforded by the many wells with their filling: a sure guide to habitation. Taken as a whole, these show a consistent pattern for the history of Late Antiquity. Most had been sunk at least as early as the 1st century after Christ and showed an unbroken period of use until the last half of the 3rd century, i.e., 267. A period of disuse followed, represented by an accumulation of debris resulting from a gigantic clean-up operation, and then a gradual resumption of use as a source of water. The pace was accelerated in the 4th century and continued without interruption into the 6th; in some cases the period of use ends sharply with the end of the first quarter of the century, presumably reflecting the closing of the schools of philosophy in 529; in others it continued

[10] *Agora* XIV, p. 23.

[11] This depressed state is well illustrated by the immediate and spectacular decline in the quality of the products of the Athenian lamp manufacturers during the same period and its rapid recovery at the beginning of the 4th century (*Agora* VII, pp. 20–21; see also Day, chaps. VI and VII).

[12] For makeshift repairs made to damaged buildings on the west side of the Agora, see below, Chapter III.

[13] The north side, except for sporadic finds, still lies under the modern city (Pl. 1); the east, of course, is bounded by the wall. The following is a brief survey of the development of the district. Particulars will be discussed in their proper chronological framework.

until toward the end of the century, when Slavic incursions of the 580's brought the life of the city to an abrupt halt for a quarter of a century.[14]

The south district falls into two parts, an eastern and a western, almost cut off from each other by the protruding mass of the Areopagus (Pl. 4). The western half is the flat area occupied in classical times by private houses and industrial establishments and was approached from the southwest corner of the Agora.[15] Here many of the pre-Herulian houses were made habitable once more, and the district seems to have been fairly populous from the middle of the 4th century, with the lower-lying parts quite quickly taking on the aspect of a slum.[16]

The eastern half of the district formed a rough triangle, contained between the South Road, the Dromos from the Middle (Christ Church) Gate to a point between the South (Hypapanti) Gate and Tower W 1, and the Areopagus itself. Toward the west the area narrowed as the contours of the Areopagus almost met the South Road at its junction with the road coming in from the west end of the Areopagus and leading into the Agora at its southwest corner.

It is in this eastern half that the concentration of wells is heaviest, at least a dozen having been in use in the 4th century. Most of the houses that they served have been swept away, either by rains washing down the slopes or deliberately to make room for the more substantial buildings of the 4th and 5th centuries. Some of the 4th-century settlement, however, may perhaps be recognized in pre-Herulian houses, rehabilitated in whole or in part, and there is evidence to show that there was a general rebuilding in the area in the second half of the 4th century.[17]

The reason for the more rapid recovery on the south side is fairly obvious: there were no major pre-existing buildings to clutter the ground with indigestible ruins; and the higher terrain, forming a natural limit to the flat expanse of the Agora proper, was well suited to residential requirements. The topographical advantages had already been exploited in classical times when three broad terraces were laid out along the central part of the district. Springs on the slopes of the Areopagus sent down a constant flow of ground water to the wells and fountains below, and even though the Agora itself was used as a dumping ground until its rehabilitation shortly after 400, the rapid growth of weeds which accumulates over debris composed of mud brick, ashes, and decayed vegetable matter would have soon obscured the more unsightly aspects of the devastated area. The South Road formed the northern boundary of the new residential district. Along the north edge the back wall of South Stoa II, which had been rebuilt in the 2nd century to carry the Antonine aqueduct, served still further to detach the hillside from the plain by providing a sharp drop of over five meters.[18]

The gradually increasing pace of recovery through the 4th century is borne out by the numismatic evidence. From the period 269 to 305 a total of 508 coins was found in the Agora proper and its immediate surroundings, or an average of approximately 15 per year.[19] During the reign of Constantine the average nearly doubled, to *ca.* 27. In the 59 years from the death of Constantine to the invasion by Alaric in 396 the yearly average increased fivefold, to 132.[20] By the end of the 4th century, when the Visigothic threat had become acute, the settlement outside the Post-Herulian

[14] Below, Chapter VI.

[15] Young, "Industrial District," esp. 284–288 for our period.

[16] Below, p. 35.

[17] Below, Chapter III.

[18] For the later use of the aqueduct, see below, pp. 22, 29.

[19] These figures are those published by M. Thompson in *Agora* II in 1954; the numbers have increased, but little change will be found in the proportions.

[20] These statistics can have only a very general significance, leaving out of account various specifically numismatic factors. The numbers, however, are large enough to indicate a definite trend.

Wall was substantial enough to warrant restoring the Themistoclean circuit wall, which had fallen into disrepair since it was rebuilt under Valerian and after the attack of 267.[21]

With the Herulian destruction the Agora proper lost forever its character as a public square. The only enduring features were the roads leading into it which, although modified in some respects, kept in the main their original courses (Pl. 6).[22] As in preceding centuries, the Panathenaic Way, leading from the Dipylon, was still the main road into Athens.[23] At the northwest corner of the Agora it was joined by a narrower road coming in from the north and merging with the road along the west side of the Agora; a third street, built in the 2nd century after Christ, led from the Sacred Gate and paralleled the Panathenaic Way a little to the south as it approached the Agora.[24] At the entrance to the Agora the Panathenaic Way took a southeasterly course leading diagonally across the Agora to its southeast corner.[25]

The Panathenaic Way and the west road remained in use, with some interruptions, through Byzantine times; the road from the Sacred Gate and the road from the north had a continuous history through the 6th century, after which they were covered with Byzantine houses.

About the middle of the 5th century a new west–east road was built on the line of an old one long in disuse, starting at the point where the Panathenaic Way entered the Agora (Pl. 4); this led to the Library of Hadrian and was to be known as the Street of the Library of Hadrian because its projected course ends exactly at the porch of the Library. It overlay the ruins of a large basilica of the Hadrianic period which was destroyed in the Herulian raid. This road is now indicated only by the foundations of a stoa, presumably one of a pair flanking the street.[26]

South of the Agora the road leading into the heart of the city from the Piraeus forked in three directions (Pl. 6): one to the north, to join the West Street, a second to the east (the South Road), and a third in a southeasterly direction higher up on the slopes of the Areopagus (the Upper South Road). Of these three the South Road, running around the lower slope of the Areopagus to the Middle Gate in the Post-Herulian Wall, was the main artery for this area. Established as early as the Bronze Age, it remained in use, with gradually rising levels, over substantially the same course until the 20th century. By the Late Roman period encroachments from the south had permanently narrowed it to approximately half of its original width, or *ca.* 2.50–3.00 m.[27]

The East Colonnaded Street, built in the reign of Trajan to connect the Greek and Roman markets, between the Stoa of Attalos and the Gate of Athena Archegetis, entered the inner city through the Pyrgiotissa Gate (Pl. 14:d). It continued in use at least until the 12th century.

[21] Below, p. 83.

[22] See *Agora* XIV, pp. 17–18, 192–194; E. Vanderpool, "Roads at the Northwest Corner of the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 289 ff.

[23] For its course and earlier history, with bibliography, see *Agora* XIV, *locc. citt.*; Vanderpool, *op. cit.*, pp. 291–295.

[24] *Agora* XIV, p. 108; Thompson, "West Side," pp. 5, 219, fig. 126; *Hesperia* 6, 1937, p. 339 (Shear, Sr.); *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 370 (Shear, Jr.).

[25] For the buildings along the street and the vagaries of its course over the years, cf. below, pp. 26–29.

[26] *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 264–265 (Shear, Jr.) and below, p. 79.

[27] *Hesperia* 25, 1956, pp. 47–49 and 29, 1960, pp. 332–333, 340, fig. 4 (Thompson).

III

FROM DIOCLETIAN TO THE VISIGOTHIC INVASION

DIOCLETIAN TO JULIAN THE APOSTATE (A.D. 284–363)

Constantine and Athens

Even though an appreciable measure of recovery can be noticed in Athens from the latter part of the reign of Diocletian and through the first quarter of the 4th century, this is a relative term. By the beginning of the 4th century Thessalonica, an upstart by comparison with Athens, had become a cosmopolitan city, conveniently situated on the Via Egnatia, the main land route between the eastern and western halves of the Empire. After the transfer of the capital to Constantinople the importance of that city increased, while Athens, out of the mainstream of Imperial business, became a provincial cultural center in the Province of Achaea of which Corinth was the capital (although the *vicarius* resided in Thessalonica).[1]

The elevation of the Province of Achaea to senatorial status under Constantine (perhaps even under Diocletian)[2] implies an improvement in the state of Greece as a whole; the impression is heightened for Athens itself by the Emperor Julian's reference to Constantine's concern for the city "in word and deed, throughout his whole life."[3] As evidence of Constantine's interest Julian cites the fact that he accepted the title of "strategos of Athens" (i.e., ἐπὶ τὰ ὅπλα),[4] in recognition of which the Athenians erected a statue of him "with an inscription." This in turn pleased Constantine "more than the highest honors" and inspired him to make an annual distribution of grain to the city.[5] The grant was renewed later in the century by his son Constans I in the form of several grain-producing islands.[6]

Constantine, eager to please the pagan aristocrats, showed special favor by enabling Nicagoras, the Priest of Eleusis, to go to Egypt to visit the *Syringes*.[7] The Athenians especially would have profited by and appreciated Constantine's tolerant attitude toward those who retained their pagan

[1] A. Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien*, 2nd ed., Paris 1972, p. 14.

[2] For the date of the change, see Groag, *Achaia*, pp. 15–16 and A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 2nd ed., Norman [1964], I, pp. 106–107.

[3] Julian, *Or.* 1.6. This tribute to the father, inserted in Julian's panegyric of Constantius II, was perhaps introduced as a welcome digression from the uncongenial task of praising the son.

[4] At this time the function of *strategos* was to take charge of the food supply and the provision market (Philostratus, *VS* 1.23 (526). For the prestige of the office see P. Graindor, *Un milliardaire antique. Hérode Atticus et sa famille*, Cairo 1930, p. 27.

[5] The passage is worth quoting in full: *καλὸν ἴσως ἐνταῦθα καὶ τῶν ἀοιδίμων Ἀθηνῶν μνησθῆναι· ἃς ἐκεῖνος ἔργοις καὶ λόγοις τιμῶν τὸν πάντα χρόνον διετέλει. βασιλεὺς γὰρ ὢν καὶ κύριος πάντων, στρατηγὸς ἐκείνων ἠξίου καλεῖσθαι καὶ τοιαύτης εἰκόνος τυγχάνων μετ' ἐπιγράμματος ἐγάννυτο πλέον ἢ τῶν μεγίστων τιμῶν ἀξιωθείς. ἀμειβόμενος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῇ τὴν πόλιν, πυρῶν μεδίμνους δίδωσι πολλάκις μυρίους καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος δωρεὰν καρποῦσθαι. ἐξ ὧν ὑπῆρχε τῇ πόλει μὲν ἐν ἀφθόνοις εἶναι, ἐκείνῳ δὲ ἔπαινοι καὶ τιμαὶ παρὰ τῶν βελτίστων*. Cf. Wachsmuth, I, pp. 710–711.

[6] Eunapius (*VS*, 492) describes in detail the award by Constans at the instance of Prohaeresius and its confirmation by the Prefect of Illyricum, Anatolius; see below, p. 25.

[7] Millar, "Dexippus," p. 17. P. Graindor points out that Constantine's interest in Nicagoras was not because of his religious preëminence but because the emperor was an "ami des lettres" ("Constantine et le dadouque Nicagoras," *Byzantion* 3, 1926, pp. 209–214). Nicagoras' grandfather had held the chair of sophistic in Athens, and the *Syringes*, the so-called "pipes", the burial vaults of the Egyptian kings of Thebes, were regarded as places of pious pilgrimage because they had been visited by Plato. (Cf. Pausanias, 1.42.3.)

beliefs, as expressed in an edict sent to the provinces. In this he denounced the cult of false gods,[8] but a thread of tolerance runs through the text, especially strong in chapter 56. Those in error must enjoy the same peace and quiet as the faithful; no one shall molest either (ἕκαστος ὅπερ ἡ ψυχὴ βούλεται κατεχέτω, τούτῳ κατακεχρήσθω).[9]

The Reflorescence of the Schools

The most enduring of all the pagan institutions in Athens were the schools of philosophy and rhetoric. These had continued to flourish up to the time of the Herulian incursion, and it was only a short time before that Longinus and his pupil Porphyry were upholding the Platonic tradition and marking Plato's birthday with a dinner in Athens at which one of the topics of conversation was plagiarism in classical Greek literature.[10] Fergus Millar has examined all the available evidence, literary and epigraphical, to determine to what extent the intellectual life of Athens was disrupted by the events of 267. Although for the last quarter of the 3rd century he finds the evidence "markedly thin," he concludes guardedly that the "stability from which the world of Dexippus came was not, in the long term, destroyed by the Herulian invasion."[11] Although the thread of the philosophical tradition was not broken, it was nevertheless extremely tenuous for the remainder of the century. Other factors also show that although the raid was devastating, the break with the past was not complete. Some institutions, e.g. the enrollment of the ephebes, apparently ended abruptly, but others survived. The Council of the Areopagus was functioning as late as the second half of the 4th century,[12] and the Panathenaic Festival at least as late. Also, the archons were taking office through the 5th century.[13]

Around the turn of the century the schools began again to attract notice abroad. The Christian Prohaeresius apparently came to Athens as early as the first decade of the 4th century to study with one of the most famous of the late sophists, Julian of Cappadocia, who must therefore have already been established in the city.[14] The fame of the schools and more especially of the fighting that went on continuously between the various factions was sufficient to fire the imagination of Libanius (born in 314) in his boyhood and to make him resolve to go to Athens at the earliest possible opportunity. (When he achieved his wish in 336 he cautiously kept aloof from the fighting, but he observed it closely and described it vividly).[15]

[8] Eusebius, *v. Const.* II.48–60 (*PG* XX, ii, pp. 1026–1034 and I. A. Heikel, *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller*, Leipzig 1902, I, pp. 61–65).

[9] For more on Constantine's tolerance, see now R. Krautheimer, *Three Christian Capitals*, Berkeley 1983, chap. I.

[10] Millar, "Dexippus," pp. 16–20. For the annual birthday celebration, Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 23; also Saffrey and Westerink, p. xix, with references.

[11] Millar, "Dexippus," pp. 16–20. For the known details of events and personalities, both before and after the raid, the reader is referred to Millar's admirable analysis.

[12] *IG* II^2, 4222. Also, the Emperor Julian addressed his Letter to the Athenians (A.D. 361) τῇ βουλῇ καὶ τῷ δήμῳ.

[13] Graindor, *Archontes*.

[14] For the probable dates of the arrival of Julian and Prohaeresius, see Millar, "Dexippus," pp. 16–20.

[15] Libanius, *Ep.*, 627. Libanius and Eunapius are the chief sources for the Athenian schools in the 4th century. Among the most useful modern works are F. Schemmel, "Die Hochschule von Athen im IV. und V. Jahrhundert," *Neues Jahrbuch für Philosophie* 22, 1908; J. H. Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, New York 1909 (with many translations from Libanius); G. Sievers, *Das Leben des Libanius*, Berlin 1868; H. I. Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*, 6th ed., Paris 1965; M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World*, London 1971; see also *Libanius' Autobiography (Oration I), The Greek Text*, edited, with introduction, translation, and notes, by A. F. Norman, London/New York 1965; also L. C. Ruggini, "Sofisti greci nell' impero romano," *Athenaeum*, n.s. 49, 1971, pp. 402–425; and Glucker, *Antiochus*.

Most of the 4th-century teachers whose careers are known to us in any detail were sophists; this seeming preponderance, however, is partly due to the fact that Eunapius, our chief source for the period, studied only rhetoric in Athens, whereas his knowledge of philosophy and philosophers was obtained in Pergamon. The balance has now been redressed in part by H. D. Saffrey and L. G. Westerink,[16] who have shown that the Platonic tradition was being kept alive in Athens, although its exponents were not in complete harmony; hence the lack of an unbroken chain of Diadochs in the 4th century. Not only was Platonic philosophy thriving but the other schools as well.[17] Names of a few philosophers have emerged, e.g., Priscus, Celsus, Hilarius, and Iamblichus (II).[18]

Almost all the teachers and students known to have been active in Athens in the 4th and 5th centuries came from abroad, especially the eastern provinces, thus continuing the tradition of the 4th and 3rd centuries B.C., when few of the distinguished men of arts and letters were native Athenians. Prohaeresius was an Armenian; Hilarius, a Bithynian who was both a philosopher and a painter,[19] "grew old at Athens," and died at the hands of Alaric's forces in 396.[20] Himerius, another Bithynian, came to Athens in the second quarter of the 4th century, married an Athenian aristocrat said to have been a descendant of Plutarch, the biographer, and acquired citizenship. Himerius joined the Emperor Julian in the east for a time but returned to Athens, where he remained until his death.[21] The one native Athenian to achieve fame in the schools was Plutarch, who founded the Neoplatonic School in the last quarter of the 4th century and was still active as Diadoch when he died in 432.[22] Indeed, longevity may have been a factor in the continuity of the academic tradition in Athens, for Julian the Cappadocian and his pupil Prohaeresius between them spanned almost three quarters of a century, and Plutarch's most distinguished pupil, Proclus, was Diadoch from *ca.* 440 to his death in 485.[23]

The Progress of Christianity

The gradual ascendancy of Christianity in the Empire as a whole had little effect on Athens in the first five centuries of the Christian era.[24] The evidence for the Christian population in the 2nd and 3rd centuries is slight. Three Bishops of Athens (Narcissus, Quadratus, and Publius) suffered

[16] In their invaluable chapter "L'école d'Athènes au IV^{e} siècle," pp. xxxv–xlviii.

[17] Saffrey and Westerink, p. xl.

[18] Celsus, son of Archetimus, a "high-ranking exponent of philosophical studies" (optimatem sapientiae), induced to leave Athens to teach at Rome (Symmachus, *Relationes*, 5.1 and R. H. Barrow, *Prefect and Emperor: The* Relationes *of Symmachus*, Oxford 1973, p. 52). Iamblichus (II) will reappear as a substantial material benefactor of Athens as well as a philosopher (below, p. 51).

[19] Not a later philosopher of the same name whom Proclus refused to teach on account of his dissipated life: ὁ δὲ Ἱλάριος, *φιλοσοφῶν μὲν ἐκδεδιητημένος δὲ τὰς ὑπογαστρίους ἡδονάς, οὐκ ἔτυχε* Πρόκλου *διδασκάλου*. Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, 266 (*Epitoma Photiana* [Zintzen, p. 187]).

[20] Eunapius, *VS*, 482. For his place in the philosophical milieu of Athens, Saffrey and Westerink, p. xlii.

[21] H. Schenkel (*RE* VIII, cols. 1622–1635, with Suppl. III, cols. 1151 ff.) concludes that Himerius' life must have been *ca.* 300–380.

[22] He too may have been descended from the biographer (Millar, "Dexippus," p. 17). For his immediate ancestors and his descendants, see Saffrey and Westerink, p. xxxv. For the school, below, pp. 57–58.

[23] For Plutarch and Proclus, see below, pp. 43, 63; also, for buildings probably connected with teaching, pp. 37–48.

[24] For the progression from the Edict of Galerius (A.D. 311) granting tolerance of Christianity to the final edicts of Theodosius I of 392 and 395, prohibiting all pagan rites (*CTh* XVI.10.12–13), see J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, Heidelberg 1920; K. Baus, *Handbook of Church History*, H. Jedin and J. Dolan, edd. (trans. from 3rd ed., New York 1965), I, chaps. 30, 31; N. H. Baynes, *Constantine the Great and the Christian Church*, 2nd ed., London 1972, preface by H. Chadwick, with extensive bibliography; T. D. Barnes, "Lactantius and Constantine," *JRS* 63, 1973, pp. 30 ff., also *idem*, *Constantine and Eusebius*, Cambridge, Mass./London 1981.

martyrdom in the 2nd century.[25] Athens' most famous martyr, Leonides, became one under Decius (A.D. 291). Although he is known as a bishop of Athens, recent investigations have demoted him from that rank.[26]

In the 2nd century the Christian community of Athens received a reprimand from the Bishop of Corinth, Dionysius, in whose jurisdiction the Church of Athens lay, for their lack of faith, and their bishop, Quadratus, was praised for having rekindled it.[27] Origen in 240 evidently found the atmosphere sufficiently congenial to visit Athens for long enough to finish his work on Ezekiel and to start one on the Song of Songs.[28] The "church of God at Athens" was, in his opinion, "gentle and orderly", as opposed to the popular assembly at Athens which was "unruly".[29]

The situation changed little in the 4th century. Athens was once more a university town, and only the lower classes showed themselves susceptible to Christianity to any degree. Most Athenians of the upper classes were connected in some way with the schools, and this ensured almost universal adherence to paganism.[30] Support was also provided by some high officials, most notably Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Proconsul of Achaea in 362/4, a personal friend of the Emperor Julian and holder of many priesthoods in his long career (d. 384) including that of Eleusis and the taurobolium.[31] It is believed that he may have introduced the taurobolium to Athens, first celebrated there by the priest Archeleos, as stated on one of two altars with representations relating to the cult of Cybele and Attis.[32] The second altar was erected some 20 years later, in 386, by Musonius, as the inscription records, in the consulship of Honorius and Euodius.[33]

Visible evidence of the tenacity of paganism is the shrine, probably of Hecate, at a conspicuous crossroads in the Panathenaic Way, in the middle of the Agora, which continued in use until the late 4th century.[34] In this connection it may be noted that Aconia Fabia Paulina, the wife of Praetextatus, was a priestess of Hecate on Aegina.[35]

Throughout the 4th century and well into the 5th, Athens was to all intents and purposes a pagan city. Whatever the nature of the celebrations and other benefactions mentioned by the panegyrists,[36] nowhere is there any hint of Christian influence. The pagan character of activities in the newly restored Theater of Dionysos is made clear in the dedication of the new stage by the archon

[25] G. A. Sotiriou, EMME I, p. 21.

[26] F. Halkin, *Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine* (*Subsidia hagiographica* 51, Société des Bollandistes), Brussels 1971, pp. 60–66. Michael Choniates devoted an entire oration to the martyrdom of Leonides: Michaelis Acominati, *Opera*, S. Lambros, ed., Athens 1879 (reprint 1968), I, pp. 150–156.

[27] Eusebius, *HE* IV.23.3.

[28] Eusebius, *HE* VI.32. For more on this period, see *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, *s.v.* Athènes (Janin); also *Reallex. f. Antike und Christentum*, *s.v.* Athen II (Frantz, in press).

[29] *Contra Celsum* III.30.

[30] Frantz, *DOP*, pp. 187–202; also *idem*, "Pagan Philosophers in Christian Athens," *Proc. Phil. Soc.* 119, 1975, pp. 29–38.

[31] For his career see *PLRE* I, Praetextatus 1 and for the list of his priesthoods, his epitaph in Rome, *CIL* VI, 1779. Also Groag, *Achaia*, pp. 45–48; Robert (footnote 38 above, p. 6), p. 24.

[32] πρῶτον δεῦρο τελειομένης, *IG* II^2, 4841. The two altars are discussed in detail by J. N. Svoronos in *Das Athener Nationalmuseum*, Athens 1908, nos. 1746–1747, pp. 474–484, with illustrations (pl. LXXX). See also M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* II, Leiden 1982, pp. 116–118, nos. 389, 390. Svoronos notes that the taurobolium, which the Greeks regarded as a barbarian superstition attached to the worship of Cybele, had spread over the whole Roman world by the 2nd century but had apparently never before been recognized officially as a separate cult. For the family of Archeleos, see below, pp. 50–51.

[33] *IG* II^2, 4842.

[34] Above, p. 8.

[35] *CIL* VI, 1779: "sacrata Cereri et Eleusiniis sacrata apud Aeginam Hecatae tauroboliata hierophantria."

[36] Below, pp. 20–24.

Phaidros.[37] Apart from the Panathenaia there is little solid evidence for games after the middle of the 3rd century,[38] but the Panathenaic Festival itself was being held regularly in the middle of the 4th century, as described in detail by Himerius, and probably into the 5th.[39]

Pheidias' bronze statue of Athena Promachos continued to be a landmark on the Acropolis. It was mentioned by St. Jerome in 372 and again on the base of a statue of Herculius, Prefect of Illyricum, *ca.* 410. It is even possible that it was not removed to Constantinople until *ca.* 465.[40]

There was apparently little distinction between pagan and Christian students in the 4th century. In other parts of the Empire some effort was made to provide Christian education to compete with the schools,[41] but in Athens the future Church Fathers, Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzus, were as assiduous in the study of the classics as was their fellow student, Julian, the future apostate emperor. It would be agreeable to be able to include John Chrysostom in this distinguished company.[42] A circumstantial account by George, Bishop of Alexandria, has him finishing his education in Athens after learning all he could in Antioch.[43] But it has been pointed out that strict observance of the known chronology would have him achieve this status at the age of 18.[44] The person of Anthemius, priest of Athena and a leading philosopher of Athens who was confounded by John's wisdom in the same account, must probably also be consigned to the realm of fiction.

The only known Christian teacher in Athens at this time was Prohaeresius, who was highly esteemed by pagan and Christian alike.[45] The fighting which figures so prominently in the accounts of student life seems to have been chiefly between the factions of different teachers or between students and townspeople rather than between pagans and Christians.

The City of Athens and its Benefactors

During the 4th century three high officials are named as benefactors of Athens: two Proconsuls of Achaea, Cervonius and Ampelius, and the Emperor Julian. The precise date of Cervonius, the earliest, is uncertain, but he is believed to have held office in the second half of Constantine's reign.[46] Ampelius is next, with his term firmly fixed at 359/60, barely two years before Julian's accession.[47] The literary evidence for all three rests on a dubious type of source: the panegyric or other encomium. The two proconsuls are praised by Himerius on their departure from Greece;

[37] Below, p. 25.

[38] The latest known agonistic inscription is dated *ca.* 253–257 (L. Moretti, *Iscrizioni agonistiche greche*, Rome 1953, pp. 263–268, no. 90). Moretti notes, however, that there seem to be no more major games after that time but that local and regional contests continued to be held for some decades.

[39] Below, pp. 23–24.

[40] Below, pp. 76–77.

[41] Clarke (footnote 15 above, p. 17), chap. 5.

[42] Alan D. E. Cameron, "Iamblichus at Athens," *Athenaeum*, n.s. 45, 1967, p. 153, note 19.

[43] Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 96, Life of St. John Chrysostom. This author is not to be confused with the 4th-century bishop of the same name and the same city. The episcopacy of the author of the life of Chrysostom has been dated in the first quarter of the 7th century by P. R. Coleman-Norton ("The *Vita S. Chrysostomi* by Georgius Alexandrinus," *CP* 20, 1925, pp. 69–72). The Life itself is based in the main on the biography by Palladius, a contemporary and friend of John. The author's own contributions (of which the Athenian episode seems to be one) prove to be almost entirely figments of the imagination. They are rejected by C. Baur, *John Chrysostom and his Time*, M. Gonzaga, trans., 2nd ed., Westminster, Maryland 1959, pp. 25–26.

[44] A. Naegele, "Chrysostomos und Libanios," *Chrysostomika*, Rome 1908, pp. 93–98.

[45] See also above, p. 17.

[46] Groag, *Achaia*, pp. 27–28.

[47] *Ibid.*, pp. 42–44.

Mamertinus, on assuming the consulship, exalts Julian.[48] A certain similarity pervades the accounts, all drawn from the general language of panegyric, and so the line between truth and fiction is not always clearly defined. The formula is standard. In each encomium the city, which has fallen into decay, has been transformed by whichever individual is being addressed at the moment. Julian has brought water to places that were formerly dry and panting with thirst. Cervonius too has brought water to Athens but he is credited in more flowery language: the Nymphs have left their groves to play in the streets of Athens, and the place flourishes as a spring meadow. Under Julian old festivals are celebrated and new ones are inaugurated. With Cervonius, celebrations and dancing begin again.[49] By command of Julian all the cities of Macedonia, Illyricum, and the Peloponnese are restored. Ampelius has transformed the whole countryside from Thermopylae to the tip of the Peloponnese into cities. But in addition to loose generalities he is credited with one episode that is refreshingly convincing in its modest simplicity and specific detail: the renewal of a small district "in the very heart of Athens, centered around the little street of Kollytos."[50] It may be noted, moreover, that Ampelius is the only one of the three men who is known for specific gifts elsewhere. For example, reconstruction of the theater at Sparta and the establishment of the Amyklaion in the same city, and possibly other buildings in Sparta as well.[51] On Aegina he apparently constructed an elaborate nymphaeum,[52] and in Chalkis he built or restored some public building.[53]

In the case of Mamertinus on Julian, no concrete examples of public or private works are cited, only general prosperity, improved water supply, and celebrations. It is even more significant that none of these are placed specifically in Athens, which is not mentioned beyond the fact that it had fallen into decay, along with other named cities. Otherwise, only tacit inclusion among all the cities of the Balkan peninsula. The impression is left that the newly appointed consul, who had already held offices under Julian,[54] knew nothing at first hand either of Athens or the rest of Greece, and is speaking in safe and acceptable generalities.[55]

The list of benefactors of the city, dependent largely on chance, is necessarily incomplete. Three officials might certainly have qualified, although no record survives of a practical interest in Athens.

[48] Cervonius: Himerius, *Or.* IV (XXXVIII); Ampelius: Himerius, *Ecl.* XXXI; Julian: Claudius Mamertinus, *Grat. act. Iul.*, 9, etc.; *Panégyriques latins*, E. Galletier, ed., Paris 1955, III, pp. 23–24.

[49] He is also honored as a "friend of the Muses" on a statue base found at Thespiae (*SEG* XV, 323).

[50] This contribution of Ampelius will be discussed more fully below, pp. 35–36.

[51] For the inscription recording the rebuilding of the theater, see A. M. Woodward, "Excavations at Sparta 1924–25: The Inscriptions," *BSA* 26, 1923–25, pp. 225–236, no. 20; for the Amyklaion, *ibid.*, p. 229 and *IG* V 1, 455.

[52] Robert (footnote 38 above, p. 6), pp. 5–34.

[53] Woodward (footnote 51 above), p. 227; also *IG* XII 9, 907 and A. Joubin and A. Wilhelm, "Inscriptions de Chalcis," *BCH* 16, 1892, pp. 102–106. After his proconsulship he went on to a distinguished career in other high offices (Groag, *Achaia*, pp. 42–44). For the personal reasons why Ampelius lost enduring fame, see Amm. Marc., XXVIII.4.3.

[54] In command of the sacred largesses (Amm. Marc., XXI.8.1) and Praetorian Prefect of Illyricum (XXI.12.25).

[55] Since this is the only passage bearing on Julian's possible connection with building activities in Athens, it is worth quoting in full: "Ipsae illae bonarum artium magistrae et inventrices Athenae omnem cultum publice privatimque perdiderant. In miserandam ruinam conciderat Eleusina. Sed universas urbes opere imperatoris refotas enumerare perlongum est: scire satis est cunctas Macedoniae, Illyrici, Peloponnesi civitates unis an binis epistulis maximi imperatoris repentinam induisse novatis moenibus iuventutem, aquas locis omnibus scatere, quae paulo ante arida et siti anhelantia visebantur, ea nunc perlui, inundari, madere, fora, deambulacra, gymnasia laetis et gaudentibus populis frequentari, dies festos et celebrari veteres et novos in honorem principis consacrari" (Claudius Mamertinus, *Grat. act. Iul.*, 9.3–4). For an analysis of this speech see H. Gutzwiller, *Die Neujahresrede des Konsuls Claudius Mamertinus vor dem Kaiser Julian* (*Basler Beiträge zur Geschichtswissenschaft* 10, 1942).

First, Scylacius, Proconsul of Achaea after 343 and the subject of an encomium by Himerius.[56] Before becoming proconsul Scylacius was a high official, probably *vicarius*, in Asia, and much of Himerius' oration is devoted to his important work in regulating the course of the Maeander near Miletus. His operations there are confirmed explicitly in an epigram discovered recently in Laodicea,[57] in which he is celebrated for having constructed in 12 months an imposing building (**θαῦμα**), probably a nymphaeum.

Although evidence for concrete works in Athens is lacking, Scylacius' reputation as an energetic, wise, and considerate administrator, together with the flowery implication of Athenian descent that runs through Himerius' oration, justifies the assumption that he probably left some tangible, if unidentified, contribution to Athens. Another possible benefactor is Flavius Hermogenes, Proconsul of Achaea, probably in the reign of Constantius II, who at one time devoted himself to philosophy and, during his proconsulship, repaired the harbor at Corinth.[58] And finally Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Proconsul of Achaea between 362 and 364, another learned man.[59] He, like Cervonius, was honored with a statue at Thespiae.[60]

That the physical aspect of the city had recovered to some extent by the second half of the 4th century is shown in the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, which describes the "land of Achaea" as having these cities: Corinth and Athens. "Corinth is very active in commerce and has an outstanding structure of an amphitheatre. Athens has the centers of higher learning and ancient historical monuments and something worthy of special mention, the Acropolis, where by means of many standing statues it is wonderful to see a so-called war of the ancients."[61] It may be concluded, then, that from at least as early as the second quarter of the 4th century interest was being shown on a high level in reviving the city of Athens. The literary evidence that substantial measures were taken to increase the water supply or improve its distribution, whether by Cervonius, Julian, or ordinary civic enterprise, is corroborated by the rebuilding of the Antonine aqueduct in the southeast corner of the Agora[62] and by the sudden surge in the construction of new baths and the restoration of old ones all over the city.[63]

[56] Himerius, *Or.* XXVII (XXV); *PLRE*, Scylacius 1; *RE*, *s.v.* Scylacius 1; Groag, *Achaia*, p. 34; and especially L. Robert, *Laodicée du Lycos* (footnote 67 above, p. 11), pp. 339–351. According to Groag, on the basis of the *titulus* to Himerius' oration: *τῆς ἐπιδείξεως ἀρεοπαγίτης γενόμενος*, Scylacius might have been named an Areopagite, but Robert, following H. Schenkel in *RE*, *s.v.* Himerius, points out that this applies to Himerius himself rather than to Scylacius.

[57] Robert, *loc. cit.*

[58] *IG* IV, 209. His career is reviewed in Himerius, *Or.* XIV (XLVIII). See also *PLRE*, Hermogenes 9; Groag, *Achaia*, pp. 36–38; and Saffrey and Westerink, pp. xxxix–xl.

[59] Above, p. 19. He also was eulogized by Himerius (*Or.* LI [Colonna]), but unfortunately only the heading survives.

[60] *IG* VII, 1855 (*SEG* XV, 322), also A. Plassart, "Fouilles de Thespies: Inscriptions," *BCH* 50, 1926, pp. 444–446.

[61] *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, 52 (introduction, text, and commentary by J. Rougé [*Sources chrétiennes* 124], Paris 1966). For the date of composition (A.D. 359), see pp. 18–19. For a recent analysis of this passage (and the translation used here), J. H. Oliver, "Achaia, Greece, and Laconica," *GRBS* 21, 1980, pp. 75–81.

There is general agreement on the emendation *arcem* for *arcum*, i.e., "Acropolis" for "triumphal arch". The "standing statues" have been taken as those dedicated by Attalus, referred to in Pausanias, I.25.2 (cf. Rougé's note to lines 14–16, p. 292). The whole description of Athens is contained in a few lines: "Athenas vero <studia et> historias antiquas et aliquid dignum nominatum, arcem ubi multis statuis mirabile est videre dicendum antiquorum bellum."

[62] *Agora* XIV, p. 202.

[63] Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 180–181 for the location of those known up to *ca.* 1970. For these and other hydraulic installations, as well as the continuing concern for all such activities into the 5th century, see below, pp. 29–33. In some cases it is not certain whether these date from the 4th or the 5th century.

Almost certainly, considering Julian's predilection for Athens, he would have offered sums for general rehabilitation, along with provision for other cities, after he came to the throne.[64] But there was little time for direct personal intervention in the few months before he left for Antioch to prepare for his Persian campaign, and in what time there was his attention was directed to the affairs of the capital, e.g., the construction of a new harbor with a stoa leading down to it, "sigma-shaped rather than straight", and a new library "in which he deposited all his books."[65] He also made an attempt to acquire from Alexandria the obelisk which Constantius II had greatly desired,[66] but his efforts were equally unsuccessful, and it remained for Theodosius I to secure it finally in 390.[67] During his stay in Antioch and his travels in the vicinity, Julian's sympathy and support were engaged by what he saw, such as the plight of Nicomedia, still in ruins after the earthquake of 358.[68] In Athens, to which he never returned after his two months as a student, it is impossible to attribute a single building or public work to his initiative with any degree of certainty.[69] The only one to have been seriously proposed is the reconstruction of the interior of the Parthenon.[70] It has been suggested that the new Pompeion, built over the ruins of the old by the Dipylon Gate to provide a new marshaling ground for the Panathenaic Procession, was built by Julian. The suggestion was made on the basis of suitability, but it cannot be said that among the emperors in Late Antiquity Julian alone seems to have given his attention to Athens.[71]

Whatever the date of the actual building, the mention of "celebrations" in the encomia of Cervonius and Mamertinus raises the question of the continuance of the Panathenaic Festival. Was it interrupted in 267 and, if so, for how long? It was certainly still—or again—being held in the 4th century because of Himerius' often quoted description of the course of the procession: "The ship begins its voyage right from the gate, as from a calm haven. Moving from that point, as over a waveless sea, it is conveyed through the middle of the Dromos, which, descending from above,

[64] I.e., in the Imperial letters referred to by Mamertinus.

[65] Zosimus, III.11.3. But G. Dagron (*Naissance d'une capitale*, Paris 1974, p. 90, note 1) inclines to attribute the stoa and the library to Contantius II or even Constantine rather than to Julian.

[66] Julian, *Ep.* 59 (58).

[67] See also below, pp. 74–75.

[68] Amm. Marc., XVII.7.2–8; XXII.9.3–5. Cf. his abortive attempt to restore the Jewish temple at Jerusalem (G. W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate*, Cambridge, Mass. 1978, appendix).

[69] An inscription published by G. Sotiriou («Παλαιὰ Χριστιανικὴ Βασιλικὴ Ἰλισοῦ», Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1919, pp. 29–30) was later associated with Julian by A. Piganiol ("La couronne de Julien César," *Byzantion* 13, 1938, p. 248, note 1, and *idem*, *L'empire chrétien* (footnote 1 above, p. 16), p. 127, note 6); also P. Lévêque ("Observations sur l'iconographie de Julian dit l'apostat," *MonPiot* 51, 1960, p. 118, note 2). It reads:

ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟ[Σ---------
ΣΕΒ----------
ΣΑΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚ[Ε]

Other scholars had either ignored or rejected the possibility that the inscription referred to the Emperor (Sotiriou, *loc. cit.*; P. Graindor, *Album d'inscriptions attiques*, Paris 1924, p. 19, and *idem*, *Athènes de Tibère à Trajan*, Cairo 1936, p. 3; also W. Peek, *AM* 67, 1942 [1951], pp. 41–42, on grounds of letter forms and unsuitability [absence of titles, etc.]). Piganiol's restoration Φλ. Κλαύδιος before the name is unacceptable because it is clear from Sotiriou's drawing that the surfaces above and to the left were uninscribed. The inscription was carved on a poros slab, re-used in its fragmentary condition in the side of a sarcophagus in a late tomb beside the Basilica on the Ilissos, where it presumably still rests, once more underground.

[70] For the case for the destruction of the Parthenon and reconstruction under Julian, see Travlos, Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1973, pp. 218–236. *Contra*, Frantz, "Julian."

[71] The archaeological evidence for the date of construction of the new Pompeion will be discussed below, pp. 26–28.

straight and smooth, divides the stoas extending along it on either side, in which the Athenians and the others buy and sell."[72]

The literary evidence for the date of the regeneration of the Panathenaic Festival is vague. Himerius lived for at least 40 years inside the 4th century. There is nothing in the oration to indicate that the resumption of the festival was a recent event. The Panathenaia, as the most important of Athenian festivals, might be expected to receive the highest priority in this still essentially pagan city, and the first of the panegyrics to mention the revival of "celebrations" (Cervonius) might be more reasonably associated with the Panathenaia than the last; it might very well have preceded the building of the late Pompeion by a few years, whether or not at the instigation of Cervonius or some as yet anonymous donor, *ca.* 330. A desire to enhance the appearance of the main entrance to the city may also have played an important part in putting the attendant building program into effect.[73]

Julian and the Reopening of the Temples

The widely held belief that Julian reopened the Parthenon and the other temples of Athens is unsubstantiated and is based only on the assumption that they had already been closed. This is in itself a dubious claim. Only one of the many edicts relating to the imposition of Christianity orders specifically the closing of all temples,[74] and the frequent reiteration of all the provisions against paganism in general shows how widely they were disregarded. Prompt compliance might be expected least of all from the Athenians.[75] The reopening of the temples received attention from contemporary and later historians, but the only temples specifically mentioned in surviving accounts are comparatively insignificant examples in the east, which was generally a much more compliant area in this respect than the west. Both Rome and Athens, which might be expected to make a greater impact on the writers, are conspicuously absent in the accounts.[76]

THE BUILDINGS

The Reconstruction of Old Buildings for Official Use

In its now diminished state of importance Athens' need for public buildings was limited: offices for the Proconsul or Praetorian Prefect on their occasional state visits, lawcourts, and places of assembly, where they or other officials could address large numbers of people, all find mention in contemporary writers. Many of Himerius' orations are stated in the title to have been delivered "in the praetorium" (*ἐν τῷ πραιτωρίῳ*). The Praetorium in the 4th century, as only a branch office, as it were, might have been any building of suitable size and adequate state of preservation. That would apply also to the lawcourts. The assembly place was a different matter. A long tradition had associated the meetings of the Assembly with theaterlike structures: first the auditorium on the Pnyx and later the Theater of Dionysos itself (Pls. 5, 16:a). There is good reason therefore why the customary term for the assembly place in the writings of Eunapius and other 4th-century writers was *τὸ θέατρον*. After the Herulian attack the only theater or odeion that was not beyond repair was the Theater of Dionysos; moreover, this had been more and more commonly used as the meeting place of the Assembly even as early as the 4th century B.C.,[77] and so it was natural to follow

[72] Himerius, *Or.* III (XLVII).12; trans. Wycherley, *Agora* III, p. 20, no. 1.

[73] See footnote 48 above, p. 21.

[74] *CTh* XVI.10.4. Issued by Constantius II and Constans (date variously given as 346, 354, 356).

[75] For the legislation in general, see below, pp. 69–70, and for the effect on Athens in particular, Frantz, *DOP.*

[76] The argument against the reopening of the temples by Julian is developed more thoroughly in Frantz, "Julian."

[77] Cf. K. Kourouniotis and H. A. Thompson, "The Pnyx in Athens," *Hesperia* 1, 1932, pp. 137–138, with references; also H. A. Thompson, "The Pnyx in Models," *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIX, *Studies in Attic Epigraphy, History and*

tradition by rehabilitating it for the same purpose. In addition to general repairs, a new stage, or bema, was constructed, the gift of the archon Phaidros, as recorded in the dedicatory inscription carved on the top step (Pls. 16:b, 17:a).[78] The salient feature of the bema was the sculptured frieze adorning its front, which was taken from the previous, Hadrianic, phase of the theater.[79]

The long-accepted date of *ca.* 400 for this renovation was based on no solid ground, the archon Phaidros being otherwise unknown except for the dedication of a sundial;[80] and precise archaeological evidence is lacking. For historical reasons it seems preferable to assign a *terminus ante quem* of 345/6, the year in which the Prefect of Illyricum, Anatolius, visited Athens and addressed a large crowd "in the theater", very likely the Theater of Dionysos.[81] The importance attached to the assembly place at all times argues for an earlier rather than a later date for its reconstruction. Considering the distinctively pagan flavor of the sculptured frieze of the bema, with its Dionysiac scenes and crouching sileni, as well as the dedication to the "lover of mysteries" and the more tolerant attitude of Constantine than of his successors, a date in his reign seems preferable to a later time.

For other civic needs after 267, makeshift quarters were provided at first by patching up buildings that had not been completely destroyed (Pls. 3, 6). The earliest attempts in this direction were made at least as early as the middle of the 4th century. The Tholos, where tradition was strongest, was the first building to be rehabilitated. It had suffered enough to necessitate buttressing with a ring of concrete masonry[82] but not enough to be demolished completely. The marble floor of the preceding period and the brick dome were still serviceable, and the interior walls were now embellished with marble slabs. The building went out of use finally at the end of the 4th century, probably as a result of the attack by Alaric in 396.[83]

The Metroön was destroyed or at least badly damaged in 267. That it never regained its original function is implied in the Emperor Julian's reference to the Metroön, "where all the documents of the Athenians used to be kept."[84] Nevertheless, two rooms were rehabilitated to a modest degree: the north room in basilica form, the next to the south as some sort of eating establishment (see Pl. 6). This was achieved with a minimum of effort, the rebuilders having gained *ca.* 1.50 m. of extra height for the walls by lowering the floor by that amount. The chief feature of the room was a pair of broiling pits, *ca.* 6.70 m. and 7.20 m. long, with a maximum depth of *ca.* 0.55 m. and a width of *ca.* 0.55 m. Both were filled with loose ash and charcoal and a large number of chicken bones.

This phase of the Metroön was of short duration, for it was destroyed or damaged at the end of the 4th century, probably in Alaric's attack in 396.[85]

Topography presented to Eugene Vanderpool, Princeton 1982, p. 145, for Lycurgus' interest in completing the theater as an assembly place (with further references).

[78] *IG* II^2, 5021.

[79] Cf. M. Sturgeon, "The Reliefs on the Theater of Dionysos in Athens," *AJA* 81, 1977, pp. 31–53 for a recent study of the frieze.

[80] *IG* II^2, 5208.

[81] For details of the argument, see A. Frantz, "The Date of the Phaidros Bema in the Theater of Dionysos," in *Hesperia*, Suppl. XX, *Studies in Athenian Topography, Architecture and Sculpture presented to Homer A. Thompson*, Princeton 1982, pp. 34–39.

[82] For the latest history of the Tholos, see *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 54, 101, 136–137; *Agora* XIV, p. 210.

[83] Pottery and lamps of the 4th and 5th centuries were found in the debris over the floor; the latest coins were from the reign of Arcadius.

[84] Julian, *Oratio* VIII (V).159B.

[85] For its later history and the possibility that during the whole of the Post-Herulian period the remodeled Metroön was used as a synagogue, see below, p. 59.

It was in either the late 4th or early 5th century that the Agora was given a more formal appearance with a series of statues, of which the bases remain, at the northeast corner of the Metroön.[86]

The Pompeion and the Panathenaic Way

Sometime during the 4th century the Panathenaic Way took on a new appearance with the rebuilding of old and construction of new stoas bordering it on both sides from the Dipylon to the point where the street turns into the Agora (Pl. 4). A building was erected over the ruins of the Pompeion and its successor (*Magazinbau*), a substantial structure of the Antonine period, and, on the same axis, some six meters to the east, was a triple arch or gateway.[87] Presumably all these were connected with the revival of the Panathenaia, the building over the Pompeion to provide a new marshaling ground for the procession and the *Festtor* as a ceremonial starting place.

The Late Pompeion consisted of two stoas bordering an open space, abutting against the city wall at the west end, closed at the east. Most of the construction material (columns and other architectural fragments) was salvaged from assorted buildings which had probably suffered in the Herulian attack. Of the *Festtor* only the foundations for the four massive piers remain.[88]

On the basis of all the evidence then available Hoepfner concluded that the building of both the Late Pompeion and the *Festtor* took place about the middle of the 4th century. This dating has recently been called in question; it therefore seems advisable to re-examine the evidence in the light of information from the Agora excavations which was not available to Hoepfner.

There is little concrete information for the date of construction of the two buildings, but the broad framework of the history of the area of the Pompeion in Late Roman times is clear and well documented:

1) In 267 the *Magazinbau* was destroyed. Lampmakers soon took over the whole district above and around the ruins and continued to be active through the first part of the 4th century.[89]

2) By the middle of the 4th century the district once more was serving the needs of the Panathenaic Festival, according to Himerius' testimony.[90]

3) In 396 Alaric's forces inflicted heavy damage from the Dipylon all along the Panathenaic Way and into the Agora,[91] after which the lampmakers returned and took up their trade once more.

Himerius saw the Panathenaic procession, but what actual buildings did he see? Certainty exists only in the case of the long stoa bordering the Panathenaic Way on the south side just before the street enters the Agora. Its predecessor, built at the end of the 1st or in the 2nd century, was destroyed in 267, and no rebuilding took place before the middle of the 4th century.[92] Moreover, this

[86] For these see below, p. 60.

[87] For the definitive publication of the Pompeion in all periods, see Hoepfner. The report on the investigation and dating of the latest phase, from which the present account is largely drawn, will be found on pp. 176–199, with references. The two new buildings will be referred to as the "Late Pompeion" (Hoepfner's *Hallenstrasse*) and *Festtor*, retaining his term for what was evidently a ceremonial gateway, perhaps similar to one at the entrance to the stadium at Delphi.

[88] Some doubt has been raised as to whether the gate was ever finished, since no pieces of the superstructure were discovered, but all the material may have been carried away for use in other buildings, with a thoroughness not unparalleled elsewhere in Athens.

[89] See also *Agora* VII, p. 20, for the early 4th-century recovery of the lamp industry.

[90] Above, pp. 23–24.

[91] Hoepfner attributed the damage to the earthquake of 375 rather than to Alaric on the basis of Zosimus' report that Alaric left Athens unharmed. But Athens escaped serious damage in the earthquake, and there is now ample evidence of destruction in 396 in the Agora (below, p. 52) and in the Kerameikos, where coins going down to the reign of Arcadius (A.D. 383–408) attest to destruction at that time (*Agora* VII, p. 63).

[92] For the evidence, see below, p. 28. Its counterpart on the north side of the street undoubtedly dates from this same time, but it is in too fragmentary a state to permit close dating (below, p. 28).

is the only stretch of the street that answers to Himerius' description of "dividing the stoas on either side". Disturbances caused by the lampmakers removed most of the evidence for the date of the Late Pompeion. A 4th-century date for the *Festtor* seemed to be established by the deep filling in its foundation trench, but a few sherds attributed to the late 4th or 5th century in the same filling seem to undermine the earlier dating and therefore bring both buildings down to the 5th century.[93] This evidence cannot be ignored, and so the question must be reopened.

A 5th-century date presents grave difficulties. Although the Late Pompeion cannot be dated precisely by either pottery or coins, a sequence of developments can be traced between stages 1 and 3 noted above. The cessation of activity of the lampmakers, so well entrenched through the first half of the 4th century, implies some reason, such as clearing the ground for new construction. On the more positive side, the Late Pompeion shows two distinct periods, with a rebuilding almost from the ground. A new floor was laid, *ca.* 0.30 m. higher than the first, and on the stump of the south wall a new one was superimposed (Pl. 18). The new building was evidently of flimsier construction, its wall being only 0.60 m. thick. It extended six meters farther to the east, perhaps to compensate for greater destruction at the west end, close to the city wall. That the destruction was caused by Alaric was left in no doubt by the massive debris, all over the area, abandoned by the lampmakers who once more moved in immediately after the disaster.[94]

The *Festtor* was evidently destroyed by Alaric (if, indeed, it was ever completed) and never rebuilt. Although the evidence for its construction is contradictory, its destruction and plundering can be fixed with some certainty in the first half of the 5th century by coins found in the northern part of the remaining foundations.[95] The walls of the second phase of the Late Pompeion carried right up to the foundations of the *Festtor* and consequently postdate its destruction. Hoepfner concludes therefore that the second phase dates from the first half of the 5th century. The columns that were found over and around the Late Pompeion were very likely used in both phases of its construction. Some additions may have been necessary, which would perhaps account for the presence of two impost blocks,[96] imposts not being known in Greece before the 5th century.[97]

The published studies of impost blocks are directed mainly toward the decorated type, well integrated with the general architectural scheme, rather than the undecorated, purely utilitarian form designed to effect a transition from the capital to the arch. It might be noted that Greece, where the chief source of columns in Late Antiquity was the cannibalization of ancient buildings, would have been a fertile ground for the introduction of the type, since the columns in late buildings (as in the Pompeion) were often of disparate heights, which could be rectified by the use of the impost.

To revert to the contradictory evidence for the construction of the *Festtor*, i.e., the 5th-century sherds from the foundation trench, some doubt may be entertained about its validity. The rest of the fill, which was deep, was uniformly of the earlier part of the 4th century. The stratification was

[93] This was pointed out to me by J. P. Binder.

[94] Some 16,000 lamps were found on the site. First thought to have been from Alaric's destruction, they are now attributed to these artisans, according to J. P. Binder's dating of the lamps of this period, revised from that published in *Agora* VII. (For a note on the redating see H. Williams, *Kenchreai*, V, *The Lamps*, Leiden 1981, p. 104.)

[95] Six were of the period 395–450, one each from the time of Valentinian II (A.D. 388–396) and Honorius (A.D. 413–423), and one from the Middle Ages.

[96] Hoepfner, p. 179, fig. 193 and p. 185, fig. 200.

[97] F. W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert nach Christus* (*Deutsche Beiträge zur Altertumswissenschaft* 4), Baden-Baden 1956, pp. 41 ff. Deichmann notes, however, that the subject has not been thoroughly studied and that little chronological evidence has been found. He is of the opinion that the origin of the type is probably to be found in Greece.

very complicated, and the possibility of human error cannot be excluded.[98] In view of the activity of the plunderers, e.g. the coins cited above, some intrusion might be another explanation.

Closely related to the problem is the history of the Panathenaic Way. The stoa bordering the south side of the Way between Dipylon and Agora had a long history. Built in the second half of the 1st to the early 2nd century, it was in use, with several modifications, until 267.[99] It was almost completely destroyed by the Heruli, who left heavily burnt debris over the floors, followed by an accumulation of pottery of the first half of the 4th century, with coins of Constantine II (A.D. 337–341) and Constantius II (350's). The stoa was refurbished in a substantial way, evidently in the middle of the 4th century, including, probably, the large statue base in the propylon at its south end. This must have been one of the stoas seen by Himerius, since the site had lain desolate after the destruction of its predecessor. Destruction in 396 is well attested by layers of ash and debris over the floors, with coins of the 380's.[100] This stoa, then, and Phase I of the Late Pompeion may be considered contemporary. The *Festtor* may be included with these because of the close architectural relationship and the fact that it was already destroyed and being plundered by the time of Phase II. Might not the plunderers, in fact, have been the builders of Phase II?

The three buildings, Late Pompeion (Phase I), *Festtor*, and the stoa on the Panathenaic Way, form a well-integrated group. They can easily be thought of as part of the revival of Athens during the reign of Constantine and a little later, which, incidentally, coincides with the time of the known benefactors of the city with their emphasis on "celebrations".[101] The Panathenaia, as the most important of Athenian festivals, might be expected to receive the highest priority. A desire to enhance the appearance of the main entrance to the city may also have played a part.

Remains of the stoas on the north side of the street between the Dipylon and Agora have been uncovered over a considerable stretch.[102] They are in too ruinous a state to provide any useful evidence of their date, but they were probably part of the same program. A Late Roman bath (5th century?) was built over one part, and so here at least there was no rebuilding. The final stretch had no stoa on the north side owing to the continued presence of an Early Roman temple and a monumental altar of the classical period, discovered in the 1980–1982 campaign of the Agora Excavations.[103] These were destroyed, probably in 396, and their place was taken by a 5th-century stoa which abutted against the west wall of the Stoa Poikile.[104]

The course of the Panathenaic Way after it entered the Agora was more informal (Pl. 6). Its eastern edge remained more or less stable, along the line later followed by the Long Late Roman Wall and the mill aqueduct.[105] But the western edge became quite undefined in Late Antiquity, particularly in the northern section where the graveled surface suffered continually from the accumulated silt brought by the torrents rushing down the slopes as the drainage system became less and less effective.

Toward the southeast corner of the Agora the course of the road was deflected westward to avoid the towers of the Post-Herulian Wall and the mill aqueduct, reverting to its original line only after

[98] Dr. Hoepfner, who was present at the excavation, kindly gave this opinion in answer to an inquiry from me about the details.

[99] For its final exploration see *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 370–382 (Shear, Jr.), with earlier references.

[100] For details, see below, p. 54, and Shear, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

[101] Above, p. 21.

[102] Vanderpool (footnote 22 above, p. 15), pp. 289–297; Y. Nikopoulou, «Τοπογραφικὰ Ἀθηνῶν», *AAA* 4, 1971, pp. 1–9.

[103] *Hesperia* 53, 1984, pp. 24–37 (Shear, Jr.).

[104] *Ibid.*, p. 16, fig. 10.

[105] Below, pp. 80, 81.

the latter had turned east to pass through the wall.[106] Above this point the road followed the old Dromos, even though Towers W 3, W 2, and W 1 (proceeding southward) stood squarely in the middle (Pls. 5, 9). The difficulty was not serious, however, because the ground levels of the road and of the area between its west side and the Antonine aqueduct were the same, and the intervening space was ample to make up for the loss caused by the towers.

Traffic over the road diminished greatly after the Slavic invasion of the late 6th century, when the stretch on the slopes became gradually covered over with a layer of silt. During the 7th century the road was used by the inhabitants of the makeshift houses built over the ruins on either side: those of the "schools" on the west and miscellaneous buildings on the east.[107] But these buildings were short-lived. Most of the houses on the east side of the street were destroyed by fire, those on the west by neglect. The western area was not rebuilt until Turkish times, but the east became one of the most prosperous residential districts in the 11th and 12th centuries.

Waterworks

Water Supply

Throughout Late Antiquity, from the 4th century down to the Slavic invasion of the 580's, an effort was made to keep in working order at least some of the fresh-water and drainage systems of the classical period. In some cases a thorough cleaning was all that was needed; in others the Herulian damage was so severe as to necessitate substantial rebuilding, usually, however, permitting re-use only in a much reduced degree.

Of the water systems of the classical period only the Antonine aqueduct survived the destruction of 267. It too was seriously damaged but was put back into service on a diminished scale. In connection with that aqueduct an elaborate system of reservoirs, chambers, and passages dating from the 1st century had been incorporated on both sides of the Panathenaic Way.[108] Being largely underground they survived the Herulian attack and continued in use at least through the 5th century and perhaps into the 6th, but no later. Another source of water in the 6th century was a huge cistern constructed against the inner face of the Post-Herulian Wall, apparently a successor to one of the classical period immediately below the Klepsydra, called by A. W. Parsons the Paved Court.[109] Parsons attributed the rehabilitation of the Klepsydra system in this much reduced form to Justinian's interest in the problem of the water supply (Procopius, *de aed.* IV.2.24). He could find no evidence for the duration of the re-use beyond the fact that after an apparent period of disuse the ancient source was sought and found in the 10th or 11th century.

Mention should be made too of an independent water line whose sole purpose appears to have been to furnish water for three mills along the east side of the Agora.[110] The other major source of water was the great number of wells sunk in the Agora itself but more especially in the environs.

Drainage

The Great Drain, with its main north–south line along the west side of the Agora throughout the classical period, continued to function, but with decreasing efficiency, through the 5th century (Pl. 17:b). In the beginning it had been frequently cleaned out, but as time went on the layers of accumulated debris and silt became thicker. A stretch of the south branch, after it crosses Piraeus

[106] Below, p. 81.
[107] Below, pp. 117–120, for these buildings.
[108] *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 329 and 8, 1939, p. 218 (Shear, Sr.).
[109] "Klepsydra and the Paved Forecourt of the Pythion," *Hesperia* 12, 1943, pp. 191–193.
[110] Below, pp. 80–81.

Street, may be taken as representative.[111] Here at the bottom lay a late Hellenistic deposit only 0.20 m. thick. Above it was a layer of pre-Herulian times 0.50 m. thick and on top of that a post-Herulian accumulation 0.60 m. thick with coins dating down to the middle of the 3rd century. Debris gradually settled on top of this, rising very nearly to the top of the drain. That water continued to run at this high level is demonstrated by the heavy water wear and lime deposit on the under surfaces of the cover slabs. Coins from this level went down as late as the 5th century. Whether the drain continued in use into the 6th century is uncertain; if so, it could have allowed no more than a trickle, and it was certainly not functioning after the 6th century. This pattern can be paralleled in the stretch of the drain in front of the Tholos.[112]

Baths

The Agora area was well supplied with unpretentious baths from the end of the 4th century until the end of the 6th. With the exception of the small bath built in connection with the Palace of the Giants, all were located in the southwestern section.[113] The baths had much in common. At least two were built on the sites of earlier baths. All except one were small, compact establishments intended for use by only a few people at a time. All conformed to standard practice in their installations while differing in minor matters of arrangement and decoration. The hypocaust columns were invariably made of circular tiles. In most cases evidence was found, in the presence of *tegulae mammatae*, for the circulation of warm air through the wall cavities as well as under the floors. Their use in all the baths may be presumed.

Methods of construction were similar, at least for the rooms requiring the use of water, the walls being made of rubble masonry with hard, gray lime mortar. The pools themselves were lined with a hard, pinkish cement with much ground-up tile mixed with it.

In the center of the industrial district, in the low ground at the northwest end of the Areopagus, were two small baths, both in use during the 4th and 5th centuries.[114] The more elaborate of the two, the East Bath, was originally built in the 2nd or early 3rd century, destroyed in the Herulian raid, and rebuilt in the form in which it was found sometime in the 4th century (Pl. 19:b). No evidence remained of an earlier phase for the West Bath on account of the deep disturbances made all around it in Byzantine times, but it is not impossible that the two buildings were contemporary. In view of this probability and their proximity it has been suggested that the East Bath was for men and the West for women.[115]

The East Bath overlay the Great Drain, its east foundations resting on the east wall of the drain.[116] The building measured *ca.* 10 × 20 m. overall and consisted of the normal elements. The main entrance led into the *apodyterion* from the west by way of a long rectangular courtyard. From the *apodyterion* one passed successively through two *frigidaria*, the *tepidarium*, and the *caldarium*. The first and larger *frigidarium* contained two pools, one in the west, apsidal, end and another in the east. The smaller *frigidarium* had an apsidal pool at the east end; at the west a doorway led into a service court in which was a well, undoubtedly for the use of the bath. The *tepidarium* was

[111] Young, "Industrial District," p. 285.

[112] *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, p. 121.

[113] For this bath, see below, pp. 107–108; for the bath in House C see below, p. 87.

[114] Young, "Industrial District," pp. 279–283, with detailed descriptions of both baths. Cf. *Hesperia* 17, 1948, plan, p. 164, fig. 6 (Thompson).

[115] Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 169.

[116] This section of the drain had gone out of use after Sulla's attack in 86 B.C. (Young, "Industrial District," pp. 279–283).

comparatively small, almost square. The much larger *caldarium* had two adjacent pools along the north wall.

The bath, although small, seems to have been fairly luxuriously appointed, even in its final phase. The *apodyterion* was paved with marble slabs of various colors, laid in cement. The larger *frigidarium* was paved in marble between the two sunken pools, and a thin revetment of white, green, and pink marble covered the walls. The concrete bedding with impressions of the paving tile and slots for the revetment was preserved only in the eastern end but presumably covered the entire area (Pl. 20:a).

The West Bath, which lay to the west of the Street of the Marble Workers (Pl. 3: B 18), was apparently smaller and simpler, although it must have been larger than the present remains indicate. When discovered, it consisted of only three rooms, two along the east side and another at the northwest. That the southernmost of the east rooms was the *caldarium* was shown by the passage from the furnace at the south end and part of the east wall of the furnace itself, with layers of ash covering the ground just south of it. Two rows of hypocaust tiles remained in place at the south end of the *caldarium*, and their tile bedding was preserved throughout the whole room (Pl. 20:b). The adjoining room to the north would have been the *tepidarium*, and the remaining room, on the west, therefore, the *frigidarium*. The *apodyterion* may have occupied the empty corner of the rectangle. The presence of *tegulae mammatae* and pieces of marble revetment in the destruction fill indicated a similar wall treatment to that in the East Bath.

The survival of only three rooms may be explained by the fact that for the rooms in which water was used the construction was of heavy rubble and concrete, whereas, as demonstrated by the East Bath, the rooms which had no need of waterproofing were built of dry stone and many re-used blocks. These rooms were used as quarries by Byzantine builders who stripped the West Bath entirely and the East Bath in large part.

Another small bath lay on the Areopagus slope at I 17 about midway between the large bath at D–F 17–18 and the Philosophical School A (Pls. 3, 19:a).[117] In size it is comparable to the East Bath, but its plan is more compact because, whereas the rooms of the East Bath are stretched out in a row, here the *apodyterion* is tucked in on the west side between the apses of the *frigidarium* and the *caldarium*. Some earlier structure of unknown purpose underlay part of the bath, and re-use of at least one of its walls may perhaps account for the awkward junction of the south wall of the *apodyterion* with the west apse of the *caldarium*.

The *apodyterion*, which was paved with marble slabs, was entered through a doorway in its west wall; another doorway in the northeast corner led into the *frigidarium*. Thereafter the progression was regular, from north to south, from the *frigidarium*, through the two *tepidaria*, and into the *caldarium*, the last two doorways being on axis, the first only slightly off. The *frigidarium* had apsidal pools at both east and west ends, both floors and walls being paved and revetted with Hymettian marble. The room was not quite symmetrical: the apses were not on axis either with the central part of the room or with each other, and the nearly square central area tapered slightly toward the north. At the southeast corner the wall was angled back slightly to allow sufficient width for the doorway into the first *tepidarium*. The *tepidaria* were small, the first measuring *ca.* 2.60 × 1.45, the second *ca.* 2.10 × 1.60 m. Furnaces were found outside the east wall of each. An

[117] The bath had already been discovered and partially excavated during the investigation of the Areopagus slopes in 1897 by W. Dörpfeld, who called it a Roman villa. Most of the overlying and surrounding fill was removed at that time, and the foundations were left exposed until they were finally covered with an accumulation of earth and rubbish. Consequently the building, re-excavated in 1933, can now be dated only within very broad limits.

apse on the west side of the *caldarium* and rectangular projections on the east and south provided space for three small plunge baths, each of which was equipped with its own furnace.

The original east and south walls were roughly stuccoed on the outside and intended to be seen. At some later time they were reinforced by a skin of rubble masonry, probably to protect them against erosion from water trickling down the slopes. In both inner and outer masonry, gray mortar of good quality was used, and there need be no great difference in time between the two.

The problem of water seepage from the springs above was serious, and ingenious measures were taken to cope with it. A rectangular terracotta channel, measuring 0.14 m. wide and 0.12 m. deep, was laid under the building on its north–south axis, beginning at the south end. Two transverse drains, entering from east and west under the *caldarium* on its axis, met at the main channel and poured their contents into it. The main channel continued northward as far as the middle of the first *tepidarium*, where it met another east–west channel. This westward drain then carried the whole flow beyond the limits of the building toward the northwest.

As noted above, most of the chronological evidence for the construction and life of the bath disappeared with the 19th-century excavations; what little remained pointed to construction in the 3rd or 4th century and use through the 5th and probably into the 6th.

The largest and most complex of all, the Southwest Bath (Pls. 6, 19:c, d, 20:c), was a public bath, a sprawling structure occupying an irregular, more or less triangular space bounded by Piraeus Street on the north, Areopagus Street on the east, and on the west a high retaining wall which, since the 4th century B.C., had supported the terrace on which the bath was built. From the beginning, any building erected on the terrace was limited to an irregular form, on the one hand by the scarp of rock along the Areopagus on top of which the road always led down from the southwest, and on the other hand by the sharp drop in the ground level toward the west which had led, from early times, to the construction and maintenance of the retaining wall. This accounts for the somewhat heterogeneous character of the plan of the building, especially toward the middle, since the rooms on the east side had been aligned with Areopagus Street while those on the west had taken their line from the retaining wall.

The bath in the Late Roman period followed a long tradition of bathing establishments on the same site.[118] It was in its third, 2nd-century phase that it stood in 267, when some parts suffered total, others partial destruction (Pl. 20:c). The whole building lay in a semiruinous state for some 75 years, to judge by a consistent sprinkling of sherds as late as the middle of the 4th century found in the top of the thick layer of fill otherwise typical of Herulian destruction.

Although the general outlines of the bath remained the same, some radical changes were made in the internal arrangements (Pl. 19:d). The main entrance was now moved to the east, using the ruined south *tepidarium* as a broad passageway to which access was gained through a doorway opened in the east wall. The northwest corner of the complex was completely reorganized, and all the rooms involving the use of water were concentrated along the north side of the building. With this change, the remaining part of the building became quite distinct in character. The most imposing feature was the vaulted west hall, created by throwing together two rooms and covering them with a marble-chip mosaic floor. At the south a large exedra, similarly floored, was added. Benches were built all around the exedra, against all wall surfaces in the hall itself, and against the walls of all the "dry rooms".

The presence of benches around the "dry rooms" suggests a common purpose. Although commonly associated with *apodyteria*, their sudden proliferation at a time when actual bathing facilities

[118] For the earlier as well as the later periods see *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 394–415 (Shear, Jr.). In view of the detailed presentation of the bath in this article, it will be necessary to describe it here in only summary form.

were so curtailed seems illogical. Another explanation is more plausible, i.e., that they were used as places of instruction by teachers who had not yet achieved the status of having buildings of their own, such as those on the slopes of the Areopagus farther east.[119]

The bath as such met its final destruction in the late 6th century, undoubtedly during the Slavic invasion of the 580's. Not long after, probably during the first half of the 7th century, it was rebuilt in a sketchy manner, but not as a bath. Some parts went out of use entirely; the west hall was divided into two rooms of unequal size, separated by a flimsy crosswall. The marble-chip mosaic, where it survived, once more served as a floor, but where it was badly damaged it was not repaired substantially. The purpose of the building in its final form is obscure, but one may conjecture that again it might have been a school, built to replace one or more that the Slavs had destroyed, and was by now completely Christianized.[120]

Probably the most elegant of all the baths in the Agora area was one closely connected with the Palace of the Giants (Pls. 6, 20:d), at the corner of the south complex and overlying the foundations of the Middle Stoa. The *frigidarium* occupied the northern half: a long rectangular room with three water basins, or plunge baths, along its north side. One of these was semicircular, the others smaller and rectangular. To the south were two rooms heated by hypocaust; the larger, apsidal, was the *caldarium*, the other, circular, probably the sweating room (*laconicum*). The rooms to the east of these rooms were probably *apodyteria*. The main rooms were luxuriously fitted with marble revetment for walls, floors, and even the lining of the plunge baths. The door jambs also were of marble.[121] A large cistern to the southeast furnished water for the bath.

Latrines

Athens, as far as present evidence indicates, was poor in public latrines compared to other cities of the Roman world and earlier. Only two of any consequence are known.[122] The first was an imposing square marble structure with four Corinthian columns surrounding an open court. It stood just outside the Roman Market near the Tower of the Winds (Pl. 5) and could accommodate about 60 persons.[123] The other, near the southwest entrance to the Agora, was built in the 1st century after Christ. The first was destroyed in the Herulian attack and was never rebuilt. The second suffered severe damage at the same time but was restored to use in successively curtailed forms according to the vicissitudes of the Southwest Bath, with which it was closely connected (Pl. 21:c).[124] It was poor by comparison with the establishment near the Tower of the Winds. Its walls were of brick, the floor was of stucco, and the proportions were modest. In its latest phase the stucco floor was replaced with one of pebble mosaic. By this time its capacity had shrunk from about 20 to about 14. The trenches were floored in the traditional way with pan tiles except where the two main drains of the bath could be used directly.

[119] Below, pp. 37–48.

[120] In this connection it is well to recall that Theodore of Tarsus, before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury in 669, had studied philosophy in Athens and was well versed in Greek and Latin literature, both sacred and secular. (For references, see Frantz, *DOP*, p. 199, note 78).

[121] See *Agora* XIV, p. 212. For a fuller description, see below, pp. 107–108. For a small bath (Pl. 21:a) in the final phase of House C, see below, p. 87.

[122] Remains of a third structure, previously identified as a latrine, just behind the Stoa of Attalos (*Hesperia* 29, 1960, p. 340, fig. 4 [Thompson]), are now attributed to the colonnade on the north side of the East Colonnaded Street (Broad Street), below, p. 67.

[123] Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 342–344.

[124] *Hesperia* 38, 1969, pp. 405–406, 412–415 (Shear, Jr.). Another, of which only traces remain, was also conveniently placed near the southwest entrance to the Agora but did not survive the attack of 267.

Inside the Post-Herulian Wall, at the junction of the East Colonnaded Street (Broad Street) and the narrower street leading off to the south, and just before the monumental stairway leading up toward the Roman Agora,[125] was a latrine evidently, from its location, public, but small (Pl. 21:e). Originally built in the late 4th or 5th century, it was repaired and slightly modified in the 7th.

Some of the larger buildings were equipped with minimal facilities. The only provision for these needs to be discovered in the whole of the Palace of the Giants is a small installation in the northeast corner of a room opening off the north side of the southeast (smallest) court (Pl. 21:f). It is of the standard type used in the houses of an earlier period, floored with pan tiles sloping down gently to empty into an already existing drain which led from the courtyard and on out through the north wall. The size and location make it probable that this was for the use only of the official who had his quarters in the southeast wing. No trace was found of any larger establishment for general use.

A latrine of similar type, but with two trenches at right angles to each other, was installed in a room to the right of the entrance to House A on the Areopagus (Pls. 21:b, 26:a).[126] Water was provided by the pipeline that descended from the springhouse at the southwest corner of House B and ultimately zigzagged across the courtyard of House A. There were some indications of a plumbing installation to the left of the entrance to House B, but the erosion of the whole north edge of the building prevented certainty. The northern edge of both houses to the south was also too chopped up to preserve any traces of the latrines that must almost certainly have existed. The late (7th-century) level in House C, however, preserved a primitive one in the room at the southeast corner of the great peristyle (Room 4).

A 6th-century house, southwest of the exedra of the Great Court of the Palace of the Giants, is tenuous in plan; nevertheless it had a well-built latrine connected with it, with a drain leading directly from it to the Great Drain (Pl. 21:d).[127]

Domestic Architecture

Private Houses

House plans in Athens changed little from classical times through Late Antiquity. In its simplest form the typical house consisted of a few rooms grouped around a small courtyard, and this arrangement continued to be the norm in the poorer or more crowded districts in a city. Further development was by elaboration rather than fundamental change.[128] In areas where more space was available, houses tended to be larger, and a peristyle was added to the court. This type became established in the Hellenistic period and continued as the standard in the Mediterranean world throughout antiquity. The only striking innovation was the introduction in the 1st century B.C. of

[125] *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 390 (Shear, Jr.).

[126] Below, p. 39.

[127] A number of examples of the same type have been found in private houses to the west and south of the Areopagus. It may be assumed that this was a unit common to the average Athenian house in Late Antiquity. For latrines in the houses of Athens in earlier periods, see *Hesperia* 29, 1959, pp. 101–102 (Thompson).

[128] For the development of the Greek house, see D. M. Robinson and J. W. Graham, *Excavations at Olynthus*, VIII, iii, *The Hellenic House*, Baltimore 1938; Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 392–401; C. Krause,"Grundformen des griechischen Pastashauses," *AA* (*JdI* 92), 1977, pp. 164–179. See also J. C. Balty, "Notes sur l'habitation romaine, byzantine et arabe d'Apamée," *Colloque Apamée de Syrie, 29–31 mai 1980*, Brussels 1981, pp. 471–503.

For a survey of the houses of the Roman period in Greece, both with and without peristyle, see J.-P. Sodini, "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantine* (Actes du Colloque organisé par l'École Française de Rome, Rome, 12–14 mai 1982), Rome 1984, pp. 341–397.

an apse at the end of the largest room in the house,[129] and this became increasingly frequent in succeeding centuries.

In general the inhabitants of post-Herulian Athens followed their forebears not only in their choice of residential sites but, so far as possible, in the actual dwellings.[130] Of the existing remains of private houses in the Agora area itself only a few, chiefly dating from the 6th century, were of totally new construction. The bulk of the houses made serviceable after 267 were in the densely populated district at the northwest foot of the Areopagus. For centuries this area had been occupied by unpretentious houses and industrial establishments crowded closely together. Much rebuilding was undertaken here after Sulla's destruction in 86 B.C. and again after the Herulian attack (but not until the 4th century). Many houses were put in shape again, their plans and general appearance, where possible, changing little from those of their prototypes, but more often in a much curtailed shape (Pl. 22:a).[131]

One house, on the lower slope of the west end of the Areopagus, may be taken as an example. Built in the Hellenistic period, it originally covered an area of 300 sq. m. and consisted of six rooms and a peristyle with eight columns surrounding an apsidal fountain. It was destroyed in 267 but was reconstructed in part in the 4th century.[132] Painted stucco decoration was found on the walls of several of the rooms, the best being in the large room at the north corner of the house. Here alternating panels of red and yellow surmounted a low blue dado and a black string course. The earth floor overlay a pebble mosaic which probably belonged to the original house. In the district were three public baths and at least one latrine.[133]

In Himerius' farewell to Ampelius, Proconsul of Achaea in 359/60,[134] the sophist speaks of Ampelius' generosity in restoring a part of the city from squalor. He is precise in its location: "a narrow street called Kollytos in the very heart of the city, taking its name from the deme and very well known because it served as a market place."[135] In spite of its precision, however, this statement is tantalizing because the exact location of the deme Kollytos, even in classical times, is uncertain. Is Kollytos the district just described or is it farther south or north? It was certainly not far from here, and even in earlier times the boundaries of the demes were not always clear.[136] By the 4th century after Christ the distinction might have become still looser, and a road "taking its name from the deme" could have originated in it but led farther afield. Himerius' description would fit well one of the streets in the district under discussion,[137] and it is not altogether impossible that it was the scene

[129] Balty (*op. cit.*, p. 490, note 53) rightly questions the blanket designation of these rooms as triclinia and prefers the more neutral term "oecus".

[130] Because of the difficulty of differentiation in the date of private construction, houses of both the 4th and the 5th centuries are included in this section. Evidence for specific dates will be given where possible.

[131] For this whole area, see Young, "Industrial District," esp. pp. 272–288. The area was never excavated entirely, and it was impossible to recover more than a few complete plans.

[132] *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 272–273 (Shear, Sr.).

[133] Above, pp. 30–33.

[134] Above, pp. 20–21.

[135] *Στενωπός τις ἦν* Κολλυτὸς *οὕτω καλούμενος ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ τῆς πόλεως, δήμου μὲν ἔχων ἐπώνυμον, ἀγορᾶς δὲ χρείᾳ τιμώμενος* (*Ecl.* XXXI.9 [Dübner, p. 35]; also *apud* Photius, *Bibl.*, Cod. 243 [Henry, VI, p. 119]).

[136] Cf. Strabo, I.4.7, using Kollytos itself as an illustration of the difficulty. For various interpretations of the ambiguous literary references cf. Young, "Industrial District," pp. 141–142; W. K. Pritchett, "The Attic Stelai, Part I," *Hesperia* 22, 1953, pp. 271, 275–276; D. M. Lewis, "Notes on Attic Inscriptions," *BSA* 50, 1955, p. 16; W. E. Thompson, "Notes on Attic Demes," *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 64–67; J. Traill, *Hesperia*, Suppl. XIV, *The Political Organization of Attica*, Princeton 1975, p. 40.

[137] Young, "Industrial District," p. 136, fig. 1.

of Ampelius' benefaction. The record for longevity is perhaps held by a large, amorphous house on the slope of the Areopagus, just west of House A (below, pp. 38–39; Pl. 22:b). Built in the 5th century B.C., it was probably damaged by the Herulians but not abandoned until the time of the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall.[138] The southern part, at least, was rebuilt and occupied in the 4th and 5th centuries. The plan of the house in its last phase is not at all clear, nor is its purpose at that time. The one large room of the original house survives in its earliest form. The presence on its floor of one Doric and three Ionic capitals and one Ionic base might indicate a peristyle court, but the sizes are so disparate that it is hard to believe that they would satisfy even the relaxed standards of this period. Possibly they came from different rooms of the predecessor. The tenement-like character of the house is at variance with the comparative elegance of its immediate neighbors. If, as seems possible, the latter were residences of teachers (below, pp. 44–47), the house under discussion might have served as a rooming house for some of their pupils. A few small crude marble figures were found on the site, e.g., a statuette of Asklepios, a head of Sarapis, and a statuette of Tyche (Pl. 23:a–c).[139]

More splendid lodgings were not lacking in the Agora area. A 4th-century B.C. residence beside the Panathenaic Way near the southeast corner of the Agora emerged after many vicissitudes with a few rooms rebuilt, one paved with marble slabs and another with an elaborate mosaic floor with arabesques and geometric designs in red, blue, and pale green tesserae.[140] More impressive was a house in the southwest corner of the Agora area, salvaged from a pre-Herulian house. Its most noteworthy feature was a room, probably a triclinium, with a handsome mosaic floor (Pl. 23:d).[141]

Perhaps the most imposing of all the private houses of which any trace survives stood about halfway up the north slope of the Areopagus, on an artificial terrace cut back into the hillside. The southern part of the building lies under the Areopagus park, the excavation of which is not contemplated under the Agora program, so that the plan as recovered is far from complete. The principal feature of the house as exposed was a square court paved with marble slabs and surrounded by a flower bed *ca.* 0.50 m. wide. Around the garden ran a shallow basin of approximately the same width, also paved with marble and contained between two stucco curbs. A fountain at the middle of the southeast side of the court poured water into the basin and thence, through a lead pipe in the middle of each side, into the middle of the garden (Pls. 24:a, 25:a). Both the garden and the surrounding basin stopped short of the north corner to provide access to a doorway on the northeast and to form a niche at the northwest. Of the house itself only parts of the southwest and southeast walls and the east corner remained visible. Similar garden courts can be found in North Africa and elsewhere (cf. one in a well-preserved house in Dougga, Tunisia, Pl. 24:b; also in Ostia).

It is uncertain whether the house is pre- or post-Herulian. The style of the court would be at home in the 2nd or 3rd century, but there is nothing in the surrounding fill to indicate a date earlier than the middle of the 4th century for its construction. In any case, it was certainly in use at that time; a lamp of the 4th century (L 4034) and a coin of Constantius II were found on the floor.

[138] A coin of Aurelian (A.D. 270–275) was found in the destruction debris.

[139] Asklepios (S 875), height 0.195 m.; Sarapis (S 885), height 0.06 m.; Tyche (S 871), height 0.265 m. For this last see E. B. Harrison, *The Athenian Agora*, XI, *Archaic and Archaistic Sculpture*, Princeton 1967, no. 119.

[140] *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 217–218 (Shear, Sr.).

[141] *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 169–170 (Thompson). Although the star-and-diamond pattern is common from the 3rd century on, the black line between two white lines bordering the stars evidently denotes an early 5th-century date, as in the Church of S. Sofia in Sofia (B. Filov, *Sofiskata Tsirkva*, Sofia 1973, pp. 49 ff. and pls. XV–XVII. For the date, see also R. F. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria in Antiquity*, New York 1975, pp. 271–277. I am grateful to Ernst Kitzinger for pointing out this feature and for the reference).

A curious feature of the house is the use of three large blocks of Egyptian granite in the masonry, roughly squared but not finally worked. The presence of so uncommon a material high up on the hillside can hardly be attributed to chance. It seems most likely that there was a sanctuary of some Egyptian divinity near by, perhaps never finished, for which the blocks were brought up at considerable effort.[142] This probability is reinforced by the discovery only a few meters to the east of part of a bronze disk with engraved designs, Egyptian in character (Pl. 25:b).[143]

Constant erosion of the steep slope of the Areopagus has carried away some of the buildings that must have stood there, leaving only faint clues to their identity. The discovery of two pieces of sculpture associated with Mithraism suggests that a Mithraeum once stood in this area.[144] One is a head of Helios of the 2nd century, evidently salvaged from the Herulian destruction by the occupants of one of the later houses on the slopes.[145] The other is a head of Selene in relief, found in a well lower down the hillside (Pl. 25:c).[146] These slight evidences of foreign divinities permit the cautious conjecture that unorthodox religions might have gravitated to this area as being more hospitable than the Agora, which in any case was overcrowded by the time they made their appearance.

Houses on the Areopagus: Architecture

Apart from the strictly private houses is a group of buildings on the north slope of the Areopagus which seem, by their size and relationship to each other, to have served a common purpose beyond the ordinary demands of Athenian life and yet to be unsuited to official public use. There is little in general plan to distinguish them from the important houses of the major cities of the Empire, e.g. in North Africa, of the same period. In scale, detail, and workmanship, however, there can be no comparison. Only when they are viewed in the context of the general run of houses in Athens can their real importance be appreciated. While the ground plan of Athenian houses through the whole of antiquity averages 130–150 sq. m., with a few of those of the Roman period in the outskirts reaching 335–420 sq. m., the Areopagus houses covered from 1000 to 1350 sq. m. each.[147] From the exceptional size and commanding position of these buildings it seems obvious that their owners were men of wealth and eminence.

In some at least of the lesser cities of the Empire the wealth tended to be concentrated in the hands of a specific class of society, depending on the factors responsible for whatever importance they had achieved. Ostia, for example, owed its prosperity chiefly to the grain trade with North Africa, and its finest houses reflect strong North African influence. The goddess Fortuna Annonaria had a conspicuous place in its cults, and all the major renovations and other public works were credited to various *praefecti annonae*.[148] In Syria, the city of Apamea, because of its position at the intersection of important trade and military routes, enjoyed a long period of prosperity following the reign of Trajan. The grand houses that adorned the city are attributed to a "local elite" who became more and more active in the life and administration of the province and therefore increasingly rich.[149]

Athens had neither commercial nor political incentives to prosperity. With the virtually complete cessation of the export of sarcophagi, the lamp industry was almost the only source of foreign trade.

[142] See *Hesperia* 17, 1948, pp. 162–163 (Thompson).

[143] B 904.

[144] H. A. Thompson in an unpublished manuscript.

[145] S 2356 (published as Alexander the Great): *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 273–274, pl. 58:b (Shear, Jr.) and footnote 161 below, p. 41. For the building, see below, pp. 40–41.

[146] S 857. T. L. Shear, Sr., "Excavations in the Athenian Agora," *AJA* 41, 1937, p. 184 and fig. 10.

[147] As noted by Balty (footnote 128 above, p. 34), p. 486.

[148] G. Becatti, *Case Ostiense del tardo impero*, Rome 1948, pp. 44 ff.

[149] Balty (footnote 128 above, p. 34), p. 490.

Moreover, Athens had been receiving a yearly distribution of grain from Constantine until the transfer of the capital to Constantinople. This caused an acute grain shortage as that city monopolized the sources formerly drawn on by Athens.[150]

The contrast between Corinth and Athens offered by the author of the *Expositio totius mundi* (*ca.* A.D. 359) is revealing: Corinth very active in commerce, Athens noted for its centers of higher learning and its history.[151] All the evidence points to an upper class composed almost entirely of intellectuals. The Neoplatonic School was still enjoying the fruits of the Platonic Academy, the **διαδοχικά**, whatever their actual source and amount, and the resources of the original school and its successors were apparently continually replenished by other bequests.[152]

The four buildings constituting the Areopagus group stood on the lower slopes of the hill, on terraces leveled for their predecessors (Pl. 6). Their siting and plans were conditioned by the two east–west streets that ran through the area and by the terrain itself. The northernmost, House A (Pl. 26:a), was contiguous to the South Road, which forms the southern boundary of the Agora, but with a very slight difference in orientation so that its northwest corner encroaches on the road by about a meter. House B (Pl. 26:b) is about 15 meters to the southeast, a little farther up the hill; the eastern half was built against the retaining wall of the Upper South Road. House C (Pl. 27:a) lies still farther up the slope, directly across the road from House B. The south edge of the road therefore determined the line of its northern wall while a scarp in the hard rock of the Areopagus limited further expansion to the south. Of House D only the apse remains, *ca.* 35 meters west of House C, and 15 meters to the north, the start of what are apparently three rooms which might have opened on a peristyle, and also a mosaic floor with a simple pattern (Pl. 37:a). The intervening empty space between the apse and the three rooms suggests that the course of the Upper South Road may have been diverted after the destruction of the building and caused to pass through the ruins.

It seems unlikely that these were the first buildings of their kind in the area. The present houses all seem to be contemporary, probably built in the last quarter of the 4th century. A number of bits of concrete foundations were found scattered around in the vicinity, sometimes incorporated in the new buildings, necessitating slight irregularities in plan. In other cases they may represent predecessors either swept away by the rains washing down the hillside or else deliberately cleared away to make a clean sweep for the new construction. The earlier remains, although sparse, extended over an area wide enough to lead to the belief that the predecessors, whatever their nature, occupied almost as much ground as their successors.

Aside from the general similarities of plan, the one element common to all is a large room, or hall, entered from a peristyle court by way of an antechamber and in most cases terminating in an apse. This was the focal point of the house. The whole unit (except for the apse itself) was surrounded by smaller rooms. In some cases these rooms led to an adjacent court, with or without peristyle, and often there was an additional court on the opposite side of the building. Exigencies of terrain led to variations in the arrangements of the rooms, but the basic elements remained constant.

House A in its present state is the smallest and simplest of the group, measuring *ca.* 27 × 35 m. (including the apse; Pl. 26:a). A roughly square building, it consists of the basic nucleus of apsidal unit (including antechamber), peristyle, and surrounding rooms. The west side has suffered heavy damage, with the loss of the entire outer wall. It is not improbable that a secondary court occupied the now devastated area on that side.

[150] Day, p. 263.

[151] Above, p. 22; also Day, pp. 262–263.

[152] On this whole subject, with extensive references, see Glucker, *Antiochus*, chap. 5.

Only in the apsidal room are the walls preserved above ground level (Pl. 28:a). In the apse itself the wall was massive enough (0.90–1.00 m. thick) to support a half dome; the wall was further strengthened by the abruptly rising bedrock against which it was set. The wall was built of large ancient blocks of breccia set on end and spaced at intervals of *ca.* 0.75 m. The rest of the wall was of brick and stone masonry set in firm concrete characteristic of the Late Roman period. Three niches were set in the wall of the apse about a meter above the floor. Only the central one is preserved almost to its full height; it is five-sided and carefully constructed of bricks laid horizontally. The two lateral niches, of which only the floor survives, were semicircular and approximately the same size as the central niche.

At the junction of the apse with the straight side walls the thickness of the masonry is reduced to 0.65 m. Traces of stucco still adhere to the inner faces of both apse and side walls, and much disintegrated stucco was found in the destruction fill inside the building. The floor was paved with square terracotta tiles of which a few remain in place.

The apsidal room was entered from the peristyle via an antechamber through a broad doorway in the north end. Only part of the stylobate of the peristyle remains, but it can be restored as a rectangle of which the east side, however, is not quite symmetrical. It measures roughly 8–9 × 9.50 m., with four columns on the north and south sides and five on the east and west. The depth of the colonnade was 2.50 m. on all sides except the south, where, as befitted the entrance to the chief part of the complex, it was widened to 3.00 m. Around the peristyle, including the northern part of the apsidal unit, ran a series of small rooms (Pl. 28:b), *ca.* 4.50 m. deep on the east and west sides, *ca.* 3.00 m. on the north. The rooms flanking the apsidal unit were small, more like alcoves. At least one of these is probably a shrine, as in the house probably to be identified as Proclus' house.[153] The southwest corner of the complex was closed off by some earlier rooms, clumsily incorporated in the new plan. The largest of these had a sturdy floor of pebble mosaic.

The foundations for all the partitions in the east wing are preserved, showing a division into four rooms of unequal size. The west wing has lost not only the entire outer wall but also all the inner partitions except one. In this is a carefully finished slit, 0.20 m. wide, which might have been to afford passage for a water pipe. A gap, presumably arched, of 2.20 m. in the wall of the peristyle on the same side preserved access to a very deep well, which was in use continuously from the middle of the 1st century until the end of the 6th.[154] Of the north outer wall only a small bit survives, but with it, along the inner face, the remains of a double latrine, conveniently located in a room to the right of the large entrance vestibule. No evidence, whether in the form of stairs or columns, was found for an upper storey, but its existence is probable on the analogy of House C.

House B is much larger (*ca.* 30 × 60 m.) and more complex than House A (Pls. 26:b, 29). The line of its south side was determined by the retaining wall of the Upper South Road, which served also as the south wall of the eastern half of the complex. The steep slope of the hill at this point necessitated stringing out all the elements in a row from east to west, so that the peristyle court adjoined the apsidal unit on its east side instead of the north, thus leaving space for an additional antechamber or forecourt at the north. Access from the peristyle to the main unit was through a narrow doorway in the side of the smaller antechamber. On the opposite (east) side of the peristyle was a smaller court (*ca.* 7 × 10.50 m.) surrounded by a colonnade resting on a marble stylobate. At about midpoint in the court was a well. Each of the courts was surrounded by a series of small rooms. The main entrance to the house was through a central doorway flanked by two large vestibules, one of which, as in House A, was probably a latrine. The construction is of mixed stone and

[153] Below, pp. 42–44.
[154] M 17:1; see below, pp. 42, 47.

brick, and as in House A, three niches of brick were sunk in the wall of the apse about a meter from the floor.

Communication between the two courts was through one room only. This had doorways on all four sides and might have been regarded merely as a passageway; otherwise the smaller court with its surrounding rooms formed an independent unit. An oven (Pl. 30:a), probably from a later use, was built into the corner of a room in the main unit, and a circular hearth occupied the center of the room at the southeastern corner (Pl. 30:b). The only independent communication between the east wing and the outside was through a wide passage near the southeast corner of the building, down a few steps and through a narrow doorway which led to the street.

The western part of the house has suffered the most from erosion, so that the plan cannot be determined accurately. Only the rooms on the south side can be made out with certainty. Two of these are adjacent to the apsidal hall and are separated from each other by an east–west crosswall with a connecting doorway. Diagonal channels were cut in the south and west walls of the southernmost room, apparently to bring water from two wells or cisterns immediately outside. The channel from the west wall continued across the corner of the room and turned northward to pass through the crosswall. A third room, structurally quite independent but evidently belonging to the complex, lies some five meters to the west, separated by a steeply sloping rise in the bedrock, which may have been used as a ramp for reaching the Upper South Road.

The rest of the west wing evidently consisted of a long rectangular court (*ca.* 16 × 4 m.) running from east to west. It had no peristyle, but a foundation along its south side may have carried a colonnade for a portico four meters deep, fronting the south rooms, or it may have been for a wall of a narrow room or corridor. Three rooms probably opened off the court on the north side. The emphasis on the water supply and the more informal nature in general of the west wing lead to its identification as a service area, perhaps kitchen and pantries.

House C is the most complex of the Areopagus buildings. Its overall dimensions are almost the same as those of House B (*ca.* 60 × 30 m.), and the plans of the two are basically similar. The west wing of C is more formal, however, with a third peristyle court instead of the plain service court of House B (Pls. 27:a, 31, 43:a, b).[155]

The most important feature of House C is a nymphaeum leading down from the southeast corner of the central peristyle by two marble steps flanked by marble columns to a small triclinium (*ca.* 3 × 3.50 m.; Pl. 32). On its east side this looked into an apsidal room housing a semicircular pool, the transition marked only by a marble strip in the floor. The two steps leading down into the pool were coated with fine cement, the edge of each marked by a red stripe (Pl. 33:a). The motivation for this construction was obviously the ready availability of water from a fine fountain house into which the water from a spring higher up the hill had been channeled since the 2nd or 3rd century (Pl. 36:a). Access to the fountain house was gained by breaking through its west wall and spanning the gap with a wide brick arch of quality inferior to the excellent brickwork of the fountain house (Pl. 33:b). A well just south of the outside wall of the nymphaeum, which had been in use since the fountain house was built, was brought into direct relationship with the pool by an arched opening with a parapet (Pl. 34). The well ceased to be used for domestic purposes at the time the house was built (end of the 4th century) but was continued in use as a supplementary source of water for the pool.

[155] For a detailed description of the house as excavated (except the west wing), see the excavation reports of 1970 and 1971 in *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 266–270 and 42, 1973, pp. 156–164 (Shear, Jr.). See also below, pp. 88–89.

Adjoining the triclinium on the opposite side, for most of the remaining width of the peristyle and extending back as far as the rock, was a room with a floor level 1.30 m. above that of the triclinium but with no dividing wall (Pls. 32:a, 35), only a marble fence with sileni as fence posts (Pl. 39:b; S 2363). The angle between the triclinium and the larger room was filled by a nondescript room, roughly square. The original purpose of the larger room is not clear, except that it was obviously related to the nymphaeum.[156] Two water channels of uncertain purpose ran across the room from south to north. The proportions of the room are far too meager for an apsidal hall of the usual type. The nymphaeum was evidently regarded as of prime importance, which may explain some unusual features in the west wing: the introduction of a third peristyle court and the long room along the south side, against the Areopagus rock. The wall is massive (*ca.* 1.50 m. thick), with five rectangular niches of varying sizes grouped symmetrically along its length. As noted above in connection with House B, the limitations of space imposed by the two east–west roads, the Areopagus rock, and the contours of the hillside necessitated modifications in what might be considered the standard plans of houses of this kind. In House B the apsidal unit had to be placed alongside the peristyle instead of in front of it. The formality of the west wing of C, with its only slightly smaller peristyle court, and the massive back wall of the large room, with niches suitable for statuary as in the apses of Houses A and B, make it seem quite likely that this room served the same purposes as the apsidal rooms of A and B.[157] A suggestion that the room was a library, while attractive, is untenable for, had the room been intended as a library, one would have expected provision against ground water such as an outside wall, leaving an intervening space to protect the books from damp. Also, the discrepancies in the sizes of the niches, both in width and depth, are more suitable for a group of statues or portraits, or both, than for books.

All three houses were rich in sculpture. Some, the better preserved pieces, were found in wells, others in the destruction debris over and around the houses. The most significant collection came from two wells in House C, especially one in the east wing.[158] This well was empty except for four pieces of sculpture, all in an excellent state of preservation. Three were portrait busts: Antoninus Pius (Pl. 40:a), a young woman (Pl. 38:a), and an elderly woman (Pl. 38:b); there was also a small statue of Herakles (Pl. 38:c).[159] A statue of Hermes at the same scale was found intact many years ago in a well in the adjacent house (B; Pl. 38:d) which was abandoned at just about the same time, along with a head of Nemesis and a statuette of a seated philosopher (Pl. 39:a, c).[160] In another well in House C (Pl. 37:b), in the main courtyard, were three marble heads: one of Helios, one of Nike, and a portrait of a bearded man (Pl. 40:b–d).[161]

In the destruction debris or in late Roman fill in the immediate vicinity were the following: a draped headless bust of reddish marble (S 1026, Pl. 41:a) and a Doric capital, diam. 0.345 m. (both in the doorway between Rooms 1 and 3); a small female bust (S 1044, Pl. 41:b); a small statue of Asklepios (S 1068, Pl. 39:d); also many architectural fragments (Pls. 42, 43:d).

[156] In a later period the relationship was close; below, p. 89.

[157] An apse cut back into the rock at the west end of House C is evidently from an earlier building.

[158] Well Q 21:4. For the circumstances and significance of these deposits see below, p. 48.

[159] S 2436, S 2437, S 2435, and S 2438, respectively. *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 170–173, pls. 37, 38 (Shear, Jr.).

[160] S 1054, S 1055, and S 1053, respectively; Well P 18:2. *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 214–215, 236–241 (Shear, Sr.).

[161] Well P 21:2. S 2356 (Helios), S 2354 (Nike), S 2355 (Bearded man); *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pls. 58–59 (Shear, Jr.). See p. 37 above. The identity of S 2356 as Helios (not Alexander, as published) is established by a row of 15 drilled holes for the insertion of metal spikes to form a crown, the regular attribute of Helios (*Guide*[3], pp. 292–293, 326). For the possibility that the Nike head is copied from the Nike of the Athena Parthenos, see E. B. Harrison, "Two Pheidian Heads: Nike and Amazon," in *The Eye of Greece*, D. Kurtz and B. Sparkes, edd., Cambridge 1982, pp. 53–88.

Houses on the Areopagus: Water Supply

For their water supply the houses of the Areopagus group depended chiefly on the numerous wells on the slopes, all, or almost all, of which had been sunk in much earlier times.[162]

House A. The main source of water for this house was a very deep well (M 17:1) in the line of the west colonnade of the peristyle. Since the contents showed that it had been in almost continuous use from the 1st through the 6th century, it must be supposed that the builders respected it by spanning its position with an arch. This probably provided drinking water, while utilitarian needs were served by a well a little farther up the slopes, near the southwest corner of House B (N 19:2). For its re-use it was covered with a square, brick-vaulted chamber from which a vaulted passage led off to the north, protecting a small rectangular water channel set in a deep cut in the slope of the hill.[163] As the terrain leveled off, the passage stopped abruptly, and the cutting for the water channel became progressively shallower until it entered the building, barely below the level of the floor. The point of entrance was about the middle of the east wing, where the channel changed direction at an obtuse angle for the purpose. It now crossed into the east peristyle and zigzagged into and along the north peristyle where its course was lost in the upheavals suffered by the north side of the building, but it very likely provided water for the latrine by the entrance to the building.

House B. House B too had an ample water supply. A cluster of wells in and around it are probably to be associated with it (O 18:1, O 19:1, P 18:1, P 18:2, P 19:1). In addition, a water channel was built to skirt the southeast corner of the building. Waste water was carried off by a tile drain leading north from the middle of the east side of the peristyle.

House C. An elaborate and still usable installation of the 3rd century afforded House C an ample water supply.[164] Springs farther up the slope were tapped by a large rock-cut shaft from which the water was led off through a channel protected by a vaulted tunnel cut through bedrock and paved with rectangular tiles. The channel continued under the floor of the springhouse and emptied into the pool of the nymphaeum. A subsidiary source of water was the well just outside the south wall of the nymphaeum (Q 21:5).

With the spring producing water steadily, particularly in the winter months, there must have been danger of flooding. To avert this an ingenious system was devised. A large overflow channel at the northwest corner of the pool carried the excess water to a drain under the floor of the east peristyle of the main courtyard. At a point opposite Well P 21:2, in the colonnade itself, the channel bends slightly to the west. A little farther on it picks up again to resume its northerly course. Apparently the overflow from the pool was collected in Well P 21:2, presumably for purposes other than drinking (washing, gardening?) to ensure maximum use of the water, but with a built-in arrangement to prevent flooding when the water was overly abundant. This perhaps explains the existence of two wells in the courtyard, both in use at the same time: Well P 21:3 in the colonnade of the west peristyle, with its fine marble wellhead, would provide clean drinking water, while Well P 21:2 would furnish water for more general uses.[165] Two other channels carried ground water diagonally across the courtyard southwest to northeast; their further course has been destroyed by erosion.

"House of Proclus"

In an effort to determine the exact role of the Areopagus group, an important factor is a large building on the south side of the Acropolis, between the Odeion of Herodes Atticus and the Theater

[162] For the chronology of the wells as evidence for the history of the houses, see below, pp. 47–48.

[163] *Hesperia* 27, 1958, p. 147 (Thompson).

[164] Above, p. 40, and *Hesperia* 40, 1971, p. 268 and 42, 1973, pp. 159–160 (Shear, Jr.).

[165] I am indebted to John Camp II, the excavator, for his (unpublished) description and explanation of these arrangements. See also below, p. 87.

of Dionysos, which will serve as a point of reference for the houses. It was discovered in 1955 in the course of shifting the line of the road running along the south side of the Acropolis. Only a part of the house was excavated, and most of that was immediately covered over; the rest still lies under modern buildings in the vicinity, especially to the south, but the key elements of the plan are visible, making possible a general reconstruction (Pls. 27:b, 44:a).[166]

This was no ordinary house by Athenian standards. A large room opens into a wide apse (6.60 m. wide, 4.40 m. deep); the lower part of the wall of the apse was surfaced with marble revetment slabs. Above the revetment the thickness of the wall diminishes, and in it were seven niches suitable for sculpture (as in the Areopagus houses).[167] The floors of both parts of the room were covered with mosaics in elaborate geometric patterns (Pl. 36:b), the apse being emphasized by having the floor laid at a slightly higher level. Against the outer face of the east wall of the apse was a small shrine of Cybele, identified by a statuette of the goddess in a niche in the wall (Pl. 44:b). A statue base with a funerary relief carved on the front served as an offering table. Both pieces of sculpture were re-used in these positions.

An important passage in the biography of Proclus, the third Head, or Diadoch, of the Neoplatonic School at Athens, by his successor Marinus makes it seem probable that this was the house of Plutarch, the founder of the school, and of its successive heads,[168] and that it served as headquarters for the school for more than a century, until the school was closed in 529. In a rare bit of topographical pinpointing Marinus says that Proclus enjoyed his house because his predecessors Plutarch and Syrianus had lived in it and for its location "near the Asklepieion made famous by Sophocles and the Temple and Theater of Dionysos" and that it "could be seen, or at least discerned, by someone standing on the Acropolis of Athena" (**καὶ γὰρ πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις εὐτυχήμασι ἁρμοδιωτάτη αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ οἴκησις ὑπῆρξεν, ἣν καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ Συριανὸς καὶ ὁ προπάτωρ, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐκάλει, Πλούταρχος ᾤκησαν, γείτονα μὲν οὖσαν τοῦ ἀπὸ Σοφοκλέους ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀσκληπιείου, καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίου, ὁρωμένην δὲ ἢ ἄλλως αἰσθητὴν γιγνομένην τῇ Ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς**).[169]

The house in question fits all the topographical specifications in the *Vita Procli*, and furthermore, its site, as far as it could be estimated from its scattered known parts, precludes the existence of anything comparable in the area. Various objects found in or near the building support the view that it was related to philosophy in some way:[170] a fragment of an inscription, apparently of philosophical content, with the words **σοφίης** and **βίοτον**,[171] and part of a head of a philosopher type.[172]

[166] I. Miliades, «**Ἀνασκαφαὶ νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως**», **Πρακτικά** 1955, pp. 46–52, with pls. 3–7.

[167] For sculpture in niches, cf. Ostia, Domus della Fortuna Annonaria, Becatti (footnote 148 above, p. 37), pp. 23, 44–46, fig. 50.

[168] First suggested by Miliades (footnote 166 above).

[169] Marinus, *Vita Procli* 29 [Boissonade]. See also L. J. Rosàn, *The Philosophy of Proclus*, New York 1949 (with an English translation of the *Vita*) and *Proclus le philosophe*, trans. A. E. Chaignet, I, Paris 1900. The phrase **ἢ ἄλλως αἰσθητὴν γιγνομένην τῇ Ἀκροπόλει τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς** demands some re-examination. Professor Harold Cherniss, who kindly looked at the passage with me, suggested that the dative, unless it is simply bad grammar, is used to emphasize the fact that the viewer is standing *on* the Acropolis. "Or at least discerned" limits the preceding "visible", rather than offering a senseless alternative "otherwise perceived" (Rosàn's translation), and implies that someone standing on the Acropolis could see it with some difficulty. Homer Thompson, who happened to be in Athens at the time the problem arose, responded to a query whether the facts justified this interpretation with the following: "Looking over the present top of the south wall of the Acropolis one has no difficulty in seeing the supposed site of the house; but in Late Antiquity one would presumably have had to climb up to a sentry walk."

[170] Miliades (footnote 166 above), p. 49.

[171] Republished by W. Peek, *Attische Versinschriften*, Berlin 1980, p. 36, no. 38.

[172] This is probably the head found in the Frankish wall (Rizokastro), in the section just south of the building

The fine head of a philosopher of the early 5th century in the Acropolis Museum (Pl. 44:c)[173] is said to have come from the vicinity, but the report is unsubstantiated. It has been thought to represent Plutarch himself. Part of a statue of Isis, life size or over, of dark gray marble, was also found near by, perhaps the cult statue from the Isis sanctuary of the Hadrianic period on the terrace of the Asklepieion, not far from the house. The statue had been damaged, probably in 267, and recut to form a bust, when it might have been used to adorn Proclus' house.[174]

Finally, in the westernmost room of the house, there was a carefully constructed and well-preserved grave of a year-old piglet, 0.70 m. long, with a number of grave offerings: several vases, a lamp of the 5th century with a running Eros on the disk, and most important of all, the sacrificial iron knife in the neck of the victim,[175] perhaps from some esoteric ritual, although there is no record that pigs and Neoplatonism had anything in common.[176]

All the above are indicative of a close connection of the house with philosophy or pagan ritual, or both. The shrine of Cybele, the Mother of the Gods, focuses the identification on Proclus himself. Proclus had a special affinity with the Mother of the Gods, "to whom he prayed especially and in whom he rejoiced exceedingly."[177] He also purified himself every month by the practices of the worship of the Mother of the Gods (*Vita Procli*, 19). The shrine is in a key position in the house and is perhaps the very place where Proclus offered his prayers.

On presently available evidence it is impossible to date the construction of the house precisely. The presumption is that it was after Alaric's invasion in 396, but that is not certain.[178] It is improbable, however, that Plutarch would have built such a grandiose building immediately after founding the Neoplatonic School. Also to be considered is the probability that the house was built by Plutarch on a much smaller scale and then greatly enlarged by Proclus and, perhaps, by his successors, as the importance and prestige of the Academy grew. In fact, at least two of the rooms in the excavated portion are obviously additions, and most of the preserved mosaic floors could hardly have been laid before the middle of the 5th century.[179] A large bath, of which parts were discovered during building operations south of "Proclus' house", was believed by its excavator to be connected with it.[180]

Houses on the Areopagus: Identification

Although far less monumental and less elaborate in their appointments, the houses on the Areopagus bear a close affinity to the "House of Proclus" in the emphasis on the apsidal room with the

(Serpentze), and published by G. Rodenwaldt, *Griechische Porträts aus dem Ausgang der Antike* (*Programm zum Winckelmannsfeste* 76), 1919, p. 4, no. 2, pl. III.

[173] No. 1313; cf. G. Dontas, "Kopf eines Neuplatonikers," *AM* 69/70, 1954–1955, pp. 147–152.

[174] See S. Walker, "A Sanctuary of Isis on the South Slope of the Acropolis," *BSA* 74, 1979, pp. 243–257.

[175] Dontas (footnote 173 above).

[176] I owe the pig lore to David Pingree.

[177] *Vita Procli*, 33, where Marinus expatiates on the subject.

[178] Miliades (footnote 166 above, p. 43), p. 48.

[179] The study and chronology of floor mosaics have been greatly advanced by new evidence from Stobi. I am grateful to Ruth Kolarik for sharing with me her conclusions based on that material which will be the subject of a forthcoming study. Also to Ernst Kitzinger, who concurs in the dating and in the hypothesis that Proclus' house was originally Plutarch's but subsequently greatly enlarged. According to present views, the mosaics of "Proclus' house" show a slightly later development than those of the tetraconch in the Library of Hadrian (below, pp. 72–73) and therefore should be dated sometime in the third quarter of the 5th century. Cf. now P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, **Σύνταγμα τῶν Παλαιοχριστιανικῶν Ψηφιδοτῶν τῆς Ἑλλάδος II. Πελοπόννησος-Στέρεα Ἑλλάδα**, Thessalonica 1987, pp. 121–123. This book appeared while the present volume was in press.

[180] G. Dontas, «Ἀνασκαφὴ οἰκοπέδου Ἀγγελοπούλου», Δελτ 17, 1961–1962, A′, pp. 88–89. See also Travlos, *PDA*, *s.v.* Balaneia (Bath A).

niches for sculpture and also in their size in relation to the average Athenian house. Detailed comparison of the plans as a whole is impossible, with so much of Proclus' house still lying under modern buildings, but the scattered remains indicate a general similarity in the disposition of the rooms. A counterpart to the shrine of Cybele may perhaps be seen in a small room adjacent to the formal room in the west wing of House C, which has a shallow niche on the west side. The niche was carefully revetted with marble slabs and, though small, was clearly a feature of some importance. An alternative explanation, that this was a small fountain, is excluded by the absence of pipes or any provision for them.

Unlike "Proclus' house", in which the effect of opulence is conveyed by the mosaic floors in every room of the house yet explored and by the marble facing of the apse, little remains in the houses on the Areopagus to give any comparable impression. House C alone, with its well-matched set of peristyle columns, its carefully constructed pool, and adjacent chamber with mosaic floor and revetted walls, approaches "Proclus' house" in magnificence or size.[181] No trace of mosaic floors was found in any other of the Areopagus group except for a floor with a simple pattern of interlacing circles associated with the exiguous remains of House D (Pl. 37:a). Nor, except for the marble-revetted walls of the triclinium in House C, were there any other signs of such elaborate treatment. The apse of House A has a plaster bed treated for a stuccoed surface, and this may have been standard for the whole group. Time and the sloping terrain have dealt harshly with all the floor surfaces except in the pool complex, where the greater depth afforded more protection, and it is not inconceivable that some mosaics have disappeared, although one would expect some traces to have remained.

Given the general similarity in plan and appointments between the Areopagus houses and "Proclus' house", and the fact, noted above, that the upper class in Athens seems to have been composed chiefly of intellectuals, it is not unreasonable to carry the argument one step further by associating the Areopagus houses with the teachers who amassed considerable wealth from the fees they charged their students and who are known to have taught in their own homes.

The basic literary testimony is Eunapius' statement that the sophists (of the 4th century) made a practice of teaching in their own homes because the dissension between students and townsmen was such that "not one of the sophists dared to go down into the city and discourse in public, so they lectured to their students in their own private theaters" (*ἐν τοῖς ἰδιωτικοῖς θεάτροις*).[182] In the same passage Eunapius describes the house of the sophist Julian as "small and shabby" but "breathing the spirit of Hermes and the Muses and differing in no way from a holy temple." In it were statues of associates whom he had admired and a "theater of polished marble, imitating the public theaters but smaller, and of a size suitable to a house."[183] The apsidal room, which had come into common use as the major element in houses in many parts of the Empire in the 4th century, might have commended itself to the sophists as a lecture room and occasioned Eunapius' reference to Julian's "private theater".

Students were sometimes taken in as lodgers.[184] This practice was no innovation; Epicurus may have followed it, although there is some dispute whether his house and "The Garden" were

[181] For a more detailed description of House C, see *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 156–164 (Shear, Jr.).

[182] Eunapius, *VS*, 483.

[183] Cf. also the house of the father of Herodes Atticus with busts of famous orators in the corridors (Philostratus, *VS* 1.21 [521]).

[184] Cf. the crisis precipitated by the sea captain who delivered an unexpectedly large contingent of potential pupils to Prohaeresius in the middle of the night. Prohaeresius had to call on his relatives to take care of the overflow (Eunapius, *VS*, 485–486).

adjacent or at some distance from each other.[185] At the end of the 2nd century the flamboyant Proclus of Naucratis had "a library in his own house which was open to his students and supplemented the teaching in his lectures."[186]

In addition to the similarity of plan to that of "Proclus' house", the niches for sculpture in the apses and in the main room of House C and the sculpture itself, found in all the houses, reinforce the hypothesis of their identity as houses of private teachers. Two statues, in particular the companion pieces representing Herakles and Hermes (above, p. 41; Pl. 38:c, d), are vivid reminders that Herakles and Hermes were the patron divinities of education and also recall the sophist Julian's affinity with Hermes.[187] The size (about two-thirds life) would fit them well for a position in the peristyle of a grandiose house. Although all the sculpture found in the houses would have been at home in the villa of any affluent citizen, there is a marked academic or religious flavor here that would be suitable for this environment.[188]

From the size of the houses and yet the compactness of the area into which they are squeezed one would hesitate to attribute this group to wealthy Athenians, perhaps of senatorial rank or with priestly connections, or to high officials having a second residence away from the capital. For these a more likely district would be the outskirts of the city, especially south of the Acropolis (probably also the northwest, although little is known of it). There a number of large villas with mosaic floors, baths, and, above all, space around them have been found.[189] (The sprawling remains of a large villa in the National Gardens, with mosaic floors, gives an impression of what might be expected for this class of citizens.) The Areopagus houses, except for House C (above, pp. 40–41), which perhaps had a prior phase as a private residence before being incorporated in the group, are distinguished more for size than for opulence.

The close interrelationship of the Areopagus houses seems to indicate some sort of coordinated plan and therefore a common purpose. Other buildings of the same kind may, and probably did, exist between the known buildings and the Panathenaic Way, and also to the west. But the terrain has been subject to constant erosion with increasing force as the descending torrents gouged out gullies in the hillside, and for the most part even the foundations of whatever structures stood there have been washed away.

These indications of interdependence may have some relation to the fact that the schools of Athens, even those that were nominally private, were subject to government control at both the municipal and the imperial level.[190] The law required that at Athens there had to be "many to teach and many to listen" (*ἔδει γὰρ πολλοὺς εἶναι, κατὰ τὸν νόμον τὸν Ῥωμαϊκόν, Ἀθήνησι, τοὺς μὲν λέγοντας, τοὺς δὲ ἀκούοντας*).[191] And a decree of the Emperor Julian required that "if any man shall wish to teach . . . he shall be approved by the judgment of the municipal senate."[192] On the highest level, when competition for the chair of the sophist Julian was intense and acrimonious, the proconsul himself stepped in.[193] With the authorities maintaining such supervision, it would not be

[185] For different views on its location, see below, pp. 65–66.

[186] Philostratus, *VS* II.21 (604).

[187] Many examples of dedications to both divinities in association with gymnasia are given by M. Luni ("Storia dell' istituzione gymnasiale e dell' attività atletica in Cirenaica," *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* 8, 1976, pp. 223–284). Cf. also J. Delorme, *Gymnasion*, Paris 1960, pp. 337–340.

[188] For the fate of the sculpture, see below, pp. 87–88.

[189] Below, p. 49 and Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (footnote 179 above, p. 44), chap. II, Ἀθῆνα.

[190] On the complicated question of the organization of the schools, see Marrou (footnote 15 above, p. 17), chap. VIII.

[191] Eunapius, *VS*, 487.

[192] *CTh* XIII.3.5, A.D. 362 (trans. Pharr).

[193] Eunapius, *VS*, 488–489.

surprising if they also took a practical interest in a coordinated plan for the buildings themselves. It has been suggested that the scattered bits of concrete foundations found throughout the area of the Areopagus houses were the remains of pre-Herulian predecessors, and House A shows definite signs of a pre-Herulian phase. This might explain a window tile from a pre-Herulian context (Pl. 41:d) whose sophisticated form was probably the model for the many ineptly executed copies which have been found in the vicinity (Pl. 41:e, g, h).[194]

The later history of the houses will be discussed in Chapter IV (below, pp. 87–90).

Houses on the Areopagus: Chronology

All five of the buildings were probably erected about the same time, i.e., in the second half of the 4th century. With the exception of House C all probably went out of use permanently just before the middle of the 6th century.

House A. The evidence for actual construction consisted of a handful of sherds from undisturbed fill into which the foundations of the apse were set down, all dating from the second half of the 4th century. In addition, a lime-slaking pit three meters west of the apse, probably used in the construction of the building, had at the bottom a firm layer of earth containing some pottery, also of the second half of the 4th century, including a lamp (Pl. 41:f) and part of a terracotta figurine.[195]

For the life span of the building as well as its construction, evidence was found in a stratified well in the west colonnade of the peristyle.[196] The well had been in use from the 1st century and continued into the 10th, but with some interruptions. One of these breaks occurred in the second half of the 4th century, quite probably marking the time of the construction of the house; the next can be dated *ca.* 540–550, followed by a thick layer of silt and, finally, pottery of the 9th or 10th century thrown in to close the well.

House B. A parallel situation was observed in a well in the northwest corner of House B,[197] where a break represented by a layer of stones separated a pre-Herulian layer from one beginning in the late 4th century and continuing into the 6th, and after another break, into the 7th. The other wells of House B reflect the same general picture as follows (all these dates were provided by John Hayes):

O 18:1. In the west (service) courtyard. Continuous fill from the end of the 4th or beginning of the 5th century until the early 6th.

P 18:1. Near the northeast corner of the peristyle. Cleaned out in the second half of the 5th century and used until sometime in the 6th.

P 19:1. Near the apse. Continuous use from the 5th to the early 6th century, then sealed by abandonment fill.

[194] A similar structure found southeast of the Acropolis has been proposed as related to the Areopagus group (J. Travlos, "The Lawcourt ΕΠΙ ΠΑΛΛΑΔΙΩΙ," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, p. 509). The identification is on the grounds that it is near the ruins believed to be those of the Palladium, which is included among the sites of schools mentioned in a passage of Plutarch (*de exilio*, 14). Roughly contemporary with the Areopagus group, it might possibly be thought of as a continuation of the earlier tradition. An intermediate link might be found in the unfinished apsidal room near "Proclus' house", whose construction seems to have been halted by the Herulian attack (Miliades [footnote 166 above, p. 43], pp. 46–47 and pl. 4:a; *idem*, «Ἀνασκαφαὶ 1. Ἀθῆναι. α) Νοτίως τῆς Ἀκροπόλεως», Τὸ Ἔργον 1955, p. 7).

[195] L 5323 and T 1361. The figurine was later found to join with another piece, not from the pit but from a similar fill around the walls, resulting in reidentification as a lamp, L 5324 (Pl. 41:c).

[196] M 17:1; *Agora* V, p. 125: Group M, but with revised dating by John Hayes, who inspected the pottery.

[197] P 18:2. All the wells of House B are included in the deposit list in *Agora* V, p. 126.

Q 19:1. East (service) courtyard. A break *ca.* 540 was followed by an accumulation of nearly a meter of snail shells, and on top a small amount of pottery running down to the end of the 6th century.

Q 17:4. At the north edge of the Areopagus group. In use from the 1st century to the 6th, and again in the 8th century.

House C. This building provided the most abundant testimony, both for construction and for later history. A well at the south side of the apsidal room with the pool,[198] originally used in connection with the adjacent springhouse of pre-Herulian date, contained pottery from the first half of the 2nd century down to the second half of the 4th, when it ceased to serve domestic uses and was made accessible to the newly constructed pool room as an auxiliary water supply. A date, also in the second half of the 4th century, for the construction of the whole house was given by pottery under the floors of two rooms off the east side of the peristyle, as well as from the fill dumped behind the exterior south wall at the time of construction.[199]

The break noted in the continuity of the life of Houses A and B is shown more dramatically in House C because it was of a short, clearly marked duration, illustrated especially by the re-laying of the floors in three rooms, also in the peristyle and in the service court, overlying a layer of pottery, the latest dating from the early 6th century, and also by the pottery from a drain channel leading from the pool whose course was diverted at the same time.[200] The wells associated with House C were apparently all, with the exception of that in the pool room, cleaned out at the time that the house was built. They are, however, instructive for the latest phases of the building. The following wells were in use:

P 21:3. In the west colonnade of the peristyle. Shows abandonment at the time of the destruction of the building, with architectural members (Pl. 73:c), etc., topped with loose dirt, stones, and tiles. Finally a 7th-century re-use, with a limestone collar built up over the marble well-head to bring the mouth of the well up to the post-destruction level.

P 21:2. In the east colonnade of the peristyle. The same sort of fill as in the preceding well (P 21:3).

Q 21:4. In Room 7, in the east wing of the building. Empty except for four pieces of sculpture, almost intact, in an excellent state of preservation (Pls. 38, 40). The well was sealed with a marble slab flush with the floor and partially overlaid by a bath in the next period. This well, the most significant for the history of the house, will be discussed in detail in a later chapter (below, p. 87).

ATHENS IN A.D. 396

A brief summary of the appearance of Athens just before the Visigothic invasion of A.D. 396, as far as it can be determined at present, may be in order.

Entering the city at the Dipylon, the visitor would pass between a continuous series of colonnades flanking the Panathenaic Way, presumably all containing shops, until the street entered the Agora. The Panathenaic Procession was still following this route on its way across the Agora and on up to the Acropolis. The citadel showed some of the ravages of time, but its main buildings appeared, superficially at least, much as they had two centuries before.

Leaving the Panathenaic Way at the entrance to the Agora the visitor might take the road along the west side of the square, dominated by the Hephaisteion on the hill, Kolonos Agoraios, above.

[198] Q 21:5.
[199] See *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 159–160 (Shear, Jr.).
[200] *Ibid.*, p. 161.

Along the street at the left, the Stoa Poikile, on the right the Stoa Basileios, the Stoa of Zeus, and the Temple of Apollo Patroös were still standing; the Tholos, badly damaged by the Heruli, had its walls reinforced by a concrete ring, and the Metroön, almost totally ruined, had now been rebuilt in a reduced form, probably as a synagogue.

The opposite side of the Agora was completely transformed by the incorporation of what was left of the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos into the Post-Herulian Wall. The south side and the entire center of the Agora were empty, with the ruins of the classical buildings probably covered by vegetation. The evidence for the north side is still incomplete (1988), but it seems probable that little except the Stoa Poikile survived.

East of the Agora the rest of the main part of the city was entirely enclosed within the Post-Herulian Wall. Inside the enclosure the major structures still standing were the south half of the Roman Market with its two gateways, the Doric on the west, the Ionic on the east, and immediately to the east, the large marble latrine and the Tower of the Winds.[201] The north flank of the wall, where it met the southwest corner of the Library of Hadrian, evidently took a series of turns to incorporate the Library itself as part of the circuit, the south wall probably having been destroyed in 267. Of the interior, only the rooms at the east end and the southeast corner of the peristyle remained.

On the south slopes of the Acropolis only the Theater of Dionysos, which, of the buildings on the slope, had suffered the least, had been restored and remodeled and resumed its function as the official assembly place.

Of the outskirts little can be said except that a number of villas and baths were scattered around, particularly on the south side of the Acropolis. Some of these had survived the Herulian attack, others had been damaged but were susceptible of repair, and some were entirely new. How many of these were in use in the 4th century and how many only in the 5th is uncertain. Since they are all chance finds, no solid conclusions can be drawn about their numbers or distribution.[202]

ALARIC IN GREECE (A.D. 396)

The Threat

That some preoccupation with danger was felt in Greece as a whole even as early as the reign of Constantine and remained all through the 4th century is attested by a number of inscriptions dealing with the repair of the walls, usually in the form of dedications honoring the official (or individual) responsible. Two inscriptions are of especial interest, each on the base of a statue of a proconsul (of Achaea) "Phosphorius". In the first, from Megara, the Megarians are recorded as having made and erected a marble statue of Phosphorius in recognition of his justice and because, by fortifying the cities, he delivered the inhabitants from the cruel enemy.[203] The second inscription, found near the agora at Argos, is a simple epigram to the effect that the statue of the

[201] Travlos, *PDA*, p. 31, fig. 39.

[202] Remains of many of these were discovered in the second half of the 19th century, briefly noted at the time in Ἐφ Ἀρχ (*passim*), and either covered up or destroyed and never published. Some are represented only by mosaic floors, a few of which were salvaged and are now published, with illustrations and references, in Asimakopoulou-Atzaka (footnote 179 above, p. 44), chap. II (e.g., a fine one in the courtyard of the Byzantine Museum, found in Euripides Street, no. 63).

[203] *IG* VII, 96.

[Φ]ωσφορίου Μεγαρῆες ἀριστονόοιο καμόντες
εἰκόνα λαϊνέην στῆσαν ἐπ' εὐδικί[αι]ς
οὕνεκα πυργώσας πόλιας κρατεραλγέα θοῦρο[ν]
τεῦξεν ἀτάρβητον δήϊον ἐνναέτ[αι]ς.

renowned proconsul Phosphorius was set up by Archeleos as a gift to the Argives, by decree of the Council.[204]

The identity of Phosphorius and the date of his proconsulship have been matters of dispute. That he was to be identified with Aurelius Valerius Tullianus Symmachus (*PLRE*, Symmachus 6), consul in 330 and probably Proconsul of Achaea in 319, was first proposed by T. Reinach and supported by A. von Premerstein.[205] The identification was based on the extreme rarity of the *signum* Phosphorius, which was borne by Symmachus' son L. Aurelius Avianius Symmachus (*PLRE*, Symmachus 2). It is not known for the father, but since there is no room for a proconsulship of Achaea in the long and well-documented career of the son, it is conjectured that he inherited the *signum* from his father according to common practice. The only serious challenge to Reinach's proposal has been from E. Groag, who rejected both the identification and the date and proposed a date of *ca.* 379–382, with the otherwise undesignated "Phosphorius" remaining anonymous.[206] Groag's main objection was that there was no barbarian threat in Greece during the reign of Constantine and that the epigram must refer to the disturbances after the Battle of Adrianople in 378. He therefore equated Archeleos, the donor of the statue in Argos, with Archeleos, the priest who first celebrated the ceremony of the taurobolium in Athens.[207]

More recently G. Polara has made a convincing case for reverting to Reinach's theory.[208] He observed that the Megarian epigram could equally well refer to the general fears of barbarian invasion that had been prevalent in Greece since 267, e.g. a threat from the Sarmatians in 322. Part of Groag's case was based on a stylistic comparison of the two altars of the taurobolium in Athens, the one of Archeleos, the other dated 386, which he found "very similar" and therefore very close in date, hence the date of 379–383, to bring Adrianople into the argument. But although the two altars resemble each other closely in content and arrangement, it is quite clear that the altar of 386 is a somewhat crude copy of that of Archeleos[209] and could have been made at any time that the earlier altar was visible. If a suggestion made above is valid, that the taurobolium was introduced into Athens in the reign of Julian,[210] the difference in date would be more than twenty years.

More useful is a consideration of Archeleos himself. The name, with the spelling Ἀρχέλεως, instead of the more common Ἀρχέλαος, occurs on both the Argive statue base and the Athenian altar, probably also in a third inscription, found at Lerna and now lost.[211] All three have Argive connections. The priest of the taurobolium "lived in Argos" (ναιεταίει ἐν Ἄργει), where he held priestly offices connected with the cults of Demeter and Hera, also at Lerna. Perhaps he came up to Athens specifically for the inauguration of the taurobolium. The Archeleos of Lerna also had close connections with the cults. Both men show pride in their lineage: the celebrator of the taurobolium

[204] *IG* IV, 1608.

Εἰκόνα Φωσφορίου μεγακύδεος ἀνθυπάτοιο
Ἀρχέλεως Δαναοῖς στῆσε χαριζόμενος.
ψ(ηφίσματι) β(ουλῆς).

[205] T. Reinach, "Un nouveau proconsul d'Achaie," *BCH* 24, 1900, pp. 324–328; Premerstein (footnote 67 above, p. 10), pp. 71–80.

[206] Groag, *Achaia*, pp. 54–55.

[207] Above, p. 19.

[208] G. Polara, "Il nonno di Simmaco," *La parola del passato* 29, 1974, pp. 261–266, with a detailed analysis of the epigraphical and documentary evidence, including the date of Symmachus' proconsulship. I owe this reference to T. D. Barnes.

[209] Cf. Svoronos (footnote 32 above, p. 19), pl. LXXX for the two.

[210] Above, p. 19.

[211] *IG* IV, 666; *Anth. Pal.* III (Cougny), p. 45, no. 279. The missing third syllable has been restored with an alpha (Ἀρχε[λά]ου) because of the final syllable *-ου*, but there seems little doubt that this is a member of the same family.

"rivaled his ancestors with his own deeds"; the Archeleos of Lerna had "the same name as his father" (ὁμώνυμον πατρί). The two might, as Svoronos believed,[212] be one and the same, but the Lerna priest might rather be considered as the father of the taurobolium innovator and the eponymous son of the donor of the statue of Phosphorius. The third Archelaos (and chronologically the first of the three) might have been one of the causes of the conspicuous pride, and, if he can be considered the grandfather of the celebrant of the taurobolium, his career would fall conveniently around 320, the only time at which any evidence has been produced for a Proconsul of Achaea with the *signum* Phosphorius.

The danger was intensified after the Battle of Adrianople in 378, when bands of victorious Goths roved freely through the Balkan peninsula and threatened the cities of Greece, many of whose fortifications were already weakened by the disastrous earthquake of 375.[213] The threat reached its culmination in the 390's when an army of Visigoths under the leadership of Alaric emerged from beyond the Danube and invaded Thrace. Immediately related to that danger, it seems, is a pair of epigrams on a re-used herm shaft found in the Agora, honoring Iamblichus for having "adorned Athens with Wisdom" and for building "the city walls and its towers" (Pl. 45:a).[214]

Iamblichus, a friend and correspondent of Libanius, made two short trips to Athens, one in 357, the other in 358. He returned in 362/3 and very probably remained there until his death, at least as late as 391, and it is to this period that the epigram must refer.[215] Since the large material gift rather than the contemplation of philosophy is likely to have been the motivating force behind the dedication and the monument was set up only after his death (μετὰ πότμον), it is probable that the erection of the wall and its towers took place not long after this, that is, when the Visigothic danger was becoming serious.

The fears were well founded, for by 395 Alaric was on his way toward the invasion of mainland Greece. Passing easily by way of Thermopylae, where his passage was apparently facilitated by bribery of the proconsul Antiochus,[216] he arrived in Attica in 396 and promptly captured the Piraeus in order to cut off supplies for Athens. According to Zosimus, Alaric thought it would be easy to take Athens because its great size and small population would make it impossible for those inside the walls to defend it.[217] This statement could hardly be applied to the cramped space within the Post-Herulian Wall, but it would be intelligible if it referred to the old city wall as reconstituted under Valerian and repaired by Iamblichus (and later to be restored by Justinian).[218]

Up to the point of Alaric's arrival before the gates of Athens and after his departure from Attica there is substantial agreement among the chroniclers. What happened in between is less certain. The only detailed account is Zosimus' picturesque description. According to this familiar tale, when Alaric approached with his army he saw Athena in full armor "as she appears in her statues" (cf. Frontispiece), walking around the ramparts while Achilles stood before the walls. The sight so terrified him that he abandoned all efforts to besiege the city. His offer of peace was accepted, and he entered Athens where he bathed, dined in state, and received gifts, after which he departed,

[212] Svoronos (footnote 32 above, p. 19), p. 482.

[213] Groag, *Achaia*, p. 55; P. Lemerle, "Invasions et migrations dans les Balkans (depuis la fin de l'époque romaine jusqu'au VIII^e siècle)," *Revue historique* 211, 1954, pp. 265–308.

[214] I 3542: A. E. Raubitschek, "Iamblichos at Athens," *Hesperia* 33, 1964, pp. 63–68. For the correct identification of this Iamblichus as the namesake rather than the grandson of the great Syrian philosopher, see Alan Cameron (footnote 42 above, p. 20). For a revised reading, *ibid.* and J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 78, 1965, pp. 104–106, no. 155.

[215] Raubitschek, *op. cit.*, pp. 65–68. Iamblichus is mentioned in letters of Libanius written in 390 and 391.

[216] Zosimus, v.5–6. Eunapius (*VS*, 476) attributes his success to treason on the part of Christian monks.

[217] *Loc. cit.*

[218] Below, p. 58.

leaving both Athens and all Attica unharmed.[219] But three contemporary writers on the event[220] took a more pessimistic view: Claudian, referring to Stilicho's recall while he was preparing to take the field against Alaric, speaks of the lost opportunity and the consequent devastation in the Peloponnese and enslavement of Athens:

Si tunc his animis acies collata fuisset,
prodita non tantas vidisset Graecia caedes,
oppida semoto Pelopeia Marte vigerent,
starent Arcadiae, starent Lacedaemonis arces,
non mare fumasset geminum flagrante Corintho
nec fera Cecropiae traxissent vincula matres.[221]

And St. Jerome: *Quid putas nunc animi habere Corinthios, Athenienses, Lacedaemonios, Arcadas, cunctamque Graeciam, quibus imperant barbari? et certe paucas urbes nominavi, in quibus olim fuere regna non modica.*[222] And finally, Philostorgius: Ἀλλάριχος . . . ἐπῆλθεν τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ τὰς Ἀθήνας εἷλεν καὶ Μακεδόνας καὶ τοὺς προσεχεῖς Δαλμάτας ἐληΐσατο.[223]

Archaeological evidence has been gradually building up to reconcile the two extreme views, i.e., that Alaric included Athens among all the rest of the cities of Greece in his conquest, on the one hand, and that he inflicted no damage whatever on Athens or even in Attica, on the other. For some time it has been clear that the area of the Dipylon sustained heavy damage during the reign of Arcadius, presumably from Alaric's army.[224] It now seems certain that he did succeed in entering the city with his soldiers, at least as far as the Agora, where he destroyed a number of buildings that had escaped the Heruli, and struck terror into the minds of whatever inhabitants had not been able to take refuge within the Post-Herulian Wall, before going into the city to strike a bargain for the ransom of the city.[225]

[219] Zosimus, v.6.1–3. To the pagan Zosimus, Athena and Achilles were an invincible team who, 20 years earlier, had delivered Athens and Attica from an earthquake that had caused heavy damage to all the rest of Greece (iv.18.2–4). For pagan and Christian attitudes on divine influence (especially in relation to the Battle of the Frigidus), see J. Straub, *Reallex. f. Antike und Christentum* VI, cols. 869–875, *s.v.* Eugenius.

[220] Zosimus is generally conceded to have written his history between 498 and 520 (Paschoud, *Zosime* I, p. xvi; R. T. Ridley, *BZ* 65, 1972, p. 280, with earlier references; A. Chastagnol, "Zosime II, 38 et l'Histoire Auguste," *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium*, 1964/5, p. 75, specifies "second half of the reign of Anastasius".

[221] *In Rufinum* ii.186–191.

[222] *Epist.* lx.16. It is worth noting that this letter was written in 396, the year of Alaric's attack (for the date, see J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome*, London 1975, p. 215). Destruction at this time over a wide area is attested by archaeological evidence: at Argos (M. Piérart and J.-P. Thalmann, "Travaux de l'École Française en 1974," *BCH* 99, 1975, p. 705); Corinth (Broneer [footnote 13 above, p. 2], p. 159; T. Gregory, "The Late Roman Wall at Corinth," *Hesperia* 48, 1979, p. 269; C. K. Williams, II and O. H. Zervos, "Corinth, 1981: East of the Theater," *Hesperia* 51, 1982, p. 118 and *idem*, "Corinth, 1982: East of the Theater," *Hesperia* 52, 1983, pp. 23–24); and Isthmia (O. Broneer, *Isthmia*, III, *Terracotta Lamps*, Princeton 1977, p. 3, note 9).

[223] 12.2. J. B. Bury (*History of the Later Roman Empire*, Dover ed., 1958, I, p. 119, note 2), relying on Zosimus' statement that Athens escaped capture, takes Philostorgius' account to refer to Alaric's capture of the Piraeus, but the destruction of the walls of the sanctuary at Eleusis at that time (G. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries*, Princeton 1961, p. 186) seems to confute Zosimus' claim that "all of Attica" was excluded from Alaric's depredations.

For an analysis of Zosimus' account of Alaric's invasion of Greece and his dependence on Eunapius' fragmentary *Universal History*, see Paschoud's commentary on these chapters (*Zosime* III, notes 8–13, pp. 91–102).

[224] *Agora* VII, pp. 53, 63–64.

[225] For the archaeological evidence, see below, pp. 53–54. Athena and Achilles (or their human agents) need not be utterly banished. Not to put too fine a point on it, the walls of the Acropolis would have been a much more suitable place for them to appear than the outer walls, and for this the Agora would provide an admirable vantage point. A classically minded defender of the city might have recalled a similar ruse, when the friends of Peisistratos, in order to bring the tyrant back from exile, dressed a young woman as Athena in full armor and put her in a chariot to drive around the

Scholarship must have suffered a severe, if temporary, setback at the time of the invasion. Hilarius, who was staying near Corinth, was captured and beheaded, along with his slaves. Priscus died, presumably of natural causes, at the age of ninety or more. Iamblichus, who contributed toward the fortifications, was honored "after death", probably between 391 and 396, "and there were many who in their grief threw away their lives, while others were slaughtered by the barbarians." Among these was Proterius, from the island of Cephalonia, "as to whose worth and probity there is good evidence."[226]

It was against this background that Synesius of Cyrene paid his first and only visit to Athens, probably between 395 and 399,[227] and recorded his famous impression of disillusionment in letters to his brother,[228] cursing the captain of the ship that brought him to Athens, a city which had now only its famous name. Formerly the center of wisdom, now deserted by philosophy, no more than the empty hide of an animal, revered only by bee-keepers, and with only a pair of Plutarcheans who drew young men to the theaters, not by the fame of their eloquence but by the jars of honey from Hymettus. Although his disenchantment was doubtless heightened by comparison with Alexandria, where he had just finished his studies with the glamorous Hypatia, he must have seen Athens at its lowest ebb since the Herulian invasion.

Destruction in the Agora

The comprehensive view of the Agora gained by 40 years of excavation has necessitated some revision in assessing the damage caused by the Heruli. In the beginning, when the magnitude of the disaster of 267 became evident, the destruction of any building of Late Antiquity for which no positive evidence could be found was attributed to the Heruli by association. Now it has become increasingly clear that a few buildings escaped with only minor damage and remained standing until the end of the 4th century, and cumulative evidence now shows that a lesser, but still serious, destruction may be associated with the arrival of Alaric and the Visigoths in 396. Since the conclusion runs counter to previously published opinions the evidence must be presented in some detail.

Of the buildings along the west side of the Agora only the Metroön and the Bouleuterion can be demonstrated to have been victims of the Heruli. The Tholos was damaged, but it was rebuilt and survived until the end of the 4th century.[229] The evidence becomes much clearer in the case of the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo Patroös, where analysis of the coins and the lamps leads to the inescapable conclusion that neither of these two buildings could have been destroyed in 267, but that neither could have outlasted the 4th century. In contrast to the situation prevailing around structures certainly destroyed in the Herulian attack, the fill over and around the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo Patroös was almost totally lacking in coins and other objects of the 3rd century. Instead, a fill *ca.* 0.50 m. thick containing many coins and lamps of the second half of the 4th century collected over the "classical" floor of the Agora. Embedded in the surface of this layer were a few pieces of broken architectural members of the Stoa of Zeus, their surfaces fresh, their colors bright. More of these appeared in profusion in the layer above, along with many chips from their breaking up. The

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city, bidding the Athenians to welcome Peisistratos, whom Athena "was bringing back to her own citadel" (Herodotus, I.60). Examples of such divine intervention were not uncommon. Cf. also the miracle of Zeus Panamaros (P. Roussel, "Le miracle de Zeus Panamaros," *BCH* 55, 1931, pp. 70–116, with related incidents).

226 Eunapius, *VS*, 482 (trans. Wright).

227 For the intricacies of this dating, see C. Lacombrade, *Synésios de Cyrène, hellène et chrétien*, Paris 1951, chap. VI, esp. pp. 75 ff.; also *PLRE* II, Synesius 1, and J. Bregman, *Synesius of Cyrene: Philosopher-Bishop*, Berkeley 1982, p. 41.

228 *Epist.*, 54 and 135.

229 For all three buildings, see above, pp. 4, 25.

top of the lower layer therefore represents the ground level at the time of the destruction. Although the upper fill still contained much material of the 4th century, the lamps found in it were predominantly of the first half of the 5th century. The softness of the earth in both layers, the absence of a hard impenetrable surface separating them, and the many disturbances from Byzantine times permitted much filtering down of coins and small objects, so that over most of the area the stratification provides only a general indication of its chronology. The coins from a number of uncontaminated spots, however, included 19 that were legible and relevant (i.e., later than the 2nd century after Christ). Of these, all except three were dated not later than 395. Of the other three, the latest was one from the period 402–408, at the very top of the layer, in fresh condition.

There is probably a direct relation between the breaking up of marble around the Stoa of Zeus and the Temple of Apollo Patroös and the inception of the major building program of the early years of the 5th century discussed in the next chapter. Useful building material derived from the structures ruined by the Heruli would have been exhausted long since. Now a new supply had become available, and that at least some of it went into the new Square Building in the middle of the Agora (below, p. 66) is confirmed by the discovery in its foundations of a number of pieces of the marble geison and a fragment of a triglyph from the Stoa of Zeus. Larger blocks from the same buildings may have been used in the superstructure of the Square Building, which has long since disappeared. Several lime-slaking pits were found midway between the Stoa of Zeus and the Square Building, evidently for use in the construction of the latter. After the building was finished the lime pits were left open as refuse pits, first, perhaps, for the kitchens of the new buildings, since their bottoms were covered with a thick layer of bones, later as general rubbish bins.

The speed with which destruction was followed by rebuilding is further emphasized by the position of the statue of Nike, one of the akroteria from the Stoa of Zeus,[230] apparently lying where she fell in front of the south wing and incorporated in the top of the wall forming the northwest corner of one of the lime-slaking pits used for the construction of the Square Building. The Nike, lying exposed among other debris of the late 4th century, was evidently taken as a convenient limit by the diggers of the pit. Many fragments of her and her companions were found in the same late 4th-century fill.[231]

The above evidence is indicative of a date at the end of the 4th century for the destruction of the temple and the stoa. That the actual cause was the invasion is made almost certain by the discovery, only a short distance away, of a small pit dug through a well-defined floor in the north side of the stoa on the Panathenaic Way.[232] In the pit was the head of a herm,[233] in good condition and obviously carefully laid there, and with it eight coins, the latest being one of Arcadius, struck between 383 and 395.[234] The pit showed signs of heavy burning (Pl. 45:b). The layer through which it was dug also contained coins of the same period, with the same cut-off point of 395.

The later history of the Stoa Basileios was in all probability similar to that of the Temple of Apollo and the Stoa of Zeus. As with the Stoa of Zeus, the lowest deposit over its floor was of the 5th century, with no sign of Herulian destruction,[235] and fragments of its terracotta acroteria were found in plundered foundation trenches in the Annex of the Stoa of Zeus and in the excavation of

[230] S 312.
[231] *Hesperia* 4, 1935, p. 376 (Shear, Sr.); *Agora* XIV, p. 99, note 91.
[232] *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 370–382 (Shear, Jr.), and above, p. 28.
[233] S 2499. *Ibid.*, p. 406, pl. 76:b.
[234] The others were Valentinian II, period 383–393 (2); Valentinian II, year 383 (1); Gratian or colleague, period 378–383 (1); Valens, period 366–375 (1); 4th century, unidentified (1); 2nd century (1).
[235] *Agora* XIV, p. 210.

the Stoa itself. Also the close proximity of the two buildings makes it likely that they shared the same fate.[236]

The fact that Alaric may now be safely held responsible for a considerable amount of damage and destruction hitherto attributed to the Heruli does much to reconcile the apparently conflicting evidence for the history of the Stoa Poikile, the foundations of which have now been discovered near the northwest corner of the Agora. Both archaeological and literary evidence argue for its survival through the 4th century. It contributed no recognizable material to the parts of the Post-Herulian Wall so far explored. On the other hand, architectural members, some of which very probably belonged to the Poikile, including moldings with painted decoration as well as pieces from other buildings, were found in profusion in a long wall of the second half of the 5th century after Christ which bordered the east side of the Panathenaic Way.[237] The existence of these fragments in the one short stretch of wall, as well as the freshness of the color, is a strong indication that the building from which they were drawn stood near by and was still standing not long before the construction of the wall.

The survival of the Stoa Poikile into the 4th century is corroborated by the testimony of Himerius and Synesius of Cyrene. Although Athenian rhetoric of the period demanded frequent allusions to the institutions and sometimes the buildings of the illustrious past, with some occasional confusion between ancient symbols and present conditions, the accounts of both men contain specific details implying that in each case symbolism is reinforced by actual observation. Himerius, addressing a group of Ionian visitors to the city (*Or.* x [LIX]), promises to show them the Stoa Poikile, with its painting of the Battle of Marathon, before taking them up to the Acropolis. Whether he was actually proposing a conducted tour or merely a verbal description is open to doubt, but the circumstantial detail with which he describes the painting of the battle, and a similarly vivid account of the battle itself in an earlier oration (II [VI].20–21), at least suggest that the paintings were still visible. But even if the description by Himerius be rejected as rhetorical license, it is harder to dismiss in the same way the more matter-of-fact statement of Synesius that students returning to Alexandria from Athens put on airs because they had seen the Academy and the Lyceum and the Stoa Poikile, adding that the stoa was no longer decorated because the proconsul had taken away the painted panels.[238]

Synesius visited Athens between 395 and 399, or shortly after the death of Himerius.[239] The paintings may then be assumed to have been visible during most of Himerius' residence in Athens (from *ca.* 330) and to have been removed before, but probably not long before Synesius' visit. There is insufficient evidence to say what prompted the removal of the paintings by the proconsul, whether it was damage inflicted on the building (by Alaric?), offering a pretext for the removal of the panels, or simple avarice on the proconsul's part. From the tone of Synesius' remarks it seems not to have been the general decay of the building. The nature of the paintings (the Battle of Marathon was the most important subject treated) probably rules out Christian zeal in eradicating paganism, although the possibility should not be eliminated entirely. A prototype for the proconsul might be seen in Verres, the notorious governor immortalized by Cicero for his crimes of bribery, corruption, and plundering. By coincidence, a man of similar reputation, Antiochus the son of Musonius, held the office of Proconsul of Achaea in 395/6, although there is no reference to his carrying off works

[236] Thompson, "West Side," p. 37.

[237] For the Long Late Roman Wall, see below, p. 81. For the identification of the building on this evidence, *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 327–329 (Thompson) and L. S. Meritt, "The Stoa Poikile," *Hesperia* 39, 1970, pp. 233–264. For the discovery and analysis of the building, *Hesperia* 53, 1984, pp. 5–12 (Shear, Jr.).

[238] *Epist.*, 54 and 135.

[239] For a recent study of Synesius' career, with earlier bibliography, see Bregman (footnote 227 above, p. 53).

of art.[240] It is hard to believe that Synesius would have referred to the removal of the paintings if the building had not been standing when he wrote, and it is equally hard to escape the impression that he was speaking of a recent episode. It seems a reasonable hypothesis therefore that the Poikile remained standing at least until 396, when it was damaged but not destroyed by Alaric, and that shortly after that (still in 396?) the paintings were removed by the proconsul, whether Antiochos or another. It might have remained in a dilapidated state, but protected as a venerable relic, until the middle of the following century,[241] when it was completely destroyed or dismantled and much of it built into the wall of the second half of the 5th century on the east side of the Panathenaic Way.[242] It is not impossible that its end was due to a Vandal attack in 467 or 476.[243]

[240] This is the same Antiochus mentioned by Zosimus as having connived at Alaric's invasion of Greece (v.5.2–5). For the identity of Musonius, possibly a professor of rhetoric at Athens, cf. *PLRE* I, Musonius 1, and Paschoud, *Zosime* III, p. 88.

[241] It was still standing when a Late Roman stoa (5th century) was built against its west wall (*Hesperia* 53, 1984, pp. 15–17, fig. 10 [Shear, Jr.]).

[242] Below, p. 81.

[243] Below, p. 78.

IV

PROSPERITY, DECLINE, AND DISASTER (A.D. 396–582)

PROSPERITY (A.D. 396–450)

The Time of the Neoplatonists

We have seen that one of the most important elements in the life of 4th-century Athens had been the schools of philosophy and rhetoric. The Neoplatonic School of Athens, established probably toward the end of the 4th century, came into its own only in the early 5th as Plutarch, its founder, gained in stature and influence. From then on it dominated the scene, with an unbroken sequence of Diadochs, or Heads, from Plutarch to Damascius, who was in office in 529 when Justinian forbade the teaching of philosophy in Athens.[1]

Recent studies have shown that the term "Academy" is misleading, implying as it does a direct connection with Plato's Academy, but the term will be retained here for convenience as denoting the school founded by Plutarch. There is no evidence for a "Golden Chain" of Diadochs from Plato to Plutarch or for direct inheritance of the material assets of the Academy.[2] Some revisions have been made in the accepted sequence of Diadochs: Plutarch, Syrianus, Domninus, Proclus, Marinus, Isidore, Hegias, and Damascius. Domninus must now be excluded, although he may have had a "second chair", and probably Hegias as well.[3]

Although the philosophers gave little attention to material concerns in their philosophical treatises, some color and substance is added by the biographies of two of the Diadochs. Marinus' *Vita Procli* is complete though brief and concerns itself more with Proclus' character and outlook on life than historical fact or chronological sequence. The biography of Isidore by Damascius is so fragmentary that the lacunae usually prevent full comprehension of the stated facts;[4] but for all their deficiencies the two shed welcome light on the Academy and its place in Athens.

Between Proclus' birth in 412[5] and his death in 485 there is little chronological evidence beyond the fact that he came to Athens late in 430 or early in 431. He was immediately taken to see Plutarch, who, on account of his advanced age, had already given over the regular teaching of the school to Syrianus, his designated successor. Proclus showed such exceptional promise, however, that Plutarch took him as a special student until his death in 432. Syrianus, who died *ca.* 437, was succeeded immediately by Proclus, who would then have been about twenty-five years old. For the first part at least of his tenure as Diadoch Proclus took an active interest in the affairs of Athens, appearing at public meetings, "discussing questions of justice with the officials" and "giving his opinion on a variety of matters."[6] Suddenly, "a storm broke" and he went to Lydia for a year.[7] Presumably the cause was friction with the Christians, although this is not specified. Proclus studiously avoided

[1] For the sequel to this action, see below, pp. 84–92.

[2] Below, with references, pp. 86–87.

[3] Saffrey and Westerink, pp. xxxiii–xxxiv; Glucker, *Antiochus*, p. 307, note 23.

[4] R. Asmus, *Das Leben des Philosophen Isidoros*, Leipzig 1911; C. Zintzen, *Damascii Vita Isidori Reliquiae*, Hildesheim 1967, with Greek text and related fragments.

[5] The accepted date. For this and other probable dates in his career, see Saffrey and Westerink, introduction.

[6] Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 15.

[7] This was probably some time after 450 (Saffrey and Westerink, p. xxii), but there is no way of knowing how much later.

giving provocation to the Christians, but a number of veiled allusions have been collected by Saffrey.[8] Relations between the two gradually deteriorated, reaching their lowest point with the removal of the statue of Athena from the Parthenon, when "that statue of hers that had stood for so long in the Parthenon was taken away by those people who move things which should not be moved." The story is well known but bears repetition. "For it seemed to the philosopher that a beautiful woman appeared to him in a dream and commanded him to prepare his house quickly 'because the Lady of Athens wishes to come to live with you'."[9]

Revival after Alaric

State of the Fortifications

What was the actual state of the outer fortifications of Athens at the time of Alaric's attack and how much damage was inflicted by him can only be conjectured. As noted above,[10] the old outer circuit (the Wall of Valerian) had undergone substantial repairs toward the end of the 4th century, and the fact that after 400 some important buildings were being erected outside the Post-Herulian Wall permits the assumption that the outer circuit was once more regarded as secure. The only certainty is that the Wall of Valerian was largely rebuilt in the 6th century by Justinian,[11] implying that by that time it was in a weakened state. The modest scale of destruction from Alaric's forces by comparison with that caused by the Heruli might argue a smaller invading force which could enter the city merely by storming a few gates or, at worst, breaching the wall in a few places. Superficial repairs after that might have been enough to satisfy the need for security in the absence of an imminent threat, but they could not provide enough stability to withstand a Slavic attack when that danger became real a century and a quarter later.

Rehabilitation of Public Buildings

Alaric's departure had removed the immediate threat to Athens. It had also left depredations both inside and outside the city, which it was necessary to repair along with the still untidy mess caused by the Heruli. But this time the damage was less and recovery more rapid. The first efforts at rehabilitation were only stop-gap measures undertaken by a city that was impoverished and still endangered; but they prepared the way for a resurgence on a relatively monumental scale which reflects, if not a return to real prosperity, at least a sense of security greater than had been known for two hundred years.[12]

Of the buildings with their roots in the past the most important to be rebuilt was the Metroön. We have seen above (p. 25) that after the Herulian invasion it was put back into use only in the

[8] H. D. Saffrey, "Allusions antichrétiennes chez Proclus: le diadoque platonicien," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 59, 1975, pp. 553–563.

[9] Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 30 (Rosàn's translation). What relation the statue bore to Pheidias' work is a moot point and irrelevant here. The original may have been replaced several times. At any rate, some statue stood in the temple throughout Late Antiquity, and as an object of veneration it still retained its old power. Its ultimate fate is not known, but it was probably not taken to Constantinople. For a summary of the known facts, see Frantz, "Julian," p. 401, note 54.

[10] P. 51.

[11] Procopius, *de aed.* IV.2.24. For evidence on the ground, see, *inter alia*, Thompson and Scranton (footnote 4 above, p. 1), p. 376.

[12] In the following description it must be remembered that while the results from the excavation of the Agora may be regarded as reasonably definitive for that area, for the rest of Athens we are dependent on chance discoveries made under less carefully controlled conditions. Nevertheless, these sporadic remnants supplement and corroborate the conclusions drawn from the Agora and will be interwoven with them without further explanation.

shabbiest possible way. Now it was transformed beyond recognition.[13] Only the two northernmost rooms are sufficiently well preserved to offer any clue to their appearance and purpose at that time, but there are some indications that the two other rooms were in use also, and perhaps the front porch, with or without its columns. By prolonging westward the north and south colonnades of the north room, it was transformed into a basilica-like structure. The three small rooms which originally opened off the west side of the peristyle were not rebuilt, but the area of the middle room was now occupied by an apse lined with marble benches of the Hellenistic period taken from elsewhere (Pl. 6). The adjacent room to the south, the "dining room", was made more formal by laying a simple mosaic over the previous floor and the broiling pits. The mosaic consisted of a central panel of intersecting circles with lozenges at their centers, bordered first by a simple running ivy tendril and finally by a series of plain circles connected by straight lines (Pl. 45:c). An unfloored strip along the south wall may have been occupied by a bench. The lowered level of the dining room was retained by the builders, and access to it was gained by a broad stairway leading down into its east end. Numismatic evidence gave a clear indication of date for the transition from the first, rude, rehabilitation of the Metroön to the final form. In a thin layer of earth above the burning in the larger pit were 14 coins, the latest being four of Theodosius I, one struck between 383 and 392, all in fresh condition.[14] The mosaic floor lay directly over the thin layer of earth. Considering the fresh condition of the latest coins underneath, very little time could have elapsed before the mosaic was laid, giving a date *ca.* 400 for the reconstruction.

The resemblance of the basilica-like plan of the reconstructed Metroön to that of a Christian church is obvious,[15] but the westward orientation is an obstacle. A more attractive theory was put forward by H. A. Thompson. On the basis of a fragment of marble revetment with a menorah carved on its surface,[16] he suggested that here was a synagogue tucked into an ancient monument, much like a more imposing one built into the Gymnasium at Sardis.[17]

Jewish communities existed in Greece from late Hellenistic times, especially in trading centers such as Corinth, Sparta, Thessalonica, and a number of the islands. The evidence for Athens is slight, but there was presumably a Jewish community there in the time of the Apostle Paul. His stay in the city was brief, however, and the community was obviously less active than elsewhere in Greece (Thessalonica, Beroea, Corinth). A few lamps with Jewish symbols have been found in the Agora, the earliest being from the 4th century (*Agora* VII, nos. 353, 1065, 2385, 2440). Some epitaphs with apparently Jewish names have appeared in various parts of the city.[18]

The Stoa of Zeus was never rebuilt, although it may possibly have served some temporary use, like the Tholos but in even less substantial form. The large numbers of lamps of the 4th century found lying over the floor are indicative of some sort of habitation, but the presence of recognizable parts of the building in the foundations of the large Late Roman Square Building directly east of the Stoa preclude its existence after the 4th century.

[13] Nothing can be added to the observations made by H. A. Thompson when he excavated the Metroön in 1936 and published his results in 1937 ("West Side," pp. 195–202). His description is summarized here for convenience.

[14] The others were Constantius II or colleagues, period 351–361 (3); Valens and Valentinian II, period 367–378 (5); Arcadius, uncertain type (1); illegible (1).

[15] Cf. D. Pallas (Θεολογία 31, 1960, p. 348), who offers a lawcourt as an alternative.

[16] A 4546, *Gods and Heroes* (Agora Picture Book No. 19), Princeton 1980, p. 30, ill. 59.

[17] The suggestion was published by A. T. Kraabel, "The Diaspora Synagogue," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II.19.1, Berlin/New York 1979, pp. 477–510 (pp. 483–488 for Sardis, pp. 505–507 for Athens). Further exploration is needed to check the hypothesis.

[18] L. Urdahl, "Jews in Attica," *SymbOsl* 43, 1968, pp. 39–56. The number has been greatly reduced by J. and L. Robert, "Bulletin épigraphique," *REG* 82, 1969, pp. 453–454. For more on the Jewish community in Late Antiquity, see Frantz, *Reallex. f. Antike und Christentum*, *s.v.* Athen II (in press).

New Construction

It was perhaps at this time (early 5th century) that a large round building was erected on the Panathenaic Way just before it enters the Agora. Only about one quarter of the circumference was preserved, most of the rest lying in the cut for the Athens–Piraeus Railway (Pls. 6, 46:a).[19] But drawings made at the time the railway was laid recorded another segment of the circle. The northern part of the foundation was heavily buttressed at close intervals to take account of the rapidly falling ground level and perhaps to support a domed roof. A single coin of the late 4th or early 5th century in the foundations provides the only clue to the date of construction. The life of the building was in any case short because it was destroyed, certainly before the end of the 6th century and more likely toward the end of the 5th, perhaps by the Vandals.[20]

Identification of the building is complicated by the presence of two interior supports whose spacing has no relation to any normal interior arrangements. The piers are represented only by massive foundations composed of miscellaneous material, including several fragments of a statue of the 2nd or 3rd century: a horse protome, a hand with an orb, and a few pieces of drapery (Pl. 46:b, c).[21] The asymmetrical spacing might be attributed to a repair necessitated by the collapse, real or threatened, of a portion of the domed roof, but this would have been a clumsy device at best. The scantiness of the remains leaves the purpose of the "Round Building" enigmatic. That its function was an important one is made clear by its siting in a conspicuous position at the very entrance to the Agora, at the intersection of the Panathenaic Way and the road along the west side.

The public character of the Agora in the 4th and 5th centuries is emphasized by a group of four monument bases, all dating from this time, around the northeast corner of the Metroön.[22] Three of these are on a north–south line between the Metroön and the southeast corner of the Temple of Apollo Patroös; the fourth, with the same orientation, lies immediately to the north of the northeast corner of the Metroön. Around the bases and stretching away to the east was a hard-packed road surface containing many coins of the late 4th and early 5th centuries. There is no evidence as to what statues were carried on these bases, but it may be noted that the statues of Apollo Patroös and Hadrian and also a head of Antoninus Pius were all found in the immediate vicinity.[23]

Another base, for a statue of very considerable size, lies just west of the Panathenaic Way at the point where it shifts its course to a more southerly direction after entering the Agora (Pl. 46:d). The overall dimensions of the base at the lowest finished course (of which only one block is preserved) are about 4.10–4.20 m. east–west and 4.15–4.25 m. north–south. The base is set at an angle to the street, perhaps for greater visibility from both north and south as the street bends. The foundations are sunk in a fill of the 3rd and 4th centuries. It seems likely, therefore, that the statue was erected sometime in the 4th century and continued to stand through most of the 5th but, to judge from the absence of a 6th-century layer, not longer. It, the Square Building east of the Stoa of Zeus, and the Round Building might all have been casualties of a Vandal invasion in 467.[24] The size of the base and the prominence of its position make it probable that it was an emperor who stood on top, perhaps on a column.[25]

[19] *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 126 (Shear, Jr.).

[20] Below, pp. 78–79.

[21] S 2529 (horse); S 2531 (hand).

[22] Thompson, "West Side," pp. 202–203.

[23] Thompson has recently suggested (personal communication) that an arch may have been built here in Late Antiquity (cf. the one between the Stoa of Attalos and the Library of Pantainos). This would help account for the well-defined east–west road to the east.

[24] Below, p. 78.

[25] After the destruction of the statue the base was overrun by a narrow wall set in firm concrete, entering from the

The vicissitudes of the buildings on the west side of the Agora, especially the Tholos, the Metroön, the Round Building, and the large statue base, are now seen to be closely interwoven. Their history may perhaps be reconstructed as follows:

1) The Tholos and Metroön suffer heavily at the hands of the Heruli in 267.

2) The Tholos is made usable, probably during the first half of the 4th century, but the Metroön remains in ruins.

3) The Tholos is damaged beyond repair by Alaric in 396. Almost immediately the Metroön is rebuilt, probably once more as a synagogue. At the same time the Round Building is erected in a conspicuous position by the Panathenaic Way.

4) With the whole area reclaimed for public use the streets are given a more formal aspect by placing large statues in key locations: at the northwest corner of the reconstructed Metroön and the entrance of the Panathenaic Way into the Agora.

5) At some unspecified time, but before the end of the 6th century, the Round Building is ruined forever, and a curved line of an aqueduct is laid from the North Mill, passing over the ruined monument base and the Round Building.

Probably related to these activities is the construction in the 5th century of a stoa, at the end of the Panathenaic Way before it turns into the Agora, its east end built against the still standing Stoa Poikile.[26]

While these sometimes makeshift operations were going on in the Agora, where mere clearing away of the ruins was a formidable task, at least one building of a more monumental character was being erected on the foundations of an earlier structure, probably just east of the post-Herulian enceinte. All that remains is the epistyle of a porch (Pl. 46:e) bearing the dedication of a building "with its porches" to the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius by Severus Aëtius, Proconsul (of Achaea).[27] There is some reason to believe that this may be the Hellenistic gymnasium, the Diogeneion, the headquarters of the ephebes from at least as early as the 2nd century B.C., repaired or rebuilt several times, most recently in the Antonine period, until it was finally rebuilt, still under its own name, even though the ephebes had ceased to exist as an institution.[28]

Whether or not the identification is correct, the building itself is evidence that substantial construction was being encouraged at a high level almost immediately after Alaric's departure. This impression is supported by another dedicatory inscription from the same general area, of which only a fragment remains, with letters very similar in size and shape to those of the Diogeneion.[29]

Another building is shadowy but important. It is represented by three inscribed blocks relating to philosophy, known for many years but never satisfactorily explained. Two bear, respectively, the words ΣΤΩΙΚΩΝ and ΚΥΝΙΚΩΝ (Pl. 47:a, c). The third is a fragment from the right side of the

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east on a curved line which continued on to meet the northeast corner of the Square Building (below, p. 109). Here it followed around or across the corner and resumed the same curved course through the middle of the Round Building. The line of the curve when projected eastward would fetch up near the point where the Late Roman aqueduct coming through the Agora changes its course to run westward (below, p. 81). The wall probably carried a branch of that aqueduct and would have been built to provide power for the mill which must have been destroyed by the railway (below, p. 81). The firmness of the concrete precludes a date later than the 6th century. It may be contemporary with the main line of the water system (*ca.* 475) or else a later addition. In Byzantine times much of the interior of the statue base was dug out and a vaulted tomb constructed inside.

[26] *Hesperia* 53, 1984 (Shear, Jr.), p. 16, fig. 10.

[27] *IG* II^2, 5205.

[28] For a fuller account, with reasons for the identification and date, see A. Frantz, "A Public Building of Late Antiquity in Athens (*IG* II^2, 5205)," *Hesperia* 48, 1979, pp. 194–203 and pls. 62–64.

[29] E.M. 1861. Frantz, *op. cit.*, pl. 64:f.

block, with only the letters . . . ΙΩΝ preserved, but the close correspondence of the three pieces in all other respects makes the restoration [ΕΠΙΚΟΥΡΕ]ΙΩΝ almost inevitable.[30]

W. Judeich was the first to consider the blocks as a group and to attribute them to a single building.[31] He was followed by A. von Premerstein, who repeated Judeich's brief description of them as epistyles.[32] But a slight taper in the block inscribed ΣΤΩΙΚΩΝ shows that it must have been a door jamb.[33] Its projected length (originally height) of *ca.* 3.50 m. is close to the height of the doors of the Stoa of Attalos. The fragmentary Epicurean block, too short for the taper to be detected, is similar in its other dimensions and was probably also a jamb. The Cynics block, with a length of only 2.57 m., was probably a lintel or a crowning member of some sort. The surfaces that would have abutted against a wall are rough picked, as for rubble, thus making a Roman date probable. The inscriptions must have been added after the destruction of the building for which the blocks were made. A suggestion that they were carved while they were still serving as a door frame is untenable, not only because of the unparalleled vertical arrangement of the letters (as would have been the case) but also for the uncomfortably close association of Stoics, Cynics, and Epicureans in one portal.

The date of the blocks in their re-used form is difficult to determine. As is so often the case, the letter forms can be matched from the 2nd century all through Late Antiquity, with formal inscriptions of a single word continuing to be carved with greater care than are the longer texts, which tend to become cramped and irregular in the later centuries. Close resemblances may be seen in the Panathenius inscription of the second half of the 3rd century,[34] but that does not necessarily exclude a later date for those discussed here.

Also puzzling is the way in which the blocks were re-used. Certainly they were laid horizontally. Two of them are too long and thin for lintels, unless they were embedded in the masonry of the walls above them; probably this would also be true for epistyles. Otherwise it would be tempting to suggest that they were placed over the entrances to different departments in one building housing several branches of philosophy. An attractive suggestion[35] is that they were built into the masonry over alcoves for books in a library, to designate the categories. One such library might be that in the Ptolemaeion, to which the ephebes were required to present books on the completion of their studies.[36] What the books were is unknown, but the fact that philosophy was an important part of their education, as attested by inscriptions,[37] suggests that philosophical works were well represented. Or the inscriptions might have been used simply as appropriate decoration on either a façade or an inner wall to emphasize the intellectual nature of the contents, as sometimes on modern buildings, e.g. the National Archives Building in Washington. But the genitive in all these inscriptions makes that less likely.

A much earlier parallel for this type of use may perhaps be seen in a series of inscriptions painted on a plastered wall in the Gymnasium at Taormina, with brief descriptions or biographies of

[30] **Στωικῶν**, E.M. 70. First noted in the Metochi Penteli on Metropolis Street; later in the Stoa of Attalos; now in the courtyard of the Epigraphical Museum. D. Kambouroglou, Ἀθηνᾶ 2, 1980, p. 154, also **Στοά** 1, 1981, pp. 47 ff.

Κυνικῶν, *IG* II², 5184. Found in the excavation of the Church of the Serapheim on the north slope of the Acropolis. P. Kavvadias, Ἐφ Ἀρχ 1898, cols. 17–18, no. 15. Present whereabouts unknown.

Ἐπικουρείων. Now among the marbles gathered in front of the Asklepieion, on the south slope of the Acropolis.

[31] *Topographie von Athen*, 1st ed., Munich 1905, p. 100, note 4; Judeich², p. 105, note 5.

[32] "Der Parthenonfries und die Werkstatt des panathenaischen Peplos," *ÖJh* 15, 1912, pp. 30–35.

[33] Noted and measured by J. Travlos. The diminution is 10 cm. from bottom to top.

[34] *IG* II², 5201, above, p. 10; Pl. 15:c.

[35] Made by Robert Sinclair.

[36] M. N. Tod, "Sidelights on Greek Philosophers," *JHS* 77, 1957, p. 139.

[37] *Ibid.*, p. 137.

historians.[38] But all this must remain speculative. What seems to be certain is that the three inscriptions, on blocks taken from an earlier structure, were used in some way in one building devoted to intellectual pursuits.

Building Activity of Herculius

Some ten or twelve years after the rebuilding of the "Diogeneion", what was apparently a concerted and intensive building operation was launched in Athens, probably by Herculius, Prefect of Illyricum from 408 to 410.[39]

The key to the action, both in the Agora and elsewhere in the city, and to its initiator is probably to be found in the Library of Hadrian. The Library had evidently been out of use since the Herulian attack, when much of the inner colonnade was destroyed. It was reconstructed in Late Antiquity, as shown by several bases in the east colonnade, carved in crude imitation of their fine Hadrianic predecessors.[40] An inscription carved high on the wall of the porch of the main (west) entrance, to the left of the doorway, leaves little doubt of the identity of the sponsor of the reconstruction. This is a dedication of a statue of Herculius by Plutarch, who signs himself a sophist (Pl. 47:c)

τὸν θεσμῶν ταμίην ῾Ερκούλιον ἁγνὸν ὕπαρχον
Πλούταρχος μύθων ταμίης ἔστησε σοφιστής.[41]

The height at which the inscription is set indicates a statue of over life size. In its prominent position beside the main entrance it would have been conspicuous to every visitor to the library.

The appearance of Plutarch, a sophist, in the epigram raises some questions. Three Plutarchs achieved distinction of various sorts in Athens at this time; or else one man (or perhaps two) acquired fame for three different reasons. The three (if there were three) had most of their known characteristics in common. They were at least near contemporaries, devoted to intellectual pursuits, and pagan. Probably all were wealthy. The most famous of the three was the founder of the Neoplatonic School in Athens, who died *ca.* 432.[42] Another was the donor of the statue of Herculius, and a third, very probably the same man, was honored by the city of Athens for three times defraying the cost of the sacred ship at the Panathenaia (Pl. 47:e).

Δῆμος [᾿Ε]ρεχθῆος βασιλῆ[α] λόγων ἀνέθηκεν
Πλοῦταρχον σταθερῆς ἕρμα σαοφροσύνης
ὃς καὶ τρὶς ποτὶ νηὸν ᾿Αθηναίης ἐπέλασσεν
ναῦν ἐλάσας ἱερήν, πλοῦτον ὅλον προχέας.[43]

The question is, can the last two be equated with the founder of the Neoplatonic School?[44] The donor of the statue describes himself as a sophist. Although even in classical times the terms

[38] G. Manganaro, "Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenium e il P. Oxy. 1241," *La parola del passato* 29, 1974, pp. 389–409; also *idem* in A. Alföldi, *Römische Frühgeschichte*, Heidelberg 1976, pp. 83–96, pls. I–IV. I am grateful to J. F. Gilliam for these references.

[39] These dates are secure. References in *PLRE* II to the *Codex Theodosianus* may extend the span to 407–412.

[40] Some of the replacements have long been visible (cf. Frantz [footnote 33 above, p. 5], pl. 91). More recently new evidence in the form of more bases and other architectural fragments has been uncovered during excavations on the south side of the Library (H. W. Catling, *JHS Archaeological Reports* 1983–1984, pp. 8–9).

[41] *IG* II^2, 4224. I am grateful to Glen Bowersock for illuminating comments on this question and for the interpretation offered here.

[42] *PLRE* I, Plutarchus 5 (and II, Plutarchus 1).

[43] *IG* II^2, 3818, carved on the back of *IG* II^2, 3692 (Pl. 47:d). (The epsilon and alpha in line 1, bracketed in *IG*, are clearly visible in the photograph.) Both men are regarded as the same individual in *PLRE* II, Plutarchus 2.

[44] As by Wilamowitz *ap.* G. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, Berlin 1878, p. 376.

philosopher, sophist, and rhetor were not always mutually exclusive,[45] most commentators now reject a common identity on the ground that a philosopher would not style himself a sophist.[46] The essence of the epigram, however, is a subtle comparison of the dual and contrasting roles of both honorand, "steward of laws and gentle administrator", and donor, "steward of myths" (with overtones of Platonic philosophy) *and* "sophist". The benefactor of the Panathenaia is honored as "king of *logoi*" (**βασιλεὺς λόγων**), presumably sophist, but not incompatible with "philosopher".

The intractability of **φιλόσοφος** in elegiac or hexameter verse as an argument for allowing more flexibility to **σοφιστής**[47] would have much weight in earlier times but less in the less careful 5th century. At any rate, it might be a factor against excluding Plutarch the Neoplatonist as the sophist who honored Herculius.

The field is limited to some extent by the one fixed chronological point, 407–412 (the outer limits of Herculius' term of office) or thereabout, for the erection of the statue. The donor must have been a man of considerable wealth, distinction, and influence for such a conspicuous gesture, especially if, as is generally agreed, he was also responsible for three times mounting the Panathenaic procession. Plutarch the Neoplatonist at age about sixty fits all these specifications. No sophists of the same name are known. Among the few Plutarchs listed in *PLRE* for the appropriate time only the otherwise unknown father of the philosopher Hierius has been suggested, but he is mentioned by Damascius only in a context of philosophers (*Vita Isidori* 88 [*Epitoma Photiana*] + Frag. 289), and so his claim is no more valid than that of the famous Plutarch. Lacking further evidence the problem may never be solved definitely, and the question remains open.[48]

Incidentally, the impression of Herculius as a man of letters (and also a pagan) is strengthened by a statue base bearing the dedication of another statue of Herculius by another sophist, Apronianus (Pl. 47:f), this one on the Acropolis, beside the statue of Athena Promachos.[49]

At about the same time as the rehabilitation of the Library of Hadrian, the center of the Agora, which had escaped the modest beginnings of reconstruction on the west side, was finally cleared of the most obstructive of the Herulian debris. Here an imposing complex was erected over the

[45] For a number of examples see Tod (footnote 36 above, p. 62), p. 138, note 93. An outstanding example in the 4th century is the philosopher-sophist Themistius (*PLRE* I, Themistius 1). For the possibility that even Syrianus, in his commentary on Hermogenes, referred to himself as a sophist, see *RE* IV A, col. 1732. On the intricacies of the distinctions between sophist, rhetor, and philosopher, see G. W. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, pp. 10–16. See also G. Fowden, "The Pagan Holy Man in Late Antique Society," *JHS* 102, 1982, pp. 43–45.

[46] E.g., Robert (footnote 38 above, p. 6), pp. 73, 95; Saffrey and Westerink, p. xxx; Millar, "Dexippus," p. 17 and note 64. *PLRE* follows Robert and Saffrey-Westerink and gives him a separate identity.

[47] Observed by Tod ([footnote 36 above, p. 62] as in his note 127, p. 141).

[48] A suggestion made by W. Peek ("Zwei Gedichte auf den Neuplatoniker Plutarch," *ZPE* 13, 1974, pp. 202–204) that the Neoplatonist, or at least another philosopher of the same name, appears on an inscription in the Epigraphical Museum, no. 4713, must be rejected. The drawing accompanying that article shows that the proper name is restored. (Cf. the photograph of the fragment in M. Mitsos, «Ἀπὸ τοὺς καταλόγους Ἀθηναίων Ἐφήβων», Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1971, pl. 7.) This was pointed out to me by G. W. Bowersock. For another Plutarch "Praeses Insularum", see A. Chaniotis, "Plutarchos, Praeses Insularum," *ZPE* 68, 1987, pp. 227–231. But he presumably would not qualify.

[49] *IG* II^2, 4225.

[τ]ὸν πρόμαχον θεσμῶν Ἑ[ρκ]ούλιο[ν ἶσο]ν ἅπασιν
ἑζόμενον θώκων [ὑ]ψόθεν α[ἰπ]υτάτων
[δ]εινὸς Ἀθηνάων Ἀπρωνιανός σε σοφ[ισ]τής
[σ]τῆσε παρὰ Προμάχῳ Παλλάδι Κεκροπί[ης].

Cf. A. Frantz, "Herculius in Athens: Pagan or Christian?" *Akten d. VII Int. Kongr. f. Christl. Arch. Trier, 5.–11. Sept. 1965*, Vatican 1969, pp. 527–530. Groag (*Achaia*, p. 73) suggests that Apronianus, unknown except for this epigram, may have been the predecessor of Leontius in the chair of sophistic in Athens.

foundations of the Odeion of Agrippa and adjacent buildings to the south. Formerly known as the "Gymnasium of the Giants", it will henceforth be referred to as the "Palace of the Giants".[50]

Conclusive evidence for the construction of the Palace between about 410 and 425 was provided by pottery and coins.[51] Considering its proximity to the Library of Hadrian, it is perhaps not stretching a point to suggest that Herculius might be credited with this establishment as well.[52]

Probably to be connected with the Palace is a statue found built into a modern wall not far from the entrance (Pl. 66:b). The statue is slightly over life size, weighing about half a ton, and so it had probably not strayed far from its place of origin. The costume, the *toga trabeata*, betokens an official of high rank.[53]

In considering the setting of the Palace complex, notice should be taken of a series of statues, probably made for the Odeion of Agrippa in its Antonine phase and salvaged from the ruins to adorn the environment of its successor. Three were seated figures, one recognizable as Epicurus, which may have originally occupied three bases in front of the entrance to the Odeion.[54] Seven more are of a single type, a standing figure wearing a himation.[55] Five of the seven were found in a straggling row just opposite the east wall of the great court of the Palace and more or less coinciding with its length. The other two were found in fragments near by. Their position makes it probable that all seven had stood against the aqueduct of the late 5th century on the other side of the Panathenaic Way.[56] Since the aqueduct is some sixty years later than the Palace it seems probable that during those sixty years the statues were more closely related to the Palace and were later shifted to their final position, perhaps to mask the utilitarian aqueduct where it rose above ground level.

A similar situation might be observed in a series of five seated figures discovered outside the city wall, northwest of the Dipylon Gate. Four were found in 1968 built into a Late Roman wall; the fifth, discovered in 1963, was in a Late Roman building close by.[57] Although headless, two are identified as Epicurus himself, one as possibly the Epicurean philosopher Colotes; the other two are unidentified philosophers. In the vicinity are the foundations of a Late Roman building. This leads to the speculation that here might have been the "Garden of Epicurus" in a 2nd-century rebuilding prompted by the encouragement of Hadrian and his mother Plotina, which gave rise to a strong revival of Epicureanism.[58] Opinion is divided on the location of the Garden, whether within or outside the walls. Dontas, relying on Cicero's description (*de fin.*, 5.1–3) favors a location outside the walls. R. E. Wycherley, on the basis of a passage in Pliny, the other major literary source

[50] For the reasons, and a detailed description of the building, see Chapter V.

[51] Including 41 coins of which 14 (the latest) were struck in the decade 383–392 (reigns of Theodosius I and Arcadius), found in a lime-slaking pit obviously used in the construction of the building. John H. Kroll was kind enough to examine the coins in detail and concluded that all had been in circulation for more than a decade and that they had been thrown into the pit "somewhat after 400, certainly in the first quarter of the 5th century." An adjacent pit produced 24 coins of which the latest were 9 of Theodosius II and 2 of Arcadius, also struck in the decade 383–392. For the pottery, see Thompson, "Odeion," p. 134.

[52] It should be noted that Herculius' benefactions were not limited to Athens. He was honored by the people of Megara for the gift of an aqueduct, presumably to replace one destroyed by Alaric (*IG* VII, 93).

[53] S 657. For a fuller description of the statue and its significance, with references, see below, p. 113.

[54] S 826, S 930, S 1304. Thompson, "Odeion," pp. 124–125. S 1304 is represented only by a fragment of the chair.

[55] *Agora* I, nos. 57–63.

[56] *Agora* I, pp. 74–75 (note by H. A. Thompson).

[57] G. Dontas, «Εἰκονιστικὰ Β'», Δελτ 26, 1971, Α' (1973), pp. 16–33, where the statues themselves and the significance of their finding place are studied in detail.

[58] Cf. *ILS* 7784 (= *SEG* III, 834) and J. H. Oliver, "An Inscription Concerning the Epicurean School at Athens," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 69, 1938, pp. 494–499.

(*NH* XIX.50–51), referring to the Garden as *in ipsa urbe*, would place it within the walls.[59] Dontas counters with the suggestion that in view of the crowded conditions within the walls Epicurus' own house, with a very small garden, might have been inside, while the actual Garden was outside. The archaeological evidence seems to favor Cicero's account.[60] Dontas notes that when a series of portraits occurs it denotes either a public building, e.g., library, gymnasium, odeion, etc., or else a private house of exceptional importance. The statues from the Odeion might well fall into this same category.

A footnote to this monumental undertaking may perhaps be read in an event mentioned in a single sentence in Olympiodorus' *History*, when the Athenians, confronted with the need to understand the method of transcribing books according to the **κῶλον**, awarded a statue, or at any rate a herm or even a painted portrait (**εἰκόνα**), to Philtatius, a friend of the author and a grammarian, who was able to explain it to them.[61] A crisis that could provoke such a need could seem only to have been some large-scale reorganization of libraries. The year was 416/7. Once the reconstruction of the Library of Hadrian was finished, replenishment of the books, which must have suffered just as much as the building, would have been an immediate necessity. This would have provided an occasion to modernize them by transcribing the new copies according to the **κῶλον**, a system that had fallen into disuse but had recently been reintroduced. It is quite possible that this was the direct outcome of the wave of renovation, of whatever sponsorship, that took place in the first quarter of the 5th century, and that the sponsor, Herculius or another, was personally responsible for seeing that the books were replenished as well.[62]

Another building, closely related to the Palace in location and date, was possibly part of Herculius' general scheme: a large structure, about twenty-five meters square, not far from the northeast corner of the Palace (below, p. 109). Its plan is uncertain in some details, as is also its purpose, but the regularity of the plan and the scale of the "Square Building" are more in keeping with some public edifice than a private house, and its location makes its public character almost certain. It is not improbable that it was connected in some way with the Palace.

In contrast to the often nebulous and almost always imprecise dating attending building activities in Athens in Late Antiquity, the sharp focus of the elements of this building program of the first quarter of the 5th century is refreshing and significant.[63]

Of the area between the Greek and Roman Agoras, just inside the Post-Herulian Wall, only a small part has been excavated up to the time of writing (1988). A large building of the 2nd century behind the Stoa of Attalos, its north side aligned with the ancient street, was reclaimed, probably in the early 5th century (Pls. 6, 48:a). But it was in a curtailed form, since the Post-Herulian Wall overran its northeast corner. Some bits of mosaic similar to that in the revived Metroön have appeared, but most of the building lies under the scarp forming the present limit of the Agora Excavations in that particular area. Its continuation, however, has been picked up farther east, on the site of the Church of St. Thomas.[64]

[59] "The Garden of Epicurus," *Phoenix* 13, 1959, pp. 73–77.

[60] Most recently, M. L. Clarke ("The Garden of Epicurus," *Phoenix* 27, 1973, pp. 386–387) chooses a location outside the walls because of an episode in Heliodorus, *Aethiopica* I.16.5, which may be more entertaining than accurate.

[61] Olympiodorus, frag. 32 Dindorf.

[62] For a fuller discussion, see Frantz (footnote 33 above, p. 5), pp. 377–380. A precedent for including the books with the building will be recalled when, some centuries earlier, Pantainos presented the city with "a library with the books" (*τὴν βιβλιοθήκην μετὰ τῶν βιβλίων*); *Agora* XIV, p. 115.

[63] For the possibility that the rebuilding of the Parthenon was the crowning feature of Herculius' program, see Frantz, "Julian," pp. 395–401.

[64] P. Lazaridis, *Δελτ* 26, 1971, B' 1 (1974), p. 63 and fig. 1.

On the south side of the east–west street leading from the Pyrgiotissa Gate to the gateway to the Roman Market the excavation carried out so far has yielded results of considerable importance for the history of the city in Late Antiquity. Here a grandiose marble-paved and colonnaded street (Pl. 70) was laid out about the time of Trajan as an approach to the Roman Market (the Broad Street).[65] But Herulian damage was severe, and the colonnade on the south side of the street (the only side so far uncovered) was totally destroyed. The Library of Pantainos too was left in ruins. A section of the Post-Herulian Wall was built over the western part of the colonnade, using as construction material many blocks from the Library, including the dedicatory inscription.[66] The rest was left to the mercy of looters.

No attempt was made to clean up the debris until the first quarter of the 5th century, when the stoa of the Broad Street was rebuilt for its entire length, using columns of miscellaneous character and sizes to replace those that had been destroyed or carried away. One section of the colonnade was used to form the principal façade of a large, apparently public building (Pl. 50:a), the main part of which had as its ground level the high terrace behind, to the south. The chief feature of the *piano nobile* was a large room with an apse at the end, set off by a pair of columns. At the opposite end was a square peristyle and on the sides a group of smaller rooms (Pls. 48:b, 49). The scale of the building and its interior arrangements are suitable to an audience hall, perhaps for the praetorian prefect or the proconsul. The rebuilt colonnade at the lower level, with its three lavishly appointed rooms with marble-revetted walls and niches for sculpture (Pl. 50:b), would make an appropriate formal entrance and waiting room where a visitor might be received before going up to an audience with some high official. At present no trace of a staircase has been found, but there seems a likelihood that a wooden one led up from one of the smaller rooms on the north side (Room G). The building extended up to the end of the Broad Street at its intersection with a narrower street entering from the north. A very modest latrine was built against the outer wall of the stoa at this point (Pl. 21:e).[67]

A date of construction *ca.* 420 was determined on the evidence of a considerable amount of pottery and, in a footing trench for one of the walls, a coin of Theodosius I, minted between 383 and 395 but worn to such an extent that it must have been in circulation for about a generation. Five identical coins were later found in the same trench, along with one each of Theodosius I and Arcadius, both struck in 383.

A drain of the 2nd century along the south side of the apsidal building showed the course of the street on the upper terrace, which remained in use in the 5th century, even though by that time it came to an abrupt end at the Post-Herulian Wall.[68] Across the street are the remains of a bath of the Late Roman period, most of which lies under the modern houses just beyond the present excavation zone. This raises the possibility that other structures might have been erected on the terrace in connection with the apsidal building that was obviously the central element in the program.

Soon after the departure of Herculius from office the construction of large secular buildings seems to have tapered off or ceased utterly, so far as present evidence permits a judgment. Lack of motive and withdrawal of funds may have been partly responsible;[69] the mounting threat from

[65] *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 389–391 (Shear, Jr.). The west end of the street on the north side and some of the marble paving were exposed by Greek excavators in 1898–1899 (Πρακτικά 1899, pl. II), when it was misidentified first as a Roman villa and later as a latrine.

[66] *Agora* XIV, pp. 114–115; *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 385–395 and 44, 1975, pp. 332–345 (Shear, Jr.).

[67] *Hesperia* 44, 1975, pp. 332–343, figs. 1–3, pl. 78 (Shear, Jr.). For the later history of the building and the stoa, see below and *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 395–398 (Shear, Jr.).

[68] *Hesperia* 44, 1975, p. 337 (Shear, Jr.).

[69] Even the Palace of the Giants was not completely finished; the floor of the great court was evidently prepared for mosaic, which was never laid (see below, pp. 105–106).

various barbarian tribes, who were making increasingly frequent assaults on Greece both by land and by sea, may have played an important part as well.[70] Later works tended more toward the utilitarian, such as water mills and aqueducts, also the ecclesiastical.[71] Private building, on the other hand, seems to have continued through much of the 5th century, at least the third quarter, sometimes on a fairly grand scale. The remains are fragmentary, often consisting of only as much as was discovered in a single building lot during modern construction, and usually covered up or destroyed promptly. The most important of these are in the southern and eastern sections of the city, a favored residential district for the affluent in Imperial times. Many, perhaps the majority, are reconstructions of earlier buildings, usually of the 2nd century, an exception being a large new villa in the National Gardens with mosaic floors of about the middle of the 5th century.[72] Of the others, most are baths, some, at least, connected with gymnasia or similar establishments. The most important examples are the following:

1) Part of a nymphaeum at the corner of Nike and Apollo Streets (Spiro 22). Described in detail by I. Threpsiades in «Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἔπαυλις ἐν Ἀθηναῖς», Πολέμων 5, 1952/3, pp. 126–141. Probably belongs with a bath (Travlos, *PDA*, *s.v.* Balaneia, Bath M, p. 181), discovered in 1921 (B. Schweitzer, *AA* [*JdI* 37] 1922, p. 258).

2) A large bath destroyed when the Zappeion was built, leaving no traces. Reported to have had a mosaic floor resembling one in the villa in the National Gardens. Perhaps part of a gymnasium (Spiro 21; Travlos, *ibid.*, Bath K).

Two baths were found by chance in the northwestern part of the ancient city:

3) Euripides Street (Spiro 24; Travlos, *ibid.*, Bath R; M. Chatzidakis, Δελτ 22, 1967, Β′ 1 [1968], p. 18). The mosaic is now displayed in the courtyard of the Byzantine Museum.

4) Sarre Street, north of the Hephaisteion and northeast of the Kerameikos. No mosaic. Two coins of the second half of the 4th century were found in it (Δελτ 20, 1965, Β′ 1 [1967], pp. 49–51; Travlos, *ibid.*, Bath S).

The Rise of the Christian City

The pagan momentum carried almost unchecked through the first half of the 5th century. The willingness of the city officials to seek the counsel of Proclus argues for a pagan-oriented society, at least at the upper level. The Christian population was undoubtedly growing, but it is represented only by semiliterate gravestones[73] and Christian symbols on lamps and pottery.

It is not to be supposed that there was a sharp line of demarcation between pagans and Christians in general. Opportunism and expediency undoubtedly played a part in many conversions, as in the case of Theagenes, archon and close associate of Neoplatonists in the 480's.[74] Potters and

[70] Cf. Lemerle (footnote 213 above, p. 51), pp. 297 ff. For a convenient summary of the activities of some of these tribes, see A. A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204*, Paris 1951, pp. 14–17, and below, pp. 78–79. An edict of 424 (*CTh* XVI.5.4), addressed to the Prefect of Illyricum, exempted the people of Delphi, on account of "new kinds of losses" from exhibiting "the usual spectacles to the people of the Eternal City" (trans. Pharr). Might this reflect a similar situation in Athens?

[71] Below, pp. 79–82.

[72] Discovered and partially excavated in 1846. Description and illustrations of the mosaics in Spiro, *Corpus* I, Attica, nos. 14–20.

[73] For a selection of these, see C. Bayet, *De titulis Atticae Christianae antiquissimis*, Paris 1878 and J. S. Creaghan and A. E. Raubitschek, "Early Christian Epitaphs from Athens," *Hesperia* 16, 1947, pp. 1–54. It is unfortunately impossible to fix the limits of their dates more closely than from the middle of the 4th century to sometime in the 7th.

[74] Damascius, *Vita Isidori*, frag. 4, 258 (Zintzen, p. 209; Asmus, p. 93); Frantz, *DOP*, p. 197, note 60.

lampmakers catered to both factions, with the same shops offering a choice of Christian symbols and pagan scenes,[75] and pagans and Christians were buried in the same cemeteries.[76]

The Church itself has left little record of this period. For the 5th century the names of only three bishops are known, and these only for having attended church councils: Modestus, Ephesus in 431; Athanasius I, Corinth in 458; and Anatolius, Constantinople in 459. A fourth, Clematius, is known only from his tombstone of uncertain date, found in the area of a Christian basilica near Lykabettos.[77]

Legislation for the Establishment of Christianity

The legislation for the suppression of paganism when taken as a whole shows that the main preoccupation of the Imperial government was neither with doctrine, nor with the temples and their contents, but with sacrifices. Between 345 and 435 sixteen decrees were issued on this subject, far more detailed, explicit, and intemperate in language than those dealing with the buildings, with appropriate sentences prescribed for different types of violation.[78] Frequent reiteration raises serious doubts about the efficacy of the laws. Their impotence is in fact often demonstrated by the phraseology: ". . . this regulation has been very often decreed by repeated sanctions" (on the issue of cult images);[79] also on the extinction of pagans: "the regulations of constitutions formerly promulgated shall suppress any pagans who survive, although We now believe that there are none" (April, 423), but "proscription . . . and exile shall restrain the pagans who survive" (June, 423);[80] and on the same day "Christians . . . shall not . . . dare to lay violent hands on Jews and pagans who are living quietly and attempting nothing disorderly or contrary to law."[81] Finally, in 438, three years after the order for the destruction of the temples, came a wordy, sometimes incoherent diatribe by Theodosius II demanding "watchfulness over the pagans" and their "heathen enormities", "stubborn insolence", and open contempt of the laws in spite of the heavy penalties prescribed. "If they cannot be reformed, at least they might learn to abstain from their mass of crimes and from the corruption of their sacrifices."[82]

The actual status of the temples of Athens up to the end of the 5th century is obscure. One fact alone is clear, namely that the blanket call for destruction of all the temples by Theodosius II in 435 had little effect, as demonstrated by the continued existence of all the major temples of Athens.[83] Edicts both before and after Theodosius show varying attitudes toward the buildings themselves. One, issued in 399, orders that the "temples in the country districts . . . shall be torn down,"[84] but

[75] E.g., the lampmaker Χιόνη, whose shop flourished in the last quarter of the 5th century (*Agora* VII, pp. 55–56). For a similar tendency in the West, but on a higher level, cf. E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making*, Cambridge, Mass. 1977, pp. 34–35. The humbler Athenian wares were designed simply to please all customers.

[76] Representing the longest span of continuous use is a cemetery discovered in 1972 south of the Olympieion. It contained 42 graves, very close together, with offerings ranging in date from the Geometric period to the 7th century after Christ (Δελτ 28, 1973, B′ 1 [1977], p. 32, no. 13 and pls. 21–25). Another, between the Theater of Dionysos and the Odeion of Pericles (and extending over its ruins), was in use from the time of the Herulian invasion through Late Antiquity (Πρακτικά 1876, p. 21 and 1931, pp. 28–30).

[77] EMME I, p. 21 for the list; p. 56, fig. 43 for Clematius' tombstone.

[78] *CTh* XVI.10.2, 4–11, 13, 15, 18, 20, 23, 25; and esp. 10.12.

[79] *CTh* XVI.10.19. Translations are from Pharr.

[80] *CTh* XVI.10.22–23.

[81] *CTh* XVI.10.24.

[82] *Novels of Theodosius* III.8.

[83] Frantz, *DOP*.

[84] *CTh* XVI.10.16.

four, issued by the same emperors (Arcadius and Honorius), decree that the temples should *not* be destroyed, adding (in two decrees) that they should be turned to public use.[85] Finally, 23 years after the supposedly final order for destruction, a lengthy edict of Leo and Majorian provided for the preservation and protection against cannibalization of "all the buildings that have been founded by the ancients as temples and as other monuments."[86] Only one decree calls for the closing of the temples,[87] although this may be implicit in others specifying that they be turned to public use; and three more prohibit the approach to or entrance into any temple.[88] An interesting exception to the one existing edict on the removal of cult images may be noted in a decree issued in 382 by Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius I,[89] providing that "the temple shall continually be open . . . in which images are reported to have been placed which must be measured by the value of their art rather than by their divinity." All celebrations and festivities are to be preserved, and the temple is to be open "in such a way that the performance of sacrifices forbidden therein may not be supposed to be permitted under the pretext of such access to the temple." Although this edict was addressed to Palladius, Duke of Osrhoene and so probably referred specifically to the temple at Edessa, a city of Osrhoene,[90] officials in other cities, not least in Athens, would have been quick to exploit the loophole.

Closing of Temples

It is likely that only after Christianity was firmly established and accepted by the majority of the population were the major temples of Athens converted into churches.[91] A period of transition seems to have intervened, during which the temples were perhaps officially closed but actually accessible in an inconspicuous way. Before the end of the 5th century probably all the cult statues had been removed. This phase by its very nature leaves no archaeological evidence, but a chapter in Marinus' *Vita Procli* sheds some light.[92] This is the description of Proclus' healing of Asclepigeneia by his prayers in the temple of Asklepios. While he was praying, the girl's condition suddenly took a turn for the better, and when he finished he walked over to her and saw that she was completely restored to health. Such an act, the biographer continues, was performed "escaping the notice of most people, and providing no pretext for those wishing to plot against him."[93] The incident has been used to support the theory that all temples were closed, that such prayers as were offered in them had to be in the greatest secrecy, and even that Proclus was denied entrance to the Parthenon. The first two suppositions are mutually exclusive. If the temple of Asklepios was closed, then the event could not have taken place at all, no matter how secretly. All the passage shows is that the deed was performed unostentatiously. Its spectacular nature (*θαῦμα γὰρ ὄντως καὶ ἀκοῦσαι*) is intensified by the attribution of godlike powers to the doer (*ῥεῖα γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ, ὥστε θεὸς, ἰᾶτο*), all of which, in the minds of ill-intentioned persons, would amount to magic, one of the greatest crimes

[85] *CTh* xvi.10.3, 15, 18, 19.

[86] *Novels of Majorian* iv.1.

[87] *CTh* xvi.10.4.

[88] *CTh* xvi.10.10, 11, 13.

[89] *CTh* xvi.10.8.

[90] Pharr, p. 473, note 17 to *CTh* xvi.10.8.

[91] Frantz, *DOP*.

[92] *Vita Procli*, 29.

[93] *Εὐχομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀρχαιότερον τρόπον, ἀθρόα μεταβολὴ περὶ τὴν κόρην ἐφαίνετο καὶ ῥαστώνη ἐξαίφνης ἐγίγνετο· ῥεῖα γὰρ ὁ σωτὴρ, ὥστε θεὸς, ἰᾶτο. συμπληρωθέντων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν, πρὸς τὴν Ἀσκληπιγένειαν ἐβάδιζε καὶ κατελάμβανεν αὐτὴν ἄρτι μὲν τῶν περιεστώτων τὸ σῶμα λελυμένην παθῶν, ἐν ὑγιεινῇ δὲ καταστάσει διάγουσαν. καὶ τοιοῦτον ἔργον διεπράξατο οὐκ ἄλλως ἢ κἀνταῦθα τοὺς πολλοὺς λανθάνων καὶ οὐδεμίαν πρόφασιν τοῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν ἐθέλουσι παρασχών.*

in the eyes of the Christians. That might have been the reason for avoiding publicity. And the aorist (*διεπράξατο*) implies that this was an occasional, not habitual occurrence. The edicts quoted above give the impression that the pagans, provided that they abstained from sacrificing, went about their business in comparative freedom.

At the time of Proclus' "miracle" the temple of Asklepios was intact, with its contents, as Marinus says at the beginning of his account.[94] But by the time he wrote, the year after Proclus' death, the statue must have been removed.

The Athena Parthenos is the only other cult statue known specifically to have been removed, as described in the next chapter of the *Vita Procli*; this within Proclus' lifetime.[95] Within the time limits of Proclus' return from Lydia after 450 and his death in 485 it is hard to be more precise about the date. It seems likely that the events described were part of a general, though unofficial program and that both took place later rather than earlier in that period, for it would be hard to reconcile Marinus' statement that Proclus enjoyed his house because of its proximity to the Temple and Theater of Dionysos and the Temple of Asklepios[96] with the presence of buildings, especially revered by him, that had been stripped of all their significance. The result, coming after all the fruitless edicts for the suppression of paganism, was probably brought about by the inexorable force of Christianity which finally made its way up into the highest and most powerful levels of society.

Conversion of Secular Buildings

The building commonly known as the Agoranomeion in the Roman Market may possibly have been one of the the first ancient monuments in Athens to be converted into a church, but without architectural change.[97] The evidence is meager—only a few Christian symbols carved on the walls. But taken in conjunction with the adjacent building, the Tower of the Winds, or Horologium of Cyrrhestes, it becomes more plausible. The earliest known reference to the Horologium as a church is found in the 15th-century description by the Anonymous of the Ambrosian Library: "al presente è una chiesa dei greci et è opera molto degna, tutta di marmoro."[98] Two Maltese crosses carved on the jambs of the doorway, however, show that it had served some Christian purpose much earlier.[99] Its octagonal plan and convenient location have given rise to the belief that here was a baptistery for the church(?) in the Agoranomeion.[100] The fact that the Tower of the Winds was already equipped with an elaborate water system for the clockworks would have been an added inducement, and since both were secular buildings, the Christians might have been less hesitant to claim them before they achieved complete supremacy in the city.

It might be that a church in the Agoranomeion and the 7th-century basilica (below, p. 73) under the Fetiye Djami are related chronologically, the Agoranomeion serving briefly as a church before the construction of the basilica. If such were the case, the conversion of the Horologium perhaps took place between these two events, as the area gained a more formal place in the Christian city. In

[94] *καὶ γὰρ ηὐτύχει ἡ πόλις τότε καὶ εἶχεν ἔτι ἀπόρθητον τὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος ἱερόν*. For the interpretation of "*ἀπόρθητον*" as "undespoiled", i.e., with the cult statue still in place, rather than that the temple was undestroyed, see Frantz, *DOP*.

[95] Above, p. 58.

[96] *Vita Procli*, 29.

[97] Δελτ 27, 1972, B' 1 (1976), pp. 17–21.

[98] E. Ziebarth, "Ein griechischer Reisebericht des XV. Jahrhunderts," *AM* 24, 1899, p. 77.

[99] See H. S. Robinson, "The Tower of the Winds and the Roman Market-Place," *AJA* 47, 1943, p. 291, note 1.

[100] First suggested by A. Orlandos, 'Αρχ 'Εφ 1964, *Παράρτημα*, pp. 58–59, figs. 110–112. Cf. also D. B. Small, "A Proposal for the Reuse of the Tower of the Winds," *AJA* 84, 1980, pp. 96–99. For both buildings see Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, p. 139; *idem*, «*Χριστιανικαὶ* 'Αθῆναι», *Θρησκευτικὴ καὶ 'Ηθικὴ 'Εγκυκλοπαιδεία*, Athens 1962, pp. 726–727.

keeping with this theory is the form of the Maltese crosses in circles, a late but still Early Christian form.[101] The presence of a number of Christian gravestones in the vicinity also suggests a conversion of the two buildings in the Early Christian period, but there is little to distinguish in these between the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries, as is also the case in the graffiti of a bird, a cross monogram, and a fish on one of the columns.[102]

First Christian Churches

The earliest Christians in Athens left no trace of their places of worship. Very likely, as elsewhere, they confined themselves to private houses, perhaps even through the 4th century. Repeated decrees aimed at enforcing the laws against paganism were widely ignored in Athens, even such seemingly iron-clad statutes as the Edict of Theodosius II in 435, calling for the destruction of all temples.[103] The continued existence of the major temples of Athens as well as in many other parts of Greece is testimony to the impotence of the laws. Even official recognition of the helplessness of the Imperial government, at least for some parts of the Empire, is implicit in the clause entrusting the implementation to "the local magistrates", who were surely, in the case of Athens, pagans.[104]

But the mounting pressure from Christianity became acutely perceptible toward the middle of the 5th century. The truce which seems to have prevailed between the two factions became progressively more tenuous as the century neared its end. The Christian population was undoubtedly growing, and it is obvious that it was no longer confined to the indigent. We have seen that Proclus was seriously, if only temporarily, inconvenienced by being obliged to leave Athens for a year.

A substantial number of churches must have been built in the 5th and 6th centuries, to judge by the abundant examples of carved architectural ornament found in the city, only a few, however, in their original context.[105] The places of worship in the 5th, 6th, and 7th centuries fall into two categories: 1) totally new structures, usually basilicas, and 2) temples and other ancient monuments converted into churches, with or without structural remodeling. The churches of category 2 tend to be later than those of category 1 and will be discussed in Chapter VI.[106]

More recent investigations have necessitated a revision of previously published lists,[107] with the elimination of some churches for which no satisfactory evidence of their existence remains or which are now seen to be too late to qualify for inclusion in the present volume.

Probably the earliest of the new churches in Athens was the tetraconch in the courtyard of the Library of Hadrian (Pl. 51). A long controversy as to whether it was originally a secular or ecclesiastical building was finally settled in 1980 when John Travlos discovered the beginning of a narthex well bonded into the masonry of the main building.[108] The previously accepted date in the early 5th

[101] Orlandos, *op. cit.*, p. 59, fig. 112. Similar crosses can be seen on the doorway of the late, Christian, Hephaisteion.

[102] *Ibid.*, figs. 110 and 111.

[103] *CTh* XVI.10.25.

[104] This whole topic is discussed more fully in Frantz, *DOP*.

[105] Probably most of the basilicas, on the outskirts at any rate, were destroyed in the Slavic invasions of the late 6th century and later, leaving the ruins as a quarry for later builders. Many pieces, after successive uses all over town, may have ended up far from their places of origin. Most of these are now exhibited in the courtyard of the Byzantine Museum; others are in the Agora collection.

[106] Category 2 will also include churches built over the ruins of temples previously destroyed, e.g. the Asklepieion.

[107] E.g., Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, pp. 137–144 and «*Χριστιανικαὶ* Ἀ*θῆναι*», cols. 721–733 (footnote 100 above, p. 71).

[108] For the new identification, see J. Travlos, «Τὸ *τετράκονχο οἰκοδόμημα τῆς* Βι*βλιοθήκης τοῦ* Ἀ*δριανοῦ*», *Φίλια Ἔπη εἰς* Γ. Ε. *Μυλωνᾶν*, Athens 1986, I, pp. 343–347. The previous literature includes A. M. Sisson, "The Stoa of Hadrian at Athens," *Papers of the British School at Rome* 11, 1929, pp. 66–71; G. Sotiriou, «Αἱ *παλαιοχριστιανικαὶ βασιλικαὶ τῆς* Ἑλλάδος», Ἀρχ᾽Εφ 1929, pp. 173–175; Travlos (footnote 33 above, p. 5), pp. 41–63 and *PDA*, pp. 244–252.

century should now be revised in the light of recent progress in the dating of mosaics.[109] It now seems likely that the building was erected in the second quarter of the century. It might thus be the earliest of the churches built in Athens as the first tangible symbol of the triumph of Christianity in that city. In its complexity and sophistication surpassing all the basilicas in the city, it seems to reflect interest at an imperial level, whether or not the workmen themselves were imported. (The quality of the mosaics hardly measures up to Constantinopolitan standards.)[110] The church suffered heavily from fire, probably from the Slavs in 582, and was rebuilt as a three-aisled basilica, perhaps for the visit of Constans II in 662/3. Tradition makes this the first cathedral in Athens.

Next in chronological order of the known churches in Athens is probably the Basilica on the Ilissos, occupying a little island formed by two branches of the river, southeast of the Olympieion.[111] Kitzinger and Kolarik see here a slightly later development of some of the motifs occurring in both the tetraconch and the Ilissos basilica.

The southeastern quarter of the city, well away from the center of town, was especially favored as a location for the early churches.[112] In the vicinity of the Basilica on the Ilissos was another large, three-aisled church between the peribolos wall of the Temple of Olympian Zeus and an elaborate bath of the 2nd century; this last continued in use into the 7th century, probably in conjunction with the church, as a baptistery.[113] Another may be represented by the late construction over the floor of the large *caldarium* (with apsidal end) of a bath under the Church of the Soteira Lykodemou (the present Russian church on Philhellene Street).[114]

In 1963 the remains of a three-aisle basilica with three apses were uncovered in the Roman Agora. Only a small part of the east end is visible; the rest lies under the mosque, the Fetiye Djami.[115] From the shoddy character of the masonry and the quantity of re-used material, the church appears to date from the 7th century.

Of another basilica only the plan remains, published by A. Lenoir as "in Athens" but without specifying the locality.[116] Some churches for whose existence there is no evidence rest on such widely accepted tradition that they should be mentioned. The most persistent of these traditions is one which places a very early church of St. Philip on the site of the present church of the saint at the north edge of the Agora.[117] The sole source of the belief appears to be the Anonymous of Vienna, referring to the episode in the life of St. Philip in which he converted and baptized an Ethiopian eunuch (*Acts* 8, 26–40). But this incident which, according to the *Acts*, took place on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, has here been transferred to Athens, to a vague area northeast of the

[109] See R. Kolarik, footnote 179 above, p. 44.

[110] See Krautheimer, *Architecture*, pp. 126 and 241 for its resemblance to S. Lorenzo in Milan and the influence of Asia Minor on that church. Also, Deichmann, *Studien* (footnote 97 above, p. 27), p. 36.

[111] First published in full by Sotiriou (footnote 69 above, p. 23), pp. 1–31; *idem* (footnote 108 above, p. 72), pp. 208–210. Some revisions were made by M. Chatzidakis after further investigation, "Remarques sur la basilique de l'Ilissos," *Cahiers archéologiques* 5, 1951, pp. 61–74 and 6, 1952, p. 192. Brief publication by J.-P. Sodini, "Mosaïques paléochrétiennes de Grèce," *BCH* 94, 1970, p. 702.

[112] A previous suggestion (Travlos in E. P. Blegen, "News Items From Athens," *AJA* 50, 1946, pp. 373–374; Frantz, *DOP*, pp. 193–194) of clearly defined spheres of influence, with the pagans holding the center of town and the Christians on the outskirts, must be treated as a tendency, not a hard and fast demarcation.

[113] J. Travlos, «Ἀνασκαφικαὶ ἔρευναι παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον», Πρακτικά 1949, pp. 26–43; Travlos, *PDA*, p. 181 and figs. 238–244.

[114] K. S. Pittakis, Ἐφ Ἀρχ 1856, pp. 1449–1456, with plan; Travlos, *PDA*, p. 142.

[115] Δελτ 19, 1964, Β′ 1 (1966), p. 96; 20, 1965, Β′ 1 (1967), p. 22.

[116] *Architecture monastique*, Paris 1853–1856, I, p. 248, fig. 160, and republished by Sotiriou (footnote 69 above, p. 23), pp. 5–6.

[117] Travlos, Πολεοδομική, p. 142; A. Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae*, Leipzig 1868, p. 105, no. 125.

Hephaisteion.[118] It will be noted that there is no mention of a church in this account. A church of the 16th century on the site of the present church was seen in a dilapidated condition and drawn by Couchaud in 1842.[119] By 1866, when Mommsen saw it, it had been renovated. The possibility that an earlier church occupied the site was eliminated in 1963, when the present church was extensively remodeled and deep digging under the foundations revealed no earlier remains.

The tradition of a church on the north slope of the Areopagus in honor of St. Dionysios the Areopagite is less nebulous. The church whose remains are now visible, however, dates from the 16th century, and intensive excavation in and around it discovered no trace of a predecessor.[120]

DECLINE (A.D. 450–529)

Removal of Works of Art to Constantinople

Since the time of Sulla the art treasures of Athens had been a target for despoilers and collectors. The wholesale removal of statues to embellish Constantine's new capital was widely commented on from Late Antiquity through the Byzantine period. Lists occur of famous statues removed and important cities denuded, but rarely are the two in conjunction.[121]

There can be no doubt that vast numbers of statues were carried off to Constantinople, where they adorned palaces, fora, baths, the Hippodrome, etc., but attributions to Athens as a place of origin are rare, as indeed they are for most cities, and hard evidence is almost non-existent. In a few cases the only certain fact is that the information is wrong.

The Obelisk of Theodosius

To begin with the certainties of misinformation: "the monolith which stands there was broken off from the one standing in the Hippodrome. It was brought from Athens by Proclus in the time of Theodosius the Younger."[122] This is wrong on three counts: the date, the condition of the obelisk, which is intact, and the source. The only element of truth is that Proclus erected the obelisk, as stated in the inscription. But the context shows that it was Theodosius I, not II, who was responsible,[123] and the actual date is provided by the *Chronicle* of Count Marcellinus: "Valentiniano Aug. IV. et Neoterio coss . . . obeliscus in circo positus est" (A.D. 390).[124] Athens as a place of origin is excluded by the Emperor Julian's letter to the Alexandrians begging them to expedite the delivery of the obelisk which Constantius II had greatly desired for Constantinople, even to the point of

[118] The relevant passage (3 a) reads: *κατὰ ἄρκτον δὲ τούτου* (*sc.* "Theseum") *ὑπῆρχεν ἡ πρώτη ἀγορὰ τῆς πόλεως, εἰς ἣν ὁ ἀπόστολος Φίλιππος τὸν γραμματέα ἐβύθισεν*. The complete text of the Vienna Anonymous with annotation may be found in Wachsmuth, I, pp. 731–741.

[119] A. Couchaud, *Choix d'églises byzantines en Grèce*, Paris 1842, pl. 2. For the date, see Travlos and Frantz, "St. Dionysios," pp. 174–179.

[120] Travlos and Frantz, "St. Dionysios," p. 164.

[121] The fullest and most systematic, though not necessarily the most accurate, account is that of the pseudo-Kodinos, a corpus of tracts relating to the antiquities of Constantinople put together *ca.* 995. This forms Part II of the three-part Πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (= *Patria*), in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, T. Preger, ed., Leipzig 1901. The complicated question of the interrelationship of the *Patria* and other texts is the subject of a forthcoming work by Averil Cameron *et al.* I am indebted to Professor Cameron for a preliminary view of the material.

[122] *Περὶ τοῦ Στρατηγίου . . . τὸ δὲ* Μονόλιθον *τὸ ἱστάμενον ἐκεῖσε ἀπόκλασμα ἦν τοῦ ἱσταμένου εἰς τὸ* Ἱππικόν· *ἧκε δὲ ἀπὸ* Ἀθήνας *παρὰ* Πρόκλου *πατρικίου ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις τοῦ μικροῦ* Θεοδοσίου (*Patria* II, p. 183).

[123] R. Janin, *Constantinople byzantine*, 2nd ed., Paris 1964, pp. 189–191.

[124] *PL* LI, col. 919.

having a boat built for its transport.[125] Julian's plea, too, proved unavailing, and the project was accomplished only in 390. It is hardly likely that in the intervening 28 years the obelisk's course would have been interrupted by shipwreck and that the obelisk itself would have lain in Athens (or Piraeus) until it was rescued by Proclus. More probably the information is simply erroneous.[126]

"About the Elephants"

This is the heading in the *Patria* for a group of statues of elephants observed at the Porta Aurea by a number of travelers, but the *Patria* alone give "the Temple of Ares at Athens" as their provenience.[127] Cedrenus leaves open the question whether the elephants he saw (or reported on) were the same as those brought by Theodosius or only "like".[128] In the 9th century (880–890?) the Arab traveler Harun b. Jahja saw five elephants on the gate and a man standing beside them, holding the reins.[129] By the beginning of the 13th century the number of elephants had dwindled to two, as seen by Robert de Clari. He alone mentions that the statues were made of bronze.[130]

The difficulty of accepting Athens as the provenience of the elephants lies in the mention of the Temple of Ares. This had been in ruins since the Herulian invasion of 267, and in the time of Theodosius II it would have been completely buried under destruction debris and accumulation of silt. Whether its identity would still have been known after a century and a half of desolation is questionable.[131] If such a remarkable group had actually stood there in Pausanias' time one would have expected him to mention it. One possible reference to it might be found in the "statues of Egyptian kings" which "stood before the entrance of the theater which they call the Music Hall," all bearing the name of Ptolemy but each with his own surname: Philometor, Philadelphos, Soter.[132] Elephants would be appropriate in such a context, but the circumstances are against the probability of any connection.

An element of credibility enters with the statue of Constantine that stood on top of the porphyry column in the Forum of Constantine (the "Burnt Column"). The three existing descriptions provide a consistent image, using much of the same phraseology, for the basic information: the column stood in the open space of the forum (*περίβλεπτος*), and the statue was erected by Constantine "in his own name" (*εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ*), suggesting that it was re-used. In fact, the *Patria* state that it

[125] *'Οβελὸν εἶναι παρ' ὑμῖν ἀκούω λίθινον εἰς ὕψος ἱκανὸν ἐπηρμένον, ἐπὶ τῆς ἠιόνος ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἀτιμοτάτων ἐρριμμένον. 'Επὶ τοῦτον ἐναυπηγήσατο σκάφος ὁ μακαρίτης* Κωνστάντιος, *ὡς μετάξων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν πατρίδα* Κωνσταντίνου *πόλιν* (*Ep.* 59 [58] 443 B).

[126] Cf. G. Bruns: "Der Ursprung der Nachricht, dass der Obelisk aus Athen gekommen sei, ist nicht mehr festzustellen, die Überlieferung halt sich aber" (*Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrome zu Konstantinopel*, Istanbul 1935, p. 2). See also W. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbuls*, Tübingen 1977, pp. 65, 71, for recent bibliography on the obelisk.

[127] Περὶ *τῶν ἐλεφάντων.* Αἱ *δὲ στῆλαι τῶν ἐλεφάντων τῆς* Χρυσείας *πόρτας ἥκασιν ἐκ τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ* Ἄρεως *ἀπὸ* Ἀθήνας, *παρὰ* Θεοδοσίου *τοῦ μικροῦ* (*de signis*, p. 27; *Patria* II, p. 182).

[128] *"Οτι οἱ ἐλέφαντες οἱ ἐν τῇ χρυσῇ πόρτῃ ὅμοιοί εἰσιν ὧν πάλαι Θεοδόσιος ἐπιβὰς εἰς τὴν πόλιν εἰσήλασεν* (Cedrenus, 323 D [*CSHB*, I, p. 567]).

[129] J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, Leipzig 1903, pp. 206, 215.

[130] C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romaines inédites ou peu connues*, Berlin 1873, p. 69. Cf. also Janin (footnote 123 above, p. 74), p. 271. If there is any kernel of truth in the tradition, the elephants were probably taken from some triumphal arch. See *RE*, *s.v. Triumphbogen*, col. 475, line 37 (Kähler).

[131] H. A. Thompson points out that the elephants might have come to light in the building operations for the Palace of the Giants over the Odeion (Thompson, "Odeion," p. 136, note 1). He also finds some evidence that the temple had been repaired after the Herulian raid and that it was still standing 150 years later (footnote 9 below, p. 97).

[132] I.8.6. J. P. Binder suggests a possible connection with the "Battle of the Elephants" in 275 B.C. when Antiochus I Soter, with the help of a small herd of elephants, was victorious over the Galatians (Lucian, *Zeuxis*, 8–12).

was a statue of Apollo. Cedrenus alone says that it was "the work of Pheidias and was brought from Athens." According to the *Patria* and Cedrenus the column itself was brought by Constantine from Rome.[133]

By combining the statement in the *Patria* that the statue originally represented Apollo and Cedrenus' that it was a work of Pheidias and was brought from Athens, we might cautiously associate it with the only known bronze statue of Apollo by Pheidias, the Apollo Parnopius, which, according to Pausanias,[134] was "on the Acropolis, opposite (*πέραν*) the Parthenon, and said to be by Pheidias." This has been taken as possibly the same statue as that to which John Tzetzes referred (*ca.* A.D. 1170): *αὐτόν τε τὸν ἀνθήλιον Ἀπόλλωνα ἐκεῖνον*. This line is followed by an enumeration of several other works of Pheidias and the remark that "some have been lost, some melted down, some victims of time," and then the lines:

τινὰ δ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἵστανται τῷ ἱππικῷ καὶ φόρῳ
ἡ κεφαλὴ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτῷ τῷ Παλατίῳ.[135]

In short, identification of Constantine's statue with the Apollo Parnopius of Pheidias is possible but by no means certain.

The Athena Promachos

In 1203, on the eve of the Fourth Crusade, a mob of drunken rioters in Constantinople pulled down a bronze statue of Athena in the Forum of Constantine and broke it up into many pieces. The scene was vividly described by Niketas Choniates, together with a meticulously detailed description of the statue as he must have seen it almost daily for many years.[136] The agreement of Niketas' observations with Pausanias' all too brief account of Pheidias' bronze statue of Athena Promachos, supplemented by coins and lamps of the 2nd and 3rd centuries, forms the basis of the generally accepted belief that this indeed was Pheidias' Promachos, removed from the Acropolis at some undetermined time in Late Antiquity and set up on a column in the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople. The attribution to Pheidias was reinforced by a commentary on an oration of Aelius Aristeides (*Orat.*, 50) by Bishop Arethas of Caesarea (9th–10th centuries). On Aristeides' statement that Pheidias' masterpieces were the Zeus at Olympia and three statues of Athena, "one of ivory, one of bronze, and the Lemnian," Arethas comments "I believe that this [i.e., the bronze] is the one in the Forum of Constantine at the entrance to the senate, with Thetis opposite, on the right" (*δοκεῖ μοι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ ἐν τῷ φόρῳ Κωνσταντίνου ἀνακειμένη καὶ τοῖς προπυλαίοις* . . .).[137] Niketas' account corresponds also with the very brief description by Cedrenus a century earlier, to the effect that the Lindian (*sic*) Athena stood at the west end of the Forum of

[133] Hesychius (*Patria* I, p. 17): . . . *καὶ ὁ πορφυροῦς καὶ περίβλεπτος κίων, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἱδρῦσθαι Κωνσταντῖνον ὁρῶμεν δίκην ἡλίου προλάμποντα τοῖς πολίταις.*

Patria II, p. 174: *καὶ ὁ περίβλεπτος οὗτος κίων καὶ ἡ στήλη τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, δίκην Ἡλίου ἔστησεν αὐτὴν ὁ μέγας Κωνσταντῖνος εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, θήσας ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ ἥλους ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ δίκην ἀκτίνων, ὡς Ἥλιος τοῖς πολίταις ἐκλάμπων.*

Cedrenus, 295 D–296 A (*CSHB*, I, p. 518): . . . *καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ φόρῳ κίονα μονόλιθον καὶ ὁλοπόρφυρον ἔστησεν, ἐκ Ῥώμης ἀγαγών, . . . ἱδρύσατο δὲ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἐπ' ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ, ἐν ᾧ γέγραπται «Κωνσταντῖνος». ἔλαμψεν ἡλίου δίκην, ὃς ἦν ἔργον μὲν Φειδίου, ἤχθη δὲ ἐξ Ἀθηνῶν.*

[134] I.24.8.

[135] Tzetzes, *Chil.* VIII, lines 333 and 338–339. Cf. J. Overbeck, *Antike Schriftquellen*, Leipzig 1868, p. 139, no. 17.

[136] Niketas Choniates, *Historia* (*CSHB*, pp. 738–740).

[137] For details of the argument, with additional evidence, see R. J. H. Jenkins, "The Bronze Athena at Byzantium," *JHS* 67, 1947, pp. 31–33. Arethas is quoted by S. Kougeas, *Λαογραφία* 4, 1913, p. 240.

Constantine, wearing a helmet, with the Gorgoneion and snakes around her neck.[138] The only discrepancy is Cedrenus' identification of the statue with the Athena of Lindos. But this seems to be either sheer absentmindedness or else confusion among a number of notes. On the preceding page he has already described the Lindian Athena as having stood, not in the Forum of Constantine, but in the Palace of Lausos (near the Hippodrome): a much smaller statue, only four cubits high and of green marble, the work of Skyllis and Dipoinos, and the gift of Sesostris, Tyrant of Egypt, to Kleoboulos, Tyrant of Lindos.[139] The imperfect *ἵστατο* is used advisedly, because the Lindian Athena appears later (351 C–D [*CSHB*, I, p. 616]) as among the many statues lost in the fire of 475/6 which destroyed the whole quarter of the city in which the Lauseion stood. The description here is briefer, and the donor is Amasis instead of Sesostris. But the recipient is the same, and both passages unquestionably refer to the same statue. Not so the third, which corresponds in place and dress to Niketas' statue and, along with its pendant, Amphitrite, at the other end of the Forum, was still standing (*ἵστανται*). The suggestion that "Lindian" is an author's or copyist's slip for "Lemnian" must be dismissed because of the last sentence, referring to Amphitrite: "this too was brought from Rhodes," which would make sense only in relation to another statue from Rhodes, i.e., the "Lindian". But her appearance here was simply a transference from another note against the author's better knowledge.

However and whenever the Promachos got to Constantinople, it was certainly not taken by Constantine, because it was seen by St. Jerome when he visited Athens in 372.[140] On the Acropolis, "iuxta simulacrum Minervae," he was shown a great bronze sphere used by athletes to test their weight-lifting powers. And still later, *ca.* 410, the sophist Apronianus erected a statue of Herculius, Prefect of Illyricum, "beside Pallas the Promachos."[141]

Bishop Arethas' statement that he believed Pheidias' bronze statue of Athena to be the one standing in the Forum of Constantine is strengthened by a miniature of the 11th century but which goes back to a 9th-century prototype, in which a statue of Athena corresponds closely with the written descriptions.[142] The outer limits for the removal of the Promachos may therefore be taken as *ca.* 410 and the middle of the 9th century. After Constantine, Theodosius II is mentioned most frequently as a remover of works of art. Justinian also figures in this role. Soon after his reign the Slavic invasion put an end to Athens as a fertile ground for depredation, and so the most likely time for the removal of the Promachos is during the last three quarters of the 5th century or the first three quarters of the 6th. But it may be possible to be more precise. It has been suggested that the occasion for setting up the statue "at the entrance to the senate-house" was the rebuilding of the senate not long after it was destroyed by fire in 462. This might place the removal of the Promachos from Athens at about 465–470.[143]

[138] *ἵστανται δὲ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ φόρου πλατεῖαν ἀγάλματα δύο, πρὸς μὲν δύσιν τὸ τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηνᾶς, κράνος ἔχον καὶ τὸ Γοργόνειον τέρας καὶ ὄφεις περὶ τὸν τράχηλον ἐμπεπλεγμένους (οὕτως γὰρ τὸ εἴδωλον αὐτῆς οἱ παλαιοὶ ἱστόρουν), πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἡ Ἀμφιτρίτη. . . . ἤχθη δὲ αὐτὴ ἀπὸ Ῥόδου* (Cedrenus, 322 D–323 A [*CSHB*, I, p. 565]).

[139] Cedrenus, 322 B (*CSHB*, I, p. 564): *ἵστατο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα τῆς Λινδίας Ἀθηνᾶς τετράπηχυ ἐκ λίθου σμαράγδου, ἔργον Σκύλλιδος καὶ Διποίνου τῶν ἀγαλματουργῶν, ὅπερ ποτὲ δῶρον ἔπεμψε Σέσωστρις Αἰγύπτου τύραννος Κλεοβούλῳ τῷ Λινδίῳ τυράννῳ.*

[140] Commentary on Zachariah, III.12.3. For the date of Jerome's visit, cf. Kelly (footnote 222 above, p. 52), p. 37.

[141] See above, p. 64.

[142] Jenkins, *loc. cit.* (footnote 137 above, p. 76).

[143] Saffrey and Westerink, p. xxiii, note 1. The statue is confused here with the Parthenos, which is of course impossible because of the material. For the source of this common confusion, see Frantz, "Julian," p. 401, note 54.

The Vandals in Athens

Literary Evidence

Apart from the activity of the schools few historical facts are certain for the last two thirds of the 5th century. The last known proconsul of Achaea is Hesychius (A.D. 435), and the rest of the century "disappears into murky twilight."[144] But a few elements, archaeological and epigraphical, shed some rays of light. Although a number of raids were made on the Greek islands and mainland in the course of the 5th century,[145] no literary evidence has been adduced that Athens itself suffered. The chroniclers of the important and extensive Vandal campaigns against Spain and Africa were sparing in their references to lesser activities which could only be regarded as incidental. A single sentence of Procopius, however, offers the possibility that Athens might not have escaped utterly: Ἰλλυριοὺς οὖν ἐληΐζετο καὶ τῆς τε Πελοποννήσου τῆς τε ἄλλης Ἑλλάδος τὰ πλεῖστα καὶ ὅσαι αὐτῇ νῆσοι ἐπίκεινται.[146] This admittedly inconclusive passage, taken in conjunction with some hitherto unexplained evidence of destruction in the third quarter of the 5th century in the Agora, raises the possibility that a Vandal raid should not be discounted.

Archaeological Evidence

In brief, the evidence is as follows: over and in front of some of the buildings of the west side of the Agora was found an accumulation of ash and debris dated by coins and pottery to the period about 460–485. Much of this overlay the north–south road, which went out of use from that time until the Middle Byzantine period. A similar deposit was concentrated over the southeast corner of the Palace of the Giants—a deposit indicating local damage predating the general destruction of that building by a century. This destruction, whatever its cause, was followed almost immediately by a sudden resurgence of building activity, contrasting with the apparent lethargy of the preceding half century. Part of these operations was utilitarian: an aqueduct and at least three (more probably four) water mills running from south to north along the Panathenaic Way, together with the wall along the east side of the street; also perhaps the rebuilding of the second storey of the southeast corner of the Palace.[147] Other buildings were more formal: a pair of stoas bordering the Street of the Library of Hadrian (below). The southern of the two stoas overlay a considerable accumulation of pottery of the same date as in the deposits just mentioned.[148]

The Square Building mentioned above in connection with the Palace of the Giants (p. 66) may have been one of the casualties of the attack. Another may have been the Stoa Poikile. As we have seen (p. 55), it probably suffered damage from Alaric's forces in 396, after which time the paintings were removed by the proconsul. But the building continued to be cherished, even in a ruinous state, until the middle of the 5th century, when it was completely destroyed and some of its members, along with pieces from other buildings, were built into a wall alongside the above-mentioned aqueduct.[149]

[144] Groag, *Achaia*, p. 76 (quoting Seeck).

[145] E.g., the Huns advancing as far as Thermopylae in 447 (Bury [footnote 223 above, p. 52], p. 275, quoting Priscus, frag. 3 Dindorf) and Vandals invading the Ionian islands and the west coast of the Peloponnese in 467 and again in 477 (Procopius, *bell.* [*Vand.*] III.5.23; III.22.16; cf. also Groag, *Achaia*, p. 78 and Bon [footnote 70 above, p. 68], p. 14, with other references).

[146] *Bell.* (*Vand.*) III.5.23. Groag gives the date as 467.

[147] Below, p. 106.

[148] Many fragments of the ceiling coffers and the original inner colonnade of the Parthenon were used in the foundations of this stoa. All were badly broken, but their surfaces were remarkably fresh (see W. B. Dinsmoor, Jr., "New Fragments of the Parthenon in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 132–155 and Frantz, "Julian," p. 395).

[149] Below, p. 81.

To remove this hypothesis of a Vandal invasion in 467 from the realm of pure speculation, we may look to an inscription from Megara recounting the benefactions of a certain Diogenes, described as a *κόμης* and benefactor "of the Greek cities."[150] Groag argues that Diogenes was not Proconsul of Achaea and even maintains that he held no official position in Greece but was a high-ranking military commander to be identified with a Count Diogenes who was in the service of the Emperor Zeno in 476 and had bestowed similar favors elsewhere.[151] Groag further places his service in Greece either in the reign of Leo I (A.D. 457–474) or in the first decade of Zeno's reign (A.D. 474–491) and associates his rebuilding in Megara with destruction caused by the Vandals in 476. If the Vandals reached Megara, on the main road from the west leading to Athens, they might reasonably be expected to have gone the rest of the way.[152] A parallel situation to Diogenes' contributions may be seen in the case of Herculius, who gave the Megarians an aqueduct after, and most probably because of, Alaric's invasion.[153]

The Street of the Library of Hadrian

As shown above, the street along the eastern half of the northern border of the Agora had been put out of use by the construction of the large basilica in the time of Hadrian. Destroyed in 267 and apparently abandoned to predators seeking building material, the basilica was now finally stripped to the foundations, and the road was once more opened up. A character similar to that of the Panathenaic Way was given to it by the construction of another stoa, or more likely a pair of stoas. The foundations of the back wall and stylobate of a colonnaded building along the south side of the street are preserved at the northern edge of the present excavations; the counterpart presumably lies in the yet unexcavated area.[154] The southern stoa was built over the south foundations of the basilica. A plundered trench directly under the stoa yielded many pieces of marble revetment from the basilica along with a considerable amount of pottery of the middle or third quarter of the 5th century. The line of the street leads to the propylon of the Library of Hadrian, which had been restored earlier in the century.[155] It may be considered therefore that both the street and its stoas were conceived as a monumental approach to the latter building.

The Beginning of Industrialization

By this time the character of the Agora was changing. Competition from small industries was threatening the formal buildings. Perhaps the first response was the protection of the area around the Palace of the Giants. From the south corners of the great court, walls were carried southeastward and southwestward in such a way as to enclose the whole south section of the complex, together with a considerable amount of the surrounding ground, especially to the west. Both east and west wings can be traced as far as the two ends of the Middle Stoa, where the wings were carried on its foundations. They are then lost sight of, but it is probable that they were continued southward and that the back wall of South Stoa II, which was still standing, formed the south boundary of the enclosure. The walls were not an integral part of the Palace court, but how much later they were added is impossible to say. The extra space free of buildings in the western part of

150 *IG* VII, 26 (= *SEG* XIV, 379). Specifically mentioned are the repair of the fortifications of Megara and the renewal of a bath for which he contributed 2200 square feet of marble.

151 Groag, *Achaia*, pp. 77–78.

152 Procopius (*bell.* [*Vand.*] III.1.17), in a totally irrelevant context, defines a day's journey as "two hundred and ten stades, or as far as from Athens to Megara."

153 *IG* VII, 93. See footnote 52 above, p. 65.

154 *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 264–265 (Shear, Jr.).

155 Above, p. 63.

the enclosure was perhaps to allow for a garden or grove. It might also have been to protect against the industries which were springing up near by, e.g. metalworking establishments.

Bronze Foundries

The south side of the Agora had been an industrial area from the time of the Sullan destruction of 86 B.C. to the early 2nd century after Christ, when the partial reconstruction of several of the major buildings restored its more formal character.[156] But immediately after the Herulian invasion a new incentive was provided by the bronze statues thrown down during the raid: an invitation to metalworkers to turn them into commercial assets by melting them into pots and pans, trinkets and small ornaments, or utilitarian objects. In the area immediately south of the Palace or even under its walls were found one foundry and two dumps of furnace waste, all dating from the late 3rd into the late 4th century and put out of use by the new building operations.[157] The foundry was situated in what was later to become the angle between the west court of the Palace and the adjacent bath, just north of the Great Drain (Pl. 68:a). Several molds were found *in situ*, buried to their rims in earth or sand.[158] The arrangements are closely paralleled in a modern bronze-casting establishment in Rome (Pl. 69:a).[159] The crude and unsymmetrical construction of the firing chamber is perhaps explained by its temporary character, if one may press the modern parallel. The similar structures in Rome, except for their underpinnings, were used for only one firing, after which they were dismantled and re-erected on the same base. Judging from the many fragments of molds found in the area of the Agora foundry, this one produced only small objects, even pins. Waste from the foundries of the 3rd to 4th centuries was found dumped at the south edge of the Law Court[160] at the southwest corner of the Palace of the Giants, also in a well under one of the west rooms of House A on the Areopagus.[161]

The only surviving foundry of post-Herulian times designed for the casting of large statues overlay the north wall of the Mint, outside the Palace precinct (Pl. 68:b).[162] The remains consist of two brick piers and some oval holes presumably for burying the molds for a statue of life size or larger. A consistently 6th-century fill over the remains of the establishment gives a *terminus ante quem* for its life. Being outside the limits of the Palace precinct it was very likely allowed to remain as long as there was a demand for bronze statues, i.e., until the demise of the Palace itself.

Watermills

The powerful influence of the Palace of the Giants, reinforced by its sturdy concrete precinct walls, provided an effective hedge against encroachment of small and untidy industries in its vicinity during most of its life. The earliest of the post-Herulian establishments were related to the general cleaning up of the whole Agora area and were removed to make way for the construction of the Palace. From then until the 6th century nothing except a series of watermills for grinding flour was allowed to encroach on its precinct, and these, with the aqueduct (Pl. 6) which powered them, clung discreetly to the opposite side of the Panathenaic Way. Three mills were strung along the entire east side of the Agora proper to its northern edge. Of the South Mill only the wheel race is

[156] Footnote 20 above, p. 3.

[157] These and all the other foundries in the Agora have been published by Carol Mattusch (Mattusch); also C. Mattusch, *Bronze Workers in the Athenian Agora* (Agora Picture Book No. 20), Princeton 1982.

[158] Mattusch M, p. 370.

[159] That of the Fratelli Nicci, 22 Via San Michele. I owe these photographs to the hospitality of the Nicci brothers, who allowed me to spend three days in 1957 photographing the sequence of stages of bronze-casting.

[160] Mattusch K, p. 368. There is reason to believe that some minting may have taken place here in Late Antiquity.

[161] Mattusch L, pp. 369–370 and Y, p. 376.

[162] Mattusch N, p. 373.

preserved, set into the ruined pronaos of the Southeast Temple (Pl. 70). Nothing of the mill room was identifiable, but some fragmentary walls spread over the temple seem to be contemporary and are perhaps to be associated with the mill.

The Central Mill is a rare surviving example of a type whose principles were laid down by Vitruvius and which must have been common in antiquity.[163] The preserved remains consist of the mill race, wheel race (Pl. 71:c), and tail race as well as the mill room, which was built into an obtuse angle formed by the Post-Herulian Wall and the south face of Tower W 4 (Pls. 14:d, 71:a). The overshot wheel, with a diameter of 3.20 m. as restored from the scratches made in the wall due to faulty alignment, drove two gear wheels, one vertical, the other horizontal, which in turn drove the mill itself. The water was carried away by the tail race set below ground level along the base of Tower W 4 and thence northward by the mill aqueduct. A survival of the type, still in operation, can be seen on the island of Thasos (Pl. 71:b). On the basis of coins, pottery, and lamps found in the gravelly fill into which the mill room and wheel race were set, it was possible to date the construction of the mill to the third quarter of the 5th century, probably in the reign of Leo I (A.D. 457–474).[164]

The wheel race and the mill room of the North Mill must have been in the very middle of the railway cutting, for the northern part of the aqueduct, up to the point where it was cut off by the railway line, was carried on arches (Pl. 69:b). It then reappears as a tail race at a much lower level immediately north of the railroad, having made a sharp turn westward. A fourth mill was probably turned by a branch leading westward from the main aqueduct close to the North Mill. This branch survives only as a curved wall running across the foundations of the Round Building (p. 60, above). If this was the case the wall would have carried arches to provide the necessary height. This may have been a later addition, or it was perhaps intended to run alternately with the North Mill.

It is in this connection that account should be taken of the Late Roman wall in which fragments of the Stoa Poikile were found.[165] This is a long wall which abutted against the northwest corner of Tower W 5 of the Post-Herulian Wall (Pls. 5, 6). From that point it ran northwestward, almost parallel with the Panathenaic Way, and ended at, or just before, the west end of the south wall of the stoa on the Street of the Library of Hadrian. A fragment of a stamped plate (Pl. 72:d)[166] found embedded in the concrete masonry of the wall could be dated to the middle or third quarter of the 5th century. For part of the course of the wall the aqueduct was built against the west face; elsewhere a narrow interval was left between them (Pl. 69:b).

Although the smoothly plastered west face of the wall showed that it predated the aqueduct, the difference in date may have been only a matter of weeks rather than of years, since the ceramic evidence from the wall pointed to a date of about the third quarter of the 5th century.

The purpose of the wall is not clear. Its location on the opposite side of the Panathenaic Way removes it from direct relationship with the Palace of the Giants and relates it rather to the long slim triangle between the Stoa of Attalos and the Panathenaic Way. The north end of the triangle was occupied by a large sprawling building, much of which has disappeared. It consisted of two

[163] Vitruvius, x.4.1, 5.1 and 2. The Central Mill was excavated and published by the late Arthur W. Parsons, "A Roman Water Mill in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 5, 1936, pp. 70–90. Readers are referred to this article for a detailed description of the mill and also for a reconstruction of its workings and assessment of its fidelity to Vitruvian principles. For a recent analysis see R. J. Spain, "The Roman Watermill in the Athenian Agora: a New View of the Evidence," *Hesperia* 56, 1987, pp. 335–353. See, in general, T. S. Reynolds, *Stronger than a Hundred Men*, Baltimore 1983, esp. pp. 36–38.

[164] Parsons, *op. cit.*, p. 88. Many coins were found under the mill, chiefly of the late 4th and early 5th centuries. The latest were four of Marcian (A.D. 455–457) and three of Leo I.

[165] Above, p. 55.

[166] P 20037.

parts or more: an eastern, a western, and possibly a northern, loosely connected around a courtyard. Its dimensions are *ca.* 39 meters from east to west and 16 meters, as preserved, from north to south. The northern side was cut off by the railroad, making it impossible to determine its full extent with certainty, but it is probable that little more than the north wall is missing and that the house would have ended at the Street of the Library of Hadrian, past the north end of the Stoa of Attalos, which at that period was Tower W 7 of the Post-Herulian Wall.

The plan of the house is irregular (Pl. 6). There are several jogs in the outside walls, and the rooms are of different shapes and sizes. The western wing consisted of three pairs of rooms to which a small, more or less triangular room was later added to the south. A rectangular water channel outside connected with round pipes inside the room through a hole in the wall, bridged by round stones. From these waterworks and the presence of animal bones the annex could be presumed to be a kitchen.

Of the east wing, which was much less well preserved than the west, we can be sure of only three rooms along the north side; their walls, too, were removed by the railway cutting. At the south the two wings were connected by a wall. A gap of about 12 meters between the wings on the north side would have provided easy access to the building.

Materials used in the building varied from field stones to re-used blocks to freshly quarried stone. Except in the "kitchen" they were laid in lime mortar, not very firm. Some at least of the walls were plastered inside and out with a coarse gray plaster, striated. In one room were parts of three tiles of standard dimensions (*ca.* 0.54 m. square by 0.03 m. thick).

The plan of the building, large for a private house, would have provided living quarters for a considerable number of people. It might perhaps be related in some way to the whole system of the water mills.

DISINTEGRATION AND DISASTER (A.D. 529–582)

The Reign of Justinian

Apart from the closing of the schools,[167] Justinian's influence on Athens is obscure. The testimony of Procopius is contradictory. On the one hand, he states that Justinian rebuilt the walls of all the cities of Greece below Thermopylae, including those of Athens.[168] On the other, he charges Justinian with confirming the unpopular measures of the Logothete Alexander which resulted in the fact that "in all Greece, and not least in Athens itself, no public building was restored nor could any needful thing be done."[169] The first of these statements, that the walls were rebuilt, is corroborated by archaeological evidence. For the second, there is no way of knowing to how long a period it refers.[170] Nothing has yet been discovered in the Agora to suggest that there was any construction of consequence during his reign; but it must be remembered that of that period little of the center of the city has been uncovered; also that, failing numismatic or ceramic evidence, there is little to distinguish ordinary building techniques of the 4th, 5th, and 6th centuries.

Procopius' statement that Justinian rebuilt the walls of Athens, which had "suffered from the long passage of time, while no man in the whole world took thought for them,"[171] has generally been taken to mean that the outer circuit had passed completely out of use by the 6th century.[172] But

[167] On this controversial subject, see below pp. 90–92.

[168] *De aed.* IV.2.23–24.

[169] *Anecdota* XXVI.33 (trans. Dewing).

[170] Cf. Frantz, *DOP*, p. 197.

[171] *De aed.* IV.2.24 (trans. Downey).

[172] Procopius' phraseology is reminiscent of Zosimus' account of the activities of Valerian (I.29.3, above, p. 1), when the city walls had fallen into neglect since the time of Sulla. Could Procopius, who could not have observed all of

evidence from chance discoveries at various points in the line of the wall shows that for most of its circuit the "Wall of Valerian" is actually a rebuilding of the Themistoclean Wall, and that although it was badly damaged, certainly by the Heruli and probably also by Alaric's forces, it remained in use until the time of Justinian, who rebuilt and reinforced it drastically.[173]

New Construction

Private Houses

As has been noted above, most of the private houses in use in the 4th and 5th centuries date from pre-Herulian times, even though they underwent considerable changes. In the Agora at least, houses of totally new construction date only from the 6th century and later. The most important of these, if indeed it is a private house, was a large structure built against the southeast quadrant of the Tholos.[174] By this time the Tholos itself was in ruins, but a surviving stretch of wall provided an anchor for three walls leading off from the main body of the house and enclosing two courtyards (Pls. 6, 73:d). The house measured 16 × 21 m. overall and consisted of eight rooms in addition to two courtyards, ranging in size from *ca.* 2 × 3 m. (B) to *ca.* 4 × 10 m. (A). The interior arrangements were irregular, but the foundations for the front form a continuous line along the west fork of the ancient road. The northeast corner overlay the Great Drain, which was by now almost completely clogged; but it still had enough space to carry away the water from two small terracotta drains leading out of the corner room. In seven of the rooms part of the floor was found in place.

The rubble walls contained many ancient fragments and were bonded with a strong gray mortar. Their surfaces were finished with two coats of plaster: a backing layer with a striated surface, of which a great deal was found in place, and a thin finishing coat, most of which had crumbled away. The reveals of at least one doorway were constructed of bricks.

The date of construction seems well established, by coins and pottery found under the original floor, at *ca.* 500 or very soon after.[175] It is therefore ruled out as part of the building program of the preceding century, and its purpose, whether as a government building or a private house of more than average proportions, remains obscure.

Toward the end of the 6th century the house suffered heavy damage from fire. Eleven coins of Justin II (A.D. 565–578) and one of Tiberius II (A.D. 578–582) found among the burned debris probably fix the Slavic attack of the 580's as the cause of the destruction; there was also a fragment of a plate (Pl. 76:f) dated by J. H. Hayes 570–600. The house was later rehabilitated, and the floor levels were substantially raised.

With a similar history but far less imposing in character were a few houses clustered around the Palace of the Giants, one of which was built against the apse on the west side.[176] From the scanty remains it was impossible to determine the plan beyond the fact that it had two and possibly three rooms, or even more. Under the floor was a fairly elaborate plumbing system which showed signs of hard use and repairs; its relation to the building and to the Palace remains obscure. A small latrine was constructed with some care in the southwest corner of the house; it emptied into a rectangular

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Justinian's work at first hand, have unconsciously applied Zosimus' evaluation of the 3rd-century walls to his own time?

[173] Travlos, Πολεοδομική, pp. 144–148.

[174] *Hesperia*, Suppl. IV, pp. 121–126. Once more, the following account is based entirely on Thompson's meticulous excavation and interpretation.

[175] The latest coins are from the reign of Anastasius I (A.D. 491–518); four of these were found in significant places. For an analysis of all the coins found in the house, from both its construction and destruction, see Metcalf, "Slavonic Threat," pp. 141–143.

[176] *Hesperia* 22, 1953, p. 42 (Thompson).

terracotta drain which ran under the outside wall and into the Great Drain of the Agora (Pl. 21:d). The entrance to the house was through a porch on the north side, with a threshold laboriously worked from a Roman monument base.[177]

Apart from the houses of more or less recognizable plan discussed above, evidence for habitation from the 4th to the 6th centuries is to be found in a few scattered remains of concrete foundations, probably socles to carry mud-brick walls, on the slopes of Kolonos Agoraios and the Areopagus. That the Areopagus slopes were the preferred residential district is further shown by the heavy concentration of wells, at least a dozen having been in use in the 4th century, and by the considerable amount of pottery and coins found in the same area.

Shops

Few shops have been identifiable as such in the post-Herulian Agora. A row of rooms added along the front of some earlier houses in the southwestern district (Pl. 3: G–H 18–19) had access directly from the street and could hardly have been used for any other purpose. It is also likely that the partitioning of the south colonnade of the stoa northwest of the Agora on the Panathenaic Way served the same need.[178]

New Commercial Construction

The only building recognizably designed for commercial or some other utilitarian use was a fairly large structure, *ca.* 10 × 20 m., overlying the east end of South Stoa II (Pl. 3: N–O 15), its south wall bedded on the remains of the back wall of the stoa and the north wall lying immediately north of the stylobate. The building was divided longitudinally by a wall along the median line, and three cross walls (one missing) gave four pairs of rooms of equal size, i.e., 4.60 m. from north to south and 3.80 m. from east to west. The rigidity of the plan, a series of equal-sized rooms at the north adjacent to and presumably opening into a similar series to the south, suggests that these were used as shops. The builders of the east surviving cross wall came on a well encroaching on their line at the south end and spanned its western edge with a flat arch of bricks set in very soft, yellow mortar similar to that in a bit of the adjacent wall. The well was only 1.50 m. deep, and the water jugs from its period of use dated from the 5th and 6th centuries; it is not entirely clear whether the well continued in use after the construction of the building. But the south side of the shop building abutted against the north wall of a 4th- or 5th-century structure which was already in ruins, and so the shop building can hardly be earlier than the 6th century and may possibly be as late as the 7th.[179]

Decay of Educational Institutions

The long continuity which the Neoplatonic School had enjoyed was abruptly ended when Justinian, according to John Malalas, sent an edict to Athens prohibiting the teaching there of philosophy and law.[180] In spite of Malalas' reputation for inaccuracy this statement has generally been accepted as true; it is also universally interpreted as referring to the general laws in *Codex Justinianus* 1.11.10.2 and 1.5.18.4, in which Athens is not mentioned specifically. How far and how permanently this act disrupted the material and intellectual well-being of Athens has recently received the attention of several scholars, with conflicting conclusions.[181]

[177] I 6477.

[178] *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 373–382 (Shear, Jr.).

[179] Although the formal plan of the building suggests shops, Eugene Vanderpool offers an alternative solution: that it was erected toward the end of the lifetime of the Palace of the Giants for the use of the superintendent of the complex as a toolshed and general storehouse for its maintenance.

[180] *Chronographia* XVIII.187 (*CSHB*, p. 451).

[181] For the complex arguments, cf. the following: Alan Cameron, *PCPS*; J. P. Lynch, *Aristotle's School: A Study of a*

The immediate sequel is told by Agathias, our only source for the episode, writing in the 570's.[182] According to the bare text, seven philosophers, Damascius (Syrian), Simplicius (Cilician), Eulamius (Phrygian), Priscianus (Lydian), Hermeias and Diogenes (from Phoenicia), and Isidore of Gaza, "the very flower of the philosophers of our time," went to Persia where they visited King Chosroes because "they did not share the view of God prevailing under the Romans and thought that the Persian state was far better . . . [and they were] persuaded by the widespread tale that the Persian government was supremely just, the union of philosophy and kingship." Disillusionment soon set in, and they returned home under a safe conduct arranged between Justinian and Chosroes as part of a peace treaty signed in 532. Although Athens is not mentioned as the point of departure for Persia, Damascius was Diadoch of the Neoplatonic Academy at the time, and it is a general and probably safe assumption that the others were members of the school.[183]

This short passage poses some questions, superficially minor but having a bearing on the assessment of the facts. First the date of departure, and whether Chosroes was actually on the throne when the philosophers went to Persia. The sequence of Agathias' narrative seems to imply his accession as a reason. After condemning Chosroes' gullibility toward the charlatan Uranius he continues "and yet [Chosroes] had seen really eminent philosophers before who had gone to see him" (*καιτοὶ πρότερον ἀρίστους ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐτεθέατο φιλοσόφους ἐνθένδε ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικομένους*). That would fit the notion of the "union of philosophy and kingship" which they found so attractive. But this interpretation imposes difficult chronological limits on the whole adventure. Chosroes came to the throne in September of 531, which would allow only one year for him to establish a reputation as a lover of philosophy strong enough to reach as far as Athens and induce the philosophers to leave for Persia; to give them time to learn that their hopes had been deceived and persuade Chosroes to let them depart; and finally for Justinian to be induced to write into the peace treaty (September 532) a safe conduct home for all seven.

Agathias says merely that the philosophers "came to see" Chosroes. It is perhaps conceivable that they were already in Persia at the time of his accession. In spite of the stormy events that marked the reign of his father Cavades, many reforms were set in motion during that reign for which Chosroes received much of the credit.[184] The report of these might have reached the west, perhaps during the negotiations (which fell through) for the adoption of Chosroes by Justin I, and become sufficiently "widespread" by 529 to instill in the philosophers' minds the idea that Persia would be a congenial place.[185]

Whether the philosophers departed immediately on learning of Justinian's edict or waited a year or two (without teaching) to see if the new law had any more force than those of the past aimed at suppressing paganism, Agathias makes it clear that the cause was the new legislation combined with the news from Persia. After describing their idealistic expectations he continues, "believing this to be true, and being forbidden by the laws to practice freely the rights of citizenship

Greek Educational Institution, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1972, chap. VI; H. J. Blumenthal, *Byzantion* 48, 1978, pp. 369–385; Glucker, *Antiochus*, pp. 247–255, 322–329, 377–379; I. Hadot, *Le problème du néoplatonisme alexandrin: Hiérocles et Simplicius*, Paris 1978, chap. II. For a more optimistic opinion of Malalas' accuracy see now M. Peachin, "Johannes Malalas and the Moneyers' Revolt," *Latomus* 180, 1983, pp. 325–335.

[182] Agathias, *Historiae* II.30–31. For analysis of Agathias' excursus on Persia, with translation, see Averil Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," *DOP* 23/24, 1969/70, pp. 67–183, esp. pp. 164–176. For the date of Agathias' *History*, cf. Averil Cameron, *Agathias*, Oxford 1970, p. 9.

[183] See Averil Cameron, *Agathias* (footnote 182 above), p. 101 and *DOP*, pp. 172–175.

[184] See A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, 2nd ed., Copenhagen 1944, pp. 353–361.

[185] Also, the possibility might be considered that the lure of the "philosopher-king" and the union of philosophy and kingship entered Agathias' mind only in retrospect.

(ἐμπολιτεύσθαι) because they were not conforming to the existing order, they immediately went abroad (αὐτίκα ἀπιόντες ᾤχοντο ἐς ἀλλοδαπὰ . . . ἔθνη)."[186]

What teachers were affected by the law? Malalas specifies philosophy and law as the subjects that could not henceforth be taught at Athens. The actual edicts, however, are more general. The prohibition is against the teachers, not the subjects. "We forbid the teaching of any subject (**πᾶν δὲ μάθημα**) by those suffering from the insanity of the impious pagans, so that they should not pretend to educate those who wretchedly resort to them, while actually they are corrupting the souls of their so-called pupils . . . nor shall they receive any public financial support" (*Cod. Just.* I.11.10.2). The penalty for violation of the order is confiscation of property and exile. In another edict of 529, aimed primarily at heretics, pagans are also excluded from military service or holding any office (I.5.18.4). Although literary evidence exists only for the closing of the Neoplatonic Academy, from the wording of I.11.10.2 it seems that all pagan teachers, sophists, and rhetoricians, as well as philosophers and lawyers, fell under the ban, while in addition, those who held public chairs would have their funds cut off.[187]

More important than the date of departure from Athens is the question of the philosophers' return. Under the terms of the treaty they all went "home" (ἅπαντες οἴκαδε ἀπενόστησαν). But where was home? Although all presumably had taught in Athens, none, apparently, was a native Athenian.[188] From Agathias' text we may infer that safe conduct was extracted from Justinian only on Chosroes' insistence (οὐ γὰρ ἀνῆκεν ὁ Χοσρόης μὴ οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε συστῆναι καὶ κρατεῖν τὴν ἐκεχειρίαν). The treaty required that the philosophers be allowed to return home and live safely "by themselves" (ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς) without being required to adopt opinions which they did not hold or to change their own faith (Averil Cameron's translation). This suggests that it was only to ensure a safe return to private life and not to teaching.

Agathias ends his narrative with the departure of the philosophers from Persia, with no mention of their ultimate destination. It has been suggested that Simplicius returned to Athens, but not to teach.[189] If so, he would have been following his own precept that if a philosopher is at odds with the authorities and cannot keep his faith and his self-respect he must withdraw from public affairs. If possible he will retire to another state, otherwise he should hide, continuing to teach himself or anyone he can.[190] Where the others went is unknown.

The strongest case for a resumption of the Academy's activities after only a short interruption is a statement of Olympiodorus that the Academy's endowment funds (διαδοχικά) have lasted to the present day in spite of the many confiscations which are taking place, a passage which Cameron sees reason to believe was not written before 560.[191]

[186] Averil Cameron (*DOP* [footnote 182 above, p. 85], pp. 173–175) believes that reports of Chosroes' promise as a philosopher-king might have reached the west before his accession.

[187] Procopius (*Anecdota* XXVI.1) cites the cutting off of funds as part of Justinian's destruction of "the marks of distinction and all things which confer honor and beauty both in Byzantium and in every other city" (trans. Dewing). A curious assumption by Alan Cameron (*PCPS*, p. 8) that the schools of rhetoric were exempt from the order because by then "most of the rhetoricians are likely to have been Christians anyway" is tenuous, given the uncooperative spirit which the Athenians of Late Antiquity displayed toward efforts to impose Christianity (Frantz, *DOP*, pp.187–188, 200).

[188] Thus continuing the ancient tradition. In the 4th century B.C., at least, few of the famous philosophers and sophists were native Athenians.

[189] Alan Cameron, *PCPS*, pp. 21–25.

[190] Quoted *ibid.*, p. 16.

[191] *Ibid.*, pp. 11–12. The passage has been analyzed in detail by Blumenthal ([footnote 181 above, p. 85], pp. 369–372, 384), Lynch ([footnote 181 above, p. 84], pp. 177–189), and Glucker (*Antiochus*, pp. 248–251).

Of what the *diadochika* consisted is uncertain. If some of the many bequests to the Academy had been in the form of landholdings, might not the confiscations have been applied piecemeal, regardless of the status of the Academy? The excavators of "Proclus' house" reported that the stratigraphy indicated abandonment "in the 6th century," but it was impossible to be more precise. The prestige and influence of the Neoplatonic School might have been sufficient to protect the property during the absence of the philosophers in Persia (?) and to maintain it with the dwindling *diadochika* for a few more years, even without pupils.

It is clear that the literary testimony provides no final proof for either side of the argument. Not to be dismissed lightly, however, is the archaeological evidence, which shows a sharp break in activity in the complex of houses on the north slope of the Areopagus about 530.[192] That there is good reason to associate these with education is superfluous to the present argument.[193]

All the buildings under discussion were abandoned suddenly, not as a result of general decline, neither as a result of violence. The most telling piece of evidence is provided by House C of the Areopagus group, discovered in 1970, long after the first tentative identification of others in the group was first put forward.[194] The new evidence has been published briefly but will be reviewed here in the context of all the houses of the group.[195]

House C, like the others in the group, was built in the second half of the 4th century, probably as a private dwelling, since a well at the edge of what was later to become a nymphaeum (and still later a baptistery) contained water jars from the middle of the 2nd century to the end of the 4th, when that part of the building was evidently turned to more formal use.[196] It stood unchanged for more than a century, when a radical transformation took place, showing signs of hasty abandonment by the first owners. For the date at which the abandonment and remodeling took place the most important evidence is from the least conspicuous element: the relaying of the floors in three rooms, also in the main peristyle and in the small southwest service court. The latest pottery from between the floors in all these contexts was uniformly dated to the early 6th century.[197] A well (Q 21:4) in a room adjoining the eastern service courtyard was covered with a marble slab laid flush with the surrounding original floor level in such a way as to suggest that the well was deliberately sealed when the house was abandoned. It was this well and another (P 21:2) in the main courtyard of the same house that contained the fine sculpture described in the previous chapter.[198] The lack of pottery such as accumulates in disused wells indicates that well Q 21:4 was in use up to the time the sculpture was deposited and sealed immediately after. It was never again accessible, for a wall of the bath which was included in the remodeling was laid directly over the slab and the adjacent floor.[199]

[192] Alan Cameron (*PCPS*), writing before the most important discoveries were made, attributes this state of affairs to general decline in Athenian prosperity rather than to Justinian's act (p. 8). But this judgment is undermined by an opinion expressed later (pp. 28–29) that "so far from Athens being already eclipsed by Gaza and Alexandria when Justinian stepped in, both Gaza and Alexandria were in full decline while Athens seemed set for a fresh period of prosperity at this period. Students were flocking back to the Academy, now under the direction of the colourful Damascius. Could it not be this that caused Justinian to act? Not because Athens was declining but anxiety because it was reviving?"

[193] For the reasons, see above, pp. 44–47.

[194] By H. A. Thompson, "Twilight," p. 68.

[195] Reports of the discovery of House C appear in *Hesperia* 40, 1971, pp. 266–270, 273–275 and 42, 1973, pp. 156–164, 168–173 (Shear, Jr.); Frantz (footnote 30 above, p. 19), pp. 29–38. Cf. also above, pp. 40–41.

[196] For the chronological evidence, see above, p. 48.

[197] *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 161 (Shear, Jr.). For the remodeling itself, see below, pp. 88–89.

[198] P. 41.

[199] Well P 21:2 also was in use up to the time when the sculpture was deposited. This well, however, continued in use until the destruction of the house because the sculpture was two meters below the destruction debris of the 580's. The

As noted in the previous chapter, the course of the history of all the Areopagus houses, A–D, up to and including the sharp break *ca.* 530, was similar. Houses A, B, and D, however, went into a steady decline from which they never emerged, while House C was quickly taken over but under a different dispensation.[200]

As noted above, all the sculpture was evidently a collection made by a lover of classical art.[201] None of this is ordinary debris such as is commonly found in wells. All was in an excellent state of preservation and was obviously placed in the wells for purposes of concealment. Consideration of the time and the condition of the sculpture leads to the conclusion that the two events, the action of Justinian and the concealment of the sculpture, are closely related. The occupants either left Athens or disappeared from sight, while still keeping the hope that their fortunes would be reversed and that they would return to their old surroundings.

Parallels for this sort of activity can be found in other periods and places. First of all, the Varvakeion copy of the Athena Parthenos (Athens, N.M. 129) was found protected by a brick vault in a house of the Roman period in the northern part of Athens.[202] With it were a statuette of Asklepios and a woman's head. A collection of sculpture dating from the late 2nd to the 4th century was buried in a room in a villa in Antioch under apparently similar circumstances.[203] And a statue found under the house of the Brunelleschi family in Florence is described by Ghiberti: "la quale statua quando sormentò la fede cristiana fu nascosa in quel luogo da qualche spirito gentile . . . fece murare una sepoltura di mattoni e dentrovi seppellì detta statua. . . ."[204] Most recently, a large collection of heads and other fragments of sculpture from Notre Dame was discovered in a secret cave where it had been hidden at the end of the 18th century to escape the "revolutionary enthusiasm [which] was ready to destroy them as symbols of tyrannical government."[205] And in the center of London (Walbrook), in an apparently privately owned Mithraeum, was found a cache of sculpture, carefully concealed, evidently for protection against Christian fanaticism as early as the 4th century.[206]

The nature of the changes made at the time the floors of House C were relaid leaves no doubt that they represented a transition to Christian use of an official character. The major innovation was the transformation of the southeast corner of the house into a baptistery, to which the plan lent itself well. At first glance it might be thought that the complex had been a baptistery from the start, so

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well may have been sealed when the sculpture was put in, but the need for water may have obliged the new owners to reopen it, thus accounting for the two meters, representing the period of use, between the sculpture, which was found at the very bottom of the well, and the final destruction debris of the 580's (see below, p. 90).

[200] For details of this chronology, see above, pp. 47–48.

[201] P. 41. It was not confined to House C: cf., for example, the Hermes from House B, also from a well, but none of the rest had been disposed of with such care.

[202] W. H. Schuchhardt, *Antike Plastik* II, Berlin 1963, pp. 31–32, and K. Lange, "Die Athena Parthenos," *AM* 5, 1880, pp. 370–372. Judith P. Binder has kindly called my attention to this.

[203] D. M. Brinkerhoff, *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch*, New York 1970, esp. pp. 35, 63–72. It is suggested that the concealment was occasioned by the Persian sack of Antioch in 540 or the Arab conquest in 637.

[204] L. Ghiberti, *I Commentarii*, O. Morisani, ed., Naples 1947, p. 55.

[205] X. Muratova, "Current and Forthcoming Exhibitions," *Burlington Magazine* 119, 1977, pp. 725–726. I owe these last three references to the kindness of Joseph Alsop. See also A. Erlande-Brandenburg, "Les sculptures de Notre-Dame de Paris découvertes en 1839," *Révue du Louvre et des musées de France* 29, 1979, pp. 83–89, for an earlier discovery.

[206] R. Merrifield in *Roman Life and Art in Britain*, J. Munby and M. Henig, edd., London 1977, pp. 375–401. See also M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae*, The Hague 1956, I, p. 285, no. 814.

conveniently does it comply with the requirements. But the elements denoting Christian use can be seen to be later additions, and it seems certain that the room with the pool was originally a nymphaeum. The most important change was the removal of a mosaic panel, probably containing some offending scene, from the middle of the floor of the rectangular section of the room and its replacement with a panel of the same size with a simple cross of red stone, its angles filled with miscellaneous bits of marble (Pls. 34, 43:c).[207] Although the use of the cross on a floor was generally frowned on at that period, E. Kitzinger has shown that it was often used as an apotropaic symbol, especially in key places such as thresholds, to deny access to the powers of evil which were thought to lurk particularly at doorways and other openings.[208] This would have been particularly appropriate where the new plaque was replacing an emblema of pagan content. The substitution was not carried out entirely successfully, as the edges show plainly. The surrounding mosaic, on three sides only, makes it evident that this part of the room was a triclinium. The combination of triclinium and nymphaeum, both on a palatial scale (e.g., Hadrian's villa at Tivoli and Domitian's palace on the Palatine) and in private houses, is well attested in classical antiquity.[209]

A wide variety of forms was allowed in nymphaea: rectangular or apsidal, with or without fountains, with or without steps. The apsidal shape, reminiscent of an original cavern, was the most widely favored. In some cases the pools were very shallow, in others deeper, sometimes with steps leading down, as in the Areopagus house.[210] The lavish use of marble on walls and pavements, seen also in the Areopagus house, is typical of nymphaea in the Late Empire.[211]

Great flexibility was admitted in the disposition and number of the ancillary rooms in baptisteries, the most important being the *catechumeneum*, where candidates for baptism would participate in a preliminary service. This room was commonly used also for funeral or commemorative banquets. The large room adjacent to the triclinium on the west side (in the Areopagus house) would serve this use well and might explain the late addition of benches along the east and west walls for the participants to recline or sit on (Pls. 27, 31). Color is lent to this view by the discovery in the Slavic destruction fill of two lamps with Christian symbols and a sigma table, about half preserved but broken (Pl. 72:e, f, a).[212] The room opens into a small room south of the baptistery proper which probably served as an *apodyterion*, or dressing room.[213] Another significant find was part of a circular tray of dark red stone such as were used in religious services (ST 781, Pl. 72:c). A very small bath was installed over parts of three rooms to the northeast of the nymphaeum (Pl. 21:a), obviously a later addition because it partly covered the well which contained most of the

[207] For a comparable cross without finials, cf. the baptistery in the Catacomb of Pontianus in Rome (F. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris 1922–1953, II, i, col. 407, fig. 1322). Also on numerous lamps of the period (*Agora* VII, *passim*).

[208] E. Kitzinger, "The Threshold of the Holy Shrine," *Kyriakon. Festschrift J. Quasten* II, Münster 1970, pp. 638–647, noting a border with three simple crosses on the threshold of the entrance to the central square of the cruciform Martyrion of St. Babylas at Antioch.

[209] See N. Neuerburg, *L'architettura delle fontane e ninfei nell' Italia antica*, Naples 1962, p. 240 and figs. 81, 82 (Hadrian's villa); pp. 221–222 and figs. 77, 78 (Domitian's palace); *passim* (private houses).

[210] E.g. Pompeii, Neuerburg, *op. cit.*, p. 120 and fig. 48.

[211] R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia*, 2nd ed., Oxford 1973, caption to pl. XIII.

[212] L 5628, L 5630, A 3869. For a study of all known examples of sigma tables see G. Roux, *Salamine de Chypre* IV, Paris 1973, pp. 133–196, esp. 174–180. The evidence for the purpose of these, beyond the fact that they have some liturgical significance, is inconclusive. They are found in both pagan and Christian contexts.

[213] For comparable arrangements, among many others, cf. the baptistery in the cruciform church at Antioch (R. Stillwell, *Antioch on the Orontes* II, Princeton 1938, pp. 29–34). The apsidal pool is especially noteworthy.

sculptures (Q 21:4, above, p. 41). The inclusion of a bath in a baptistery, although not universal, was common.[214]

The fate of the two pieces of sculpture left above ground in the house, a fine relief of the 4th century B.C. representing Hermes presenting the infant Dionysos to the Nymphs, with the heads deliberately hacked off, and a torso of Athena turned upside down and used as a step block (Pl. 39:e), emphasizes the different spirit which prompted the treatment of the two sets of sculpture and reinforces the belief that the statues in the well were placed there from reverence, not for desecration.[215]

The case of the related buildings on the Areopagaus slopes is similar if less dramatic. In their earlier phases (i.e. construction and main periods of use) Houses A and B, probably also D, run a parallel course to that of C.[216] For the half century between 529 and 582 the difference is striking and important. Thanks to recent refinements in the dating of Late Roman pottery it is now possible to discriminate between the progressive stages with some precision. Houses A and B show the same break in continuity, which in effect represented the end of the useful life of the houses. Unlike their neighbor C, however, which was immediately remodeled on a fairly grand scale, A and B show a more ragged line of demarcation, with activity tapering off for 15 or 20 years and then ceasing utterly before 550. These were essentially private houses, and their owners might have continued to live in them for a while even though they had fallen on evil times, deprived presumably of the ample fees that successful teachers commanded.

There is no reason to suppose that all philosophers and sophists reacted in the same way to Justinian's edict beyond obeying the compulsory injunction not to teach. In fact, unanimity not being a Greek characteristic, it would be surprising if they had responded uniformly. The owner of House C, perhaps because of having more to lose, immediately buried his treasures and left Athens. The occupants of the other houses may have elected to wait out the storm in Athens, with notable lack of success. To carry speculation a little further, is it possible that all the residents of the Areopagus houses held chairs of philosophy, rhetoric, or sophistic and that their funds were cut off immediately in accordance with the provisions of *Codex Justinianus* I.11.1.2?

The walls of Houses A and B apparently remained standing, although probably crumbling from lack of maintenance. The accumulation of pottery over the floors and the material salvaged from most of the wells run down to the decade 540–550; other wells went out of use slightly earlier, *ca.* 530.[217] The amount of pottery and coins from the third quarter of the 6th century was very scanty, indicating habitation only by occasional squatters (who apparently dined exclusively on snails). And so the houses remained, in a decaying condition, until 582, when all of them, A, B, C, D, were engulfed in a fiery destruction that left its mark for posterity in the triclinium of House C, with its floor buried under an undisturbed layer, 30 centimeters thick, of ash and charcoal (Pl. 73:a, 74:a).[218]

[214] E.g. at Djemila (J. Lassus, "Les édifices du culte autour de la basilique," *Atti del VI congresso internazionale di archeologia cristiana, Ravenna, 23–30 settembre 1962*, Ravenna 1966, pp. 597–599.

[215] The relief: I 7154, *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 168 and pl. 35:c (Shear, Jr.); *idem*, *OpusRom* 9, 1973, pp. 183–191. For the identification of the scene, H. A. Thompson, "Dionysos Among the Nymphs in Athens and Rome," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 36, 1977, pp. 73–84. The statue: S 2337, *Hesperia* 40, 1971, p. 275, pl. 59:b and 42, 1973, p. 163 (Shear, Jr.).

[216] See above, pp. 47–48. The erosion of the hillside has carried away most of the evidence for D; what little remains points to the same conclusion.

[217] For a description of the wells and their contents, see above, pp. 47–48.

[218] A thick layer of destruction debris, uniform in character, over the entire area of the houses attests to a date *ca.* 580 for the disaster. Especially to be noted are a coin of Justin II, 574/5, found on the latest floor of House C and, among many lamps, six which were identical with others found in the destruction fill of the watermill (*Agora* VII, nos. 2402,

In some respects the later history of the Palace of the Giants was similar to that of the Areopagus houses but without the dramatic break shown by House C. A brief period of abandonment beginning about 530 is established by the presence of a tiled grave below the latest floor (Pl. 75:a). A short period of final occupation followed during which the Palace was put to use on a very modest scale, and evidently only in the basement rooms. Most of the evidence is confined to the southeastern unit: several fragments of sigma tables (A 2266 and A 2293) and some lamps of the second half of the 6th century with Christian symbols, as well as several typically Christian ampullae (Pl. 72:b).

What the precise function of the Palace was at this time is not entirely clear except that it was for Christian use, as indicated by a cross carved on a marble column shaft found in the southeast basement. The sigma table, in this context with exclusively Christian objects,[219] suggests communal worship, at least on a small scale. (Fragments of two others were found in the vicinity.) There is no evidence on the ground for any monastic establishment, but one hitherto unexplained feature may cast some light. After the abandonment of the complex in its original form, a series of small buildings or rooms was added against the east wall of the southern section. In the smallest of these there were a large number of stamped unguent flasks or ampullae, concentrated in a little over a meter square of soft earth and confined to a depth of only about fifteen centimeters.[220] The pottery in the fill was of the mid-6th century and two coins of Theodoric (A.D. 493–526) were found close by, at a slightly lower level. All the ampullae belong to a type recently established by John Hayes as coming from a single source of production, probably Palestine, although they are found all over the eastern Mediterranean.[221] They are cigar shaped, averaging *ca.* 0.20 m. in height. Near the bottom is a rectangular or circular stamp with a monogram or other device (Pl. 73:b). Because of their heavy fabric, suitable for export, and convenient shape for holding in the hand, Hayes concludes that they were made as containers, probably for sanctified oil from one of the great shrines of the Holy Land, to be exported all over the Christian world.[222] Because of the large numbers that have been found Hayes believes that they were intended not only for liturgical purposes but also for private use. They flourished from *ca.* 550 to *ca.* 650, their disappearance being "presumably one of the consequences of the Arab conquest of Palestine and the changes in the pattern of trade which resulted from it."

In addition to the one concentration of these ampullae in the Palace, a dozen or more examples have been found at scattered points in the Agora area. One might conjecture therefore that all or most of the Palace was turned into a monastic complex of some sort and that the monks pursued an independent (but appropriate) sideline in distributing the ampullae with their sanctified contents among the neighborhood.[223] The ultimate fate of both the Palace and "Proclus' house"[224] was different from that of the houses on the Areopagus. Both buildings evidently escaped the Slavic fire; instead, they were gradually overlaid with silt which accumulated all through the rest of the 6th century. The Palace was a more formal building than the others; its main floor (in the southeast wing) had already been put out of use during the Vandal(?) invasion, and the basement rooms had

2578, 2811, 2812, 2813, 2830). For the destruction of the mill see below, p. 93. For the final, ignominious, revival of the houses, see below, p. 123.

[219] See footnote 212 above, p. 89.

[220] Twenty-two were catalogued; fragments of many others are stored with the context pottery.

[221] J. W. Hayes, "A New Type of Early Christian Ampulla," *BSA* 66, 1971, pp. 243–248.

[222] For their distribution, see *ibid.*, p. 246, fig. 3.

[223] Hayes notes: "To what extent the Church participated in their distribution and sale is a matter for conjecture, though one suspects that a profitable sideline such as this would not be left entirely to outsiders."

[224] For this, see above, pp. 42–44.

been modified in such a way that they seem to have been intended only for storage space and so were unsuited for human habitation.

That the effect of Justinian's edict reached beyond the sphere of education is illustrated by the fate of the Palace of the Giants. One can only conjecture that with the eclipse of the schools, the main industry of Athens in Late Antiquity, the whole city suffered a decline and that funds were no longer available to maintain the Palace.

In the light of the evidence presented above, the situation in Athens after 529 may be summarized as follows: Almost immediately after the publication of the decree some philosophers went abroad. That they ever returned to Athens is open to question, but if they did it was not to teach. Others, including also sophists, stayed on but without pupils and so without any means of livelihood, whether from imperial funds or private fees. Death or diminishing resources finally caused the abandonment of such buildings as had not already been taken over by the Christians, but the buildings that had been turned to Christian use survived until they were destroyed by the Slavs in 582.[225] The date *ca.* 530 for the end of effective teaching in Athens, attested by such a considerable amount of physical evidence, can hardly be coincidence. There is no other event in recorded history to account for the sudden break at this time. A reasonable conclusion is that now, finally, a law was passed with sufficient force behind it to exact compliance in such a way as to have a profound effect on the material prosperity of the city.

Conversion of Temples into Churches

As previously stated, the conversion of pagan temples into Christian churches took place far later in Athens than elsewhere in the Empire except Rome.[226] The Christian community was still in no position to challenge the powerful pagan upper classes; it was perhaps also motivated by a distaste for moving into what might have been regarded as contaminated quarters. There is no evidence of any pagan temple being turned to Christian use before the late 6th century. The conversion of the Parthenon and the Asklepieion may probably be assigned to late in the reign of Justinian.[227] The Hephaisteion and the Erechtheion, on the other hand, very likely retained their pagan, or at least a neutral, status until well on in the 7th century.[228] The Ionic temple on the Ilissos, the only other temple in Athens known to have been transformed into a church,[229] was totally destroyed in the 18th century; the only record of its final phase is Stuart and Revett's brief account and drawing of the exterior.[230]

[225] Lynch ([footnote 181 above, p. 84], p. 167) is of the opinion that it was the Slavic invasion that was responsible for the fact that "these Neoplatonists were the last generation of pagan philosophers in Athens." But the archaeological evidence is so strong that this view is no longer tenable.

[226] P. 70 above; also Frantz, *DOP*, pp. 185–202. For the similar situation in Rome, where, as in Athens, transformation of secular buildings long preceded the conversion of temples, see R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, Princeton 1980, pp. 71 ff.

[227] F. W. Deichmann, "Die Basilika im Parthenon," *AM* 63/4, 1938/9, pp. 127–139. For the Asklepieion, see Frantz, *DOP*.

[228] Hephaisteion, Frantz, *DOP*, pp. 202–205. Erechtheion, *The Erechtheum*, J. Paton, ed., Cambridge, Mass. 1927, pp. 492–523.

[229] The Temple of Olympian Zeus incorporated smaller places of worship but was never converted *in toto*.

[230] J. Stuart and N. Revett, *Antiquities of Athens* I, 2nd ed., London 1825–1830, chap. II, pl. VII, showing a low dome, which suggests a remodeling in the 15th or 16th century, although, like the Hephaisteion, it may have had an earlier Christian phase as well.

THE SLAVIC INVASION

The disintegration of Athens which began from neglect was completed by a temporary but devastating invasion by a band of Slavs and Avars, probably in 582.[231] This attack was only part of a general incursion into Greece which has left its mark in coin hoards in Isthmia, Corinth, Kenchreai, the western Peloponnese (near Olympia), and elsewhere.[232] It is unlikely that Athens was actually occupied by Slavs at this or any other time, but evidence from several parts of the city indicates destruction on so wide a scale as to keep the Agora, at least, and probably most of the rest of the city from reviving in any appreciable way for the rest of the century.[233]

Reference to the Slavic destruction has been made repeatedly in the preceding chapters in connection with individual buildings. A summary of the most important pieces of evidence may be useful. A framework is provided by six hoards or concentrations of coins in the Agora and two elsewhere in the city. The Agora deposits encircle the east, west, and north sides; and a large area of intensive destruction by fire, documented by coins and pottery, completes the circuit on the south side (Pls. 73:a, 74:a). These deposits are as follows:

1) Over the floor of the second period of the large house southeast of the Tholos (18 coins). Latest, Tiberius II, A.D. 578–582.

2) A savings hoard at the northwest corner of the Agora, close to the Panathenaic Way (18 coins). Latest, Tiberius II.

3) A hoard on the north side of the Agora along the Panathenaic Way, apparently buried in a series of holes dug through a hard road level (341 coins). Latest, Tiberius II, A.D. 579.

4) The flour mill (Central Mill) near the south end of the Stoa of Attalos (400 coins). Latest, Tiberius II?

5) The late Roman building on the Broad Street, east of the Post-Herulian Wall (Room G). Contents of a purse (6 coins). Latest, Justin II, A.D. 565–578.

6) The same building, Room 8 (244 coins).[234] Latest, Anastasius I, A.D. 491–518.

The most extensive area of destruction by fire in the last quarter of the 6th century is that of the "School" buildings on the north slope of the Areopagus, which has already been described

[231] Metcalf ("Slavonic Threat") established the date on the basis of five hoards of coins from the Agora and elsewhere in the city. The date has since been corroborated by the discovery of three more hoards (see below).

[232] For references to these, see J. H. Kroll, G. C. Miles, and S. G. Miller, "An Early Byzantine and a Late Turkish Hoard from the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 302–303. The complex problem of the dates, extent, and duration of Slavic infiltration into Greece in general has been debated for over a century and is outside the scope of this book. For a convenient summary, with extensive bibliography, see G. L. Huxley, "The Second Dark Age of the Peloponnese," *Λακονικαὶ Σπουδαί* 3, 1977, pp. 84–110. For the Slavs in Greece with special reference to Thessalonica, see S. Vryonis, "The Evolution of Slavic Society and the Slavic Invasions in Greece," *Hesperia* 50, 1981, pp. 378–390.

[233] Metcalf's caution in minimizing the destruction and the duration of the "interruption of ordinary town life" as "only temporary" is excessive. This judgment was based on the fact that "coins struck in the reigns of Maurice and his successors have been discovered in the Agora in considerable numbers." But a distinction must be made between the reign of Maurice himself, which covers the 20 years after the invasion (A.D. 582–602) and accounts for only 25 coins (1.2 per year) and those of his successors: Phocas (A.D. 602–610), 48 coins (6 per year); Heraclius (A.D. 610–641), 232 coins (7.4 per year); and Constans II (A.D. 641–688), 817 coins (30 per year). These figures are sustained by other archaeological evidence in the Agora, according to which recovery would have set in only in the beginning of the 7th century.

[234] Deposits 1, 2, and 4 were published by D. M. Metcalf ("Slavonic Threat"), deposit 3 by Kroll, Miles, and Miller ([footnote 232 above], pp. 301–305). Deposits 5 and 6 are described briefly in *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 396 (Shear, Jr.). Shear notes that in deposit 5 "the large proportion of clipped, heavily worn and illegible pieces gives the impression that the group was deposited a good deal later."

(pp. 44–48, above). The deposits outside the Agora are a large hoard of 598 coins from the Dipylon and 6 gold coins from an osteotheke southeast of the Acropolis.[235]

The significance of the Slavic attack on Athens is well illustrated by the destruction of the most imposing of the buildings on the Areopagus and the only one of the group to survive the transition from paganism to Christianity. As the year 267 signaled the end of Athens as one of the most important cities of classical antiquity, so 582 marks its end as a provincial cultural center.

[235] These are included in Metcalf, "Slavonic Threat." The latest in the Dipylon hoard, A.D. 577/8; from the osteotheke, Maurice, probably A.D. 582–584.

V

THE PALACE OF THE GIANTS

EXPLORATION AND IDENTIFICATION

The most prominent and probably also the latest product of the burst of building activity that occurred in the area of the ancient Agora in the 4th and 5th centuries was the great central complex which we have now labeled the Palace of the Giants (Pls. 52–54).[1] After a useful life of little more than a century (*ca.* A.D. 410–530), the building was abandoned and subsequently very thoroughly stripped of its masonry. The part that survived longest was a series of colossal figures, Tritons and Giants, that had adorned its façade (Pls. 56–58). They were saved by their sheer bulk and awkward shape which rendered them unattractive for re-use as building material. One of these figures, a Giant, still stands where it was placed soon after A.D. 400 (Pl. 58:c, d). For centuries it kept a solitary watch over the desolate area of the ancient Agora while the foundations of the enormous building to which it belonged were gradually covered by silt and, from the 11th century on, by private houses. As a result of damage done to these houses in the War of Independence this Giant and his fallen companions came to light and soon attracted the attention of the Greek archaeological authorities.[2]

In repeated campaigns (1858, 1870, 1895–1896, 1912) the Archaeological Society in Athens cleared the façade of the building to its full width together with the four piers that had supported the colossal figures.[3] It was now evident that six of these had flanked a triple entranceway leading into the building proper. The Society re-erected the torsos of two Tritons that had fallen from their pedestals and replaced on one of these statues a head that had been carried to Eleusis.

Thus matters stood for over two decades during which time scholars were free to speculate as to the form and function of the structure. But under the circumstances to speculate was still to grope in the dark. Little wonder then that the most detailed reconstruction proposed in those years has proved also to be the farthest from the mark: a large basilica lying east–west across the middle of the Agora.[4] Walter Judeich, the revered master of Athenian topography, writing in 1931, was more reserved but more prescient. In his opinion the building (*Hallenbau*) was probably to be thought of as a kind of central point in the area as it was in Late Antiquity without relevance to the boundaries of the market place of the classical period.[5]

The American excavators reached the area of the Giants in 1934, in the fourth season of the Agora Excavations. In this and the following two seasons the whole extent of the Late Roman

[1] A draft of this chapter was written by John Travlos in 1975. At that time the initial identification of the complex as a gymnasium was still accepted, and this affected the interpretation at many points. The present version takes into account the new identification as an official residence. But the physical description remains largely unaltered, and only a few minor adjustments have been made in the splendid series of plans left by Travlos.

[2] For the history of the Giants up to the middle of the 19th century see C. van Essen, *BCH* 50, 1926, pp. 210–212; Judeich², pp. 230–231; Thompson, "Odeion," pp. 137–139. Especially interesting is the impact made by the standing Giant on Cyriac of Ancona in the 15th century: B. Ashmole, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 45, 1959, pp. 40–41, pls. XIV–XVI. For the Giant emerging from the ruinous houses see the water color by the Swiss artist J. J. Wolfensberger, dated 1834: Wycherley (footnote 6 above, p. 1), frontispiece.

[3] *Συνοπτικὴ Ἔκθεσις τῶν Πράξεων τῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας* 1858/1859, pp. 14–19; *Πρακτικά* 1870/1871, pp. 12, 33 and 1895, p. 19; *AM* 21, 1896, p. 109; *Πρακτικά* 1912, pp. 91–99.

[4] Van Essen (footnote 2 above), pp. 183–212.

[5] Judeich², p. 330.

complex was stripped of its heavy overburden, and the ground plan became fairly clear.[6] As yet attention was concentrated on the earlier buildings the ruins of which underlay those of the Late Roman complex, *viz.* the great Hellenistic stoas and the Odeion of Agrippa. A detailed account of the Odeion appeared in 1950. This publication contained a brief description of the late complex with emphasis on the history of the colossal figures which had served both structures.[7]

The first parts of the great complex to become intelligible in the course of the excavation were the colonnaded courtyard, of which the colossal figures formed the façade, and a bathing establishment farther south. Since the combination of courtyard and bath is one commonly found in gymnasium-bath establishments of Roman Imperial times,[8] the complex was tentatively identified as a gymnasium, and it was suggested that the rooms opening out of the colonnades might have served as classrooms in a predominantly educational institution.

More complete excavation and study, however, have made it apparent that the whole southeastern part of the complex with its two additional colonnaded courtyards each bordered by rooms is unquestionably of a residential character, quite comparable with the large houses of the same period that have now come to light on the slope of the Areopagus just to the south (Pl. 6). It has now become obvious, too, that the bath was scaled to the needs of a residence rather than of a gymnasium of the size suggested by the great north courtyard. Since all these elements were contemporary and parts of one design, the inference seems inescapable that the north courtyard is to be regarded as ancillary to the residence, serving ceremonial needs. Since in its overall scale the establishment as thus envisaged far exceeds any conceivable private residence, we are driven to the conclusion that we have to do with an official institution, the function of which will be explored below (pp. 110–116). These considerations, we believe, justify the change of name from "Gymnasium" to "Palace".

Location

The Palace was planted boldly in the very middle of the area once occupied by the Agora (Pl. 6). At the time of its construction the east side of this area was firmly defined by the Post-Herulian Wall and the west side by the Hellenistic Metroön, now partially rebuilt probably as a synagogue (above, p. 59). Southward the new structure was carried up to the still lofty back wall of South Stoa II which at this time supported an aqueduct. Northward the great complex looked down the Panathenaic Way.

In the placing of the Palace marked attention was paid to the Panathenaic Way, the age-old thoroughfare which still ran diagonally through the area from northwest to southeast (above, pp. 26–29). For the visitor, normally approaching from the northwest, the upward grade of the road made the façade of the new structure seem truly monumental (Pl. 55:a). The terrain had been similarly exploited already by the builders of the Odeion of Agrippa which had previously occupied the site (Pl. 55:c). It was also the pull of the Panathenaic Way that induced a striking departure from axial symmetry in the overall design of the Palace: the southern part was shifted eastward so

[6] *Hesperia* 4, 1935, pp. 360–363, pl. III; 5, 1936, pp. 6–15, fig. 13; and 6, 1937, pp. 357–358, pl. IX (Shear, Sr.). Details of the Palace complex were elucidated in the course of subsequent exploration of the earlier buildings on the site, e.g., *Hesperia* 22, 1953, pp. 40–41 and 35, 1966, p. 45 (Thompson).

[7] Thompson, "Odeion," esp. pp. 134–139. For brief general accounts of the Palace see *Agora* XIV, pp. 211–213; *Agora Guide*³, pp. 110–115; J. Camp, *The Athenian Agora*, London 1986, p. 200.

[8] On the blend of gymnasium and thermae, see Ward-Perkins, *Architecture*, pp. 292–296 with bibliography. The phenomenon is well illustrated by the great gymnasia of the cities of Asia Minor. See for example F. Miltner, *Ephesos*, Vienna 1958, pp. 58–68 (Gymnasium of Vedius) and F. K. Yegül, *Archaeological Exploration of Sardis, Report 3: The Bath-Gymnasium Complex*, Cambridge, Mass. 1986, esp. pp. 147–151. See also W. Heinz, *Römische Thermen*, Munich 1983, *passim*, and bibliography, pp. 209–215.

that the suite of rooms (33–41; see Pl. 54) in the southeast block might overlook the famous old street. This arrangement also facilitated access to the "kitchen entrance" below that suite.

The continuing importance of the Panathenaic Way is evident also in the placing of the structures to the north of the Palace (Pl. 6). The fact that a freestanding wall was carried northward from the northwest corner of the Palace to the site of the Temple of Ares indicates that some structure stood at this time on the foundations of the temple, probably the temple itself.[9] North of the temple site an enigmatic square building with peristyle court faced eastward on the Panathenaic Way (above, p. 66), while the round or apsidal structure still farther north was placed in the angle between the Way and the ancient west road of the Agora (above, p. 60).

This row of new buildings that bordered the west side of the Panathenaic Way definitely turned their backs on what was probably a rather bleak area to the west. On the east they were to be screened before long from an equally unattractive area by a freestanding wall against which was set the aqueduct that carried water to a series of flour mills (above, pp. 80–82).

An interesting and significant element in the overall design of the Palace was the inclusion of extensive "garden" areas to east and west of the southern half of the building complex (Pls. 6, 55:a). The bounding walls, of poor rubble concrete, extended out from the southeast and southwest corners of the North Court. Thence the walls could be traced to the northeast and northwest corners of the Middle Stoa. Farther south no actual remains have survived, but both walls undoubtedly continued south to the line of the ancient roadway that bordered the south side of the ancient Agora. Although no traces of planting have been detected in these much ravaged areas we may suppose that they were indeed planted with trees and shrubs for the delectation of the residents of the Palace.

With its overall limits thus established the Palace is seen to occupy most of the triangular space bounded to east, west, and south by three of the oldest roads known in Athens, the lines of which were perpetuated in important thoroughfares until our own times.

The Palace sprawled over the thoroughly stripped foundations of a number of ancient buildings (Pl. 53): the Odeion of Agrippa, the Middle Stoa, South Stoa II, and the two shadowy temples that once rose between those two stoas.[10] For the most part the builders of the 5th century after Christ paid little attention to the ancient foundations. In the case of the Odeion of Agrippa, however, there appears to have been some conscious relationship between the old and the new. Not only did the North Court of the Palace assume the same axial emplacement as the Odeion, but in its shape and dimensions it closely approximated its predecessor. One is tempted in fact to suppose that the original intention was to have the North Court coincide completely with the Odeion, but that for some reason the court was shoved northward in the final design by 13.60 m. Inasmuch as the emplacement of the North Court in relation to the Odeion resulted in little or no saving in the cost of construction, the close physical relationship may be taken to suggest a deliberate effort to revive in some measure a famous ancient monument.

Overall Plan

The plan of the Palace comprised four major parts: the North Court, the South Court complex, the Southeast Court complex, and the Bath. In addition may be noted the elaborate connecting link

[9] The Temple of Ares certainly suffered in the Herulian raid of A.D. 267 as shown by the re-use of some of its marble in the Post-Herulian Wall. See W. B. Dinsmoor, *Hesperia* 9, 1940, p. 52; M. H. McAllister, *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 1–64, esp. p. 41. But the fragments found in the Wall derive from the ceiling of the temple, probably all from its east end. Fragments of other parts of the building (steps, walls, columns, entablature, roofing, and akroterion) were found scattered around the foundations. One must therefore consider the possibility that the temple had been repaired after the Herulian raid and that it was still standing 150 years later when the Palace was built.

[10] *Agora Guide*[3], p. 160.

between the North and South Courts (Rooms 9–12) and the walled, presumably garden areas to east and west of the main block. All these parts belong to the original plan; only minimal adjustments and repairs have been detected.

The North Court (Rooms 1–8), monumental in scale and in its sculptural adornment, has the appearance of an area for receptions and formal exercises. The smaller South Court (Rooms 13–20) also has a suggestion of formality, especially in the presence of the spacious room opening off its south colonnade. The still smaller Southeast Court, bordered by rooms on three sides (Rooms 22–41), has an intimate, genuinely residential character. We shall find reason to believe that the principal living rooms of the master and his family occupied the *piano nobile* of the eastern side of the Southeast Court complex; these rooms looked out across the Panathenaic Way. The bathing facilities to the west of the South Court (Rooms 42–49), balancing the Southeast Court complex, were presumably intended primarily for the use of the residents, but the plan suggests that they were also meant to be conveniently accessible from the North Court.

The overall dimensions of the Palace are 84 meters from east to west and 129 m. from north to south. The building proper covered an area of *ca.* 5000 sq. m. while the whole establishment, including the enclosed garden spaces, measured *ca.* 13,500 sq. m., i.e., about one quarter of the total area of the old Agora.

State of Preservation

The present state of the building comes out in general from the photographs (Pls. 52, 57). The foundations of rubble concrete are preserved throughout with few gaps, thus permitting an almost complete restoration of the plan. In only a very few places, however, do the walls still rise above floor level: in the east wall of the North Court, in the Bath, and notably in the semibasement rooms in the east block of the Southeast Court complex where they are preserved to a height of 2.60 m. (Pl. 60:b). In none of the courtyards, however, is the stylobate sufficiently preserved to indicate the spacing or the form of the columns, and in only a few cases is there evidence for the precise position or width of the doorways.

Slight remnants of marble wall revetment remain in the Bath (Pls. 64, 65), and a few detached fragments found in the east block of the Southeast Court complex must come from an upper room in that area (Pl. 63:a). A few tesserae (Pl. 63:b) from floor mosaic found along with these bits of revetment are the only evidence for the use of mosaic in the whole complex, a surprising fact. Some terracotta floor tiles are still to be seen in Rooms 14, 17, and 18, opening off the south colonnade of the South Court (Pl. 59:a) and in the open area of the Southeast Court (22). Of the six colossal figures re-used in the entrance façade only one, a Giant, as noted above, has survived in place; the torsos of two Tritons found on the spot have been re-erected. The head of one of these Tritons has been found at Eleusis and reattached to its torso; the head of another Triton, likewise found at Eleusis, is now exhibited in the Stoa of Attalos. Several non-joining fragments found on the site are likewise preserved in the Stoa.

Construction

The Palace with its multiple parts was laid out on the ground with a fair degree of care. The North Court, to be sure, is *ca.* 0.40 m. longer on the east than on the west side, but this deviation would not have been noticeable. The masonry also, insofar as it is preserved, shows good, honest workmanship.

The foundations were everywhere carried down to bedrock. Beneath the contemporary ground level they consisted of small, unworked stones set in an abundance of strong, white mortar made of sand and lime. This part was poured in a trench without forms and so is readily distinguishable by reason of its rough and irregular faces from the carefully finished part above ground level. The clear line of demarcation is a useful indication of the ground level at the time of construction. The foundations are normally only a few centimeters thicker than the upper wall.

The walls above floor level consist for the most part of unworked stone set in the same white mortar as that used in the foundations. The stone masonry is interrupted at intervals by courses of red burnt brick measuring 0.42 × 0.21 × 0.04 m. (Pls. 60:b–62:a). The bricks are well made and were apparently manufactured expressly for this building. No stamps have been noted. Bricks occur normally in single courses, occasionally in two, rarely in three. The individual bricks were set in both faces of the wall, sometimes as stretchers and sometimes as headers. The normal thickness of the wall is 0.67–0.68 m. with slight variations. Bricks were also used extensively at special points: especially to reinforce corners and door openings, in the construction of vaults, and probably also in the arcading of the peristyle courts. In addition to the rectangular bricks, use was also made of square bricks of the same consistency measuring 0.30 m. to the side; these occur, apparently indiscriminately, in certain parts of the building.

In the construction of the foundations and upper walls, in addition to the unworked stone, many ancient blocks were employed. Some of these were salvaged from the ruins of the earlier buildings on the site. They were normally fragmentary: small pieces of limestone or poros preserving only one worked face. A number of step blocks from the Middle Stoa were also incorporated, notably in the foundation for the east wall of the Southeast Court (Pl. 60:b). A few fragmentary column drums and capitals from the Odeion have been noted in the foundations of the North Court. Finally, some large river boulders were included in the concrete of the walls.

One would have expected the wall surfaces above floor level to be plastered, yet no trace of plaster has been observed on either the inside or outside faces of the, admittedly very slight, remains of the walls. This may be due to chance in survival, to economy in construction, or to incompletion, most probably the last. A dozen fragments of marble revetment of various kinds found in the basement rooms of the Southeast Court complex undoubtedly derive from the *piano nobile* above. The same may be said of a few fragments of floor mosaic found in the same place. Marble revetment was used freely in both the floors and the walls of the Bath.

Throughout most of the complex the floors were apparently of clay. This applies to both of the larger courts and to most of the adjacent rooms. In the small Southeast Court, however, the excavators found remnants of terracotta-tile flooring, as also in the five rooms (14–18) adjoining the middle part of the south side of the South Court (Pl. 59:a). For the curious treatment of the floor in the northernmost basement room of the Southeast Court complex see below (p. 106).

North Court

The North Court (1) served as a monumental vestibule to the Palace (Pl. 55:a, b). Its north façade was pierced by three broad openings which gave access to a large open area, measuring *ca.* 29.40 × 37.80 m., bordered by colonnades on its east, west, and south sides. The entrances were flanked by colossal figures of Tritons and Giants salvaged from the ruins of the earlier building on the site, *viz.* the Odeion of Agrippa. The massive piers supporting these figures measured 2.40 × 3.30 m. in plan. They were carefully constructed of ancient blocks in horizontal courses with some mortar between. Among the re-used material in the piers is a fragment of one of the double Ionic columns from the upper storey of the façade of the Stoa of Attalos (A 1401). The lateral piers were crowned with re-used marble geisa placed upside down (A 1303–A 1307).

Only three of the great torsos have been found by the excavators (Pls. 57, 58).[11] It is assumed, however, that all six of the figures made in the Antonine period for the new façade of the Odeion (Pl. 55:c), having lain for a century and a half among the ruins of that building, were salvaged and re-used by the builders of the Palace. The marble pedestals of the easternmost and westernmost of the figures now standing are ancient; the pedestal second from the east is a modern restoration in poros. The fact that the figure which has remained upright stood close to a corner of its pier may be taken to indicate that this and the other middle pier each carried two pedestals with their respective statues, leaving only single figures for the lateral positions. An anta may confidently be restored on either extremity of the series as in the Odeion of Agrippa.

Since nothing apart from the colossal figures and their pedestals has survived from the façade, the restoration of the architectural superstructure must be largely conjectural. It may be taken as certain, however, that the openings were arcuated rather than trabeated. In the Odeion for which they were originally designed the pilasters behind the figures are assumed to have carried a horizontal entablature. But the interaxial span in the façade of the Odeion was only 3.83 m. whereas in the façade of the Palace the central opening measured *ca.* 5.60 m. and the lateral openings *ca.* 4.20 m. Such spans called for arches.

The three arched openings must have been set in a wall resting on top of the piers behind the sculptured pedestals (Pl. 55). The available space, as indicated by the positioning of the one Giant that has remained in place, would have accommodated a wall with a thickness equal to that of the outer walls of the Palace, i.e., *ca.* 0.68 m. The sculptured pedestals bearing the Corinthian pilasters each with its Atlas-like Giant would thus have stood in front of the wall but would have been tied to the wall by protrusions of the entablature, the result being a decorative screen analogous to that familiar on fully developed monumental arches such as those of Septimius Severus and of Constantine in Rome. So much may be regarded as reasonably certain, but for the restoration of the uppermost part of the façade no evidence exists. It is possible, however, that the projecting sections of entablature supported freestanding statues as on the Arch of Contantine. If so, the wall would presumably have been carried up high enough to serve as a background for the statues and to constitute an attic. But this has seemed too speculative to be included in the restored drawing.

The complete disappearance of the wall behind the Giants may seem puzzling. It may be assumed, however, that in this most prominent part of the building, and one in which great strength was required, the architect would have employed the best available material, either marble or brick; either of these would have invited the attention of vandals after the abandonment of the Palace.

The ground level in the line of the façade is indicated by the construction of the piers below the "Giants" (Pl. 57). These piers were topped with two low courses of re-used marble blocks, below which the masonry was unsightly and surely not intended to be visible. We may therefore restore a ground level between the piers 0.30–0.40 m. below the bottoms of the pedestals for the Giants. No trace of thresholds or other arrangements for gates has been observed. Such may have vanished along with the wall behind the Giants, but it seems more probable that the passageways were not intended to be closed and that consequently the North Court was meant to be readily accessible to the public.

At the time of construction the general ground level to the north of the North Court lay *ca.* 1.80 m. below the floor level within the Court. One would have expected the difference to be made good by a broad flight of steps leading up to the façade, but no remains of such have come to light in the excavations. A less formal arrangement therefore seems probable, *viz.* a simple earth ramp. This is probably to be construed as one of several signs of incompletion (below, p. 108).

[11] For a detailed account of the colossal figures, see Thompson, "Odeion," pp. 103–124.

Little can be said about the towers that flanked the façade on either side (3, 4). They undoubtedly rose higher than the central part, however that may have been finished above, and in all probability they had plain façades providing effective contrast with the "baroque" middle part. Each tower had the east–west width of the lateral colonnades in the North Court. The interior measured *ca.* 1.60 × 4.40 m. The south foundation had the same depth and thickness as that for the outer walls and stylobate of the North Court. This makes improbable the restoration of an exedra with an arched front like those in the Stoa of Attalos. More probably the small rooms contained stairs. Since access must have been from the south, the available space could scarcely have accommodated a stairway for the public, but it would have sufficed for a narrow stair for service purposes.

The North Court proper was severely simple in plan. The open space was bordered by colonnades on three sides, 5.10 m. wide on east and west, 6.00 m. on the south. A little of the visible part of the east outer wall survives near the north end; its thickness is 0.68 m. The foundations beneath the colonnades had a normal thickness of 0.80 m., but in their northern parts the lateral foundations were thickened to 1.20 m. because of the greater depth due to the sloping ground level. Since the stylobate could not have exceeded *ca.* 0.80 m. in width there is little possibility of a second step below the stylobate.

None of the stylobate has survived, nor has anything been recognized from the superstructure of the colonnades, neither columns, capitals, nor entablature. Restoration must therefore be little more than guesswork. A clue, however, is provided by a peculiarity of construction in the foundations at the southeast and southwest corners of the courtyard where protruding spurs exist for arches set diagonally across the portico. The most plausible explanation is that the diagonal arches were intended to take up the thrust of arcuated construction in both the north–south and east–west colonnades. Similar spurs occur in the South Court at its northwest and northeast corners, although, surprisingly, not in the south corners. In the Southeast Court no such construction has been observed, and here presumably the entablature was trabeated. In the two larger courtyards the arches in the colonnades were presumably of brickwork. In order to account for the excavators' failure to find any remains of columns, John Travlos was prepared to consider the possibility that the arches had been carried on rectangular piers of masonry, and this is the construction indicated in the restored drawing of the North and South Courts (Pl. 54). It must be recognized, however, that such economical construction would have been very unusual in an important building of this period, especially in one of its most prominent parts; the possibility should be admitted that the arches were supported by round marble columns which proved irresistible to those who looted the Palace after its abandonment.

Masses of masonry projecting from the outer face of the south outer foundation of the North Court mark the positions of niches presumably for statuary. Four may be restored with a size suitable for single figures of life size. A larger niche facing the length of each of the lateral colonnades could have sheltered a pair of statues or a sculptural group. No sculpture of suitable date has been found within the limits of the Palace.

Rooms protruded from the sides of the North Court: one apsidal and one rectangular on the west, two rectangular on the east.[12] In all four cases the walls have been stripped down to the foundations, nor has anything of the superstructures been found. We may assume, however, that all the rooms are to be restored as exedrae opening on the colonnades through arched or colonnaded fronts.[13] Such exedrae were a common feature of the palaestrae in the great baths of Rome and the

[12] Two short remnants of foundation projecting from the west wall of the Court near its southwest corner may represent another small exedra (Pl. 53).

[13] Less probable is the restoration of doorways as envisaged, for instance, in the perspective restoration in Plate 55:a.

provinces, but a model was closer at hand in the Library of Hadrian in Athens where two apsidal and one rectangular exedra extended out from either side of the court (Pl. 51:b).

The two western exedrae were thrust out into a completely open space. The smaller of the two was centered on the west side of the North Court while its larger neighbor was squeezed into the space that remained to the north. This apsidal exedra would undoubtedly have looked out into the court through a colonnade. The thinness of the outer wall calls for wooden roofing rather than a semidome.[14]

On the east side of the North Court the architect had a less free hand. The proximity of the Panathenaic Way ruled out the possibility of a semicircular exedra symmetrical with that on the west side. Farther south he was inhibited by the presence of a large monument of early Roman date with a tomblike basement chamber, which was still respected. The solution was to construct near the middle of the east side two small rooms sharing a party wall; the plan of the northern room was distorted out of respect for the earlier monument.

A large square room, the foundations of which came to light at the southeast corner of the North Court, is earlier than the Palace, as shown by the fact that it extended southward beyond the southern side of the North Court (Pl. 53). The west wall of the room presumably rested on the surviving foundation of the east wall of the Odeion. The south foundation of the room was overlaid by the garden wall of the Palace. The room measured internally *ca.* 7.40 m. to the side. The concrete foundations, although not identical to those of the North Court, are indubitably also Late Roman. The structure conceivably served some temporary purpose in the early part of the building program.

Passage from the North Court to the South Court

Access to the South Court of the complex was by way of an opening in the middle of the south side of the North Court (Pl. 54) and thence through a rectangular vestibule (9) measuring internally 4.80 × 5.60 m. Traces in the mortar bedding for the threshold of the vestibule call for a pair of columns. From the vestibule one proceeded into a larger rectangular chamber measuring 8.20 × 10.10 m. internally (10) and thence on southward into a semicircular corridor 22.60 m. in diameter and *ca.* 4 m. wide (11). The inner side of the corridor is presumably to be restored with a colonnade bordering a semicircular area open to the sky. The corridor was paved with marble slabs as indicated by imprints in the slight remains of the mortar bedding. The extremely ruinous state of this interesting suite of rooms is regrettable, not least because it leaves us with no indication of what provision was made for the difference in level between the North Court and the South Court. This difference was considerable inasmuch as the stylobate of the North Court was 59.03 m. above sea level while the floor of the semicircular corridor lay at + 60.50 m. In the absence of evidence we may restore two or three steps leading up from the vestibule into the large chamber and again from the large chamber into the semicircular corridor.

The semicircular corridor gave access to a long gallery measuring 38.80 m. in length and *ca.* 5 m. in width (12). The south side of this gallery formed the north wall of the South Court. The ends of the gallery can be fixed from slight remains of their foundations, but its north wall was utterly destroyed by those who robbed the north foundations of the Middle Stoa on which that wall had stood. The surviving remains preserve no precise indication of how the long gallery communicated

[14] Beneath the foundation for the semicircular exedra is a concrete foundation for the northwest corner of an unfinished rectangular room projecting from the wall of the North Court; it measures *ca.* 8.20 m. east–west, *ca.* 3.70 m. north–south (Pl. 53).

with the south part of the complex. From the relationship of the parts we may assume, however, that through openings in the south wall of the gallery one might have entered both the peristyle of the South Court and the Bath.

South Court

The South Court was appreciably smaller than its northern neighbor. It was bordered on all four sides by porticoes surrounding an open space measuring 19.60 × 22.40 m. Since the porticoes were 4.70–4.80 m. deep, the overall dimensions of the Court were *ca.* 30.60 × 33.20 m. The difference of 2.80 m. in the length of the stylobate on the short and the long sides probably represents the interaxial spacing of the columns; if so this indicates a plan with 8 × 9 columns. Although some 11.90 m. of the south stylobate is preserved in place, it is of little help in refining the plan, since it consists of a variety of re-used blocks, the cuttings in their tops dating from previous use.

Apart from this run of stylobate late pillagers have stripped this part of the building down to its bare foundations, leaving no remnant of the superstructure. Here, as in the North Court, arcuated construction seems more probable than trabeated. In the northwest and northeast corners of the peristyle court are concrete foundations suitable for the support of the oblique arches intended, perhaps here as in the North Court, to sustain the thrust of terminal arches in arcuated colonnades, although it is puzzling here, as in the North Court, why all corners of the peristyle were not treated alike. Slight remains to the east of the southeast corner of the peristyle (32) suggest an entrance from the garden area.

Escape for rainwater was apparently provided by a terracotta drain that ran southward from a point near the middle of the south portico to empty into the Great Drain (Pl. 53).

The focal point of the South Court was the entrance to the large room (14), measuring 8.00 × 9.78 m., that opened on the south colonnade. This imposing chamber was set on axis. It was flanked on either side by a pair of smaller rooms with which there was probably direct communication, although the present state of the foundations does not permit the certain location of doorways. That these five rooms constituted a group may be inferred from the common use of flooring made of square terracotta tiles measuring 0.545 m. to the side (Pl. 59:a). To east and west of this central group the corners of the South Court were occupied by small rooms of equal size which presumably opened directly on the south colonnade. We have no evidence regarding the treatment of the openings into these various rooms, but we may assume that the great central chamber had a colonnaded front.

The west side of the South Court was bordered in its northern half by the Bath (42–49), of which more below (pp. 107–108). South of the Bath the ruins of the Palace period are extremely exiguous, so much so that it has been difficult to establish even the outlines of the structures. There appear, however, to have been two buildings, one small (50, 51) and one large (52–54). In neither case is there evidence of direct communication with the court. Thrust out into the "back yard", these buildings probably served some modest purpose related to the domestic needs of the Palace.

The west wall of the South Court was carried south to what had been the south wall of South Stoa II but which now supported an aqueduct (above, p. 14). In the angle were inserted two rooms, one L-shaped and one rectangular (21). This pair of rooms, which communicated with each other, was entered from the garden area through a broad doorway (Pl. 54). The location of the rooms and the unusual width of the doorway (2.20 m.) have suggested the possibility of a stable and carriage house. Nothing in the way of stalls or mangers has come to light, but the setting corresponds nicely with the recommendations given by Xenophon and Vitruvius: the stable should have a sheltered location; there should be room for exercise in the open; the place should be within view of the owner to enable him to keep an eye on the health of the animals and to reduce the danger of theft.[15]

Southeast Court

Adjoining the east side of the South Court is the third major element in the plan of the Palace: the Southeast Court (Pls. 60–63). The two courts apparently communicated with one another through a doorway in the east wall of the South Court via Room 31. The Southeast Court was certainly accessible from outside through a doorway in its east wall near its southeast corner. The overall dimensions of this wing were 26.20 × 32.30 m. The open area of the court was square, 6.85 m. to the side, and was bordered on all four sides by colonnades 3.70 m. wide. Although the base foundations afford no certain evidence for the column spacing, a reasonable solution would be four columns to a side. Nothing remains of columns or entablature. The open court was paved with terracotta tiles 0.565–0.58 m. square. A well opened in the middle of the stylobate of the north colonnade of the court.

The north side of the court was bordered by an assemblage of seven rooms in two east–west rows (24–30). The condition of the foundations does not permit the sure location of doorways so that the arrangement on the plan is admittedly arbitrary. Nor have we evidence for the use of the individual rooms except in the case of the northeastern member of the group (29). In the northeast corner of this room is preserved the lower part of a latrine of the simple type familiar in the houses of the period (above, pp. 33–34; Pl. 21:f). The arrangement consisted of an east–west trench, floored with two large, concave pan tiles set against the north wall of the room. The inner side of the trench was supported by a wall of rubble masonry the top of which was level with the floor of the room. The trench opened at its west end into a rectangular terracotta drain that came down from the south and continued northward into the eastern "garden area" of the Palace. The drain, in addition to serving the latrine, presumably also carried off rainwater from the Southeast Court, a sensible plumbing arrangement commonly employed in antiquity.

Set axially on the south side of the Court was the principal room in this section of the Palace (23). Measuring 4.30 × 5.02 m., it was a good deal smaller than the corresponding chamber in the South Court (8.00 × 9.78 m.). We have no indication of how the room opened on the south colonnade, but, in view of the limited width of the room, probability favors an arched opening rather than columns.

The remaining foundations on the south side of the court permit the recovery of an outline plan, but they yield no indication for the placement of doorways. Hence the restored plan on Plate 54 is to some extent arbitrary. Most puzzling is Room 31, the angular "corridor" *ca.* 1.40 m. wide wrapped around the south side of Room 23. At its west end we assume that it permitted passage between the South and the Southeast Courts. At its east end one might have expected it to join the east–west corridor (33–35) that led in from the doorway in the east wall of the complex. But there is no indication of a doorway at the critical point, and a considerable difference in floor levels virtually rules out the possibility of continuity between the two corridors.

The most probable interpretation of Room 31 is that it housed in its south and east parts a stairway leading up to the upper storey that is to be restored above the east block of the Southeast Court complex (see below, p. 106). This would have permitted a desirable means of communication between that upper floor, which appears to have been the "master suite" of the whole establishment, and the

[15] Xenophon, *de re equestri* IV.1; Vitruvius, VI.6.4. For a good discussion of Greek and Roman stables, see Rostovtzeff *et al.*, *Dura Europos*, pp. 73–75. J. K. Anderson (*Ancient Greek Horsemanship*, Berkeley 1961) deals with stable management in chapter VII. For detailed documentation, see G. Lafaye in C. Daremberg and E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines*, Paris 1875, II, i, *s.v. equile*, pp. 743–745; *s.v. equitium*, pp. 791–794.

South Court, not to mention the Bath adjoining that court. No trace of a stair has been observed in Room 31. Some external evidence, however, supports the restoration. From the southeast corner of the room rectangular foundations of rubble masonry project, one eastward and one southward. These conceivably carried buttresses to counter the thrust of vaults supporting a stairway of masonry rising in two flights. Since the structures resting on the rectangular foundations had been demolished at a late date but while the Palace was still in use, the stair also may have been removed at the same time, a time when the upper storey of the east block may no longer have existed.

The east block of the Southeast Court complex comprised a series of rooms (33–41), the floors of which lay at a level 1.10 m. below that of the Southeast Court. This suite was accessible from the courtyard through a doorway near its southeast corner. The suite could also be reached from outside the building through a doorway in its east wall. On entering through this door one descended by a flight of steps, some six or seven in number, of which the bottom two remain in place. The stair was roughly put together of miscellaneous re-used blocks; the steps show heavy wear from foot traffic. From the bottom of this stair a broad corridor led westward up a gentle slope into the courtyard (33–35).

Through the north wall of this east–west corridor a doorway led into Room 37, a somewhat broader north–south corridor 3.30 m. wide, which served as a common lobby for the four rooms that opened on it (38–41). Rooms 38–40 had earthen floors; their walls were unplastered. The individual chambers differed markedly from one another in both shape and dimensions.

The southernmost (38) was square in plan, 4.00 m. to the side; it opened on the lobby through a narrow doorway. Next to the north was a larger room (39) measuring 4.00 × 5.20 m., with an open front supported by two columns, the square bases of which have left stains on the marble threshold. Within the room were found two unfluted column shafts of Pentelic marble that probably stood on these bases. One measures 2.39 m. in height, 0.325 m. in lower diameter; its workmanship suggests a date in the 4th century B.C. The other, with a height of *ca.* 2.475 m. and lower diameter of 0.295 m., is probably of early Roman date. Whereas both these column shafts had obviously been re-used in the Palace, an anta capital found in the same area may well have been carved for the Palace (Pl. 63:c).[16] Its sides are adorned in low relief with acanthus leaves, both smooth and rough, alternating with lotus leaves. The marble is Pentelic, the carving remarkably sure and fine. It is possible, indeed probable, that both the column shafts and the anta capital derive not from the ground floor but from the upper floor, the plans of the two floors presumably being substantially identical.

Next we come to 40, a room of unusual plan: square front part entered through a broad doorway; back of this an eastward projection measuring 1.20 × 5.50 m. The north and south ends of the extension to a length of 1.50 m. were roofed with barrel vaults built of brick, whereas the middle part rose higher, conceivably to serve as a kind of flue (Pl. 61:a).

Finally, at its north end, the lobby brought one to the largest and obviously the principal room of the suite (41). One entered through a doorway *ca.* 1.70 m. wide. The main area of the room had inside dimensions of 6.10 (width) × 6.70 m.; but the rear part, 3.50 m. in depth, was contracted to a width of 4.55 m. The floor of the room lay on a filling of earth *ca.* 0.50 m. above roughly dressed

[16] A 2268. A. Frantz, *The Middle Ages in the Athenian Agora* (Agora Picture Book No. 7), Princeton 1961, ill. 8. Height 0.284 m.; resting surface 0.296 × 0.35 m.; top surface 0.385 × 0.464 m. I am not aware of any close parallel to this capital either in the scheme of decoration or in quality of workmanship. For approximations see R. Kautzsch, *Kapitallstudien*, Berlin/Leipzig 1936, p. 83, pl. 17, no. 244 (Corinth); A. Orlandos, *Ἡ Ξυλόστεγος Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ Βασιλική* II, Athens 1954, pp. 318, 320, fig. 276 (Nea Anchialos, Basilica A). For a recent extended study of this type of capital see V. Deroche, "L'acanthe de l'Arc d'Hadrien et ses dérivées en Grèce propre," *BCH* 111, 1987, pp. 425–453, again without close parallels.

bedrock. This packing was surfaced with a thin layer of small field stones and broken roof tiles carefully laid in north–south bands with east–west borders on the north and south sides (Pl. 59:b). The pebbles and sherds were bedded in crumbly lime mortar; as found they were overlaid with a thin layer of clay. This can scarcely have been the intended surface of the floor. Most probably the layer of field stones and broken tiles was meant as underpinning for a marble floor laid in bands. The marble would surely have been bedded on a thin layer of mortar.[17] The operation would seem to have been interrupted after the laying of the layer of field stones and broken tiles. The layer of clay may be regarded as an economical way of making the floor usable. This then may be taken as one more indication of incompletion in the original project (below, p. 108).

Southward of the east–west corridor, at the extreme southeast corner of the Southeast Court complex, is an octagonal room measuring 7.04 m. from side to side externally (36). The preserved lower parts of the wall show the most careful construction to be found anywhere in the Palace (Pl. 60). Large, re-used poros blocks were set at intervals, and the intervening spaces were then filled with brickwork. The walls are unique in the Palace also because of their great thickness: 0.86 m. Such construction implies unusual height for the octagon: it was undoubtedly a tower. The doorway had neither jambs nor threshold, and so, presumably, there was no door. The floor was roughly cobbled with small stones. Against the middle of the east wall opened a well, undoubtedly contemporary with the Palace and conveniently situated to supply the needs of the suite to the north.

The high-rising tower was a familiar architectural form in Late Antiquity, especially in villas.[18] In our case, however, the idea may have been suggested by the well-preserved Tower of the Winds, of Hellenistic date and just a little larger than the tower in the Palace: greatest width 7.80 *vs.* 7.04 m.

Various indications taken together attest the existence of an upper storey above the rooms in the eastern block of the Southeast Court complex. In the first place it is hard to see why, if there was to be only a single storey, its floor level should have been set so much lower than the floor level of the adjoining area to the west or than the ground level outdoors to the east. Moreover, the walls in this area are unusually thick and built with special care; they were certainly capable of carrying a second storey. Finally, a number of fragments of wall revetment of colored marble and numerous chunks of floor mosaic were found among the debris of abandonment on the floors of the rooms just described (Pl. 63:a, b). Since there is no indication that either floor mosaic or wall revetment was employed in these ground-floor rooms, that material may be assumed to have fallen from an upper storey. The floor plan of this upper storey must have followed closely that of the lower, but the precious materials noted above suggest that the upper floor was the *piano nobile* of the Palace. The rooms at this higher level would have been more open to summer breezes; they would also have commanded splendid views eastward toward the Acropolis and Mount Hymettos, northward down the Panathenaic Way.

[17] A comparable layer of potsherds was found beneath the mortar immediately underlying the marble floor slabs in the orchestra of the Odeion of Agrippa: Thompson, "Odeion," p. 59, pl. 42:a. Cf. also the underpinning for the orchestra floor of the Theater of Dionysos: E. Fiechter, *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen* I, Stuttgart 1935, pp. 55–60.

[18] P. Grimal, "Les Maisons à tour hellénistiques et romaines," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École française de Rome* 56, 1939, pp. 28–59; R. Paribeni, "Le dimore dei potentiores nel basso impero," *RM* 55, 1940, pp. 131–148; Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, pp. 119–123, figs. 109, 111–113 (villa mosaics at Carthage and Tabarka); McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces*, pp. 236–237, pl. 76, fig. 75. Among the Late Roman additions to the Forum Baths at Ostia is an octagonal room with wide windows intended undoubtedly as a pleasant place to sit and watch the passing scene, although the room was apparently only one storey in height: Meiggs (footnote 211 above, p. 89), p. 414, fig. 29. Octagonal foundations, apparently for a tall structure, are emerging in the Villa of Theseus at Nea Paphos on Cyprus: W. A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser*, Mainz 1985, p. 17, fig. 1; *idem*, *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 1984, p. 296.

No trace of a stairway leading to an upper storey has come to light within the east block of the Southeast Court complex. It appears therefore that the upper floor was accessible only by the stair that we have found reason to restore in Room 31.

Bath

The small but elegant bathing facility at the northwest corner of the South Court (Pls. 64–66:a) is undoubtedly a part of the original design of the Palace. This is shown by the interlocking plans as well as by the identity of materials and masonry. Although the foundations are preserved almost throughout, thus assuring the overall plan, they stand high enough in only one or two cases to indicate the position of doorways; hence the relationship among rooms as proposed in the restored plan (Pls. 53, 54) is all too often arbitrary.

The heated area of the bath (*caldarium*) is readily recognizable in the southwestern part of the block, a location recommended by Vitruvius (v.10.1) centuries earlier (43–45). This position assured full exposure to the sun in the afternoons, the usual time for bathing. The adjoining room to the north (42), a long rectangle in plan, has no provision for heating, nor have the three water basins that opened off its north side. This will have been the cool or cold room (*frigidarium*). The dressing room (*apodyterium*) is probably to be recognized in the large room (46) between the *caldarium* and the South Court, while the series of three small rooms to the south (47–49) presumably served some of the practical needs of the bath and its personnel.

How the Bath proper was entered is problematic. We may assume, however, that the principal approach was from the South Court, probably through Room 46. But the fact that the long corridor north of the South Court (12) was carried westward to overlap the Bath strongly suggests that one could enter the Bath also from the corridor.

All three rooms of the *caldarium* were heated by hypocausts. Each compartment received hot air from a furnace set at a low level against its south side, while the west room, much the largest, had a second furnace on its west side. The hypocausts beneath all three rooms communicated with each other (Pl. 53).

The pillars supporting the floors of the heated rooms were of brick, some round, some square. All the tiles disappeared during World War II, but a small remnant of the flooring has survived in the northeast corner of Room 45 (Pl. 65:a). The construction was normal: the brick piers carried large tiles above which was a layer of field stones 0.15 m. thick bedded in gray mortar; on this rested a layer of mortar 0.10 m. thick containing many fragments of tile and much pounded tile; this served as the bedding for floor slabs of Pentelic marble 0.02 m. thick.

The walls of this part of the bath were also revetted with thin slabs of Pentelic marble backed by a layer, 0.04 m. thick, of mortar containing pounded brick, continuous with that below the marble flooring. At the sides of the doorway leading into the central room of the *caldarium* the lower ends of two marble jambs have survived *in situ* (Pl. 66:a).

It may be assumed that the three niches opening off the western room in the *caldarium* (44) and the one at the south end of the eastern room (45) contained warm-water basins for bathing. The water would have been warmed by the hypocausts which ran continuous below the niches.

The massive nature of its foundations indicates that the central, round room (43) was covered with a dome provided, no doubt, with an opening (*oculus*) in its top and a damper to control ventilation. The ground plan leaves little doubt that the *caldarium* comprised two distinct parts: the central and west rooms (43, 44) that intercommunicated and were entered from the *frigidarium* (42), through a doorway certainly attested in the semicircular niche, and the smaller eastern suite (45) that seems to have had a separate entrance from the *frigidarium*. It is tempting to suppose that the two suites were intended respectively for men and women as in the Baths of Pompeii.

In the large east–west room that we take to be the *frigidarium* (42) a nearly square area is marked off at each end by a transverse foundation on which we have restored pairs of columns to produce exedra-like spaces. The three water basins that bordered the north side of the large room were revetted, both floors and walls, in Pentelic marble applied in the same technique as that described for the *caldarium*. The massive semicircular niche clearly implies a half dome over the niche.

Water was available for the bath in close proximity and at a suitable level (55). The supply came through the aqueduct of the Antonine period that had been restored in the 5th century on top of the wall originally erected in the 2nd century B.C. by the builders of South Stoa II (above, p. 14). Water was drawn from the aqueduct into a basin erected above the ruins of South Stoa II at its west end (Pl. 62:b). The basin is square, measuring *ca.* 4.60 m. to the side internally. The walls are massive: *ca.* 1 m. thick, in masonry identical with that of the Palace and supported by buttresses. The inlet is not preserved, but the outlet may still be seen: a terracotta pipe 0.10 m. in diameter internally, which leads off at the level of the floor of the basin in the direction of the Palace bath *ca.* 40 m. to the northeast. The intervening area has been much disturbed in later times, nor have we any clue as to the precise point at which the water entered the bath.[19]

Drainage from the bath was provided by a terracotta channel the pillaged course of which could be traced (Pl. 53). Passing from east to west through the service area south of the bath, the channel swept around the southwest corner of the bath and then swung toward the northwest to pour into the ancient Great Drain beneath the west edge of the Agora.[20]

Marks of Incompletion

Several indications leave little doubt that the Palace was not quite finished in accordance with the original design, although it was certainly used for at least a century. The most striking lack was the absence of an adequate approach to the façade of the North Court. As noted above (p. 100), the difference in level between the Court and the ground to the north called for a broad stair perhaps rising to a terrace immediately in front of the façade. Since no trace of such has come to light, we can only suppose that one ascended to the court over a simple earth ramp, an approach unworthy of the monumental conception of the entrance.

Although marble revetment was used freely on the walls of the Bath and apparently also in the *piano nobile* of the east block of the Southeast Court complex, the absence of wall plaster has been noted in places where it might have been expected in the ground-floor rooms of that same block (above, p. 105).

Mosaic flooring seems certainly to have been used in the *piano nobile* (above, p. 106), but we have found reason to believe that an intention to lay a marble floor in one of the ground-floor rooms (41) of the same block was not carried out (above, p. 106). The very limited use of mosaic flooring is also perhaps attributable to incompletion. In a building of such scale and obvious importance it is scarcely conceivable that at least the principal rooms, such as the long corridor (12) and those facing on the south sides of the South and Southeast Courts (14, 23), were not intended to receive mosaic flooring. The terracotta tiling that was actually used in Rooms 14, 16, and 17 seems a cheap substitute.

[19] A similar reservoir associated with the public bath at the west foot of the Areopagus (above, pp. 31–32) must have drawn from the continuation of the Antonine aqueduct although nothing remains of the aqueduct between the two reservoirs.

[20] Plate 53 shows three terracotta drains that flowed southward from the area of the Palace into the Great Drain. The two larger antedate the Palace; the smallest, starting at the south edge of the South Court (13), presumably carried off the rainwater from that court.

A striking deficiency in an otherwise well-organized establishment is the lack of an adequate latrine. The primitive facility found in Room 29 of the Southeast Court complex seems completely out of scale with its context. It is possible, however, that the remains of a more adequate facility have eluded detection in the very ruinous area to the west of the South Court (47–49). The long terracotta drain that was carried around the Bath to empty into the Great Drain had its beginning in this area (above, p. 108). There is no apparent connection between the Bath and the terracotta drain, but the drain could well have serviced a latrine in one or other of Rooms 47, 48, or 49. So placed, the latrine could have drawn on the same source of water as the Bath.

Structures to the Northwest of the Palace

Brief reference has already been made to the contemporary buildings to the northwest of the Palace (above, p. 97; Pl. 6). Distressingly little more can be added. The northward extension of the west wall of the North Court to the very edge of the foundations of the Temple of Ares clearly implies the continued existence of some structures on the site of the temple. Although, as we have seen, much of the marble ceiling was stripped away after the Herulian sack, the body of the building may well have continued to stand on the site with or without columns. Before the 5th century it would, of course, have ceased to function as a pagan sanctuary, but we have nothing to indicate what use it served subsequently. The existence of the connecting wall does, however, imply association with the Palace.

The building (Square Building) that was crowded close against the north side of the site of the Temple of Ares is almost equally enigmatic. Ceramic and numismatic evidence indicates a date early in the 5th century, closely contemporary, that is, with the Palace. A few architectural fragments from the Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios imbedded in the foundations of the building probably resulted from damage done to the Stoa by the Visigoths in their raid of A.D. 396. From the fabric of the building only the foundations remain; they are of massive concrete similar to that used in the Palace. None of the floor has survived, nor have any elements of the superstructure been recognized: the area was very thoroughly stripped by the house builders of the 11th–12th centuries. Measuring *ca.* 25 × 27.50 m., the building was curiously symmetrical in plan about an east–west axis. A central court colonnaded on the north, south, and west sides was bordered by 11 rooms of various sizes, the north and south suites being identical with one another. The entrance was presumably at the middle of the east side, flanked to north and south by the slightly projecting ends of the north and south suites. Excavation failed to reveal any trace of a foundation between those two projections.

The curiously symmetrical plan would be extremely unusual in a private house, nor is there any distinctively domestic feature about the building. The layout is equally unsuited to a commercial establishment, in which the shops tend to be closely uniform in size and plan. We are thus almost driven to conjecture some public function, conceivably as an office building, but whether for civic use or as an adjunct to the Palace we can scarcely hope to know.[21]

The massive square base that probably supported a columnar pedestal for a statue *ca.* 25 m. to the east of the building of 11 rooms is too remote and is wrongly oriented to be associated with that building. As for the circular or semicircular structure ("Round Building") north of the building of 11 rooms, we can only hope that further study will yield clues to plan and purpose.

[21] An intriguing parallel for the building of 11 rooms is to be found in the "Maison des Jardinières" at a conspicuous place just outside the northeast corner of the forum of Timgad: S. Gsell, *Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie*, Paris 1901, I, p. 213, fig. 36:F; *Princeton Encyclopedia*, *s.v.* Thamugadi, p. 900 (J. Lassus); P. MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak*, Chapel Hill 1980, pp. 233–240. It has been repeatedly suggested that this may have been an official residence, perhaps of the legate of Legio III Augusta who also acted as governor of the province of Numidia. But the plan of the building, very similar to ours, looks no more suitable for a residence in Algeria than for one in Athens.

In general the way in which this group of three contemporary structures was thrust, cheek by jowl, into the space between the Palace and the line of the Panathenaic Way on the north, combined with the linkage between the Palace and the site of the Temple of Ares, suggests that all four may be parts of one building program.

PLAN AND PURPOSE OF THE BUILDING

The southern half of the great complex differs little from the large houses on the north slope of the Areopagus (Pl. 6: A, B, C). Like them it represents the final development of the typical Athenian house, the history of which can be traced from the classical period into Late Antiquity (above, p. 34). The core element was a colonnaded courtyard around which were grouped rooms of various sizes and shapes as required by the needs of the household. Normally the largest room in the house was placed on the long axis of the courtyard from where it commanded the best view of the court. The entrance led from the street directly into the court and tended to be modest. Sanitary facilities were of the simplest, and the inclusion of a bath within the house came late, as in House C where it was added only in the final period (above, p. 87). A house with a long history might eventually comprise not just one but two or even three peristyle units (Houses A, B, C). There is little evidence for more than one storey in the normal house, nor has any trace been observed of enclosed garden areas outside the building proper.

The residential part of the Palace obviously follows this same old tradition. In size it differs little from Houses B and C. The inclusion of a bath in the original design of the Palace is in keeping with its relatively late date. The existence of a partial upper storey is only slightly unusual. More remarkable is the spacious setting with enclosed and presumably planted areas on all sides.

But the feature that most clearly distinguishes the Palace from the more or less contemporary houses on the slopes of the Areopagus, and indeed from those found anywhere else in Greece, is the North Court, an integral part of the original design. The concept of a peristyle on this scale with its exedrae both rectangular and apsidal is utterly foreign to the tradition of domestic architecture in this part of Greece. Equally strange to that tradition is the studied monumentality of the façade and main entrance. One is reminded of the much discussed mosaic representation in the Church of Sant'Apollinare Nuovo[22] in Ravenna dating from A.D. 490 (Pl. 67:c). The extremely prominent tripartite façade clearly labeled "Palatium" is generally accepted as referring to the palace of the builder of the church, the Emperor Theodoric. Although the precise architectural interpretation may be debated, there can be no doubt that the striking façade is to be taken as symbolic of the seat of imperial power.

As observed already (above, p. 100), the façade of the Giants had much in common with triumphal arches of the most developed form. Thus it may be supposed to have evoked some association with the emperor, who was normally the object of the honor represented by the arch. Inasmuch as a triumphal arch, or an adaptation of an arch, commonly marked the entrance to an important public area such as a city, sanctuary, or forum, the choice of this architectural form for the entrance to the great court of the Palace invested the establishment with a certain aura.[23]

[22] E. Dyggve, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum. La Basilica ipetrale per cerimonie. Studii sull'architettura dei palazzi della tarda antichità*, Copenhagen 1941; W. F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst*, Munich 1958, pp. 28–29, pl. 152; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, pp. 196–197, figs. 148–149; G. de Francovich, *Il Palatium di Teodorico a Ravenna*, Rome 1970, *passim*; N. Duval, *Corsi di cultura sull'arte ravennate e bizantina* XXV, 1978, pp. 93–122.

[23] On these aspects of the triumphal arch, see H. Kähler, *RE* VII a, 1939, *s.v.* "Triumphbogen," cols. 472–474; M. Pallottino, *EAA* I, 1958, *s.v.* "arco onorario e triomfale", p. 590.

Equally telling is the placement of the Palace in what must have been still recognizable as the center of civic life in the days of Athens' greatness. Significant also is the relationship between the Palace and the Panathenaic Way at a time when their national festival, and especially the Procession, still meant a great deal to Athenians. We have noted how the façade of the North Court dominated the ancient course of the Procession, while the large room that is to be restored in the upper storey at the northeast corner of the Southeast Court complex must have seemed like a "royal box" designed expressly for watching the procession as it approached from the north, passed, and made its way up toward the Acropolis. One is reminded of the fact that many of the Roman Imperial palaces adjoined circuses: the Palatine in Rome, the palace of Diocletian in Antioch as described by Libanius, the palaces in Constantinople, Milan, Sirmium, and Trier.[24] The Panathenaic Way had provided the track for some of the most spectacular equestrian events in the Panathenaic festival,[25] and still the Procession itself was regarded as a great spectacle.

Even on normal days the occupants of the *piano nobile* in the Palace enjoyed an impressive view of the Acropolis with Mt. Hymettos in the distance. From the upper windows of the gazebo-like octagonal tower one could also overlook the rest of the Palace to savor the view of the Temple of Hephaistos then, as now, rising against the background of Mt. Parnes. Here again one is reminded of the attention paid to the location of Imperial and official palaces: in Antioch the palace overlooked the Orontes, in Spalato the Adriatic, at Dura-Europos the Euphrates.[26]

Another factor that argues against our complex being a private establishment is its sheer size. We are woefully ignorant, to be sure, of villas in Greece, but there appears to be nothing of this scale known at present. Even Herodes Atticus' favorite villas at Marathon and Kephissia are represented only by a few scattered sculptures and inscriptions.[27]

In view of the flourishing state of the schools of philosophy in Athens of the 5th century, one might ask whether the Palace might have served as the seat of one of the schools. The only school that could be considered at this period, however, was the Neoplatonic, and the residence of the head of that school is known to have stood to the south of the Acropolis (above, pp. 42–44). In view of the still ambiguous standing of the Christian church in contemporary Athens, it is far from likely that the complex could have been intended as a bishop's palace. Equally remote is the possibility that any civic official would have been provided with such a palatial seat in the Athens of Late Antiquity. Nor is there anything to suggest a military presence in Athens at this period that would have justified residential accommodation of this nature.

Can any more plausible function be proposed for our building? Perhaps the most probable use was as an official residence, maintained by the Imperial government and intended for the occasional accommodation either of the emperor himself or of high-ranking Imperial officials when on tours of duty. Such establishments are the subject of several edicts in the Theodosian Code which were promulgated in a period (A.D. 313–348) close in time to the construction of our building.[28] There is

[24] Ward-Perkins, *Architecture*, p. 450.

[25] E. Vanderpool, "Victories in the Anthippasia," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, pp. 311–313; *Agora Guide*³, pp. 104–106.

[26] W. L. MacDonald in his discussion of the significance of Domitian's Palace in Rome emphasizes the splendid location of the site in relation to the city: *The Architecture of the Roman Empire*, New Haven 1965, pp. 69–74.

[27] Aulus Gellius, *Noctes atticae* I.2.2; Philostratus, *VS* II.1 (562); Graindor (footnote 4 above, p. 16), pp. 115, 147, 227–228; S. Karusu, "Die Antiken vom Kloster Luku in der Thyreatis," *RM* 76, 1969, pp. 253–265; W. Ameling, *Herodes Atticus*, II, *Inschriftenkatalog*, Hildesheim/Zurich/New York 1939, In a recent general account of villas, including those of Late Antiquity, Greece does not appear among the many "villa-bearing" districts: J. Percival, *The Roman Villa: An Historical Introduction*, Berkeley/Los Angeles, 1976.

[28] *Theodosiani libri XVI cum constitutionibus sirmondianis*², T. Mommsen, ed., Berlin 1954. The translations of passages below are taken from Pharr. Cf. T. Mommsen, "Praetorium," *Hermes* 35, 1900, pp. 437–442. For the

some fluidity in nomenclature. The buildings are designated sometimes as *palatia*, sometimes as *praetoria*, this at a time when a *palatium* might house someone other than an emperor and a *praetorium* was no longer exclusively the residence of a military commander. In Edict VII.10.2 (A.D. 407) it appears that the term *praetorium* is construed as the permanent residence of the governor of a province while *palatium* denotes an official residence for occasional use. In an edict of A.D. 405 (VII.10.1) the buildings are referred to simply as "sacred dwellings" (*sacrae domus*).

The primary purpose of the institution was undoubtedly to provide convenient and suitable temporary accommodation for high-ranking government officials. But the emperors were also concerned to protect local authorities from the extravagant demands of lesser functionaries. Thus in an edict of A.D. 406 (VII.11.1) municipal councils and municipalities were relieved of the necessity "to heat any private baths for the use of tribunes or of minor counts. . . . this service is granted only to counts with the rank of illustrious and to masters of soldiers, if they should so wish."[29]

The governors of provinces and the vicars of the prefecture were charged with the maintenance of the palaces (VII.10.1 of A.D. 405). These officials were responsible not only for maintaining the buildings in good condition but also for seeing that admission was refused to any unqualified persons who boldly relied "on high rank or fortune." The edict continues, "Of course we judge it unnecessary to prohibit horses that are not Ours from the stables of Our palaces." The question of responsibility for maintenance had been a matter of long standing. Already in A.D. 396 (XV.1.35) it had been decreed that "if any palace (*palatium*), official residence of a governor (*praetorium*), state storehouse, or stable and sheltering place for public animals should fall into ruins, such structures shall be repaired out of the resources of the governors."

Athens of the 5th century was, to be sure, neither an administrative capital nor a military base. The governor of the province had his seat in Corinth, while the Prefect of Illyricum, under whom the province was included, would presumably have spent most of his time in faraway Sirmium or, later, in Thessaloniki. Consequently one would not expect to find a permanent residence (*praetorium*) in Athens. But prefects, governors, and many other high-ranking Imperial officials must have been obliged to make official visits to Athens from time to time, while some of them, in keeping with their tastes, undoubtedly found it possible to spend longer periods because of the cultural and social climate of the ancient city.

On such occasions our building would have served admirably the convenience of both the visitor and the host city. The east block of the Southeast Court complex offered comfortable lodging for the guest and his immediate circle with space also for a permanent staff in the Southeast Court proper. The South Court complex comprised modest but adequate facilities for formal meetings and meals. Relaxation was readily available in the well-furnished bath, and, if we are right in our identification of the rooms outside the southwest corner of the South Court (21), the guest's horses could be stabled in a safe place with plenty of room for exercise. The North Court, we may assume, would have served for large public receptions or ceremonies in connection with an official visit. In between such special occasions the same court with its spacious colonnades and exedrae would apparently have been open to the citizens, a token revival of the great days of old when the whole Agora, surrounded by its splendid stoas, had been the proud preserve of the Athenians.

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distinction between *principia* and *praetoria* when the terms are applied to military establishments, see R. Fellmann, *Die principia des Legionslagers Vindonissa und das Zentralgebäude der römischen Lager und Kastelle*, Brugg 1958, esp. pp. 89–92.

[29] For troubles brought on the provincials in an earlier period by high-ranking officials, their staffs, and especially their wives, see Tacitus, *Annales* III.33–34. The technical term for the staff of a provincial governor was *cohors;* see for example Juvenal, VIII.127. For travel arrangements of the wealthy and important, cf. L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World*, London 1974, pp. 180–181.

From the *Codex Theodosianus* we know who was responsible for the maintenance of such establishments, but who paid for their construction? It was conceivably some government department, more probably, however, some wealthy individual. We have already seen examples of generous benefactions made to Athens, as to other ancient Greek cities, by high-ranking Imperial officials who had some personal interest in Greek culture, and one possible name has been mentioned (above, p. 65). As noted above (p. 65), the discovery of an imposing portrait statue of a high Imperial official in close proximity to the Palace is suggestive of its Imperial connections (Pl. 66:b).[30] In Greece such honors were normally accorded either in gratitude for or in expectation of substantial benefactions.

Whatever the identity of the donor, the choice of site and many aspects of the architecture of the Palace bespeak a close and sympathetic knowledge of the Greek, more particularly of the Athenian scene, and a nostalgic view of the old city's glorious past. The emplacement of the complex in the very middle of the ancient Agora and in very close relation to the Panathenaic Way is too precise to have been accidental. Symptomatic also was the decision to resurrect and re-use the "Giants" in the most prominent position in the new structure. In the early 5th century there must have been some persons in Athens still aware that these great statues had been carved in the Antonine period as characteristically classicizing adaptations of pedimental figures of the Periclean Parthenon. We have noted also the possibility that the combination of rectangular and semicircular exedrae in the North Court was inspired by similar features in the Library of Hadrian which was itself undergoing restoration at about this same time (above, p. 63). Likewise the octagonal tower that rose above the southeast corner of the Palace looks like a reflection of the Tower of the Winds.

Nor did the architect who drew up the overall plan of the Palace need to go outside Greece for models. As we have already noted (p. 110), the strictly residential part of the complex is little more than a well-organized and slightly larger than normal example of a traditional Athenian house type. Peristyle courtyards of large scale had been familiar in Athens at least from the Hellenistic period. The practice of combining a large peristyle with another architectural unit had also been in vogue for long in Greece, notably in the planning of the palaestra-gymnasium type of complex.

Currently, i.e., in the 5th century, a similar combination of elements was being employed in Greece in the design of early Christian churches.[31] In a number of these buildings the sanctuary proper in the form of a basilica was approached through an *atrium*, a large courtyard set against the

[30] S 657. *Agora* I, no. 64. Preserved height 1.33 m., i.e., approximately life size. The statue was found in 1936 built into a modern wall *ca.* seven meters north of the northeast corner of the Palace. The association with the Palace is not of course certain, but such an ungainly mass of marble is not likely to have been carried far for re-use. In the 5th century the only conceivable context in this area for such a statue is the Palace. For its more precise location the only clue is the treatment of the back, which was only roughly blocked out and certainly not meant to be visible. The loss of attributes precludes a sure identification of the subject's rank beyond that proposed in the original publication on the basis of the costume: "the portrait of an unidentified senator". The statue appears to date from the late 5th century, too late to be connected with the foundation of the Palace.

In the National Museum in Athens is a portrait bust of a bearded man, N.M. 423, reduced in antiquity from a full-length statue, that has been dated by comparison with a consular diptych of A.D. 428 to about that time, close, that is, to the date of foundation of the Palace. See P. Graindor, *Byzantion* 1, 1924, pp. 245–250; J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit*, Berlin 1941, pp. 91, 104, 106, 125–128, pl. 41; *Agora* I, p. 80. The place of finding of the bust is not recorded. If by chance it could be associated with the Palace the damage that presumably led to its reduction from full length to bust might have occurred in the Slavic raids of the 580's that are well attested in the area of the Agora (above, p. 93).

[31] On the plans of basilicas of the 5th century in Greece, see G. A. Soteriou, *Χριστιανικὴ καὶ Βυζαντινὴ Ἀρχαιολογία*, Athens 1942, pp. 290–319; Orlandos (footnote 16 above, p. 105), pp. 89–151; Krautheimer, *Architecture*, pp. 90–101, fig. 34 (Epidauros, *ca.* A.D. 400), fig. 35 (Nea Anchialos, Basilica A, *ca.* A.D. 470), fig. 37 (Nikopolis, Basilica A, 6th century), fig. 38 (Lechaion, St. Leonidas, A.D. 450–460[?]), and pp. 518–527.

west front of the basilica and colonnaded on three sides. Occasionally the entrance to the *atrium* was given a modestly monumental treatment. In the *atrium* were performed the matins, the collection of offerings and other preliminary parts of the Christian service, after which those qualified proceeded into the church proper while catechumens, repentant sinners, and the mentally ill remained in the *atrium*. The passage from the *atrium* into the body of the church was normally effected through a long, narrow corridor, the *narthex*, which played the same role as the long corridor (12) in our Palace. Such similarities in architectural layout are not to be construed as having any religious significance. At a time when very few substantial buildings other than churches were being erected in Greece it would be strange if the gifted architect who was responsible for our Palace had not also designed some churches.

The search for significant parallels for our establishment is difficult.[32] Those buildings that can with certainty or even with probability be identified as official residences are few in number, and of those few a large proportion are so ruinous or so little explored that their plans are far from complete. The difficulties of the search are exacerbated by what we know from the *Codex Theodosianus* of the checkered fortunes of such establishments: neglect and deterioration, repair and re-assignment, sale at public auction.[33] Furthermore, as we have learned from the study of the Athenian building, one must reckon on the possibility of strong influence from local tradition so that comparison among buildings in various parts of the Empire calls for caution.

It would be pointless to attempt comparison with establishments that are known to have been the permanent residence of the emperor whether in Rome, Ravenna, Milan, Constantinople, Cologne, Trier, Sirmium, Split, Salonica, or Antioch. Quite apart from the fact that we have no record of an emperor residing in Athens in the time of the Palace, the Athenian establishment could not possibly have accommodated an imperial household.

A more appropriate category for comparison is that of official residences for governors of provinces or for commanding officers (*duces*) of regions. The most promising example is an establishment at Gortyn in Crete, which is attested epigraphically as the seat of the governor of the province of Crete and Cyrene at a time when Gortyn was the principal city of Crete.[34] Despite repeated exploration and study many uncertainties persist regarding the plan and the very complex chronology extending from the Augustan period into Late Antiquity. As in our establishment, however, a clear distinction can be discerned between a residential part, including a bath, and an official part in which the role of our North Court seems to be filled by a large basilica-like hall.

The Polish excavators of the "House of Theseus" at Nea Paphos in Cyprus have tentatively

[32] On palaces in general, see Swoboda, *Paläste*[3]; McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces*, with extensive bibliography pp. 259–268. Many valuable observations are to be found in Ward-Perkins, *Architecture*. N. Duval has expressed grave doubts as to the existence of anything like a "standard plan" for palaces in Late Antiquity: "Existe-t-il une 'Structure Palatiale' propre à l'Antiquité Tardive?" (*Le Système Palatial en Orient, en Grèce et à Rome* [Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 19–22 Juin 1985], E. Levy, ed., Leiden 1987, pp. 463–490).

On villas of Late Antiquity, especially in relation to their historical setting, see Percival (footnote 27 above, p. 111). Wilson (*Piazza Armerina*, pp. 69–85) gives an excellent brief account of Late Roman villas with many plans. J. J. Wilkes (*Diocletian's Palace, Split: Residence of a Retired Roman Emperor*, Sheffield 1986), in his discussion of the function of the "Palace", concurs with N. Duval in regarding the building at Split as more nearly the equivalent of a modern "château" than of the palace of a reigning emperor.

R. Fellmann ([footnote 28 above, p. 112], pp. 90–92), in discussing the organization of a Roman military camp, emphasizes the distinction between the *principia* as the administrative quarter and the *praetorium* as the residence of the commanding officer.

[33] *CTh* x.2.1 and 2.

[34] A. M. Colini, Δελτ 29, 1973–1974, B′ (1979), pp. 908–912, fig. 2 (plan); *Princeton Encyclopedia*, pp. 362–363 (K. Branigan); I. Sandars, *Roman Crete*, Warminster 1982, pp. 77–80, 158; Sodini (footnote 128 above, p. 34), pp. 343–344, with bibliography and plan.

proposed to recognize in that building the official residence of the proconsul of the province of Cyprus.[35] The Cypriote building (2nd–5th centuries) contains many more rooms but is more compact than the Athenian; it consists of deep ranges of rooms enclosing all four sides of a large rectangular courtyard. Although no specific evidence of the official nature of the establishment has yet come to light, the proposed identification is supported by the great size of the establishment, unique in Cyprus, by the distinction between modest quarters suitable for a permanent staff and a suite of larger, more formal rooms magnificently floored with mosaics that might well have served as a "state apartment". Perhaps also significant is the insertion at a late date in the history of the building of a formal, three-doorway entrance.

At Apollonia, the one-time port of Cyrene, a building dating from *ca.* A.D. 500 and much the largest in the city has been tentatively identified as the official residence of the governor of Libya Pentapolis.[36] Here an obviously domestic part is separated by a roofed passageway from a block in which rooms clearly intended for formal use are grouped around a colonnaded court. The interior decor is as austere as that of the Cypriote building was lush. Despite the lack of specific evidence the identification seems convincing.

Much the same may be said of the "House of the Governor" in Volubilis, a Roman *municipium* in Mauretania.[37] The house stood in the fashionable northeast quarter of the town and was remarkable for its outstanding scale and decor. Its claim to an official status rests on an inscription recording its rebuilding by M. Ulpius Victor, procurator of the city under Gordian III (A.D. 238–244). Suites of rooms grouped around three "atria" could well have accommodated domestic and official life.

In central Europe, among the establishments that have strong if not certain claim to identification as governors' palaces are those at Carnuntum near Vienna (2nd–4th centuries)[38] and at Aquincum near Budapest.[39] In neither case, however, is the plan sufficiently complete to permit a useful comparison.

Another great establishment that invites comparison with our Athenian complex is the Villa at Piazza Armerina in central Sicily (Pl. 67:b).[40] The Sicilian villa is approximately a century earlier,

[35] See the excavation reports by W. A. Daszewski in *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, 1970, pp. 112–132; 1972, pp. 204–236; 1976, pp. 185–226; 1984, pp. 294–304; *idem*, *Dionysos der Erlöser* (footnote 18 above, p. 106) for the mosaics with a plan of the building, p. 17, fig. 1.

[36] *Princeton Encyclopedia*, pp. 71–72 (D. White); R. G. Goodchild, *Antiquity* 34, 1960, pp. 246–258; *idem*, "The Palace of the Dux," in *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene, Excavations by the University of Michigan 1965–1967*, J. H. Humphrey, ed., Tripoli n.d., pp. 245–260 (Goodchild's manuscript was completed in 1966–1967); J. W. Hayes, "Notes on the Palace Pottery," in *ibid.*, pp. 260–265.

[37] R. Thouvenot, *Volubilis*, Paris 1949, pp. 47–48; McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces*, p. 225.

[38] Swoboda, *Paläste*³, p. 296, note 74: "Die Bestimmung des Bauwerks—ob Palast oder Teil einer Bäderanlage—ist zunächst nicht entschieden." *Princeton Encyclopedia*, pp. 198–199 (R. Noll): "The purpose of the complex, as well as of the individual rooms, is still undetermined."

[39] E. B. Thomas, *Römische Villen in Pannonien*, Budapest 1964, pp. 107–108; Swoboda, *Paläste*³, pp. 284–289, fig. 111; McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces*, p. 202.

Much is being learned through the continuing exploration of another important villa of the 3rd–4th centuries at Gamzigrad, ancient Romuliana, in eastern Yugoslavia. Within a fortified enclosure are two loosely connected "palatial residences" together with two temples and several "service buildings". Since the site has now been identified as the burial place of the Emperor Galerius within his native Dacia Ripensis the complex in its fully developed form is perhaps to be regarded, like Split, as a residence for a retired ruler. See M. Mirković and V. Popović, in *Palast und Hütte*, D. Papenfuss and V. N. Strocka, edd., Mainz 1982, pp. 486–492; Wilson, *Piazza Armerina*, pp. 84–85, 91, fig. 50:D; Wilkes (footnote 32 above, p. 114), pp. 66–70, fig. 11 with bibliography in note 183. I am grateful to Professor Slobodan Ćurčić for helpful discussion of the Yugoslav villas.

[40] G. V. Gentili, *La Villa Imperiale di Piazza Armerina* (Itinerari, no. 87), Rome 1954; Dunbabin, *Mosaics*, pp. 196–212; Ward-Perkins, *Architecture*, pp. 461–463, figs. 312–314; A. Carandini *et al.*, *Filosofiana, la Villa di*

but the two have much in common. Both exhibit an easy disregard of precise axial symmetry in the overall layout. Each was entered through a triple gateway that formed the façade of a colonnaded court. The main body of the Sicilian villa, like the Athenian, comprised two court complexes, to one of which was appended a bath. Three of the rooms are distinguished by stately scale and plan (Pl. 67:b: nos. 30, 39, 46). It would be difficult, however, to distinguish a residential from a ceremonial, a private from a public part in this great complex. This accords with a growing conviction among scholars that the villa at Piazza Armerina was not an Imperial or official residence but, more probably, the seat of some wealthy Sicilian magnate.

A more profitable comparison may be drawn from a more remote source, *viz.* Dura-Europos on the Euphrates River.[41] The largest building on the site in the Roman period (Pl. 67:a) has been identified with virtual certainty as the official residence of the Dux Ripae, i.e., the commander of the Euphrates frontier zone. Built sometime after A.D. 211, the building shared the destruction of the city in A.D. 256. Like our Athenian building the Dura palace was given a striking location: set high on the north edge of the city, it overlooked the river and the plain. But the most significant feature shared by the two buildings was the dual nature of their plans, which comprised in each case readily distinguishable residential and ceremonial parts.

In the Palace of the Dux the residential elements are grouped around the large north court. Outstanding among the parts was the suite of rooms centered about the large apsidal chamber in the north side. The suite faced outward through a colonnade across a broad terrace from which the residents might enjoy fresh breezes and a splendid view. This element in the Dura building may be compared with the east block of the Southeast Court in the Athenian. In each case we are clearly dealing with the "master suite". In the Palace of the Dux this suite was adjoined on the east side by a bath, on the west by a latrine. The rooms set around the other three sides of the north court were clearly intended for the domestic staff. The large room at the southwest corner of this court and the adjoining annex have been identified as stables.

The large south court constitutes a well-defined second part of the ducal palace. From outside one entered through a substantial propylon centered in the south side and wide enough to admit a procession. Passage from the south into the north court led through an axially placed, wide doorway. A secondary doorway with propylon opened in the middle of the west side of the south court; it would have provided convenient access to the stables. From the east side of the court projected a large room reminiscent of the semicircular exedra opening from the west side of the North Court in the Athenian building. The excavators of Dura regarded their south court as a suitable place for troop reviews, formal audiences, the trial of lawsuits, and other such exercises.

It thus appears that in two widely separated places in the Late Roman world the requirements of an official residence were met in much the same way, one in the 3rd century and one in the 5th. The solution was the skilful combination in one carefully organized complex of a domestic establishment, a guest suite, and a ceremonial facility. Little wonder that, as we learn from the Imperial edicts, accommodation in such *palatia* was eagerly sought.

Piazza Armerina, Palermo 1982; Wilson, *Piazza Armerina*; N. Duval, "Comment reconnaître un palais imperial ou royal? Ravenne et Piazza Armerina," *Felix Ravenna* 115, 1978, pp. 27–62.

[41] Rostovtzeff *et al.*, *Dura-Europos*; C. Hopkins, *The Discovery of Dura-Europos*, New Haven 1979, pp. 222–225; S. B. Matheson, *Dura-Europos: The Ancient City and the Yale Collection*, New Haven 1982, p. 22; Ward-Perkins, *Architecture*, pp. 352–353. The most specific evidence for the identification is the occurrence of the name and title of the Dux Ripae in dipinti on a first coat of plaster in Room 7: Rostovtzeff *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 30–40, 93–94. The exploration of Dura-Europos has been renewed recently by a French mission: *Syria* 63, 1986, *passim*. In the spring of 1988 soundings were carried out in the palace under the direction of Professor Susan B. Downey. The results call for some corrections and adjustments in the plan and history of the complex, but they do not affect its relevance as a parallel to the Athenian building. I am grateful to Professor Downey for the information.

VI

THE DARK AGES (A.D. 582–700)

RECOVERY

Recovery began on a modest scale at the turn of the century and continued through the first two-thirds of the 7th century, as indicated by the numbers of coins noted above (p. 93). It was probably dictated by external circumstances. Athens, with Attica, was one of the few parts of Greece south of Thessalonica not occupied by Slavs, and inhabitants of some of the neighboring areas may have taken refuge there as well as on the islands.[1]

Even this modest recovery was interrupted at least once during the reign of Heraclius (A.D. 610–641). The evidence is provided by a group of 86 coins in the debris from destruction by fire in Room 8 of the Broad Street Building (which had already suffered in the invasion of 582). The latest piece in the group dates to year 24 of the reign, i.e. 633/4, and so the trouble may probably be assigned to the late 30's of the century. This interruption is therefore too late to be reckoned with the disturbances in the whole Aegean area, which occurred, probably, in 614.[2] Whether it was part of another such, unrecorded, operation or some purely localized disaster, it is impossible to say. The rest of the building very likely suffered as well, but it was rebuilt later in the century, and no signs of destruction remained. The adjacent area is still unexcavated.

Recovery reached its peak in 662/3 when Constans II, in the course of his campaign against the Slavs in the interior of Greece, made Athens his headquarters for the winter. The dramatic rise in the number of coins from his reign is made even more impressive by the fact that, as noted by Charanis, of 817 coins published in *Agora* II only five could be said definitely to have been minted after 663.[3]

It may have been at this time that the Hephaisteion and Erechtheion were remodeled as churches,[4] and it is perhaps not mere coincidence that a lead seal of Theophylaktos, Bishop of Athens in the 7th century, was found on the Areopagus.[5] Also, from the cemetery on the Areopagus (below, p. 118) came a bronze reliquary cross of the late 6th or early 7th century.[6]

THE BUILDINGS

The shoddy nature of the 7th-century buildings in Athens makes it difficult to recapture any coherent topographical plan of the Agora. The buildings were undoubtedly sparse, and many of those

[1] For the islands, see S. Hood, "An Aspect of the Slav Invasions of Greece in the Early Byzantine Period," *Sbornik Narodniko Muzea v Praze* A 20, 1966, pp. 165–171, and *idem*, "Isles of Refuge in the Early Byzantine Period," *BSA* 65, 1970, pp. 37–45. T. Gregory, however, will show, in a forthcoming article in *Δελτίον τῆς Χριστιανικῆς Ἀρχαιολογικῆς Ἑταιρείας*, that some at least of these island settlements were actually part of a widespread commercial network that included both island and coastal sites and had been in operation from the 4th through the 7th centuries. On this general subject, Charanis, "Observations," and "Significance."

[2] On this major upheaval, see Metcalf, "Slavonic Threat," pp. 14–23. M. Thompson (*Agora* II, p. 4) suggests that the Bulgarians might have laid siege to Athens on their way to Corinth, *ca.* 640. For the debate concerning a possible invasion which included the capture of Corinth at that time, cf. K. M. Setton, "The Bulgars in the Balkans and the Occupation of Corinth in the Seventh Century," *Speculum* 25, 1950, pp. 502–543 and 27, 1952, pp. 351–362; P. Charanis, "On the Capture of Corinth by Onogurs and its Recapture by the Byzantines," *Speculum* 27, 1952, pp. 343–350.

[3] Charanis, "Significance," pp. 163–172. For more on Constans II in Greece, see Frantz, *DOP*, pp. 197–199.

[4] Above, p. 92, and Frantz, *op. cit.*.

[5] IL 529. V. Laurent, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'empire byzantin* V, Paris 1963, pp. 437–438, no. 585.

[6] Travlos and Frantz, "St. Dionysios," p. 168 and pl. 43.

that did exist must have vanished without a trace. But a survey of the fragmentary remains gives the impression that although the west side of the Agora was occupied to some extent, the favored district was in the south, from the Roman Market to the Roman bath (Southwest Bath) at the southwest entrance to the Agora (Pl. 3). The chief concentration within this area was at the east end, from a strip of unimpressive houses along the inner face of the Post-Herulian Wall above Tower W 2 to the western edge of the "Schools". The great majority of the coins of Constans II found in the Agora come from this region and over the whole course of the Panathenaic Way.[7] These include many from a gully torn out by the torrential rains pouring down the slopes of the Acropolis and Areopagus, between the Panathenaic Way and the preserved limits of the schools. A similar proportion of the coins of the earlier 7th century suggests some important installation farther up the slopes, and we may conjecture that as the Slavic threat once more became acute in the beginning of the 7th century an effort was made to achieve a strong position by establishing a garrison on the west slope of the Acropolis.[8]

A fortress in that location may have existed even before the construction of the Beulé Gate, if the opinion of Beulé himself is correct.[9] Some support is given to this view by a statue base (*IG* II^2, 3193) found "on the Acropolis, west of the Propylaea" (Pl. 74:b). After an erasure of seven or eight lines, presumably bearing the name and titles of the honorand, the inscription refers to a fortress "restored to order" (*κόσμον . . . κατεσκεύασεν*). The editors followed Dittenberger in dating the structure in question in the 2nd century with a rebuilding in the 3rd.[10] If this dating is correct, the raid of the Kostobokoi *ca.* A.D. 170, when they caused great damage in Eleusis, might have been the incentive for the first phase and the Herulian attack for the second. One might hazard a guess that the fortress was allowed to fall into disrepair in peacetime and "restored to order" in time of danger.[11]

Housing for the garrison may have been provided by the remodeled schools and the flimsy buildings along the east side of the Post-Herulian Wall. A cemetery on the Areopagus slope, near the later Church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite, is probably to be associated with the military installation.[12] A number of graves contained belt buckles of the type known as "Avar". Much has

[7] P. Charanis notes that this volume may be increased by the inclusion of a number of coins of Heraclius bearing the figures of Heraclius and Constantine, grandfather and father of Constans. Charanis believes that Constans may have kept these in circulation to emphasize the legitimacy of his own succession, which his violent conduct might have belied (Charanis, "Significance," p. 167).

[8] Mabel Lang came to the same conclusion independently while studying the inscriptions painted on many of the water jars found in the vicinity.

[9] E. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes* I, Paris 1853, pp. 106–108. The puzzling and interesting history of the Gate is beyond the scope of this volume.

[10] The text of the inscription follows:

[χάριν ἀντ' εὐεργεσιῶν με]-
γάλων ἀντιδιδόντες Ἀθη-
ναῖοι τῇ Πολιάδι ἀνέθηκα[ν].
κόσμον τῷ φρουρίῳ ὁ αὐτ[ὸς]
οἰκείοις ἀναλώμασιν
κατεσκεύασεν.

[11] For the word *ἄκοσμον* in a similar context, with a discussion of its meaning, see above, p. 10 and n. 64. A suggestion by P. Graindor ("Un épisode de la vie d'Hérode Atticus," *Le musée belge* 16, 1912, pp. 73–74) that the original donor might have been Herodes Atticus has met with little favor. For the evidence of the activities of the Kostobokoi, see A. von Premerstein, "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Marcus," *Klio* 12, 1912, pp. 147 ff. The fortress is mentioned by R. K. Sherk, "Roman Imperial Troops in Macedonia and Achaea," *AJP* 78, 1957, p. 61.

[12] See Travlos and Frantz, "St. Dionysios," pp. 166–168 and Frantz, *DOP*, p. 198.

been written on the source and significance of these buckles. The more elaborate examples undoubtedly find their prototypes in Eastern Europe and the area of the Black Sea.[13] Of those found in Greece some, at least, must have been brought by invaders at whose death or capture they fell into the hands of the defenders. The quality of the workmanship varies considerably, and it is not impossible that many are copies or adaptations made in the foundries of Athens or Corinth. In some small buckles from the Areopagus cemetery the plate is cruciform; they therefore are probably of local manufacture.

The most important building activity that can be associated with Constans' visit concerns the Broad Street Building, constructed in the early 5th century behind the colonnade of the street. As noted above, it had incurred heavy damage in 582 and again, to a lesser degree, in the 630's. It was now reconstructed on a fairly drastic scale, including subdivision of much of the original colonnade into small rooms.[14] The date is well attested by six coins of Constans II under the newly laid tile floor, all dating between 646 and 658. Constans embarked on his Slavic campaign in 658. Sometime in the next four years he must have made his plan to use Athens as his headquarters for the next phase, and we may assume that it was then that the massive debris which filled much of the building was cleared away and the building made suitable for the Imperial needs. Even so, it was apparently not entirely ready on the Emperor's arrival, for a large number of roof tiles were found stacked against the wall of one of the rooms, and there they remained after his departure.

Probably contemporary with this phase was a very small and primitive latrine at the intersection of the Broad Street and the road coming in from the north (Pl. 21:e).[15] The building, which had been hastily and flimsily built for the emergency, fell into decay soon after Constans moved on. The marble colonnade of the second storey collapsed, and much of it fell into the street, which was soon silted over. This fact, together with the spectacular drop in the number of coins in the whole Agora, reflects the transitory nature of the rebuilding program.

Among the flimsy structures east of the Panathenaic Way possibly to be associated with Constans' visit was a small laundry establishment just inside the Post-Herulian Wall at the Hypapanti (South) Gate (Pl. 74:c). Built into the southwest corner of a building of the Hellenistic period, the operative part of the establishment consisted of a long rectangular basin *ca.* 1.00 m. wide and 3.35 m. long from east to west, revetted with slabs of Hymettian marble. In a recess at the south was set a tub hollowed out of an ancient block of Pentelic marble 1.60 m. long and 0.75 m. wide, standing *ca.* 0.40 m. above the floor. Water flowed in from the south, obtained apparently by damming the ancient channel between the establishment itself and the street to the south and letting it overflow into the tub. It is to be noted that no attempt was made to put back into use the elaborate waterworks of the early years of the Christian era even though the laundry was very close to the vaulted brick chamber of that system.[16] Sixty-one coins in all were found in the vaulted chamber.

The laundry was destroyed by fire along with a number of buildings in the vicinity. It was overlaid with a fill of broken tiles with much burning and a considerable amount of pottery of the 7th century. The settlement and the conflagration that destroyed it could be dated with some precision to the reign of Constans II or very soon after by the many coins found in the destruction debris,

[13] G. D. Weinberg, "A Wandering Soldier's Grave in Corinth," *Hesperia* 43, 1974, p. 513, note 3, for a summary of the problem, with references.

[14] *Hesperia* 42, 1973, pp. 395–397 (Shear, Jr.).

[15] Above, p. 34.

[16] For the water system, see *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 218–220 (Shear, Sr.). Six were of the 1st to 2nd century or earlier; all the rest were of the 4th to 5th century.

which included 42 from the reigns of Phocas and Heraclius (A.D. 602–641), 67 of Constans II (A.D. 641–668), and only three from the remaining years of the century (A.D. 668–705).

Another building rehabilitated (partially) in the 7th century, this one perhaps in the reign of Heraclius, was the Southwest Bath. It was almost totally destroyed in 582[17] and was now rebuilt in only the sketchiest possible manner. It was noted above (p. 32) that in its penultimate, post-Herulian phase the bathing facilities were sharply curtailed, being then limited to the north side of the building.[18] In the final, post-Slavic period even these were eliminated. Some floors in the southern section were repaved at a much higher level. The west hall was in use again, minus its exedra; its marble-chip floor, cleared of debris, served again though damaged in part. A flimsy crosswall divided the room into two unequal parts.

It has been suggested that the addition of benches in all the rooms in the southern section of the post-Herulian building indicated that in the final phase it was used as a school. One might conjecture that it continued to function as such through the 7th century, but completely Christianized, although with a classical flavor. It was in Athens that Theodore of Tarsus laid the foundations for the distinguished ecclesiastical career that took him to Britain as Archbishop of Canterbury (A.D. 669–690), "well versed in Latin and Greek."[19]

Some impression of the poverty of Athens in the 7th century may be gained by an examination of the state of the water supply at that time. Of some 15 wells in use during the 6th century in the general area of the schools, only four continued into the 7th century.[20] In addition, the running-water systems appear to have gone permanently out of use in the late 6th century. The earth which clogged the vaulted channel (as well as the vaulted passage) leading from the springhouse at the southwest corner of House B contained pottery of the same character as that found in the general destruction fill; and the fresh-water channel which skirted the southeast corner of House B was evidently cut off and never restored.

INDUSTRIAL ESTABLISHMENTS

Several tile kilns in the area of the 7th-century occupation should be considered as adjuncts to the construction activities described above rather than as commercial enterprises. All those yet discovered are in the vicinity of buildings which were extensively remodeled at the time and so were probably only temporary affairs for the sole purpose of providing for the needs of remodeling. The best preserved, measuring *ca.* 2.75 × 5.50 m., was at the west side of the Southwest Bath, using the west wall of the hall with the mosaic floor as its own east wall (Pl. 75:b). Only the very edges of the floor of the stacking chamber remained, with a little of the stucco facing of the west wall. Most of the fire chamber was preserved, consisting of a passage 0.80 m. wide running down the middle of the kiln, which distributed the heat to the stacking chamber above by means of six lateral flues on each side. The plan, though simpler, is not unlike that of a tile factory in Corinth of a much earlier period.[21] This and the absence of pottery wasters indicate that the Athenian furnace also was used exclusively for making tiles. The identification is strengthened by the discovery in the ash fill of over fifty leaf-shaped kiln supports such as are used for separating tiles in small modern tile-making

[17] For the evidence, see *Hesperia* 38, 1969, p. 415 (Shear, Jr.).

[18] For the plan, see Pl. 19:d.

[19] The Venerable Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica* IV, chap. 1; Pope Zacharias, *PL* LXXXIX, col. 943C.

[20] N 20:3; O 18:1; Q 17:4; S 22:2. This last lies somewhat outside the area, to the southeast, and more likely served some of the late houses near the Panathenaic Way.

[21] *Ancient Corinth: A Guide to the Excavations*, 6th ed., Athens 1960, p. 87; A. Orlandos, *Les matériaux de construction et la technique architecturale des anciens grecs*, Paris 1966, pp. 71–72. On kilns in general, D. P. S. Peacock, *Pottery in the Roman World*, London 1982, p. 69.

establishments. The source of the clay for the tiles was probably some large amorphous pits in the vicinity. Two similar tile kilns, traces of which were found just to the north, were probably used for the same purpose.[22]

The kiln can be dated within fairly close limits. Fill antedating the kiln under the north end of the bath produced pottery up to the late 6th century, but the kiln had already gone out of use by Byzantine times when a floor formed across the area. In view of the proximity of the kilns to the Southwest Baths it is probable that they were built to make roof tiles for the 7th-century reconstruction of the bath complex, their location being well suited to the source of the clay on the one hand and the destination of the finished product on the other.

The final capitulation to industry is illustrated by the olive presses installed in or near two buildings with a distinguished past: the Palace of the Giants and the Metroön. It has been seen that after the abandonment of the Palace complex a series of small rooms was built against its east wall, in one of which was found the deposit of Early Christian ampullae mentioned above (p. 91). Sometime later the southeasternmost of the rooms was enlarged and a new room added to the north to accommodate an oil-pressing installation. In the northeast corner of the new room was a carefully made marble base for a press (Pl. 76:a), and over the foundations of what was apparently the original east wall of the room was laid the foundation for a round crusher or mill. A large millstone of volcanic stone of the same diameter, found to the northwest of the Palace, has now been set up on the round foundation, as shown in Plate 76:b. A date after 582 seems likely for the installation of the press in view of the fact that the east wall of the original series of rooms had already been destroyed.

In the Metroön the third room from the south was last seen with a mosaic floor, related in some fashion to the colonnaded court to the north and together with it forming an element in the monumental building period of the 5th century; it was provisionally identified as a synagogue.[23] The room with the mosaic was now divided by interior walls built of ancient blocks into three parts (Pl. 76:c). The actual pressing took place in the largest (southeast) room, where the press bed still stands, raised on an ancient block so that the oil could run through the spout into a circular plastered basin. Adjacent to the basin was a rectangular trough, also plastered, perhaps for the pulp of the olives waiting to be pressed. The two other rooms bear no traces of their purpose but were presumably connected with other parts of the operation.

That such installations were in common use in Late Antiquity is well illustrated by a similar press and crusher in the village of Olympos in Attica (Pl. 76:d, e).[24] This is a small room, *ca.* five or six meters square, perhaps a baptistery, attached to the west end of an Early Christian basilica. The change from baptistery to olive press was made after serious damage to the basilica necessitated reducing its width from three aisles to one. This occurrence immediately suggests a post-Slavic date for the installation of the olive press, and the date is supported by the 7th-century pottery found in graves within the basilica. Both press and crusher are still *in situ*, the crusher supported on a circular foundation much like that in the Palace press room. Also *in situ* is a large basin of black stone below the spout of the press.

The sketchy provision for collecting the oil from the press in the Palace is at variance with the fine workmanship of the marble press bed itself. There is no trace of a stuccoed basin under the spout, as in the Metroön, nor one of stone as at Olympos. Instead, a rough and irregular depression perhaps

[22] The excavation suggested that the pits had been opened by persons intent on getting clean clay such as could be found in the lower levels in the masses of disintegrated mud bricks from the collapsed walls of earlier buildings. The craters were refilled with small stones, probably removed from the clay by screening, and with other coarse material. Similar pits have been found under the colonnade on the Broad Street: *Hesperia* 42, 1973, p. 397 (Shear, Jr.).

[23] Above, p. 59.

[24] For the description I am indebted to the late Margaret Crosby.

held some temporary container. The difference between the press and its surroundings indicates that the press had been made for an earlier period of use. It is not impossible that the tradition of oilpressing in the area is as old as the Palace itself. There was ample space for a small olive grove in the western part of the enclosure south of the great court, and a modest pressing establishment, adequate for this private production, might easily have been maintained somewhere on the premises.[25]

The Palace press in its present form must date from the late 6th or more likely the 7th century, and it is probable that the press in the Metroön is of similar date. From the great number of millstones found in the central part of the Agora it is likely that the presses of the Metroön and the Palace were only two of a number that gathered to exploit the olive grove of the defunct Palace, but no traces of others have been found.

[25] Cf. an ancillary industry (winemaking) in the Archbishop's Palace at the 16th-century Church of St. Dionysios the Areopagite, for a similar combination of activities (Travlos and Frantz, "St. Dionysios," p. 186).

EPILOGUE

The departure of Constans II marked the end of the brief period of prosperity that Athens had enjoyed during his stay there.[1] A few wells just inside the west flank of the Post-Herulian Wall yielded a small amount of shoddy pottery of the 8th century. It is possible that some of the modest structures a little farther up the hill which were destroyed by fire in the 7th century were followed by equally flimsy buildings that left no trace.[2]

A hitherto unexplained phenomenon of the incidence of 88 coins of the period 711–741 may be explored briefly here.[3] The composition of the group was equally surprising: 61 coins of Philippicus (A.D. 711–713), 4 of Anastasius II (A.D. 713–716), 23 of Leo III (A.D. 717–741). The most striking factor was the high number from the brief reign of Philippicus, especially in view of the rarity of his coins.[4] But there is nothing in the reigns of either Philippicus or Anastasius II to account for this burst of activity in Athens. It is better therefore to consider the three reigns as one period, in which case the emphasis shifts to Leo III. This 30-year span might be called an oasis in a numismatic desert, because for the 26 years prior to the reign of Philippicus the Agora Excavations produced only 8 coins, and for the 126 years between the death of Leo III and the accession of Basil I (A.D. 867) the total was only 14.

The great majority of the coins of the 8th century were found along the Panathenaic Way, from its entrance into the Agora and on up the Acropolis slopes. Most of the rest came from irrelevant contexts in the area south of the Agora proper, probably having been washed down the slopes over the years. There is an interesting parallel in the 7th century, when Constans II made Athens his headquarters during the winter of 662/3 while he was campaigning against the Slavs. Of well over 800 coins of his reign found in the Agora the majority were discovered along the Panathenaic Way or in its immediate vicinity. This led to the conjecture that Constans had established a garrison on the Acropolis.[5]

A similar situation might be recognized in the 8th century. In 726 Leo III issued the first edict banning sacred images, thereby touching off the Iconoclastic Controversy. The following year the inhabitants of Greece and the Cyclades reacted violently with a revolt so serious that it required the Byzantine fleet, with the aid of Greek fire, to quell it.[6] No city or island was specified by name, but since the avowed purpose of the edict was to eradicate all traces of paganism there is little doubt that the insurrection would have had at least the moral support of the Athenians even if they were not in a position to offer much material aid. One may conjecture, then, that after the suppression of the revolt the authorities, fearing its renewal, re-established the garrison on the Acropolis (above, p. 118). But no new outbreak occurred, and as the danger receded the garrison was disbanded, probably still during Leo's reign, and Athens lapsed once more into decline. Its only other claim to

[1] Out of well over 800 coins from his reign found in the Agora more than 700 are known to have been struck before his departure (*Agora* II, pp. 70–71, 106–107).

[2] Above, p. 90.

[3] First published by M. Thompson, "Some Unpublished Bronze Money of the Early Eighth Century," *Hesperia* 9, 1940, pp. 358–380; the numbers quoted here are those of her revision in *Agora* II, pp. 71, 108.

[4] Cf. Thompson, *Hesperia* 9, 1940 (footnote 3 above), p. 362.

[5] Frantz, *DOP*, p. 198, and above, p. 118.

[6] Nicephorus, *Breviarius*, 37 C–D (*CSHB*, pp. 64–65); Theophanes, p. 405 (de Boor).

distinction in the 8th century was that it was the birthplace of the Empress Eirene[7] and that she found it a fitting place of exile for her husband's over-ambitious stepbrothers in 797.[8]

The situation in Greece as a whole began to improve toward the end of the 8th century when, in 783, Eirene's general, Stauracius, conducted a victorious campaign against the Slavs in the Peloponnese. This was followed by other successes until, by the middle of the 9th century, Byzantine authority was established throughout Greece.[9] By that time a new spirit had infused the land; it was brought in from the east and exemplified by three churches, all built within a space of three years and conveniently dated by founders' inscriptions: Athens, St. John Mangouti, 871; Thebes, St. Gregory Theologus, 872; Skripou, Dormition of the Virgin, 873.[10] The church at Skripou (the ancient Orchomenos) typifies the break with the past and the new vigor which presaged the developed Byzantine style of architecture and sculpture that was to become the norm in Greece. The classically oriented basilica was replaced by the cross-in-square, and architectural ornament, once firmly rooted in classical motifs, gave way to textile-inspired designs enlivened by animals which owed nothing to the classical past. In the somewhat clumsy proportions and crude carving of Skripou can be found the seeds of the sophisticated cross-in-square churches that were to become the glory of 11th- and 12th-century Athens when it once more entered on a period of prosperity.[11]

[7] Theophanes, p. 444 (de Boor).

[8] Theophanes, p. 473 (de Boor).

[9] D. Obolensky, "The Empire and its Northern Neighbors," *Cambridge Medieval History* IV, i, Cambridge 1966, p. 489.

[10] M. G. Sotiriou, "Ὁ *ναὸς τῆς Σκριποῦς Βοιωτίας*," Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1931, pp. 119–157 (Skripou); G. A. Sotiriou, "Ὁ *ἐν Θήβαις ναὸς Γρηγορίου τοῦ Θεολόγου*," Ἀρχ Ἐφ 1924, pp. 1–26 (Thebes); *idem*, EMME I, pp. 85–87 (St. John Mangouti).

[11] See Frantz, *Agora* XX. This and the ensuing periods will be the subject of another volume in this series.

APPENDIX
THE POST-HERULIAN WALL

The Post-Herulian Wall enclosed an area of 120,300 square meters, that is, barely one-nineteenth of the extent of the city at the time of Valerian (Pl. 5). The enclosed area formed an irregular rectangle north of the steep rock of the Acropolis, the Acropolis itself forming the south side of the enclosure. The dimensions of the new wall were as follows: west flank, 425 m.; north, 470 m.; east, 255 m.; south, 300 m. Also included within the wall was the area of the Library of Hadrian, as shown not only by the way in which the Library was connected with the north flank of the wall, but also by a passage in a description by the Anonymous of the Ambrosian Library, referring to the rectangle of the Library as a part of the city wall.[1]

The Post-Herulian Wall protected the central part of the city and the Acropolis. Its only shortcoming was that it was not directly connected with the entrance to the Acropolis, a disadvantage that was felt in Byzantine times. This was remedied in the 11th century by the construction of a new wall, the so-called Rizokastro, which surrounded the Acropolis and joined the Post-Herulian Wall on its east and west sides.

It may be noted that up to the beginning of the 20th century the area enclosed by the wall constituted the center of the city of Athens. Even today this area remains as the most interesting district of the city because in it are preserved monuments of all periods: the Classical, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine, as well as the Turkish and after the liberation from the Turks.

So far as we know, the only references to the Post-Herulian Wall are by Cyriac of Ancona, who visited Athens in 1444 and 1465,[2] and the Anonymous of the Ambrosian Library, who was probably in the city in 1466 or 1470.[3] It also seems probable that Symeon Kavasilas, who, in a letter to Martinus Crusius written in 1578, referred to Athens as being "three-fold" and "wholly inhabited", had in mind the Wall of Valerian, the Post-Herulian Wall, and the Rizokastro.[4]

After the capture of Athens by the Turks in 1456 the city spread out once more outside and around the Post-Herulian Wall, which was abandoned soon after. At any rate, it is certain that it was no longer in use in the 16th and 17th centuries, since on top of it were built churches which can be dated to that time.[5] With the passage of time large sections of the wall were destroyed. Many parts were systematically demolished by the inhabitants in order to recover the stones for building material for their houses. Of the parts preserved up to the middle of the 19th century many were deliberately demolished by archaeologists in search of important inscriptions, sculpture, and architectural members, or else to recover the earlier buildings lying underneath.

[1] "Item a u(n) canto de li muri della terra, che è tra ponente è tramontana, è un grandissimo aedificio et è in f(orm)a quadrata; alla fazza per ponente è una porta bella con un portico con 4 colonne, per la qual al presente s'entra nella terra; in la parte senestra della detta porta sono 5 belle colonne e grandi al ornamento del muro, alla destra è solamente el muro di marmori quadrati, et è tutta la detta fazza cerca un tirar d'arco; l'altra fazza che guarda verso tramontana, non ha alcuno ornamento esscepto il corniso di sopra, ma è un bel muro è sono 3 torre, una per canto è una in mezzo, la qual fazza è più di un tratto (a) balestra longa. Questi due fazze sono tutte intiere, ma le altre doi sono ruinate, mostra esser stato un grande et bello aedificio" (Ziebarth [footnote 98, p. 71], p. 77).

[2] Bodnar (footnote 52 above, p. 9), p. 40.

[3] Judeich², p. 16, note 2 and Ziebarth (footnote 98 above, p. 71), pp. 80–83.

[4] M. Crusius, *Turkograeciae Libri Octo*, Basiliae 1584, VII, 18; also Cte. De Laborde, *Athènes aux XV^e^, XVI^e^, et XVII^e^ siècles* I, Paris 1854, p. 58.

[5] Travlos and Frantz, "St. Dionysios," p. 176.

These archaeological operations made it possible to identify such buildings as were preserved, as well as to determine that they had found their way into a later fortification wall which stretched northward from the Acropolis. In 1851/52, when the Archaeological Society excavated around the building then believed to be the Bouleuterion, it was recognized for the first time that the remains did not belong to the Bouleuterion but to a later fortification wall, without, however, any certain determination of the date of its construction.[6] Also, when in 1861 S. Koumanides excavated around the Stoa of Attalos and the Panagia Pyrgiotissa, as well as on the site of the Church of St. Demetrios Katiphori, he recognized the existence of a circuit wall and gave a full description of its course.[7]

It is worth noting that in 1852, when publishing an inscription found in the neighborhood of the Church of the Hypapanti, Kyriakos Pittakis wrote that before the Revolution a tradition was current among the older Athenians that when the barbarians attacked Athens the inhabitants built a wall around the district north of the Acropolis because the Acropolis was not sufficient for their safety. He also noted that in that area there were many ancient stones and that the inhabitants used them to build their houses.

Thus, immediately after the middle of the 19th century, the Post-Herulian Wall began to appear on various plans of Athens, sometimes accurately drawn[8] and on others with many errors.[9] The beginning of the excavations of the American School, however, provided the opportunity to discover in all possible detail the whole of the western flank, while at the same time chance finds elsewhere in the city recovered in the course of modern building operations made it possible to determine more accurately the course of the wall on the other two flanks.[10]

CONSTRUCTION OF THE WALL

The method of construction of the Post-Herulian Wall resembles closely that of the Wall of Valerian, the only possible difference perhaps being the total absence of iron clamps such as are used in the Wall of Valerian.

Like the Wall of Valerian, the Post-Herulian Wall, whose thickness fluctuates between 2.50 and 3.50 m., is not built entirely of stone; only the two outer faces are constructed of ancient squared blocks and architectural members. The wall therefore consists of two quite separate, parallel walls, varying in thickness from 0.40 to 0.70 m., depending on the size of the ancient blocks. The intervening space was filled with large and small unworked stones and architectural members, mostly columns, capitals, Ionic bases, geisa, and generally stones with irregular surfaces (Pl. 10:a). The spaces between the stones were filled with small chips of architectural members, roof tiles, sculpture, and inscriptions, all bonded together by lime mortar of a poor consistency and not very strong.

The wall was built, so far as possible, on the foundations of earlier buildings. Where it was necessary to build directly on the ground the earth was dug away down to bedrock, in which a deep

[6] K. Pittakis, D. Charamis, and P. Eustratiades, Ἐπιγραφαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι, fasc. 2, Athens 1852, pp. 7–8.

[7] Γενικὴ συνέλευσις 1861, pp. 8–18.

[8] E. Curtius, *Attische Studien* I, Göttingen 1862, pl. II; *idem*, *Sieben Karten zur Topographie von Athen*, Gotha 1868, pl. 3; Wachsmuth, II, i, pl. I.

[9] E. Curtius, *Stadtsgeschichte von Athen*, Berlin 1891, pl. VI. G. Fougères, *Athènes*, Paris 1914, p. 15. G. A. Sotiriou, EMME I, plate opp. p. 26. Judeich², pl. IV.

[10] The plan of the Post-Herulian Wall made on the basis of the newly discovered sections was first published in 1946 (Travlos [footnote 112 above, p. 73], pl. 30). Cf. also Bodnar (footnote 52 above, p. 9), pl. III; Travlos, Πολεοδομική, fig. 221.

trench was opened to a depth of 0.50–0.70 m., in order to provide a firm and level surface on which to lay the foundations of the wall.

The faces of the wall were built of large ancient blocks laid in regular courses, and whereas the outer face was built with great care, with perfect joints, the inner face was carelessly laid and consisted of all sorts of architectural members with their carved surfaces projecting from the face of the wall. On this face column drums were used in such a way that their curved surfaces were contiguous to each other and visible in the face of the wall. The spaces between the drums were filled with small stones and strong lime mortar (see Pls. 7:a, 8).

Characteristic of the construction is the total absence of brick. Instead, pieces of marble or terracotta roof tiles were used to fill the gaps or to make horizontal beddings for the wall courses.

Some sections of the wall were built entirely of marble; others of poros. This difference, which makes a striking impression on first view, has no relation either to the solidity or to the appearance of the wall. It arises from the availability of material from marble or poros buildings, whichever were closest to that particular section of the wall.

The mortar used in the construction was not always of the same composition. In general, the mortar used in the inner filling of the wall is deficient in lime, whereas that used for setting the blocks in the two faces is very strong and consists of lime, sand, and small pieces or grains of red clay from ground-up roof tiles. This is the mortar which came into use in Athens at the end of the 1st century B.C.

The rectangular towers projecting from the walls were built in the same way, but their sides were thicker, 1.40–1.90 m. Their interiors were filled with architectural members of all sorts, taken from earlier buildings.

The wall is preserved to its greatest height behind the Stoa of Attalos, where it rises to 7.50 m. Its actual height, however, must have reached 11.50 m. This could be determined before the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos from a section of the shop-front wall (between shops 2 and 3), where it was preserved to its original height of 11.50 m. The Post-Herulian Wall must certainly have risen to that point, because it was built over the shop-front wall for the entire length of the Stoa. The battlements would have begun above that point.

The gates of the Post-Herulian Wall, estimated as eight in number, were protected at intervals by towers to guard the main streets of the city.

DESCRIPTION OF THE POST-HERULIAN WALL BY SECTIONS

For a better understanding of the construction of the wall we shall follow its course in detail on all three sides, i.e., the West, North, and East.

West Flank

Sections of the west side of the wall were first discovered in the middle of the 19th century; the entire flank was uncovered and later systematically excavated by the American School of Classical Studies.

This flank of the wall begins at the northwest corner of the Acropolis at the retaining wall in front of the Propylaia and ends at the northwest corner of the Stoa of Attalos (425 meters). On account of the steep slope of the terrain, however, there is a great difference (66.80 m.) in the elevation at the two ends.

The west flank is the most interesting, being the only side which has been uncovered over its full length. This will be described in four sections determined by the three gates on that side.

First Section

The first section begins at the northwest corner of the retaining wall of the Propylaia and ends at the Hypapanti Gate. It has a length of 135 meters and is punctuated at about midpoint by a projecting tower (W 1), rectangular, 6 × 7 meters. The thickness of the wall in this section is stable, measuring 2.95 m. Only at the beginning, near the Klepsydra, does it have a thickness of 4.50 m. on account of the steep slope of the rock down to the line of the road (the Peripatos).

Up to this point the lower courses of the wall were preserved until 1937, when it was found necessary to demolish them in order to expose the front of the Klepsydra and the west edge of the paved forecourt.[11] All the rest of this section up to the Hypapanti Gate is visible today except for a small stretch of 22 meters which, after its excavation and study, was covered over again in order to restore the Peripatos.[12] This portion was preserved to a height of 2.25 m. and consisted of three courses. Both faces were built of isodomic masonry, with large poros blocks laid as orthostates. The poros blocks, some the soft stone from Piraeus, some hard, were taken from various earlier buildings dating from the 6th century B.C. (At least two of these blocks came from the Kara quarries, which are known to have been in use at the time of Peisistratos and his successors.) Some of the blocks used as orthostates were curved, taken from some unknown round building, 3.54 m. in diameter; they were 0.86 m. high and 0.81 m. thick. In this section of the wall in general, architectural members were few; also in the filling, which consisted exclusively of small fieldstones and lime mortar, the absence of fragments of marble sculpture and inscriptions was noticeable.

The section south of the Peripatos up to the Klepsydra was first noted by P. Kavvadias in the course of excavations in 1896–1897.[13] It was excavated systematically, however, by the American School in 1937, when it was discovered that it followed the easternmost of the two retaining walls of the Panathenaic Way,[14] which served to support the mass of earth as the street ascended from the Eleusinion to the Peripatos and the Klepsydra.

In this area only the lower courses of the Post-Herulian Wall were preserved, seated in a deep foundation trench. The destruction of this section of the wall must be dated in the Byzantine period, about the middle of the 11th century, when it appears that systematic demolition was undertaken to provide material for the construction of the Rizokastro,[15] the new wall which encircled the Acropolis.

North of the Peripatos the Post-Herulian Wall was preserved to a height up to 2.90 m. At that point the northwest corner of the Rizokastro was preserved, showing that at the time of the construction of the Rizokastro all the remaining northward section of the Post-Herulian Wall was still in use (Pl. 5). This section of the wall down to the Hypapanti Gate, which was excavated in 1937, is built of all sorts of miscellaneous stones and has undergone repairs over the long period of its use.[16]

Second Section

The second section of the wall, with a length of 78 meters, stretches from the Hypapanti Gate to the Christ Church Gate. Only the outer face is preserved. It rests everywhere on the natural rock and at many points rises to a height of 3.20 m. The inner face was based on the buildings of the Eleusinion, that is, on the Roman stoa which fixes the southern boundary of the temenos, on the

[11] *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 332–333 (Shear, Sr.).

[12] *Ibid.*, pp. 330–332.

[13] P. Kavvadias, Πρακτικά 1896, p. 18 and 1897, p. 10.

[14] *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 333–334 (Shear, Sr.).

[15] A. W. Parsons recorded the same opinion ([footnote 109 above, p. 29], pp. 259, 263, fig. 40). He, however, dated the new wall to the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century.

[16] *Hesperia* 7, 1938, pp. 327–328 (Shear, Sr.).

propylon of the Eleusinion, and on a large part of its circuit up to the northwest corner of the large retaining wall of the terrace of the Eleusinion. It appears that the temple of the Eleusinion was not destroyed at that time to provide construction material for the wall. The one existing block from the temple built into the wall was certainly placed there in a later, Mediaeval, repair. Beyond this point as far as the Christ Church Gate the wall was based on various monuments of shell limestone.

The whole of the surviving outer face of the wall was built of poros stones of all sorts and of small dimensions, most of them coming from the retaining wall of the Eleusinion. Generally speaking, this section is preserved only in poor condition, and the upper portions have undergone in later times many repairs with small stones and bricks bonded with mortar.

To the right of the Christ Church Gate (Pl. 14:b) are preserved the foundations of a rectangular tower (W 2) projecting from the wall 5.86 m. and with a width of 7.65 m. (Pl. 14:a). The walls are 1.90 m. thick and are built of large poros blocks and ancient marbles, including a door jamb of Pentelic marble. Filling for the interior consisted of architectural members including three epistyles (one of these also carries the lintel of a door or window); also in the filling was a single column which would have carried a statue. Four drums of the column are preserved, of Hymettian marble, on one of which was carved the inscription I 3299 (= *IG* II^2, 3504). Also preserved are the Ionic base and Ionic capital, both of white marble.[17] These members make it possible to restore the total height of the column as 8.15 m. and the diameter as 0.82 m. The column apparently stood in the vicinity, as well as another column, fluted, of white marble, found built into the wall near by. Many similar, isolated columns carrying statues seem to have stood in the area of the Agora, especially on the east side. At any rate, a large number of column drums from such monuments have been found in the Post-Herulian Wall in the section from the Christ Church Gate to the north end of the Stoa of Attalos. Exactly in front of the northwest corner of the Stoa were four fallen drums of a column monument with an inscription of the 1st century B.C. (Agora I 3948).[18]

The wall and especially Tower W 2 were first excavated in 1851 by the Greek Archaeological Society. In their report were described, apart from the above-mentioned column and epistyles, the following: a roof tile with a gorgoneion in the middle and beneath it the inscription [Α]ΙΓΙΠΥΡΟΥ as well as water spouts with lion's heads, some of Pentelic marble, others of terracotta. And finally, 80 inscriptions.[19] Most of the inscriptions came from the Agora, some stating "to be set up in the Metroön" or "in the Bouleuterion". These led the first scholars of Athenian topography to look in this vicinity, between the Churches of the Hypapanti and Christ, for the group of the Metroön, the Bouleuterion, and the Tholos,[20] which are mentioned together by Pausanias.

The whole section of the wall between the Hypapanti Gate and the Christ Church Gate, as well as Tower W 2, was systematically excavated in the years 1936, 1937, and 1958, bringing a better understanding of the discoveries of the mid-19th century.[21] During this new investigation many inscriptions and architectural members, as well as pieces of sculpture, came to light. Still preserved in its original position is the inscription I 4713 which stood in front of the propylon of the Eleusinion and was incorporated in the face of the wall.[22] In addition to simple building material,

[17] Found in 1851. See Pittakis *et al.* (footnote 6 above, p. 126), fasc. 1, p. 4; fasc. 2, pp. 5–6.

[18] *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 318 (Thompson); B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 254–255, no. 36.

[19] Pittakis *et al.* (footnote 6 above, p. 126), fasc. 1, pp. 3–5.

[20] K. S. Pittakis, *L'ancienne Athènes*, Athens 1935, pp. 31–31. Cf. also *idem*, ᾿Εφ ᾿Αρχ 1853, p. 880, note 1.

[21] *Hesperia* 6, 1937, p. 359 and 7, 1938, pp. 326–328, 329 (Shear, Sr.). Thompson, "Odeion," pp. 95–96.

[22] J. H. Oliver, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 10, 1941, pp. 78–82, no. 34.

inscriptions I 5250,[23] I 4712, which is still built into the wall, and a large statue base with a dedication by Herodes Atticus to his friend M. Ceionius Civica Barbarus (I 4924)[24] were found.

Also from this section of the wall came characteristic finds from the Eleusinion, such as sculpture and inscriptions, including many fragments of the Alcibiades stelai, which are known to have stood in the Eleusinion. In the filling of the wall near the Eleusinion was found the fine lintel with painted decoration, of the 5th century B.C., now displayed in the Agora Museum (Lioness Lintel).[25]

Third Section

This section of the Post-Herulian Wall extends from the Christ Church Gate to the Pyrgiotissa Gate (Pls. 7, 8:a). It has a length of 100 meters and a consistent thickness of 3.50 m. The outer face was laid over the stylobate of the Southeast Stoa and the Library of Pantainos, while the inner face was bedded directly on bedrock.

The southern half of the wall, which was uncovered in 1958, is preserved to a height of 1.90 m. and is carelessly built of large poros blocks. Almost all the architectural members used in this section come from the Southeast Stoa, on which it was based. On the inner face use was made chiefly of epistyles from the Stoa, while in the filling were chiefly large column bases, Ionic bases, column drums, and geisa of this unusual colonnade.[26]

The northern half of this section, on the other hand, built over the Library of Pantainos, is constructed with exceptional care, almost entirely of architectural members, most from the buildings of the Agora. Its preserved height of 3.40 m. was uncovered in 1933 and 1939.[27] Most of the material used in the construction was taken from the Library of Pantainos. Especially instructive for determining the original position in the Library of the various architectural members is the method of placing them in the wall. For example, the Ionic base of the south pilaster in the colonnade of the Library remains in its original position, and the shaft of the pilaster was laid horizontally near it in the outer face of the wall, near Tower W 3. The crowning molding of the pilaster was found near by; thus the three pieces together gave accurately the height of the pilaster. The most important find, however, which gave the certain identification of the building under the wall as the Library of Pantainos, was the inscription I 848,[28] built into the inner face of the wall about midway between Towers W 3 and W 4 and which was the lintel of the main entrance to the Library. Epistyles of the Library were used as building material in both faces of the northern half of that section of the wall. Also, in the filling, were column bases, pieces of columns of Hymettian marble, Ionic capitals, and many geisa, some of which belonged to the colonnade of the Library.[29]

In addition to material from the Library, architectural members of other buildings were found in this section of the wall, built into both faces and used as filling for the core. Other important finds were sculpture and inscriptions. The architectural material, in conjunction with the ruins of the buildings in the Agora, permitted their accurate reconstruction. Among the buildings providing

[23] *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 218 (Shear, Sr.).

[24] *Hesperia* 7, 1938, p. 328 (Shear, Sr.).

[25] G. P. Stevens, "Lintel with the Painted Lioness," *Hesperia* 23, 1954, pp. 169–184.

[26] Thompson, "Odeion," p. 95. *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 344–345 (Thompson). For the architecture of the Southeast Stoa, R. Ross Holloway, "Exploration of the Southeast Stoa in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 35, 1966, pp. 79–85. Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 436–438.

[27] *Hesperia* 4, 1935, pp. 329–334 and 9, 1940, p. 294 (Shear, Sr.).

[28] A. W. Parsons, "A Family of Philosophers at Athens and Alexandria," *Hesperia*, Suppl. VIII, *Commemorative Studies in Honor of Theodore Leslie Shear*, Baltimore 1949, pp. 268–272.

[29] For the architecture of the Library, see Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 432–435; *Agora* XIV, pp. 114–116.

material for the wall were the Metroön,[30] the Temple of Ares,[31] the Odeion of Agrippa,[32] the Southeast Temple,[33] and the Southwest Temple.[34] In a great many cases, however, the source of many of the architectural members has not yet been determined.

About midpoint between the Christ Church and Pyrgiotissa Gates, Tower W 3 projected 6.94 m. from the wall (Pl. 9:b). Its width was 8.77 m.; its walls, 1.55 m. thick, were built of ancient blocks and architectural members. Of special interest were some Ionic columns of the 5th century B.C. from some still unidentified building.[35] One of these columns, 6.67 m. in height, has been re-erected and now stands in the south stairwell of the Stoa of Attalos. Inside the same tower were found significant numbers of pieces of sculpture.[36] The architectural members found in the tower, along with others from the wall itself, are now displayed in front of the wall, between Towers W 3 and W 4.

Still another tower (W 4) stood in the northern part of the section of the wall under discussion. Its dimensions were 9.70 × 7.50 m. and it was preserved to a height of 3.45 m.[37] It was built over a large monument base measuring 5.15 × 5.35 m. The still preserved filling consists of drums of a monumental column similar to that found in Tower W 2 and poros column drums from the Middle Stoa. Into the north side of the tower is built a large curved block of white marble which, from its dimensions, may certainly be attributed to the triumphal arch, of which the bases are preserved, leading from the Greek to the Roman Agora. In the northeast corner of the tower are incorporated many inscribed bases (I 754, I 928, I 5850, I 6737, I 6738).

Fourth Section

This section of the wall, the last on the west flank, stretches the entire length of the Stoa of Attalos and is no longer preserved. Some elements, however, survive which enable us to follow in detail its course and method of construction. The first investigation in this vicinity took place in the years 1859–1862, 1868–1869, 1874, 1890, and 1898–1902 under the auspices of the Greek Archaeological Society.[38] The sections of the wall and its towers discovered at that time were demolished in order to uncover the remains of the Stoa of Attalos and also to remove from the masonry of the wall the inscriptions, sculpture, and architectural members built into it. These were not taken to the National Museum and its storerooms but were laid out near the Stoa and on its floor, covering it completely. Smaller fragments of special interest were stacked in piles to a height of two meters inside the three southernmost shops of the Stoa.

The excavation of this section of the wall as a whole was accomplished later by the American School, especially in the work preceding the restoration of the Stoa of Attalos.[39] To begin with, all the ancient material uncovered during during the earlier work of the Archaeological Society was removed from the site, and systematic excavation of the ruins of the wall was started. These were

[30] Thompson, "West Side," p. 185.

[31] Dinsmoor (footnote 9 above, p. 97), p. 3, note 9; McAllister (footnote 9 above, p. 97).

[32] Thompson, "Odeion," pp. 31–141.

[33] *Agora* XIV, pp. 167–168; Dinsmoor (footnote 19 above, p. 3), pp. 410–452 (for a revision of the previous identification of the temple as the Temple of Demeter).

[34] *Agora* XIV, pp. 165–166; Dinsmoor, *op. cit.*

[35] *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 351–356 (Thompson); Agora XIV, p. 166.

[36] Harrison, (footnote 46 above, p. 7), pp. 373–378. *Hesperia* 29, 1960, pp. 350–359 (Thompson).

[37] Stephen G. Miller, "A Roman Monument in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 41, 1972, p. 94.

[38] *Γενικὴ συνέλευσις* 1860, pp. 8–14; 1861, pp. 14–17; 1862, pp. 7–10; 1869, pp. 7–9; 1870, pp. 7–8. **Φιλίστωρ** 1, 1861, pp. 265–272. **Πρακτικά** 1874, p. 20; 1890, pp. 9–10; 1898, pp. 65–68; 1899, pp. 73–75; 1900, pp. 32–34; 1902, p. 46.

[39] *Hesperia* 19, 1950, pp. 317–322 (Thompson).

then demolished in order to uncover the remains of the Stoa of Attalos. Later, during the restoration of the Stoa of Attalos, all the ancient materials recovered by the Greek excavations and those of the American School were arranged in classified piles in front of the Stoa, covering the whole area on either side of the Panathenaic Way for the length of the Stoa and the Odeion of Agrippa as far as the Church of the Holy Apostles. The smaller pieces of sculpture and architecture were placed on shelves behind the Stoa and in the empty space at its north end.

This section of the wall, the northernmost of the western flank, covered the whole of the shop-front wall of the Stoa and also its narrow south end (Pl. 11). Two towers at the ends (W 5 and W 7) and one in the middle (W 6) completed the fortification of this most important point in the north-west corner of the Post-Herulian Wall.

The Stoa of Attalos, whose ruins were incorporated in the wall, had been destroyed in the Herulian attack of 267. The building had been set on fire, with the result that the roof collapsed and the stone was turned to lime, destroying large sections of the wall with many of its architectural members. In spite of the fire, however, at the time of the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall the Stoa stood in comparatively good condition, in which it remained even in some places to its original height until the reconstruction of the Stoa.

At the time of the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall, it seems that all the interior walls of the Stoa, with the dividing shop walls, were still standing. These were probably re-used to house the guards and for other necessary purposes. Only the exterior and interior colonnades were torn down at that time, to be used in the construction of the wall. The same fate befell the retaining wall of the terrace in front of the Stoa and the monuments along its length, all stripped to their foundations.

The Post-Herulian Wall was laid beside the shop-front wall of the Stoa of Attalos and rested everywhere on the soft bedrock in spite of the great difference in its level, which at the north end was 5.50 m. below the floor of the Stoa. On account of the stability of the rock the trench in which the wall was bedded was dug 0.20–0.40 m. deeper than the foundations of the Stoa. Also, because the foundation of the shop-front wall projected 0.75 m., the thickness of the Post-Herulian Wall near the bedrock was 1.20 m., whereas higher up, over the floor of the Stoa, it was 1.94 m. To this last dimension should be added the thickness of the shop-front wall, i.e., 0.66 m. to reach the actual thickness of the Post-Herulian Wall, that is, 2.60 m.

To the south of Tower W 6 the material used for the construction of the wall was for the most part poros column drums from the Middle Stoa, laid at right angles to the wall, one next the other with their surfaces touching (Pl. 8:b). To the north of Tower W 6, however, the building material was exclusuvely architectural members from the Stoa of Attalos: Doric column drums, capitals, epistyle blocks, triglyphs, and geisa from the lower storey of the Stoa, as well as Ionic columns, parapets, epistyles, and geisa from the upper storey. Among them were many fragments of bases and capitals from the inner orders of both colonnades.

It is to be noted that it was in this section, in front of the tenth shop from the north, to be precise, that in 1862 the discovery was made of the Doric epistyle with the inscription ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΤΤΑΛΟΣ . . ., which established with certainty the identification of the building as the Stoa of Attalos. Near by were found other inscribed fragments of the epistyle.[40] If the place of discovery of the epistyle corresponds to its original position, it should be possible to determine more accurately the relation of the inscription to the axis of the colonnade.[41]

[40] *Γενικὴ συνέλευσις* 1860, pp. 7–10. Cf. also *Φιλίστωρ* 3, 1862, pp. 365–367.

[41] On the inscription and a probable restoration, see B. D. Meritt, "Greek Inscriptions," *Hesperia* 26, 1957, pp. 83–88.

Many ancient blocks were found also along the narrow side of the Stoa of Attalos. And here, for the bedding of the wall, a trench 0.89 m. deep and varying in width between 2.32 and 2.47 m. was opened in the bedrock which at that point formed the floor of the Stoa. In the trench were found the large blocks of white marble from the crowning member of a base, which are now displayed along with other similar blocks east of the East Building, near the Church of the Holy Apostles. In the same trench were found pieces of Ionic columns from the upper storey of the Stoa of Attalos and, most important, the crowning molding of a pilaster belonging to the neighboring arched opening of the south exedra of the Stoa. This molding, in spite of the damage by fire, has been used in the restoration of the Stoa, in its original position.

Tower W 5. Of the three towers which existed in this section of the Post-Herulian Wall over the length of the Stoa of Attalos, the southernmost (W 5), together with Tower W 4, constitutes the Pyrgiotissa Gate. Tower W 5, whose walls apparently were still standing to a considerable height, was demolished during the excavations of the Archaeological Society in 1860[42] to uncover the southwest corner of the Stoa of Attalos, the ruins of which had been incorporated in the tower. Thus the entire south pilaster of the Stoa with its crowning molding was revealed along with the sole surviving section of the crepidoma of the colonnade, including the stylobate, the two steps, and the poros drain in front of them. Also preserved to a height of 1.40 m. is a section of the terrace wall of the Stoa.

The tower measures 7.50 × 9.90 m., with the thickness of the walls estimated at 1.50 m. The masonry of the lower part consisted entirely of blocks coming from the base of a large monument, 4.841 × 3.899 m., while in the upper part, arranged as orthostates, were placed slabs inscribed with ephebic lists, 1.617 m. high, taken from the same monument.[43] These orthostates were crowned with a *tainia* of the same stone on which, on the west side of the towers, was carved the inscription *IG* II², 5200, referring to the construction of a wall believed to be the Post-Herulian.[44] The inscription and the architectural members taken from the monument and used in the construction of the tower are now displayed to the west of the position of Tower W 5.

During the Turkish period and after the abandonment of the wall the interior of the tower was used as the Church of the Virgin, who quite naturally took on the epithet in this case of Pyrgiotissa.[45]

Tower W 6. Tower W 6 stood in about the middle of the Stoa of Attalos and was built around the base of column 11 of the inner colonnade, counting the columns from the south (Pl. 11:a). The ruins of the tower, which projected 7.30 m. from the wall, had a width of 6.60 m. and are estimated to have been preserved to a height of 7.85 m. from the floor of the Stoa. The tower, except for its foundations, was demolished in 1900 (Pl. 12).[46] It was built of regular blocks of marble from the quarries of Hymettus all taken from one and the same monument. These were gathered together in a heap a little to the west of their position.

As far as can be judged from surviving drawings and an old photograph, the lowest part of the tower, to a height of 3 meters, consisted of two courses of orthostates divided by a low string course. The upper masonry, of which ten courses survived, was built in a pseudo-isodomic fashion of blocks alternating in height between 0.65 and 0.325 m. On one of these blocks on the west side of the

[42] *Γενικὴ συνέλευσις* 1860, p. 9.
[43] Miller (footnote 37 above, p. 131).
[44] For the inscription, see above, p. 9.
[45] For the church, see Mommsen (footnote 117 above, p. 73), pp. 92–96, no. 110; A. Xyngopoulos, EMME I, pp. 110–111.
[46] K. Mylonas, *Πρακτικά* 1900, pp. 33–34.

tower, as shown on the old drawings, was carved the inscription *IG* II^2, 4209, mentioned by several travelers of the 18th and 19th centuries.

In the course of studying the blocks at the beginning of the reconstruction of the Stoa of Attalos two more inscriptions were found on corner blocks (Agora I 6120 a, b), giving the beginning and end of one inscription. From these it was possible to determine the width of the monument from which the blocks were taken, probably about 4.10 m.

Finally, it was established that the blocks in the tower, 115 in number, came from a large, high monument which originally stood exactly in front of the position of the tower, on a large base 5.80 m. square, near the retaining wall of the Stoa of Attalos. The monument was dedicated to the donor of the Stoa, King Attalos II, who was represented in a four-horse chariot. Almost all the blocks on which traces are preserved of the attachments for the feet of the horses were placed on the base of the monument. In the Roman period, as shown by the inscription, the monument was dedicated to the Emperor Tiberius.[47] A similar case may be seen in the monument of Agrippa on the Acropolis, which was originally dedicated to King Eumenes II of Pergamon.

The foundations of Tower W 6, which were found at a depth of three meters below the floor of the Stoa of Attalos, were uncovered in 1949 and subsequently demolished.[48] They were 1.40–1.60 m. thick and were built of poros architectural members from the Middle Stoa. The identification of the source of the material was certain because similar members were found in the whole area of the Middle Stoa.

Inside Tower W 6 and the adjacent portion of the wall were found 97 column drums of the Middle Stoa, which were built into the side of the wall. In addition to the column drums the tower produced Doric capitals, crowning blocks from the high parapet between the columns of the Middle Stoa, epistyle blocks, triglyphs, metopes, and Doric geisa; the capitals and metopes are of white marble, the rest are of poros. Finally, there were many fragments of terracotta antefixes with lions' heads. Today, except for the epistyles and capitals, which have been placed on the terrace of the Middle Stoa toward its east end, all the architectural members found inside the tower are displayed on their own shelves behind the Stoa of Attalos.

In addition to the material from the Middle Stoa the demolition of the foundations of Tower W 6 produced architectural members from the Temple of Ares and the Odeion of Agrippa;[49] also, there were about 50 poros blocks, 1.30 × 0.57 × 0.43 m. On the short side of these were preserved the remains of a good and strong plaster, similar to that used on the inner surface of the walls of the southeast corner of the cryptoporticus of the Odeion of Agrippa. All these blocks, except two which have been kept as samples, have been used in the construction of the large retaining wall behind the Stoa of Attalos. It seems likely that they were originally used in the inner walls of the cryptoporticus forming the rectangle of the Odeion.

Tower W 7. The wall built in front of the shop-front wall of the Stoa of Attalos did not reach to the northern end of the Stoa but stopped over the vertical foundation which marked the end as planned before a change was made in the course of construction, adding three shops to the north. Directly over this foundation (3.80 m. in thickness) there remained until the end of the 19th century a section of the Post-Herulian Wall, 1.70 m. thick, which appears on an old photograph[50] and

[47] On the inscription and the monument, see E. Vanderpool, "Athens Honors the Emperor Tiberius," *Hesperia* 28, 1959, pp. 86–90.

[48] *Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 317 (Thompson).

[49] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[50] F. Adler, *Die Stoa des Königs Attalos II. zu Athen*, Berlin 1875, pl. I.

which is included on a plan drawn by A. Lykaki in 1899 in the course of excavations by the Archaeological Society.[51]

This section of the wall comprises the south side of a large tower, 17.20 × 14.70 m. Its north side followed the northern stairway of the Stoa of Attalos, with a thickness of 2.80 m.; the boundary of the west side was the crepidoma of the stylobate of the Stoa and was 1.80 m. thick. It seems that originally, in the construction of the tower, it was planned to reinforce the east and west walls by building new walls. Deep foundation trenches were found during the excavations of 1954, one in front of the shop-front wall and the other behind the stylobate. The trenches were 1.40–1.50 m. wide; the first reached a depth of 2.10 m. and the second 3.60 m. from the floor of the Stoa. Only a few column drums from the Stoa of Attalos, however, were laid in one trench, the western, when work stopped and the trenches were covered with Herulian destruction fill. This fill contained ashes, carbonized wood, and many bits of bronze and iron as well as many small fragments of architectural members of the Stoa of Attalos. It is clear from the nature of the fill and from the coins found in it that the trenches were filled in the course of the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall.

The height of this tower must have been impressive because at the north end of the Stoa the floor was 6.55 m. higher than the ground in front and the ancient road approaching it. Given that at the time of construction of the wall the terrace outside the Stoa had been destroyed as well as the crepidoma as far as Tower W 5,[52] Tower W 7 must have risen to a height of about 18 meters.

The masonry of the tower, to judge from the old photographs of this section (Pl. 11), is very characteristic. As in the other towers, the lower part was laid in orthostates, the upper with regular blocks laid horizontally. In the interior of the tower, spaced at regular intervals, were discovered the foundations of four rectangular bases, the length of whose sides varied from 1.10 to 1.70 m. (Pl. 13). These bases, which were built of large and small stones with an abundance of strong lime mortar and ash-colored clay, were not seated on the bedrock but on the firm hard-packed filling of the remains of the classical law courts 3.60–4.45 m. below. These bases supported square piers, estimated at 0.80 m. to the side, to carry an upper storey.

Each storey would have consisted of one large room, 12.60 m. square, and on its east side three rooms corresponding to the ancient shops on the first and second floors of the stoa. Communication between the two floors would have been provided by the still existing north stairway of the Stoa. The whole complex of the tower would have been accessible from the east, that is, from the city side, by a doorway which must have been opened for that purpose in the east wall of the third shop of the Stoa. The tower must have had a second small doorway in the south side. The existence of a small doorway at this point may be hypothesized from the construction of the south wall of the tower, which terminates with doorjambs toward the east.[53] The width of this doorway did not exceed 1.40 m., that is, a little narrower than the doorway found at the east end of the north side of the wall.[54]

The floor of the ground-floor room of the tower was paved with a mosaic of shoddy construction, consisting of small irregular pieces of white marble set in an underpinning of small stones and abundant mortar, gray in color. It is not certain whether this floor was contemporary with the construction of the tower or slightly later. Nevertheless, the fact that it was confined within the

[51] *Πρακτικά* 1899, pl. II.

[52] H. A. Thompson (*Hesperia* 19, 1950, p. 320) writes that the blocks of the Stoa stylobate were taken away in the 10th and 11th centuries. But fill excavated at this point more recently gives no indication of the time of the removal of the blocks.

[53] The doorjamb was found at a distance of 3.17 m. from the shop-front wall of the Stoa. See R. Bohn, *Die Stoa Königs Attalos des Zweiten zu Athen*, Berlin 1882, pl. I. Four blocks of the jamb were preserved in the 19th century. See Adler (footnote 50 above, p. 134).

[54] Below, p. 137.

limits of the tower and especially that it was laid 0.10–0.14 m. lower than the stylobate of the Stoa permits the assumption that it was more likely to have been contemporary with the tower.[55] A similar mosaic has been found in the East Building of the South Square (*Hesperia* 22, 1953, p. 37 [Thompson]) and in Temple II of Zeus and Athena on the west side of the Agora (Thompson, "West Side," pp. 86, 90).

Two bases of white marble slabs, placed near the northern piers at the time the mosaic was laid and reinforced with large rectangular blocks, were obviously used to receive certain objects. We do not know what purpose was served by the first-storey room of the tower. It is, however, very probable that some civic offices or religious cults were installed here to replace some temples or buildings destroyed by the Heruli.

In any case, the tower complex must have had some special significance since, according to Athenian tradition, in this northernmost part of the Stoa of Attalos, formerly known as the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, there was said to have been the residence of the Metropolitan of Athens and the seat of his bishopric in the Byzantine period.[56]

North Flank

The north flank of the wall has not yet been discovered over its entire length. From the preserved sections, however, and from other bits discovered during new construction it is possible to trace its course accurately.

The north flank measured 470 meters in a straight line and consisted of three separate sections: the first, the western, with a length of 146 meters, stretched from the northeast corner of the Stoa of Attalos to the Library of Hadrian. The second, or central section, included the Library of Hadrian, and the third and last began at the northeast corner of the Library and continued for a distance of 206 meters to the east, where it turned southward.

Western Section

The wall takes off at an acute angle from the east side of the north end of the Stoa. From that point it is preserved for a length of 50 meters, with a thickness of 3.50 m. and a height of 7.50 m. It is built of ancient blocks of all sorts, most of them architectural members of poros, including a triglyph from the Middle Stoa. For the first 18 meters the outer face is bedded on the north wall of the classical law courts, whereas the rest is based on the natural rock. This first section went without a break to the east until it met the southwest corner of the Library of Hadrian, whose entire area of 114 × 76 m. is enclosed within the new fortification wall.

Central Section

At the time of the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall the Library of Hadrian must have been in very good condition. Still in the 15th century, as can be deduced from the description by the Anonymous of the Ambrosian Library, who, as we have seen, was in Athens in 1466, the whole of the porch of the Library was preserved, with its four columns, and the whole of the marble wall of the west facade; only the columns of the southern part had disappeared.

[55] H. A. Thompson (*The Stoa of Attalos II in Athens* [*Agora Picture Book* No. 2], Princeton 1959 and *Agora* XIV, p. 104) considers the mosaic to have been the original floor of the Stoa of Attalos. I have many reservations and would like his opinion. In any case, it must be remarked that in the first plans the mosaic was indicated in the east end of Tower W 7 and above the trench dug, as we have seen, for the construction of the Post-Herulian Wall. (Cf. Bohn [footnote 53 above, p. 135], pl. I; *Πρακτικά* 1899, pl. I.)

[56] Pittakis (footnote 114 above, p. 73), p. 1469, no. 3035. Mommsen (footnote 117 above, p. 73), p. 94. See also D. Kambouroglou, Αἱ Παλαιαὶ Ἀθῆναι, Athens 1922, p. 154.

The most important contribution of the description of the Anonymous, however, is that it shows clearly that the whole of the Library of Hadrian was part of the defense circuit. The author writes that one entered the fortified area through the propylon and characterizes the three projecting exedrae of the north wall as towers of the circuit.[57] In his description of Athens the Anonymous also remarks that many ancient remains could be seen both inside and outside the recently fortified area (*terra ultimamente murata*). Earlier students of the topography of Athens, relying on this observation of the Anonymous, date the wall in the Frankish period. There is no longer any doubt, however, that the new fortification was the Post-Herulian, which excavations have shown underwent drastic repairs in the Frankish period.

The outer walls of the Library constituted the central section of the north flank of the wall. It is, however, very probable that one side of the Library, the south, which is still hidden under modern houses, was strengthened for further defense. Communication between the Library and the area enclosed by the Post-Herulian wall seems to have been achieved by a door in the south side of the quadrangle, probably at the position of the middle rectangular exedra.

Eastern Section

From the southeast corner of the Library the wall continued farther east. The only sections visible in this area today are the part preserved in the courtyard of the Medresse and some bits along Hadrian Street (below). The section in the Medresse has a thickness of 3.50 m., and its construction of large poros architectural members follows in general the characteristic method described above.[58]

Although few bits of the wall are preserved today, nevertheless its course eastward from the Library of Hadrian can be determined safely thanks to discoveries made during construction of houses along Hadrian Street. Thus as shown by the most recent excavations, at a distance of 50 meters from the southeast corner of the Library of Hadrian, for the continuation of the wall use was made of the north side of another older building, 66 meters long, the Pantheon.[59] Some remains of this were uncovered at 78 Hadrian Street. Still another fragment of the wall was discovered farther east in the cellars of the houses to either side of the corner of Mnesikles and Hadrian Streets.This was preserved to a length of 10 meters, bedded on the hard-packed crepidoma of the porch of the Pantheon.[60] Also a small gateway, 1.65 m. wide, along with a piece of the wall, 3.40 m. thick, was found in 1973, during the construction of a house at 94 Hadrian Street.

East Flank

The total length of the east flank has been estimated at 255 meters. Only a small section of 70 meters, near the no longer existing Church of St. Demetrios Katiphori, was standing until 1861 when it was demolished by the Greek Archaeological Society. Only a small bit at each end was spared. The wall at this point was standing to a height of five meters, approximately. Before the excavation it was considered to be part of the Prytaneion, but after the excavation it was recognized as belonging to a fortification wall. In it were found many architectural members, pieces of sculpture,

[57] Ziebarth (footnote 98 above, p. 71), p. 77.

[58] The section inside the Medresse was discovered in 1914 by A. Keramopoullos during the demolition of the Medresse. He, however, described only the architectural members and sculpture found inside the Medresse without mentioning specifically anything about the wall: *Δελτ* 1, 1915, *Παράρτημα*, p. 55 and *idem*, «*Ἀνασκαφαὶ παρὰ τὸ Ὡρολόγιον Ἀνδρονίκου τοῦ Κυρρήστου*», *Πρακτικά* 1914, pp. 125–126.

[59] Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 439–443.

[60] G. Dontas, "More about the New Hadrianic Building in Athens," *AAA* 2, 1969, pp. 1–3.

and inscriptions.[61] Many large marbles were left on the spot and are still kept there in a fenced enclosure,[62] while the more important sculptures, inscriptions, and fifty or so inscribed herms were transferred to the archaeological collections of that period and later to the National Museum.[63]

In view of the discovery within the wall of inscriptions relative to the Gymnasium of Diogenes, that district has been identified as the Diogeneion, in spite of the fact that no trace of an ancient building has so far been discovered there.[64] In some other inscriptions the Gymnasium of Ptolemy is mentioned, in another, the Stoa of Romaios (*IG* II^2, 958), so that these buildings, too, must be sought in this district.[65] The most important piece of sculpture was a group of Theseus and the Minotaur (E.M. 1664 + 1664a) which, along with other indications, permits the assumption that the famed Theseion was in the same area.[66]

Except for the section of the wall just described, its entire course is unknown because the whole district is covered with modern houses. Only a few blocks *in situ* south of the Panagios Taphos can be thought to have belonged to a continuation of the wall. The course of the wall on the east side has been indicated hypothetically on the plan. It is a fact, however, that it must have terminated at the northeast corner of the Acropolis.

In concluding this description of the wall it should be noted that some scholars of the topography of Athens have tried to connect the Post-Herulian Wall with the Mediaeval wall discovered in 1914 during the excavation of the Odeion of Perikles.[67] The opinion was expressed that the Post-Herulian Wall turned eastward and included the south side of the Acropolis. The wall discovered on the south side of the Acropolis, however, is securely dated by its construction not earlier than the 11th century and is part of the so-called Rizokastro, which surrounded the Acropolis on all sides in the Byzantine period.[68] Consequently, it has no relation to the Post-Herulian Wall, since both west and east flanks of the earlier wall could be seen to terminate at the steep rock of the Acropolis.

The Gates

Of the eight gates estimated to have existed in the Post-Herulian Wall, the positions of only five are certain. Since these five all coincide with the point of entrance of important arteries, however, the positions of the other three have been restored on the plan following the same principle. There are no literary references to the gates, nor even local traditions about them or their names. As noted above, they are designated here by the names of the churches erected over or beside them as follows: Hypapanti, Christ Church, Pyrgiotissa (west flank); Asomata sta Skalia, Megali Panagia, Panagia Krystalliotissa (north flank); St. Demetrios Katiphori, Panagia Sarres (east flank).

[61] *Γενικὴ συνέλευσις* 1861, pp. 18–20, 37. A picture of the wall before demolition and a brief description were published by E. Breton, *Athènes*, Paris 1862, pp. 261–262. Many inscriptions from St. Demetrios Katiphori were published by Koumanoudes in **Φιλίστωρ** 2–4, 1862.

[62] The piles of small marbles in the enclosure come from the demolition of houses in the neighborhood of the Plaka.

[63] For the herms, see P. Graindor, "Les cosmètes du musée d'Athènes," *BCH* 39, 1915, pp. 241–401; E. Lattanzi, *I ritratti dei cosmeti nel Museo Nazionale di Atene*, Rome 1968.

[64] *Γενικὴ συνέλευσις* 1863, p. 7.

[65] Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 578–579.

[66] For the discovery of the sculpture, P. Pervanoglu, *Archäologische Zeitung* 24, 1866, pp. 160–161, no. 208. For the Theseion, Travlos, *PDA*, pp. 578–579.

[67] P. Kastriotis, «Τὸ 'Ωιδεῖον τοῦ Περικλέους», 'Αρχ'Εφ 1914, pp. 148–151; G. Guidi, "Il muro Valeriano a S. Demetrio Katiphori e la questione del Diogeneion," *Annuario* 4–5, 1921–1922, p. 35.

[68] Above, pp. 125, 128.

West Flank

Hypapanti Gate. Discovered in 1938 under the floor of the church during its demolition. The gate was located at the entrance of an ancient road, six meters wide, on the north side of the Eleusinion; underneath it runs a water channel of the Roman period. The gate had a width of 2.94 m. Both sides were preserved and also part of the marble threshold, on which were traces of its stone jambs, as well as the rectangular socket for the pivot of the north leaf of the door.[69]

During the demolition of the church, built into the northern anta of the interior colonnade, in front of the sanctuary, were found the elements of a marble door frame, richly decorated. Similar architectural members with the same decoration were used to frame the sides of the Krystalliotissa Gate in the north flank of the wall. The use of these in the repair of the latter gate, which is known to have occured in the time of Justinian,[70] permits the assumption that the Hypapanti Gate was repaired at the same time.

Christ Church Gate. Discovered in 1959.[71] The gate cuts diagonally through the wall and is 2.87 m. wide (Pl. 14:b). The angle was imposed by the direction of an incoming road of great antiquity, under which runs the aqueduct of Peisistratean times. The road comes in on the north side of the Eleusinion, where it appears to join the other ancient road which entered through the Hypapanti Gate. The two roads then continued eastward as one road, six meters wide. This is evidently the Street of the Tripods, which is known to have terminated at the Odeion of Perikles and the Theater of Dionysos.

The Christ Church Gate was protected from the south by Tower W 2.[72] Part of the marble threshold was preserved, along with traces of the attachments for the doors and door jambs. In front, in the angle formed by the gate and the tower (Pl. 14:c), was the small shrine of Hekate described above (p. 8).

The gate must have been out of use during the Mediaeval period because it was discovered to have been closed by a wall of 13th-century date composed of small stones and clay.[73]

Pyrgiotissa Gate. This was the most important of the entrances in the west flank of the wall. It was built on the great paved street connecting the Greek and Roman Agoras (Pl. 14:d). With a width of 2.90 m., it was protected by two towers (W 4 and W 5), only one of which survives, the other having been demolished in 1860.[74]

Under the south edge of Tower W 4 and contemporary with the gate was a rectangular drain to carry off rain water. Behind it were preserved the first steps of a stairway which apparently led up to the top of the wall and to the two towers of the gate. Similar stairways must have existed at other points in the wall and the towers.

North Flank

Asomata sta Skalia Gate. The gate in question is the propylon and entrance to the Library of Hadrian which, as is clear from the description by the Anonymous of the Ambrosian Library, continued even into the 15th century to be one of the main gates leading into the area enclosed within the Post-Herulian Wall. At that time the entire porch was intact, with its four Corinthian columns fronting the large entrance way, 3.10 m. wide.

[69] *Hesperia* 8, 1939, p. 221 (Shear, Sr.).
[70] Below, p. 140.
[71] Thompson, "Odeion," p. 95.
[72] Above, p. 129.
[73] Thompson, "Odeion," pp. 95–96.
[74] Above, p. 131.

In the 11th or 12th century the Byzantine church of the Asomata was erected over the north side of the propylon, including the steps, from which the church took the epithet "sta Skalia".

Gate of the Megali Panagia. In the southeast corner of the Library of Hadrian we should expect to find another gate, whose position should probably have been determined by an important ancient east–west road linking the east and west parts of the city. The road apparently passed between the Library of Hadrian and Roman Agora. Sections of the road, whose width must have exceeded six meters, have been found along the south side of Hadrian Street.[75]

Krystalliotissa Gate. This gate is found in a courtyard on the south side of Hadrian Street, *ca.* 100 meters east of the Library, and is preserved in excellent condition. Both door jambs and the threshold survive, giving a width of 1.98 m. and a height of 2.50 m.

Both the gate, which is richly decorated, and the adjacent section of the wall can be dated, as G. Sotiriou rightly observed, in the time of Justinian.[76] The construction of this section of the wall and of the gate differs sharply from that of the Post-Herulian Wall. The wall at this point has a thickness of about one meter and is built of large regular blocks interspersed with smaller stones and bricks. This Justinianian section was placed 8.50 m. south of the outer north wall of the Pantheon, which, as we have seen, originally constituted the continuation of the Post-Herulian Wall.

It is very probable that the Justinianian gate was built in this location as a substitute for an earlier one. The question can be resolved only by the acquisition and excavation of the property.

In the 16th or 17th century, when the wall and gate had gone out of use, the Church of the Panagia Krystalliotissa was built inside. Its ruins are still preserved.[77]

East Flank

Saint Demetrios Gate. The placing of a gate in the modern Kyrrhestes Street is justified on the one hand by the need of an entrance in the east flank and on the other hand by the inscription *IG* II², 5199, which was found built into the wall near the now demolished Church of St. Demetrios Katiphori.[78]

The inscription dates from the second half of the 3rd century and refers to the building of a wall. That is, it corresponds to the inscription *IG* II², 5200, which was carved on a block from Tower W 5, in front of the Pyrgiotissa Gate.[79] One may judge then that *IG* II², 5199, too, was placed in a conspicuous position, surely near another gate of the Post-Herulian Wall.

Panagia Sarres Gate. With even greater certainty perhaps we may place another gate in the east flank of the wall. This should be near the now demolished church of the Panagia tou Sarre,[80] at the point where the ancient Street of the Tripods passed (above, p. 139). The street must have still been an important artery when the Post-Herulian Wall was built.

Smaller Gates

In addition to the gates just discussed, smaller and less important gates must have been opened in the wall, whose number cannot be determined. One of these, with a width of 1.65 m., was found in

[75] G. Dontas, *Δελτ* 24, 1969, B′ 1(1970), p. 23.

[76] G. Sotiriou, *Ἑβδομηκονταπενταετηρὶς τῆς Ῥιζαρείου Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Σχολῆς*, Athens 1920, pp. 3–13; *idem*, EMME I, pp. 28–30.

[77] Xyngopoulos (footnote 45 above, p. 133), p. 106.

[78] *Γενικὴ συνέλευσις* 1861, p. 37. Cf. Bodnar (footnote 52 above, p. 9), pp. 175–176.

[79] Above, p. 9.

[80] Travlos, *Πολεοδομική*, pl. XII:23.

1973, during the construction of a house at 94 Hadrian Street. Another small gate probably existed in the south side of Tower W 7, at the north end of the Stoa of Attalos.[81]

Communication between the City and the Acropolis

With the building of the Post-Herulian Wall the city was limited to the north side of the Acropolis, and it is clear that there was no direct communication with the Acropolis itself. It is a fact, however, that in case of need access to the Acropolis could be provided by the small ancient gate in the north side of the Acropolis wall, near the Caves of Pan and Apollo *ὑπὸ Μακραῖς*.[82] Still another entrance was provided in the north side of the Acropolis rock by the secret stairway through the Aglaurion. This passage was originally used for descent to the Mycenaean spring in the depths of the cave; later, and up to the Turkish period, it was used as a way up to the Acropolis. Part of the steps of the Mediaeval stairway is still preserved.[83]

[81] Above, p. 135.

[82] P. Kavvadias, «Τοπογραφικὰ Ἀθηνῶν», Ἐφ Ἀρχ 1897, pp. 27–28.

[83] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–32. O. Broneer, "A Mycenaean Fountain on the Athenian Acropolis," *Hesperia* 8, 1939, pp. 320–322, 326.

INDEXES

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Inscriptiones graecae [*IG*]

Supplementum epigraphicum graecum [*SEG*]

Corpus inscriptionum latinarum [*CIL*]

Athens, Agora Museum

Athens, Asklepieion

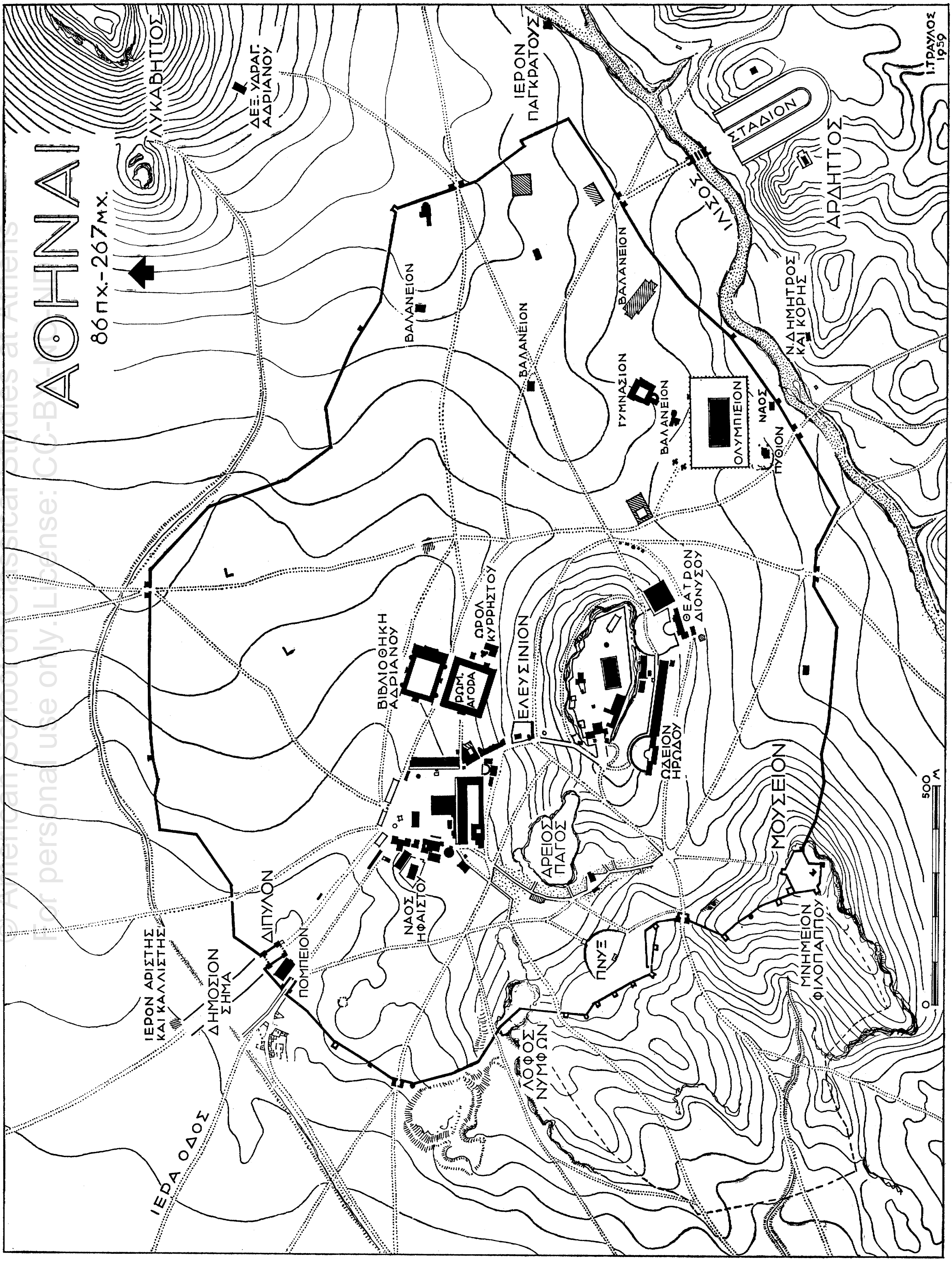
Athens, Epigraphical Museum [E.M.]

Miscellaneous Publications

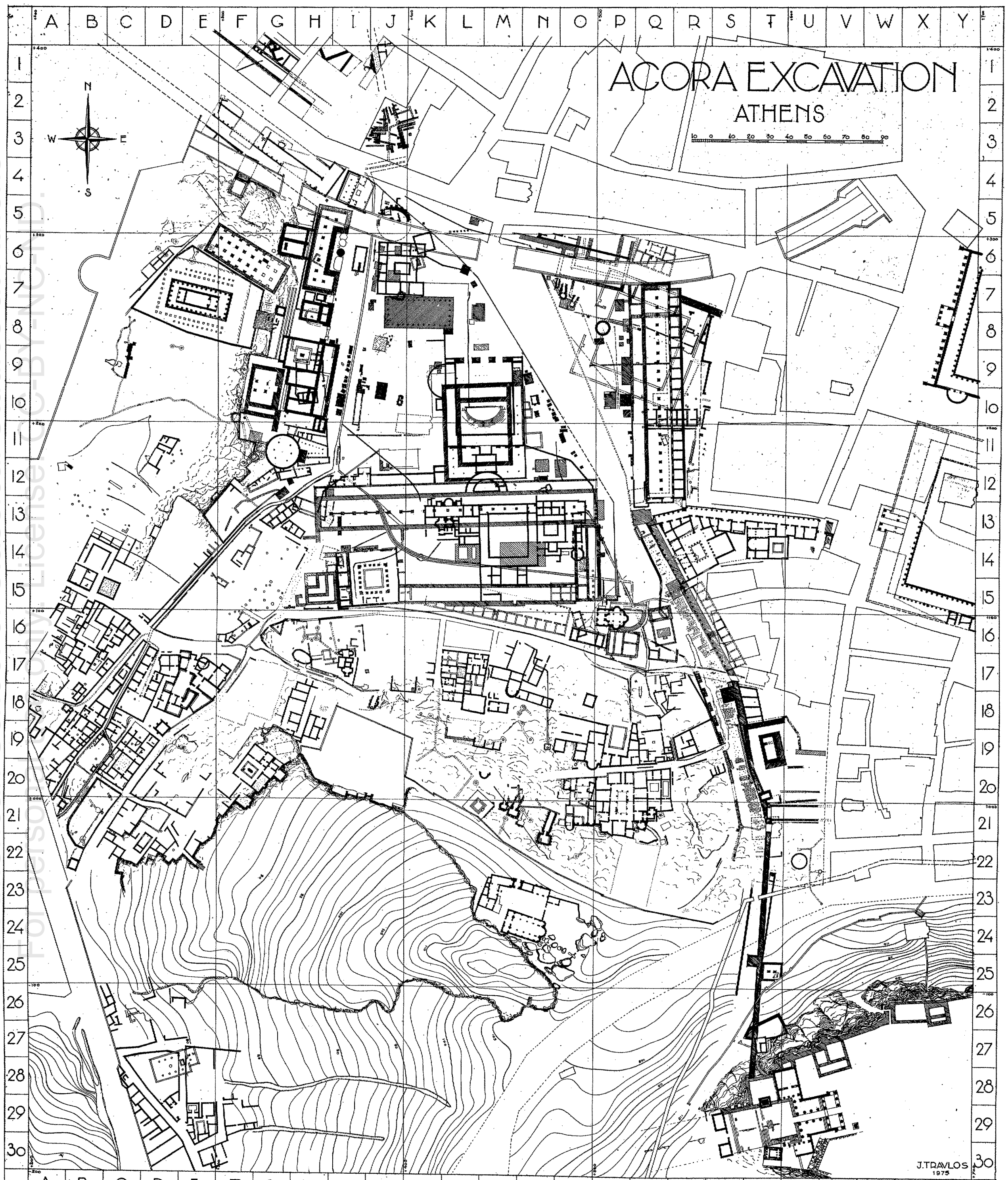
PLATES

PLATE 1

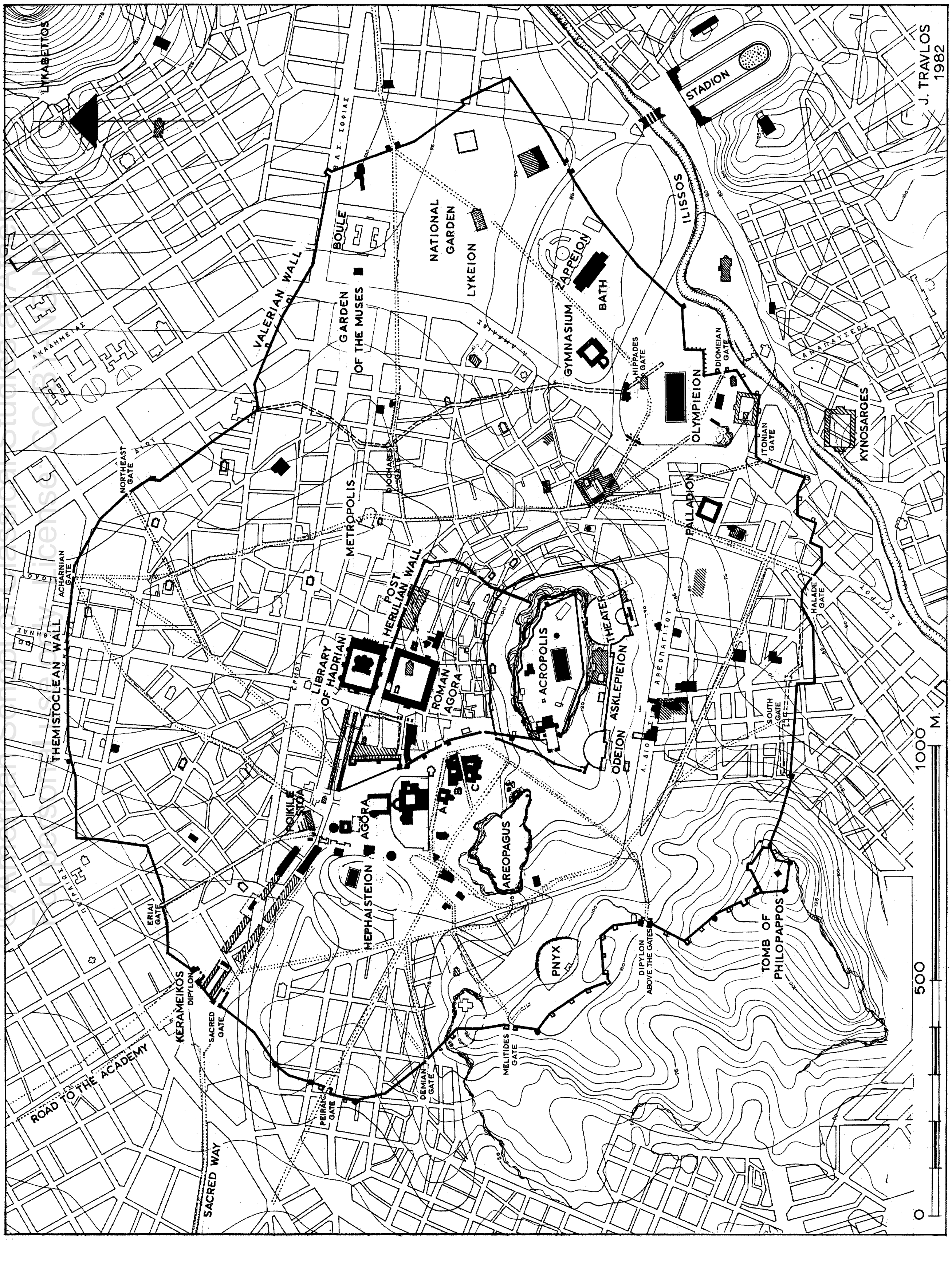
The Athenian Agora and environs. Air view, 1975



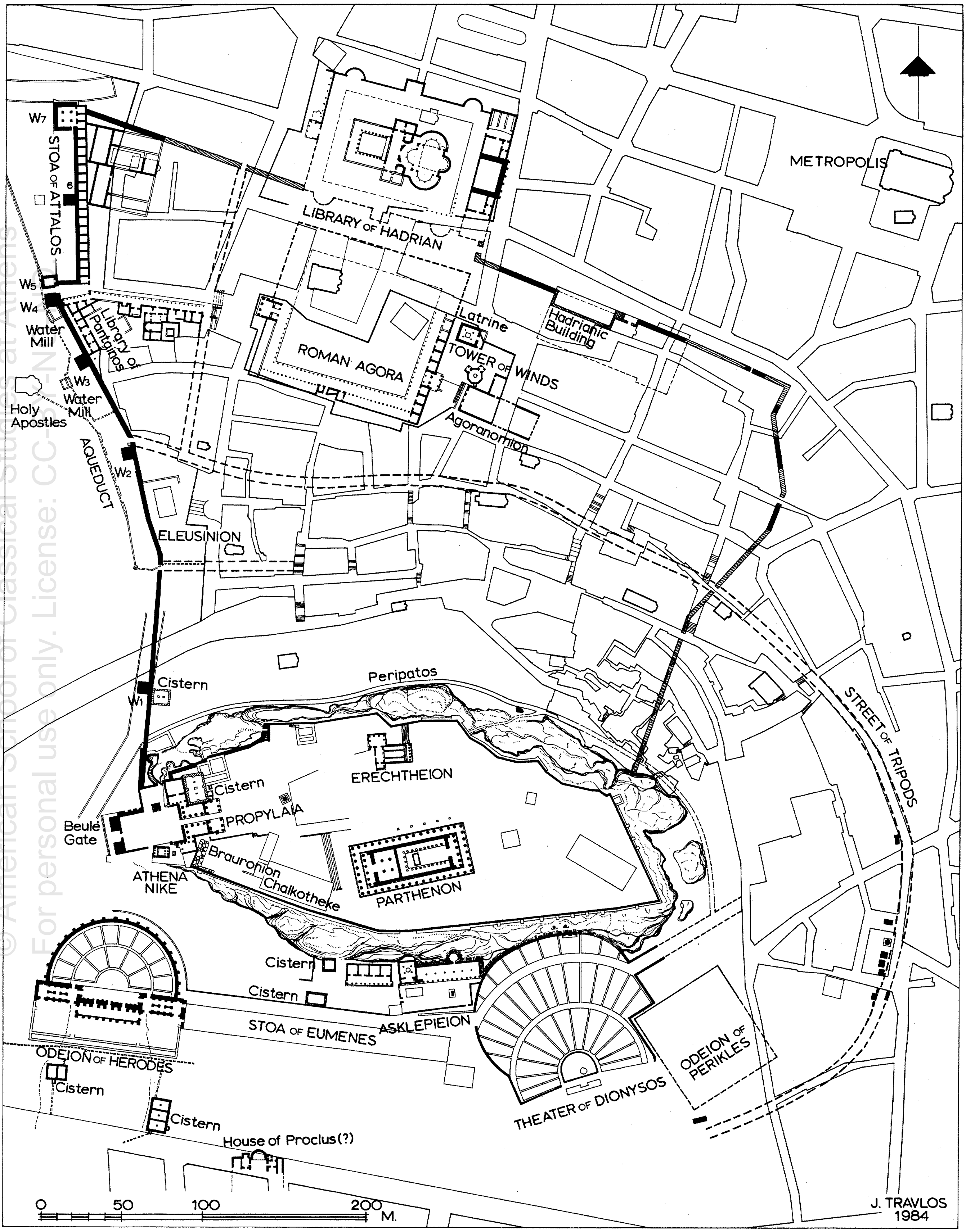
Athens, 86 B.C. to A.D. 267



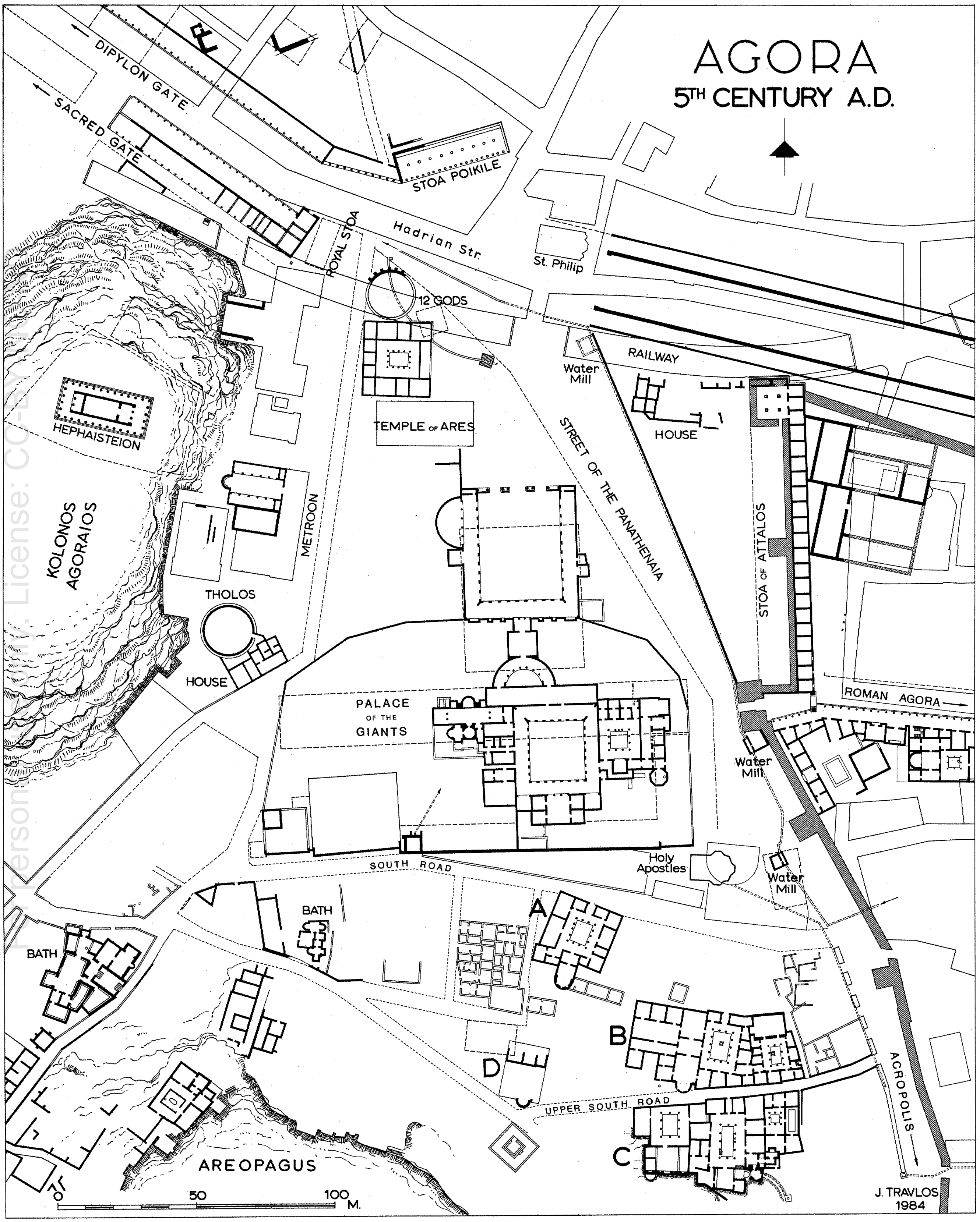
The Athenian Agora. Actual-state plan



Athens, 5th century after Christ



The Acropolis and the Post-Herulian Wall

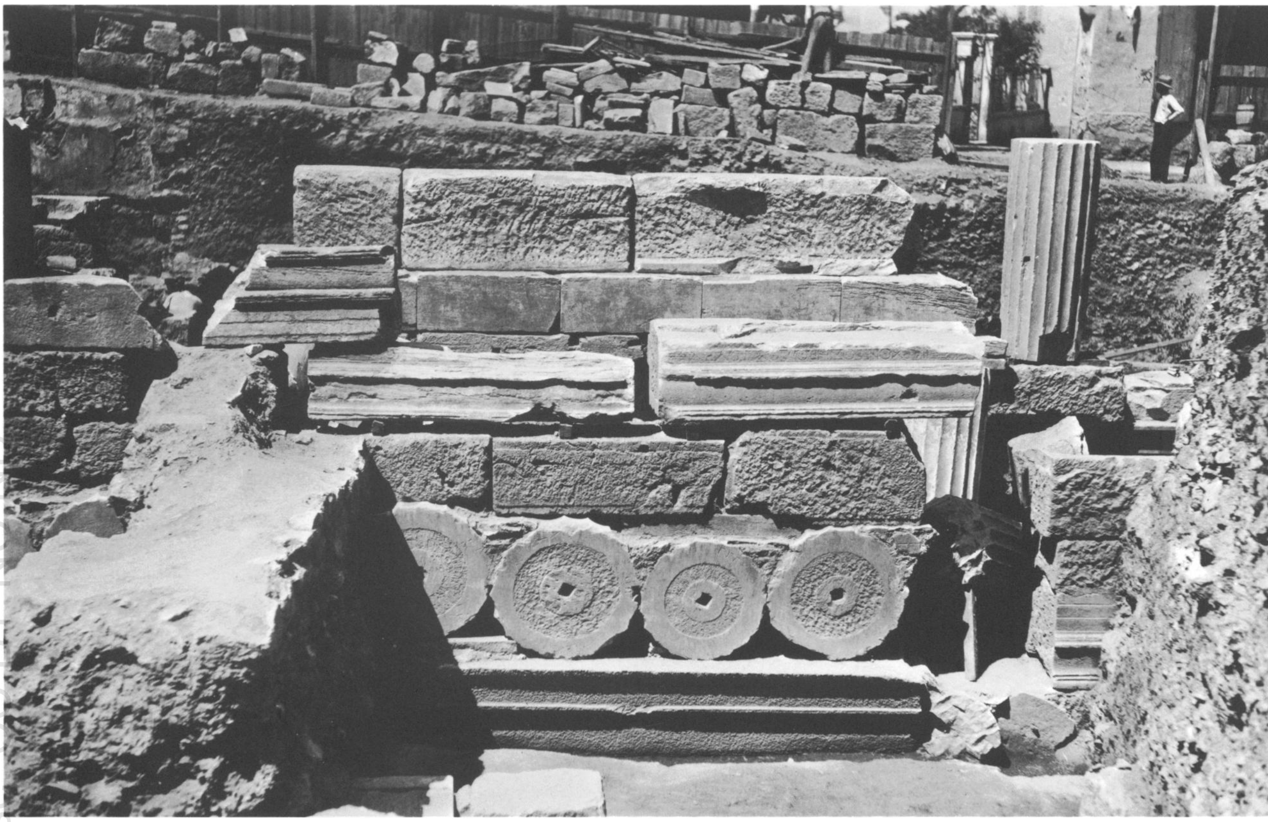


The Athenian Agora, 5th century after Christ

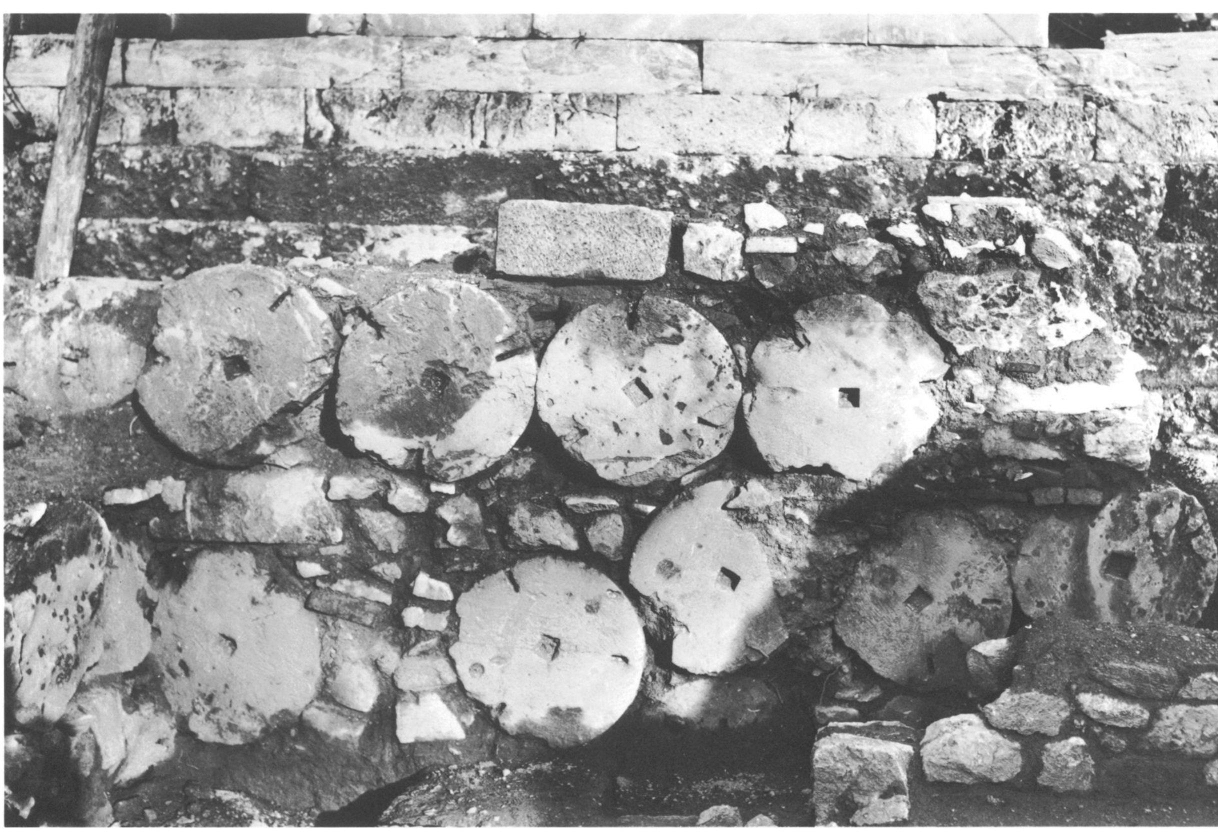
a. East face

b. West face

The Post-Herulian Wall



a. In the Library of Pantainos



b. Column drums from the Middle Stoa

The Post-Herulian Wall, west face

a. Interior

b. Exterior

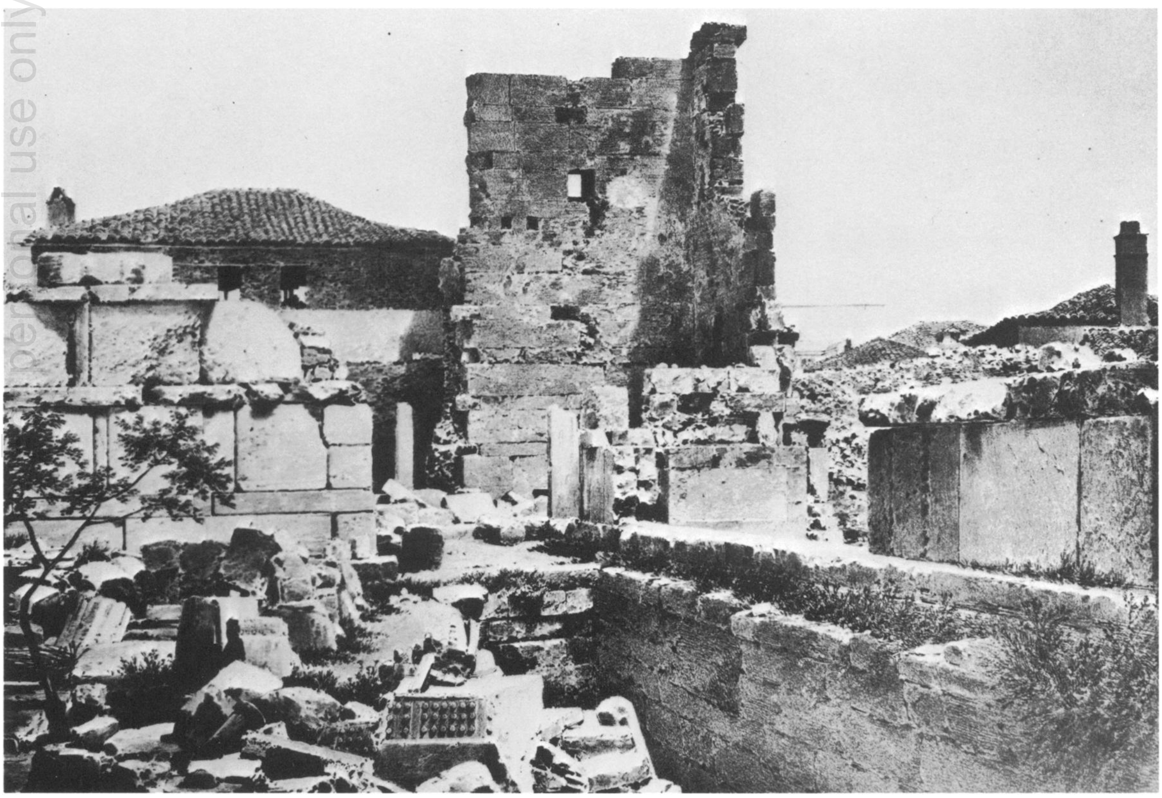
The Post-Herulian Wall, Tower W 3

a. Core of wall, south stretch

b. Foundations of Tower W 5 at south end of Stoa of Attalos

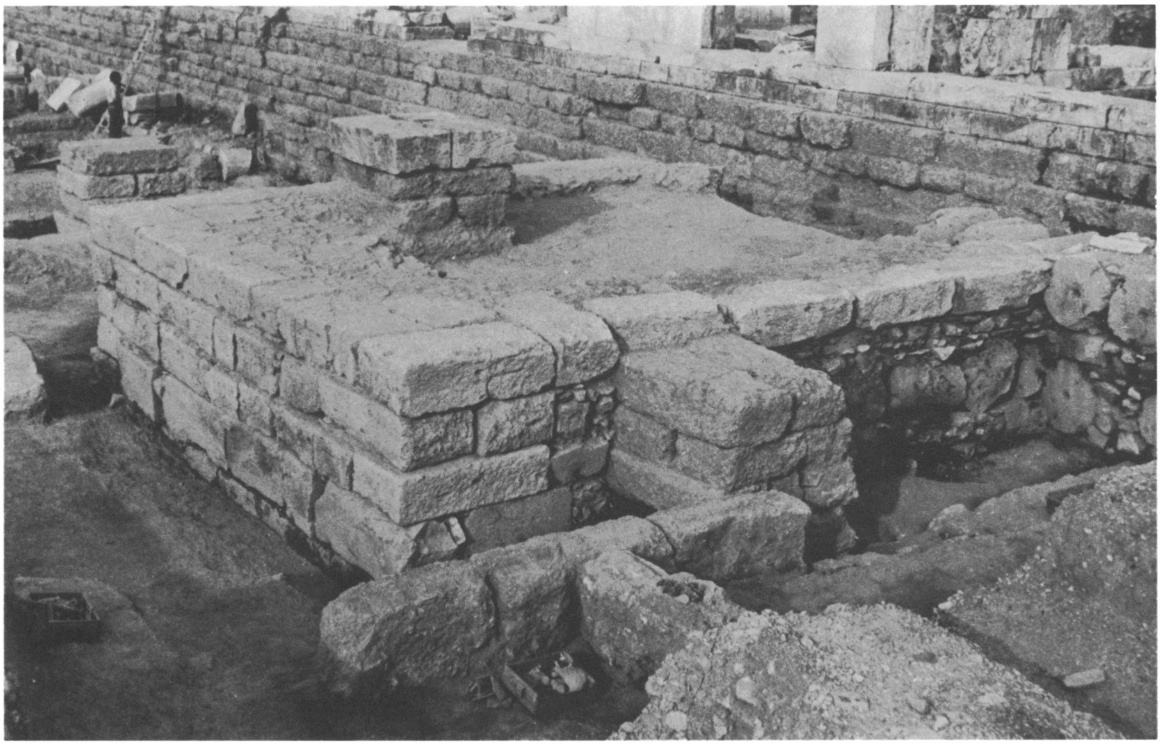
The Post-Herulian Wall

a. Tower W 6 before demolition, 1894 (courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens)



b. Tower W 7 at north end of Stoa of Attalos (from old photograph)

The Post-Herulian Wall



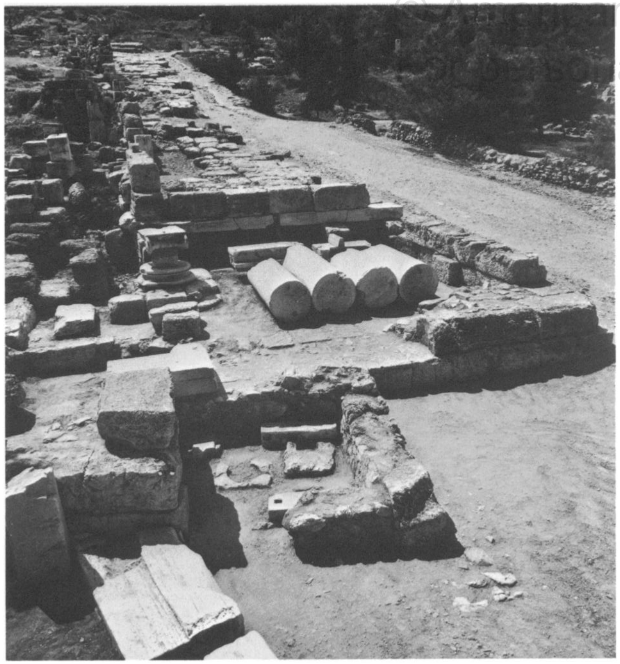
a. From southwest

b. From northwest

The Post-Herulian Wall, Tower W 6 foundations after reconstruction

a. Foundations of piers for supporting upper storey

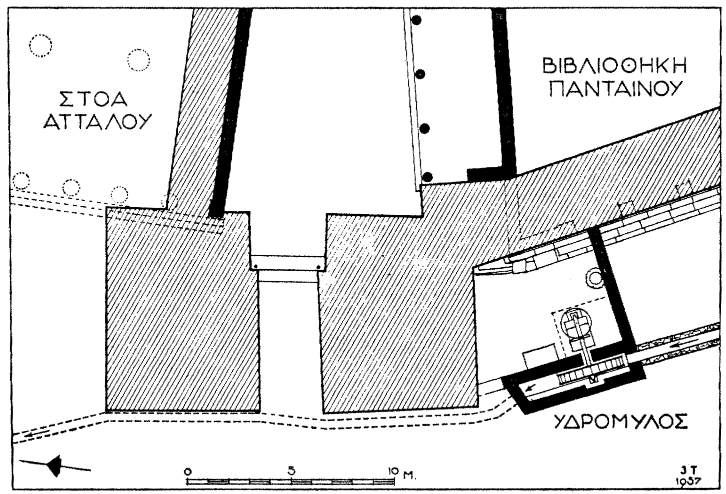
b. Foundations of piers as excavated



a. Tower W 2 from northeast

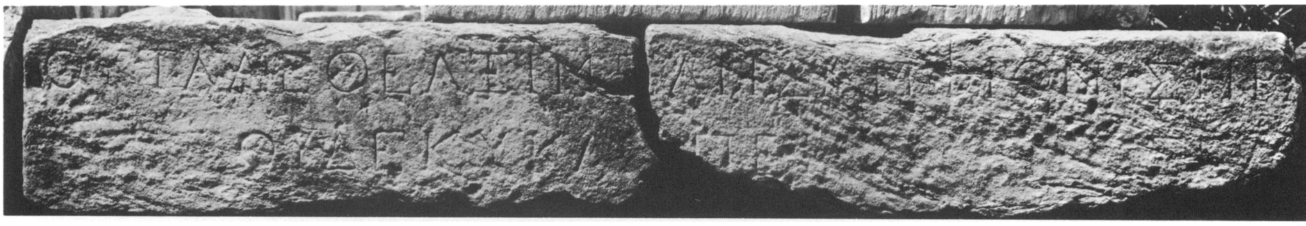
b. Christ Church Gate from west

c. Shrine of Hekate (?) from northwest



d. Pyrgiotissa Gate

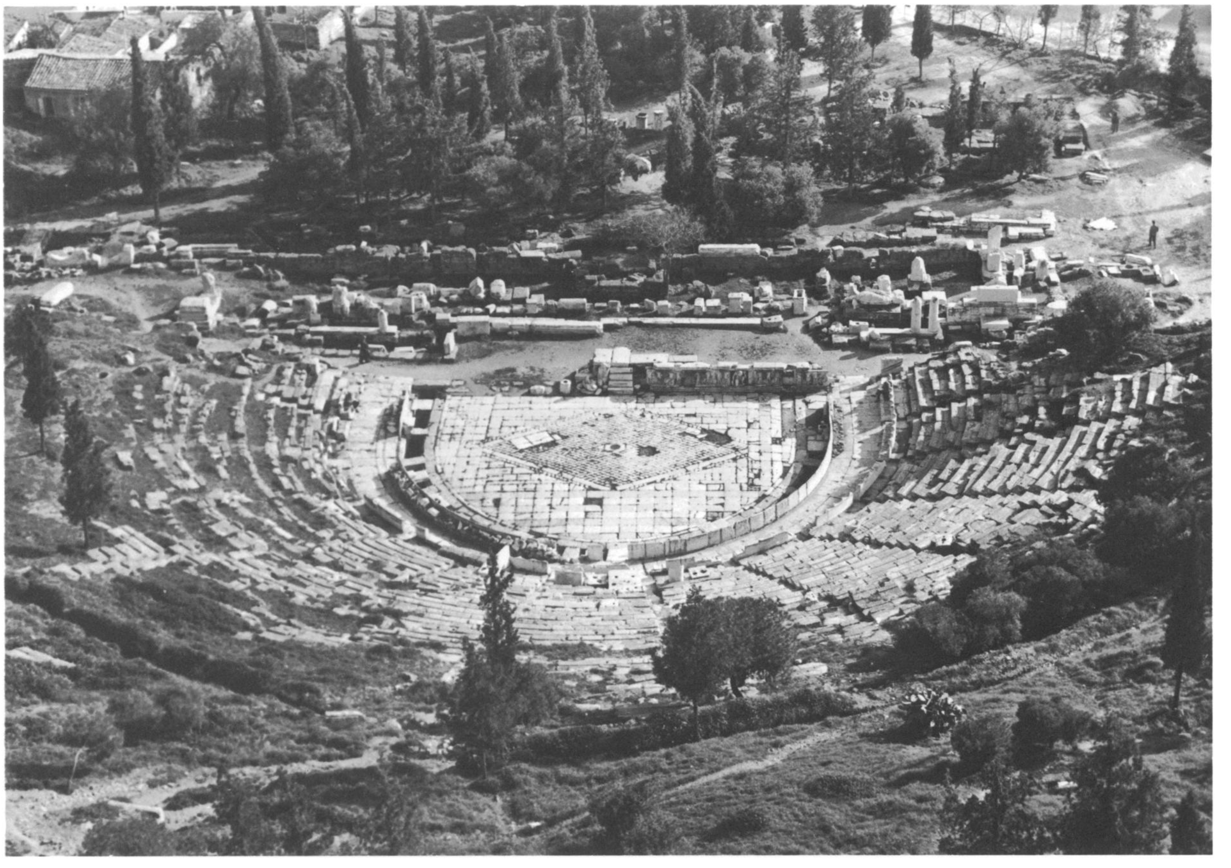
The Post-Herulian Wall



a. Building inscription, *IG* II², 5200

b. Coins found in Post-Herulian Wall

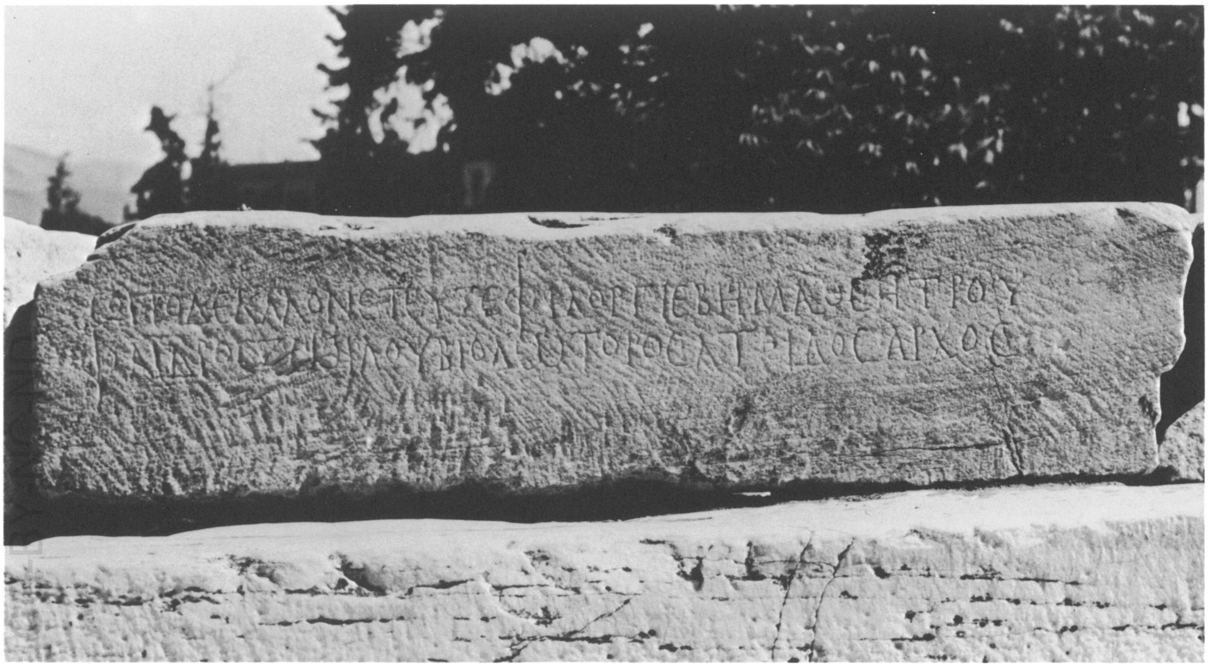
c. Epigram honoring Panathenius, *IG* II², 5201 (photograph by B. Stamatopoulos)



a. From Acropolis

b. Phaidros bema and orchestra

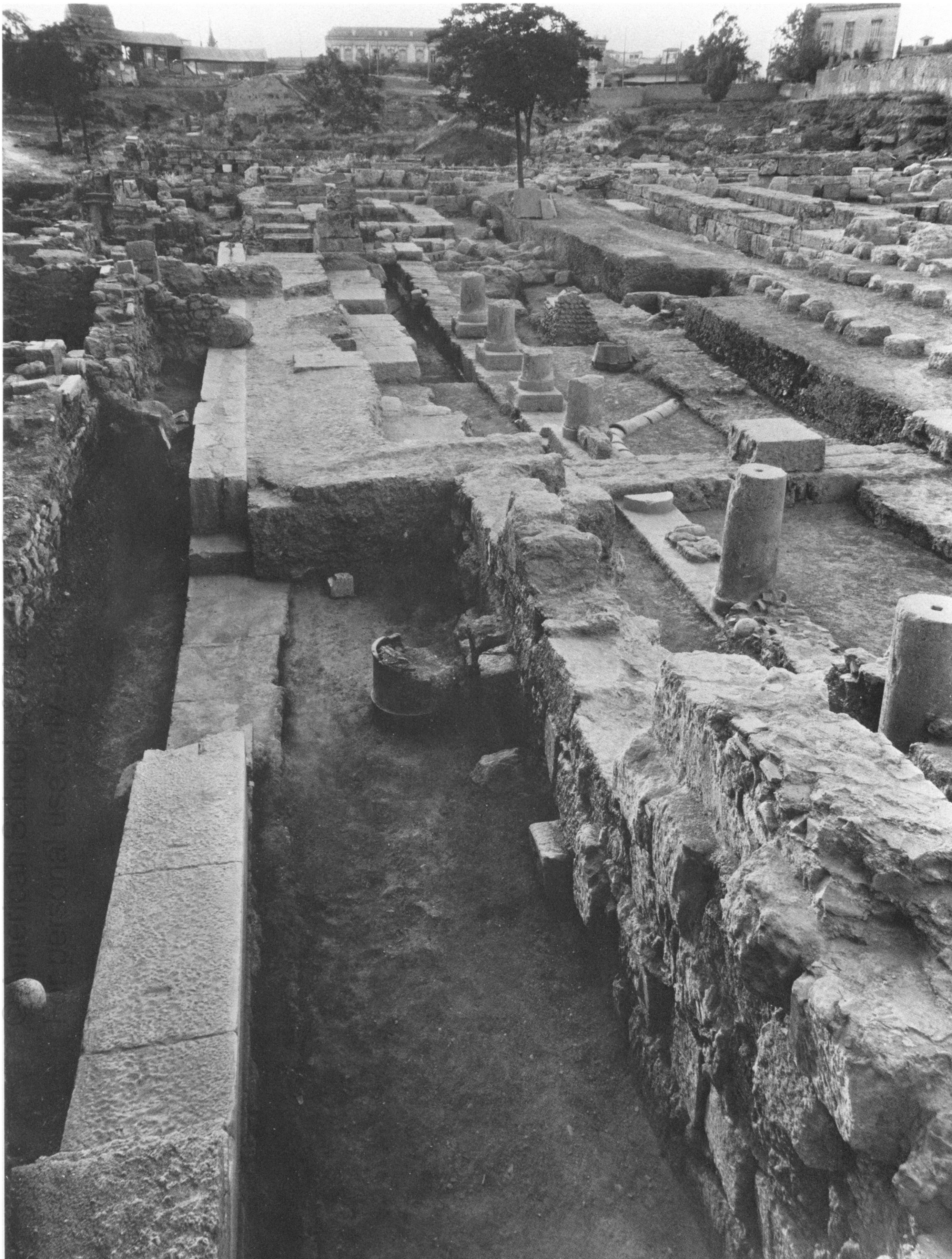
The Theater of Dionysos



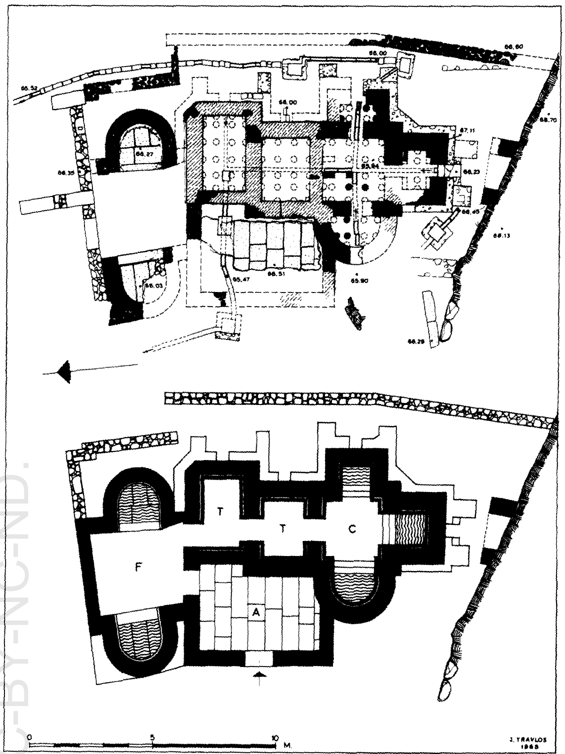
a. Theater of Dionysos, Phaidros inscription, *IG* II², 5021

b. Athenian Agora, Great Drain

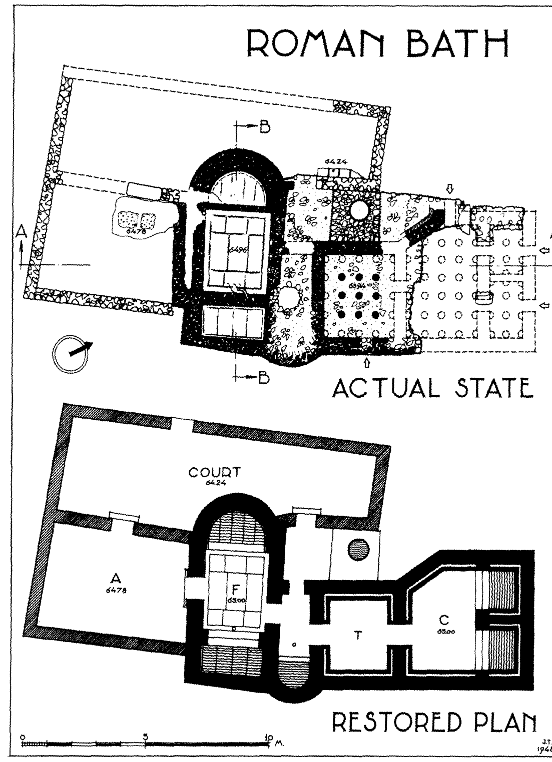
PLATE 18



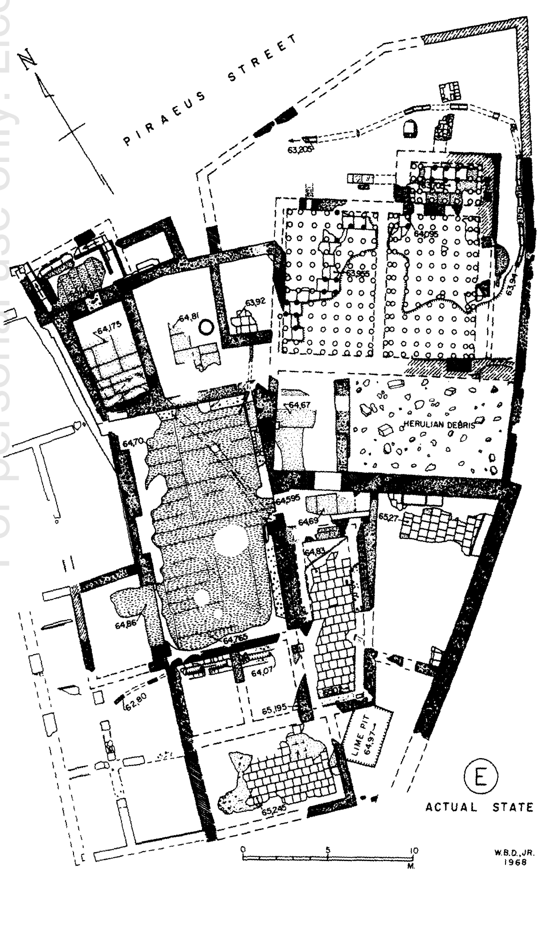
The Pompeion from the southeast. Late foundations at lower right
(photograph, *Kerameikos* X, pl. 9, courtesy of the German Archaeological Institute, Athens)



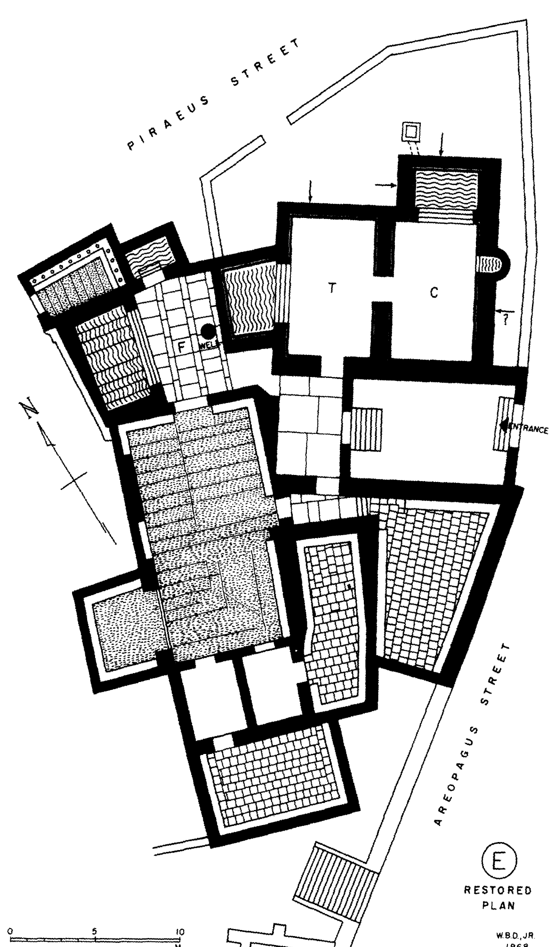
a. Bath on Areopagus slope



b. East Bath

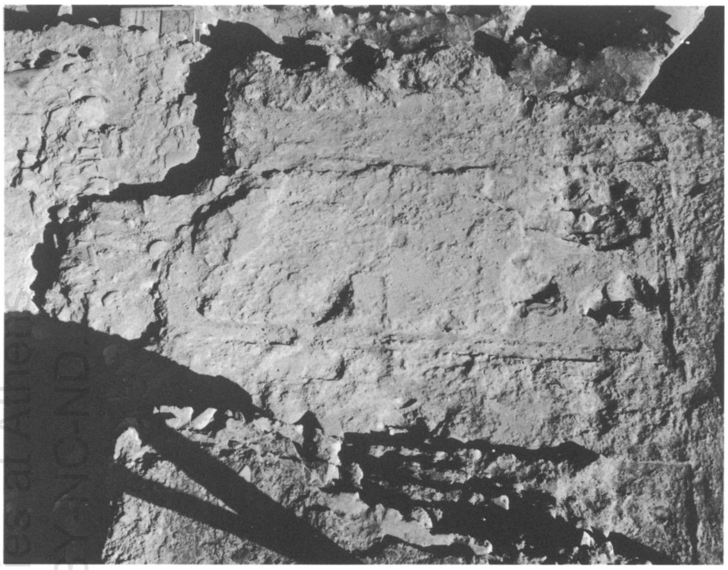


c. Southwest Bath, actual state

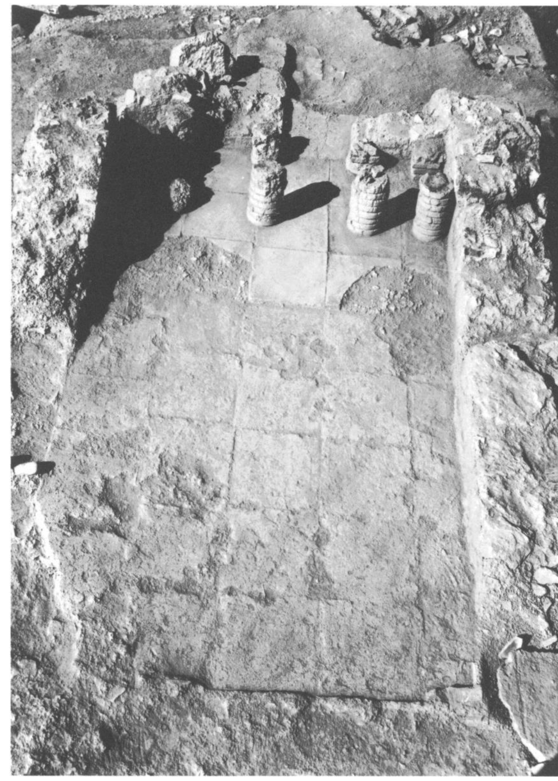


d. Southwest Bath, Late Roman phase

Baths in the Agora area



a. East Bath



b. West Bath

c. Southwest Bath

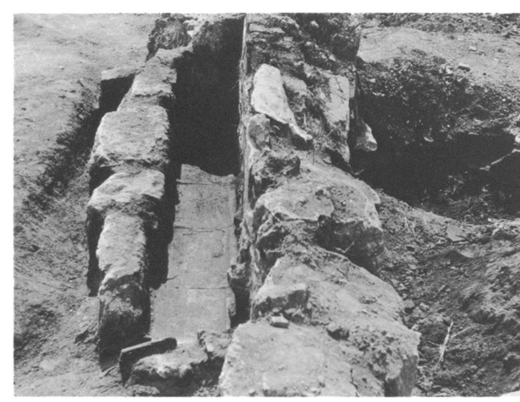
d. Bath in Palace of the Giants

Baths in the Agora area

a. House C, 6th-century bath

b. Latrine in House A

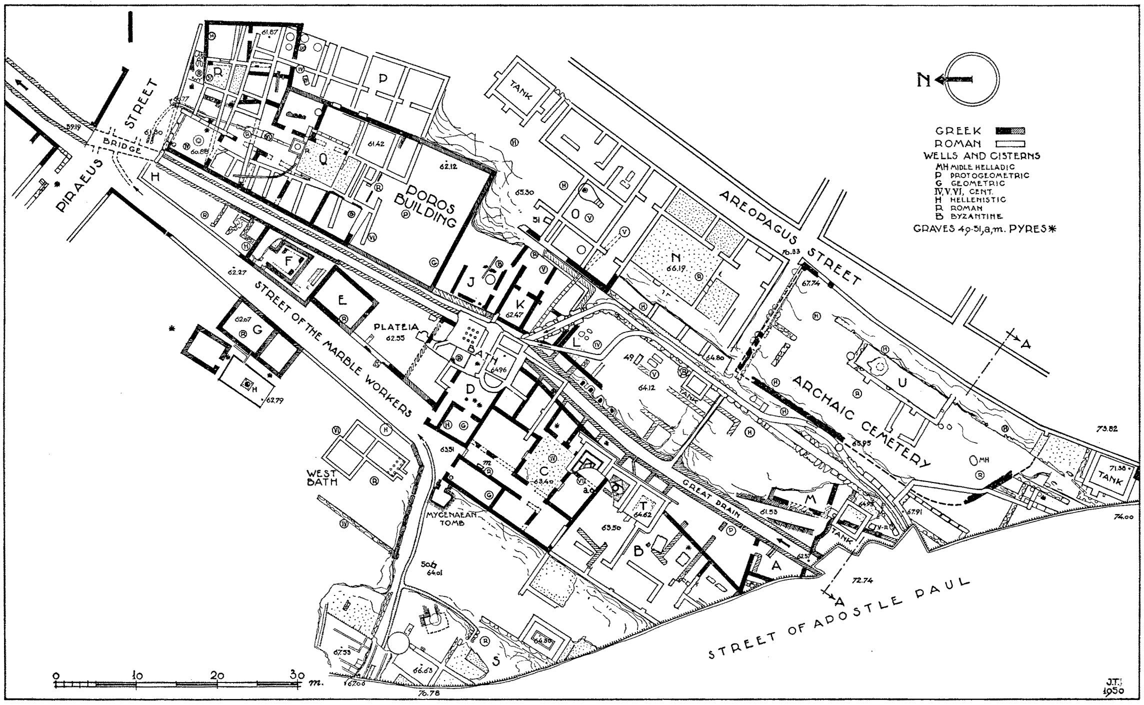
c. Latrine near southwest corner of Agora



d. Latrine west of Palace of the Giants

e. Latrine at corner of Broad Street

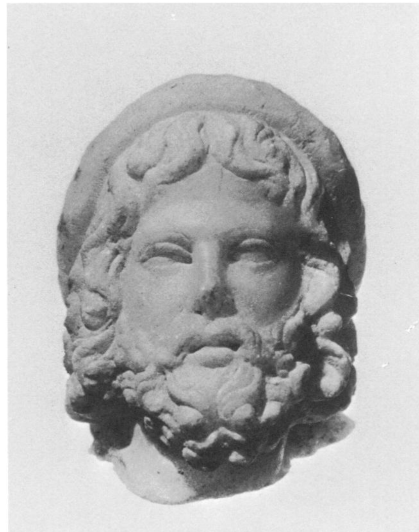
f. Latrine in Palace of the Giants



a. Industrial section of Agora

b. House on lower slope of Areopagus

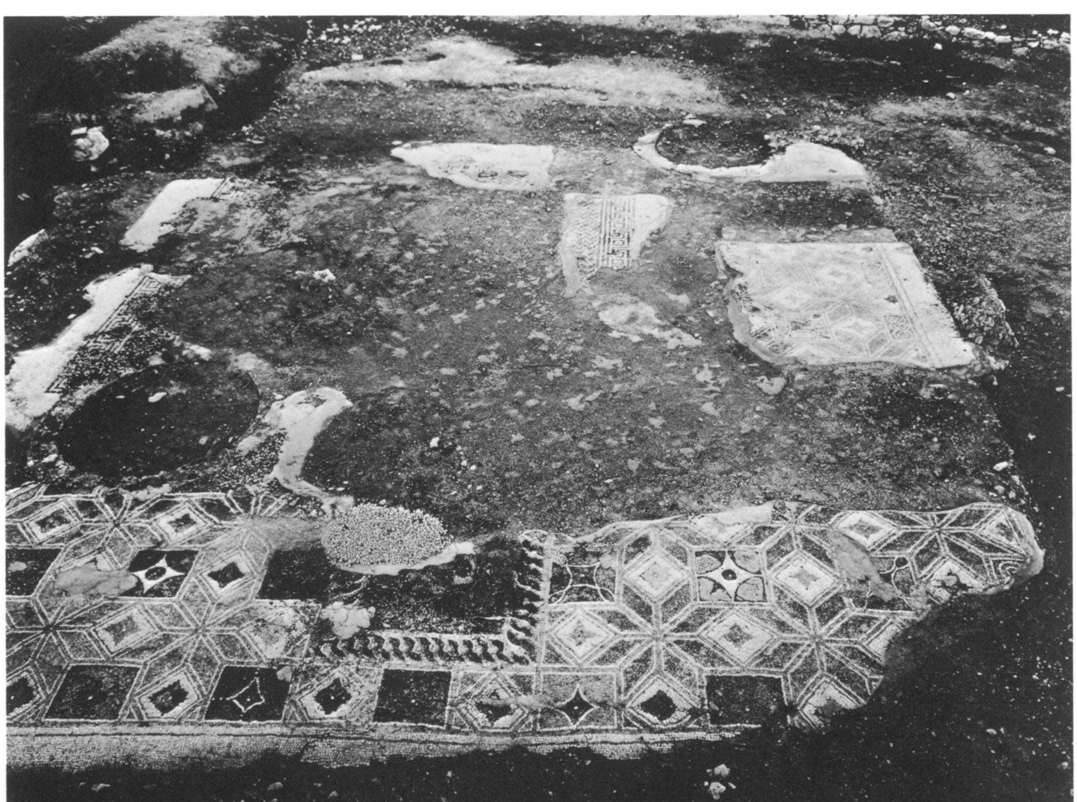
a. Asklepios, S 875



b. Sarapis, S 885

c. Tyche, S 871

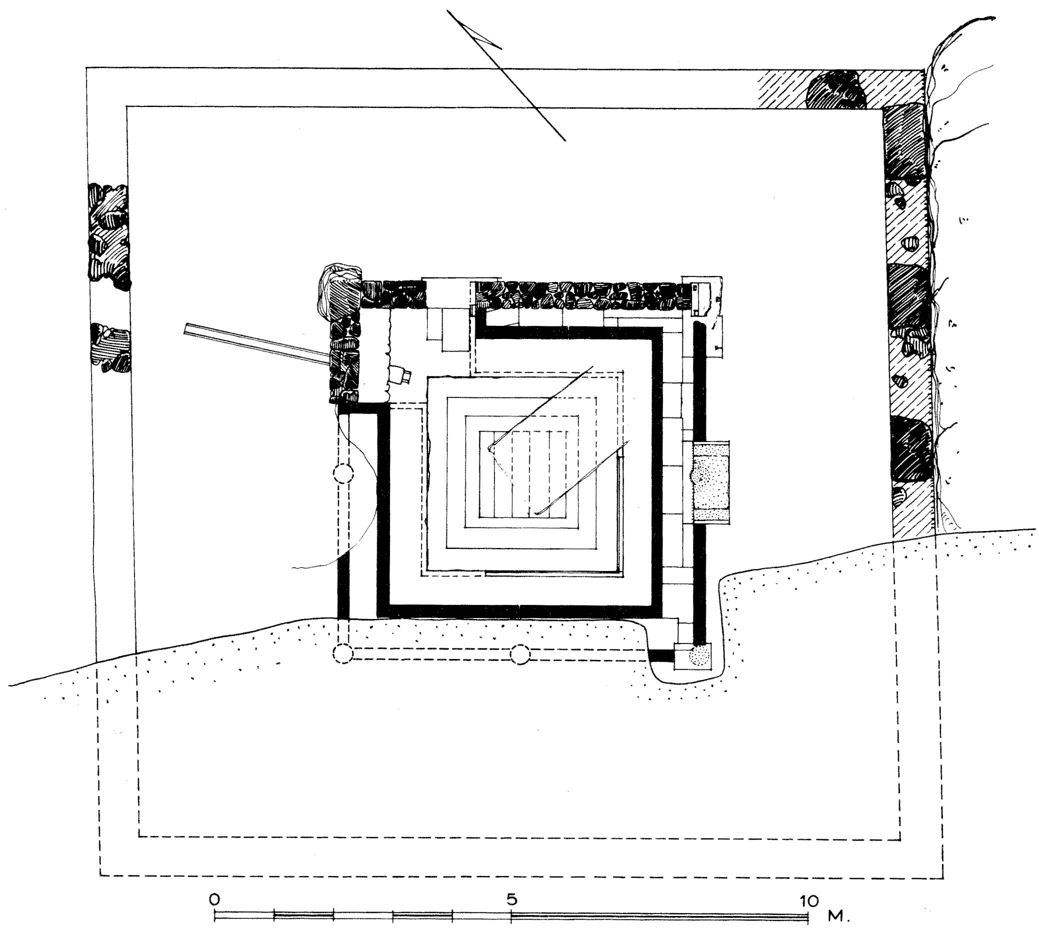
a–c. Sculpture from a house on the lower slope of the Areopagus



d. Mosaic in house in southeast corner of Agora

a. Garden court on Areopagus slope

b. Garden court in Dougga, Tunisia

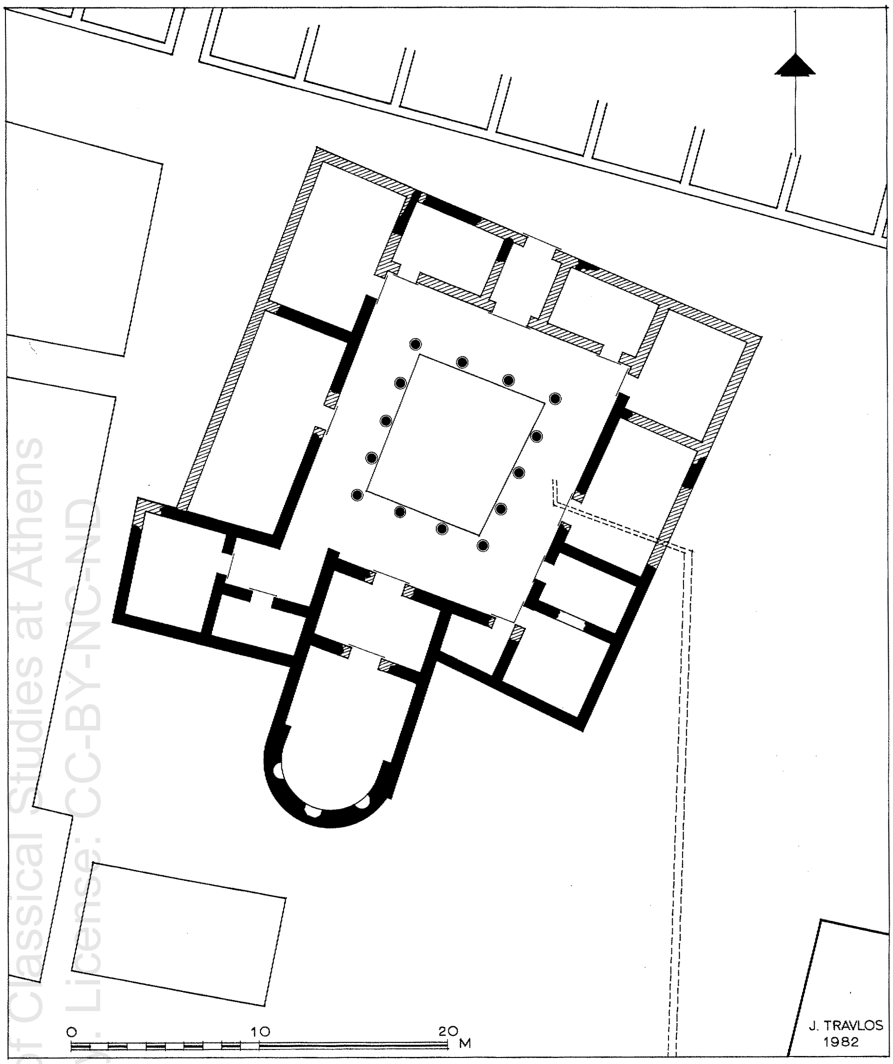


a. Garden court on Areopagus slope

b. Bronze disk, B 904

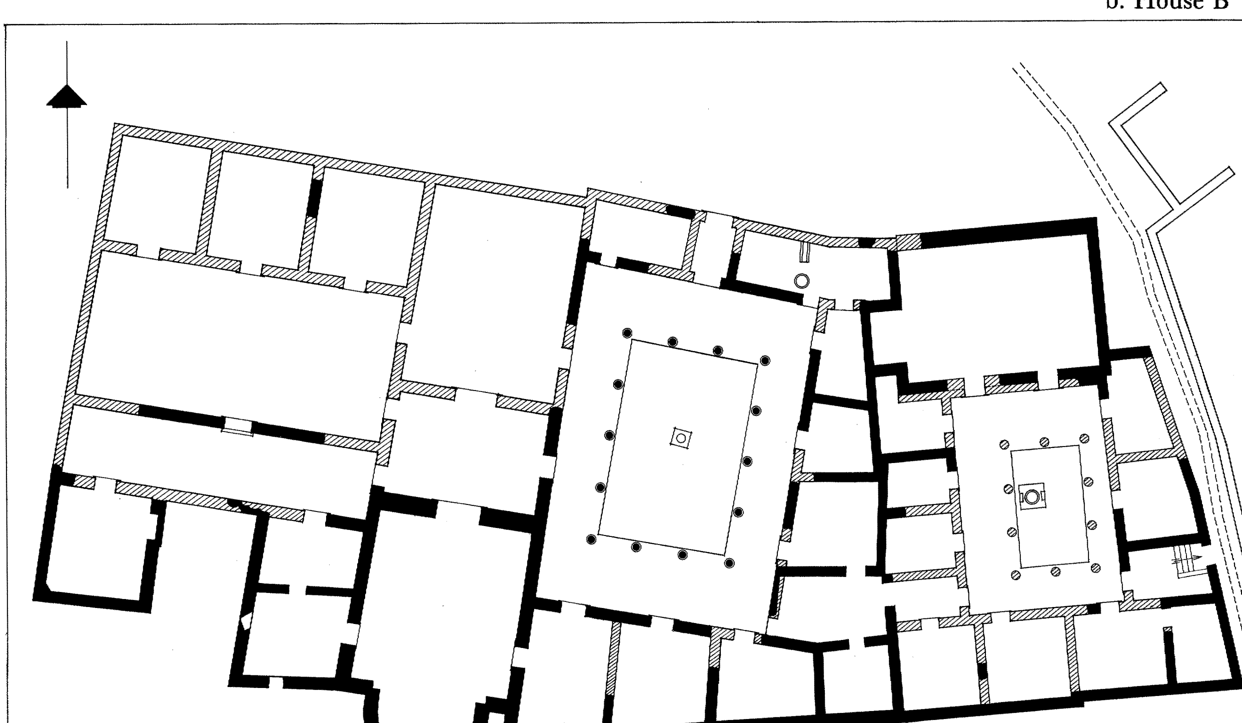
c. Relief of Selene, S 857

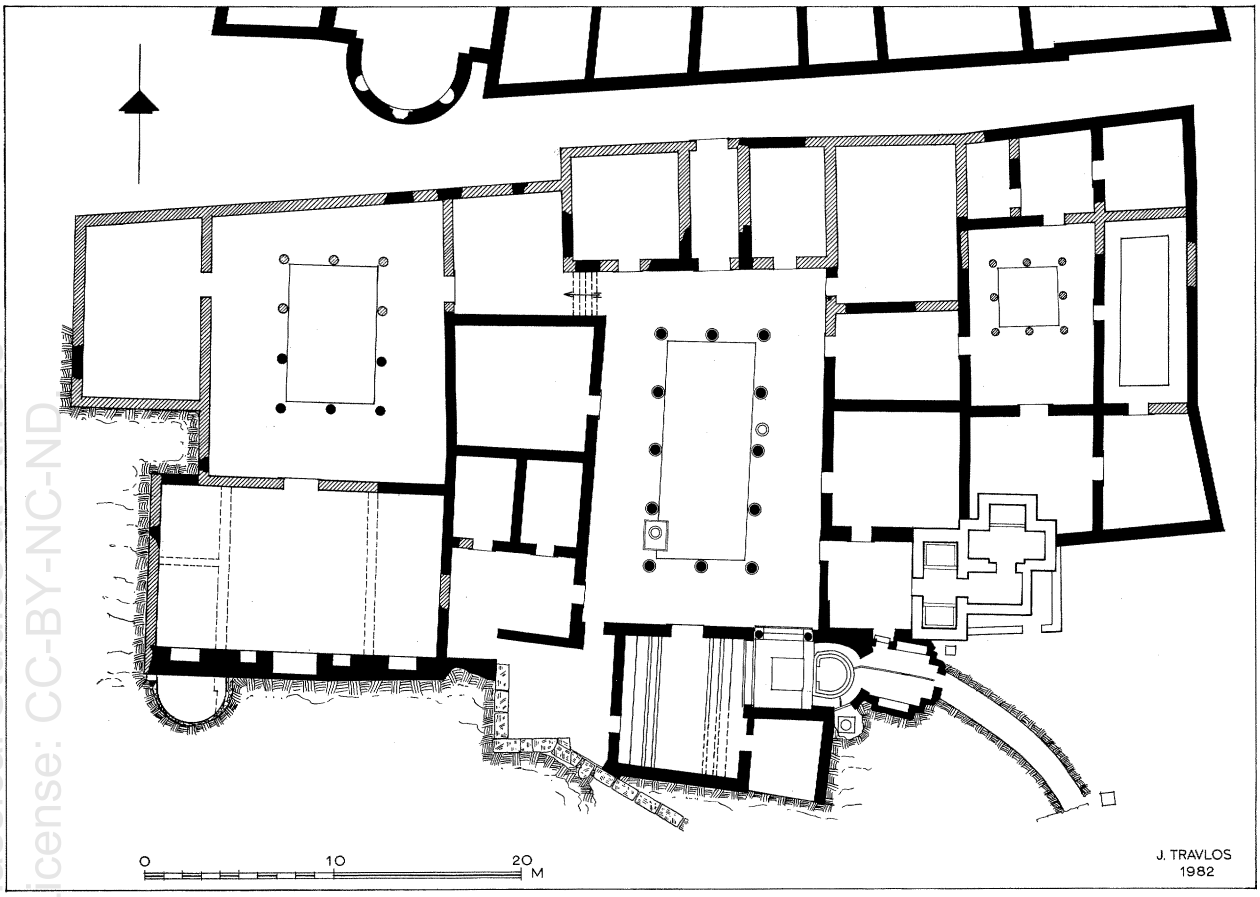
Houses on the Areopagus



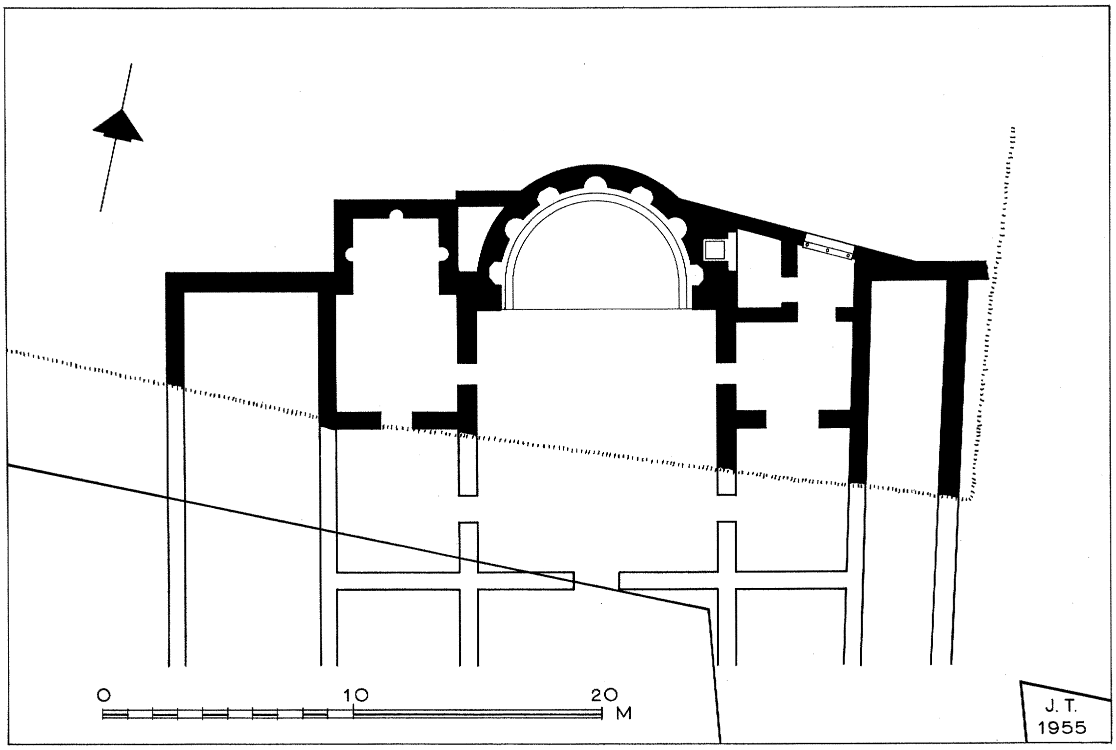
a. House A

b. House B





a. Areopagus House C



b. "House of Proclus"

a. From north

b. From northeast

Areopagus House A

a. Apsidal room from north

b. General view looking southwest

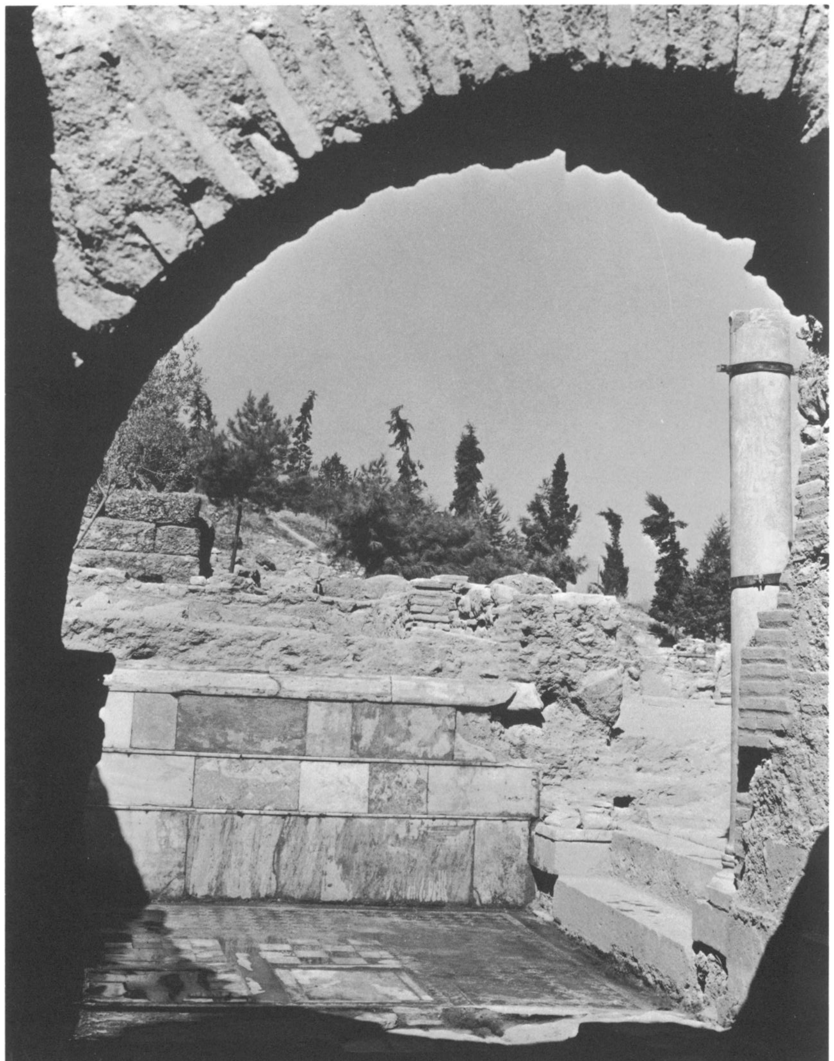
Areopagus House B

a. Oven

b. Room with hearth

Areopagus House B

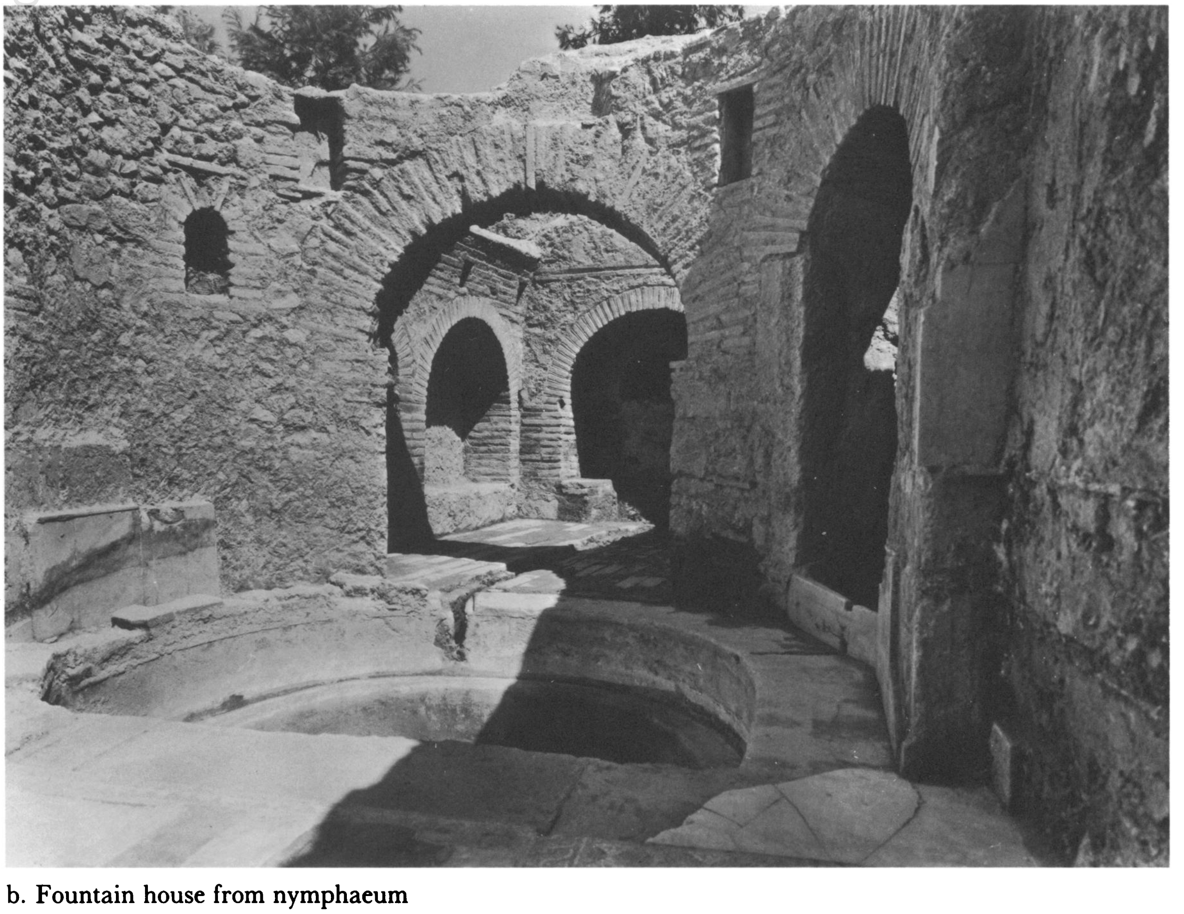
Areopagus House C. Air view


a. Triclinium, looking west


b. Entrance to triclinium

Areopagus House C

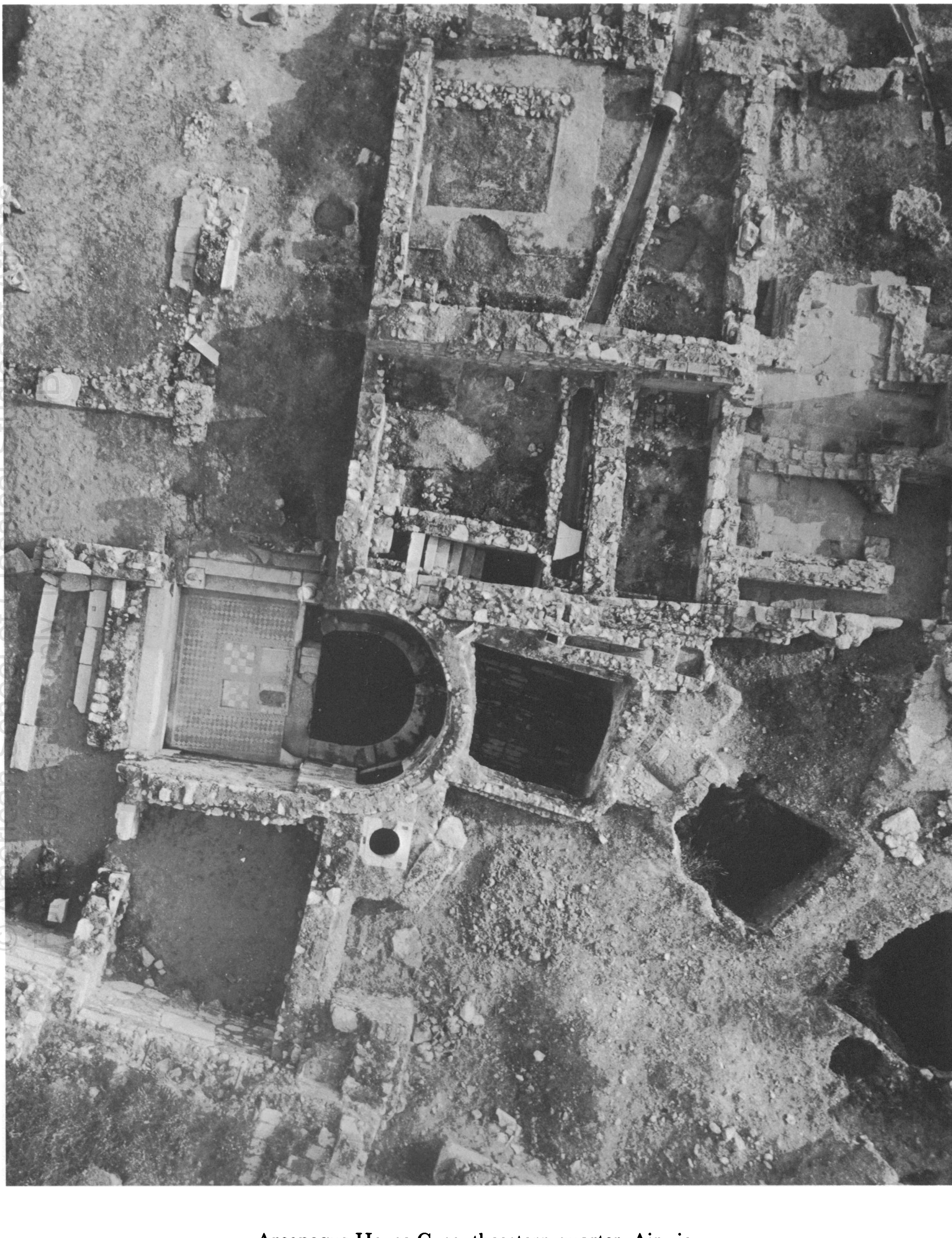
a. Nymphaeum, looking west



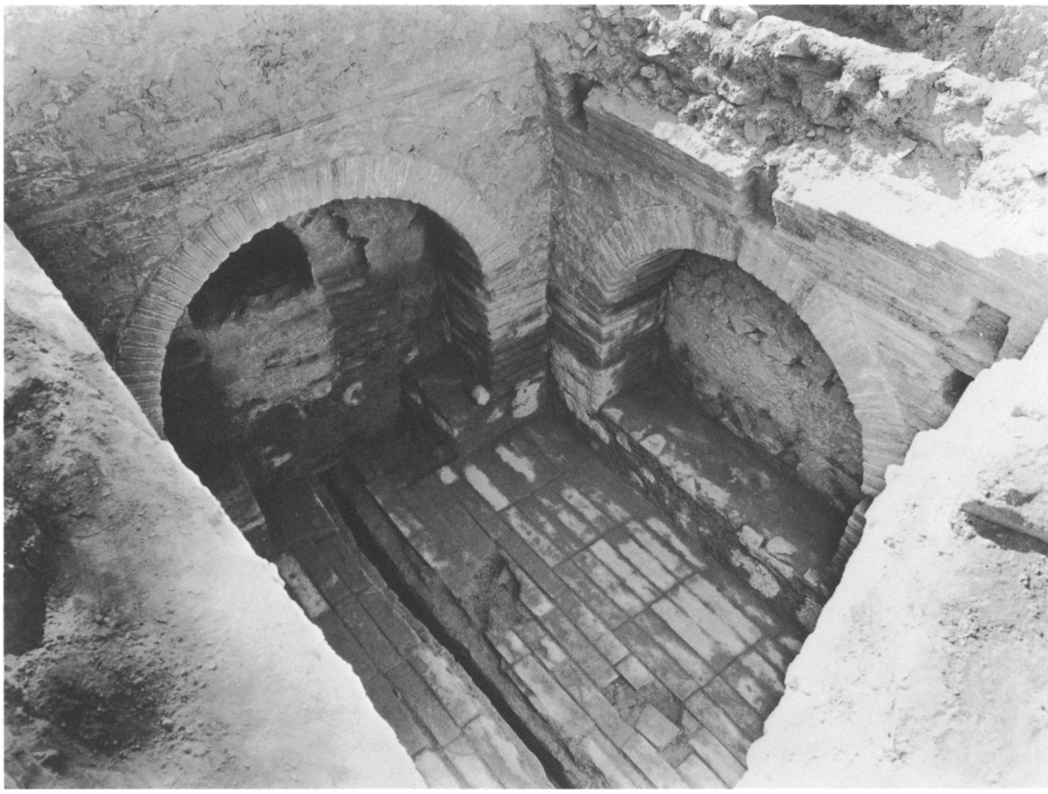
b. Fountain house from nymphaeum

Areopagus House C

Areopagus House C, triclinium, pool, and arch to well

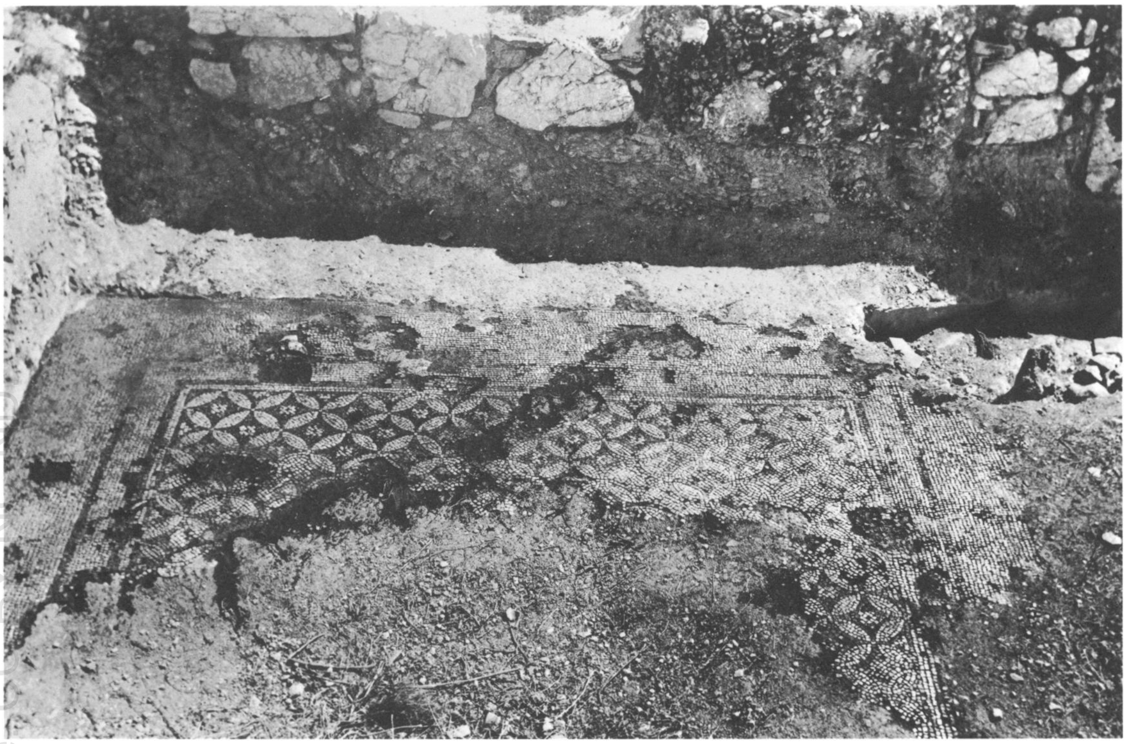


Areopagus House C, southeastern quarter. Air view



a. Fountain house next to Areopagus House C

b. Mosaic in "House of Proclus"



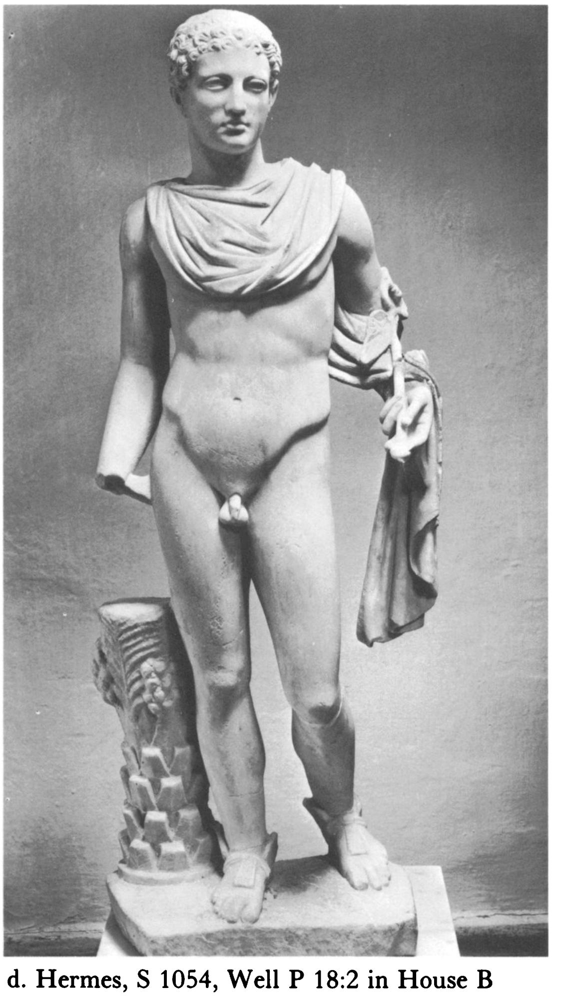
a. Areopagus House D, mosaic floor

b. Areopagus House C, main courtyard

a. Female bust, S 2437, Well Q 21:4 in House C

b. Female bust, S 2435, Well Q 21:4 in House C

c. Herakles, S 2438, Well Q 21:4 in House C

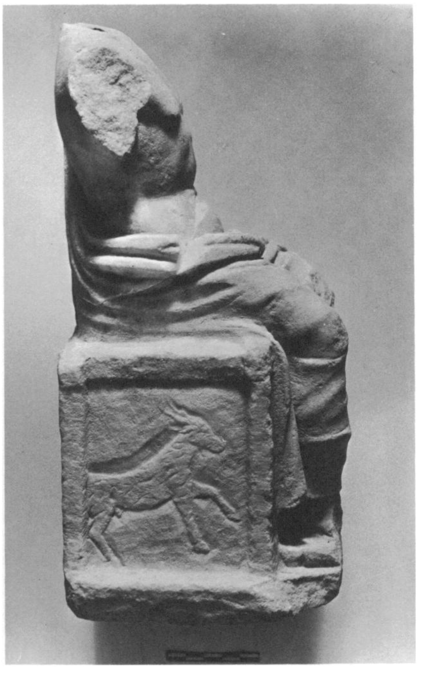


d. Hermes, S 1054, Well P 18:2 in House B

Sculpture from wells in the Areopagus houses

a. Nemesis, S 1055, Well P 18:2 in House B

b. Silenus, S 2363, House C



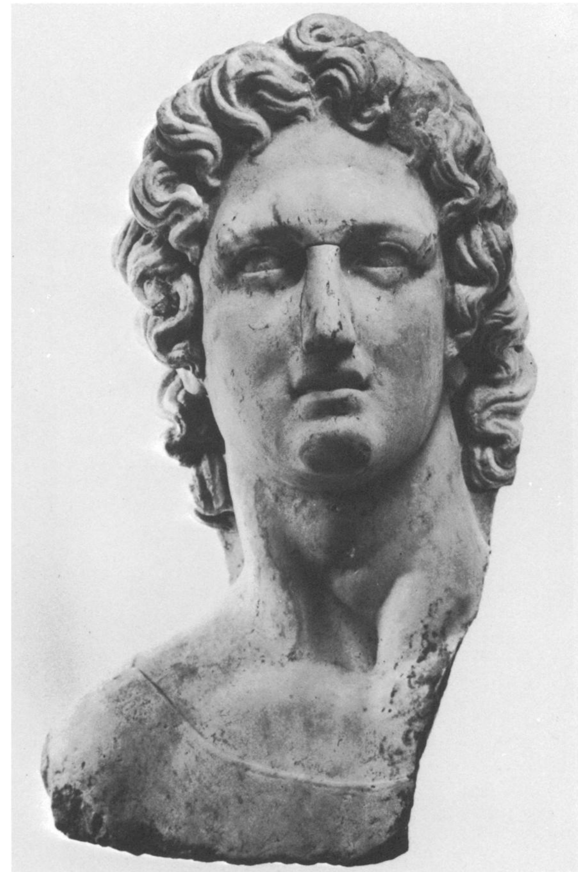
c. Philosopher, S 1053, Well P 18:2 in House B

d. Asklepios, S 1068, House B

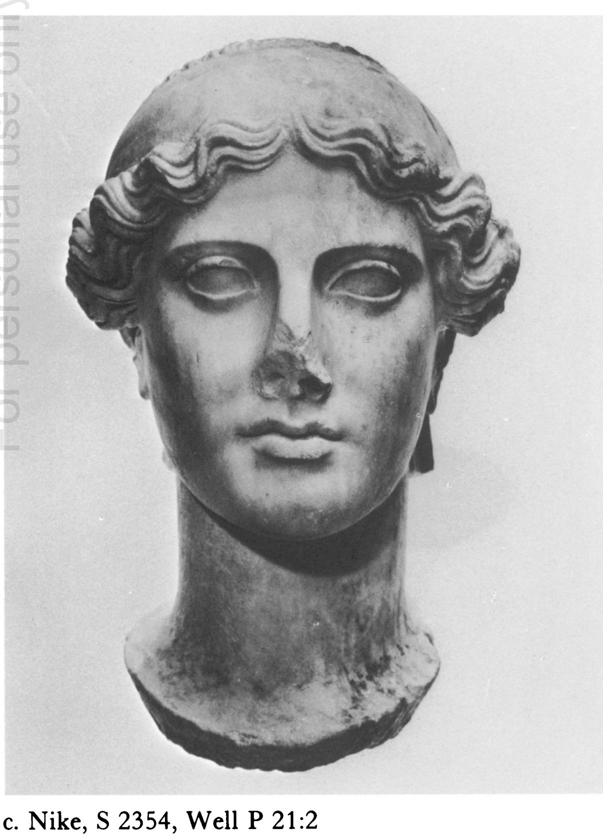
e. Athena, S 2337, House C

Sculpture from the Areopagus houses

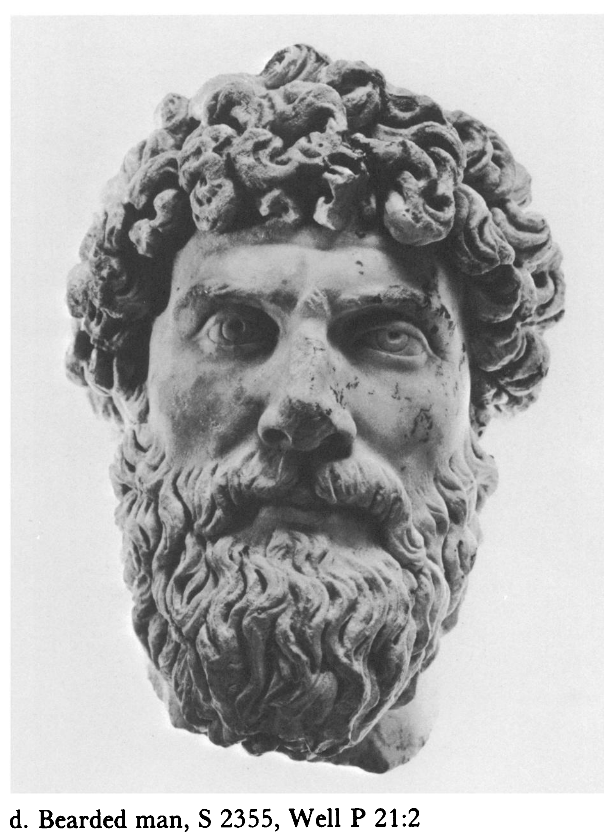
a. Antoninus Pius, S 2436, Well Q 21:4



b. Helios, S 2356, Well P 21:2



c. Nike, S 2354, Well P 21:2



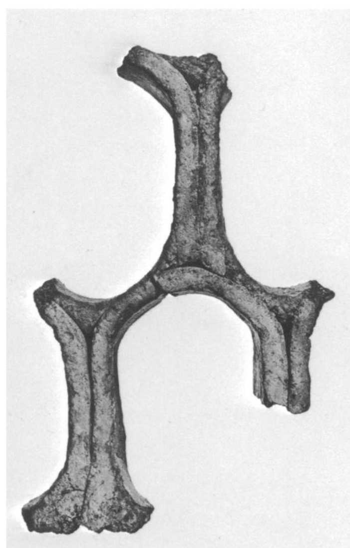
d. Bearded man, S 2355, Well P 21:2

Sculpture from wells in Areopagus House C

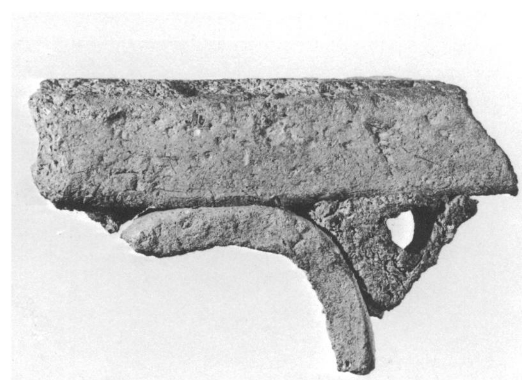
a. Marble bust, S 1026

b. Marble bust, S 1044

c. Lamp, L 5324



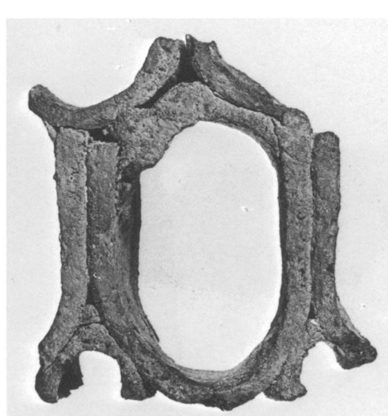
d



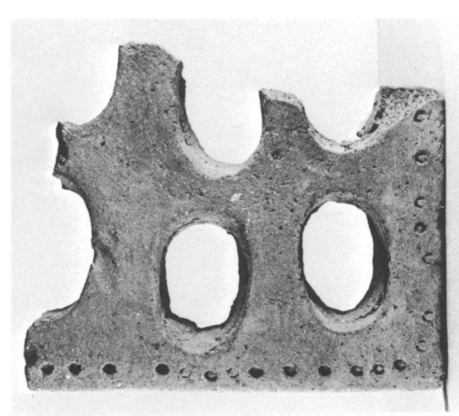
e

d, e, g, h. Fragments of window frames

f. Lamp, L 5323



g

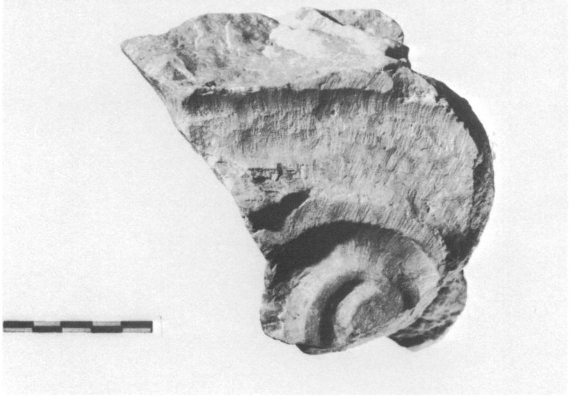


h

Objects from the vicinity of Areopagus Houses B and C

a. A 3867

b. A 3866

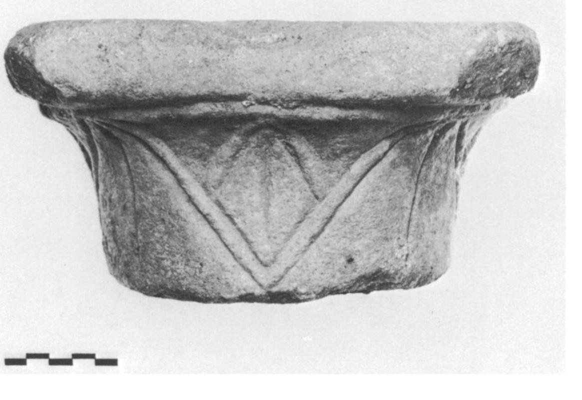


c. A 3862

d. A 3856

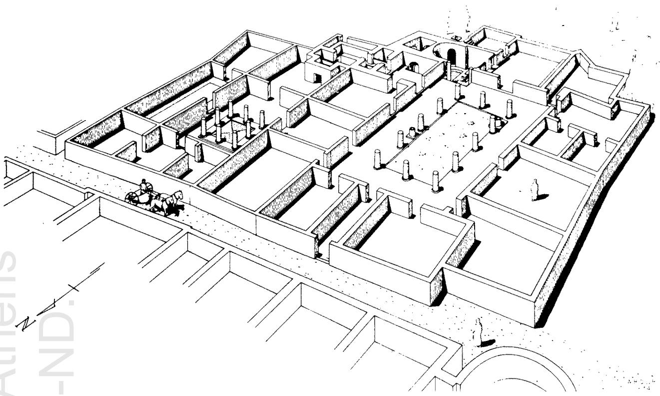
e. A 3861

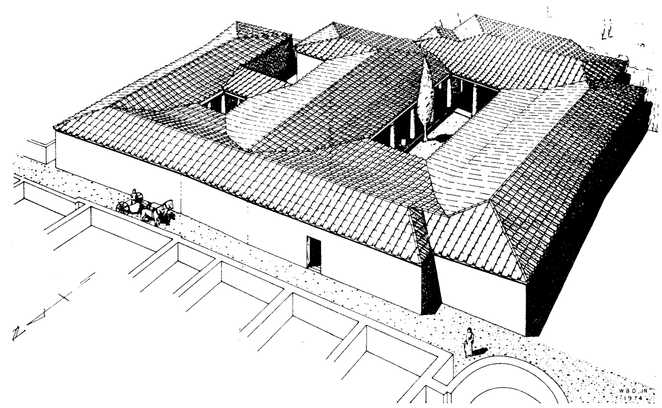
f. A 3863



g. A 3858

Architectural fragments from Areopagus House C and vicinity





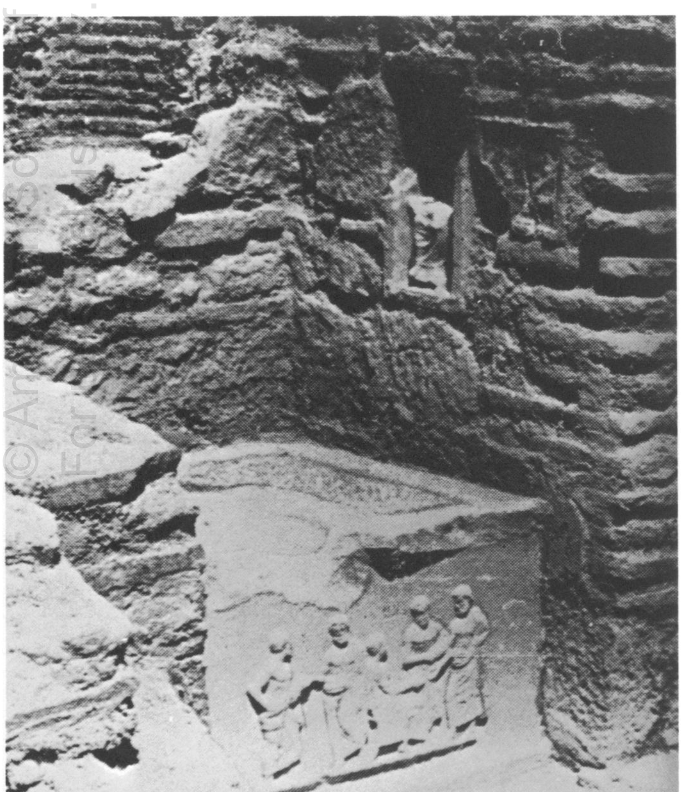
a, b. Perspective restorations

c. Mosaic in triclinium with later insertion

d. Ionic column from peristyle, A 3866

Areopagus House C

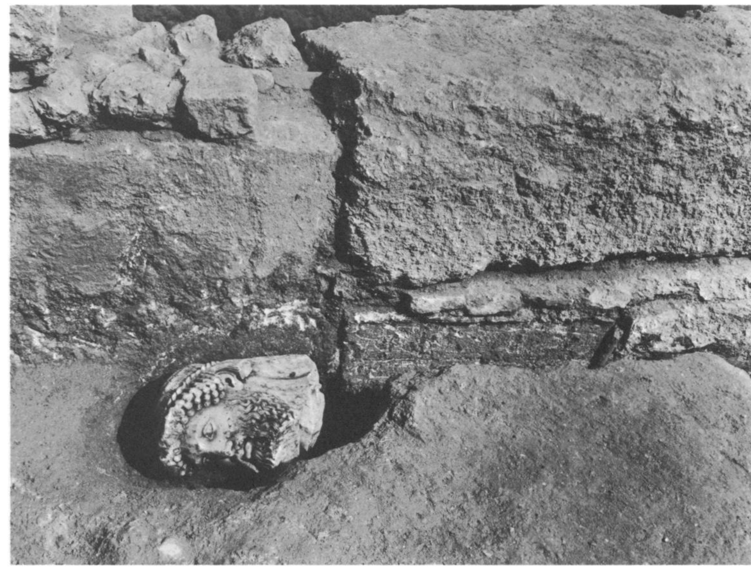
a. "House of Proclus", general view from southeast ("Ἔργον 1955, p. 7, fig. 3)



b. Shrine in "House of Proclus" ("Ἔργον 1955, p. 8, fig. 4)

c. Portrait of philosopher, Acropolis Museum 1313

a. Epigram honoring Iamblichus, I 3542

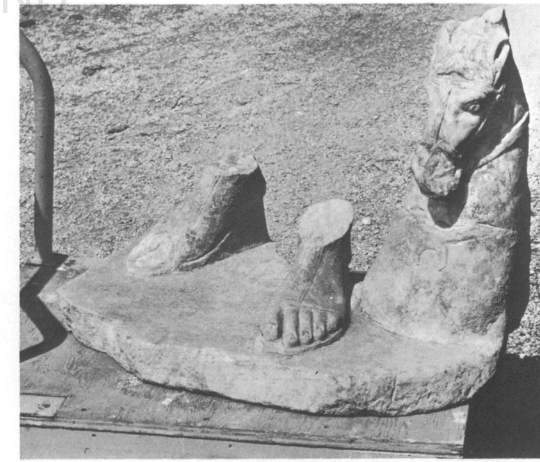


b. Herm head, S 2499, in pit showing signs of burning

c. Mosaic in reconstructed Metroön

a. Round Building in northwest corner of Agora

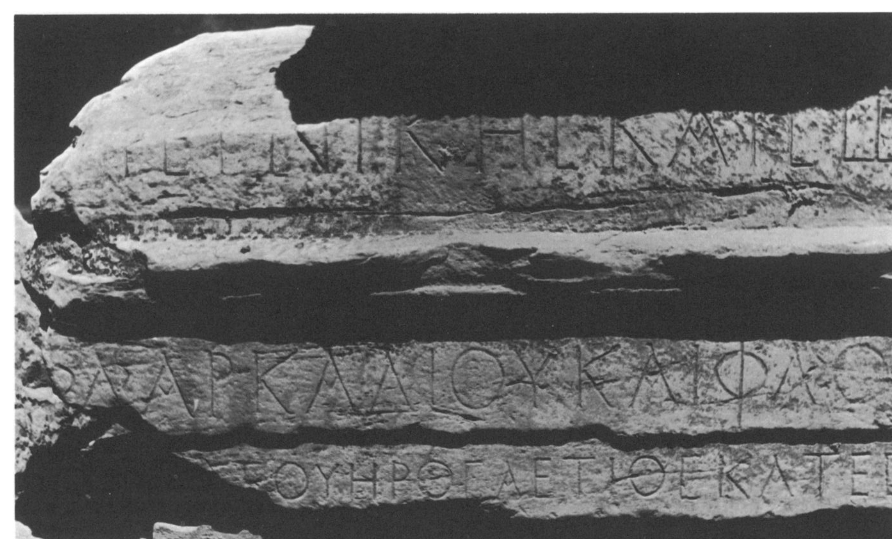
S 2531



S 2529

b, c. Fragments of statue from Round Building

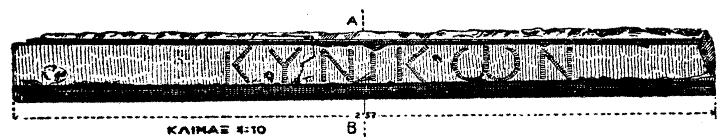
d. Monument base on Panathenaic Way



e. Dedication of building by Aëtius, *IG* II², 5205 (detail)

a. Epigraphical Museum No. 70

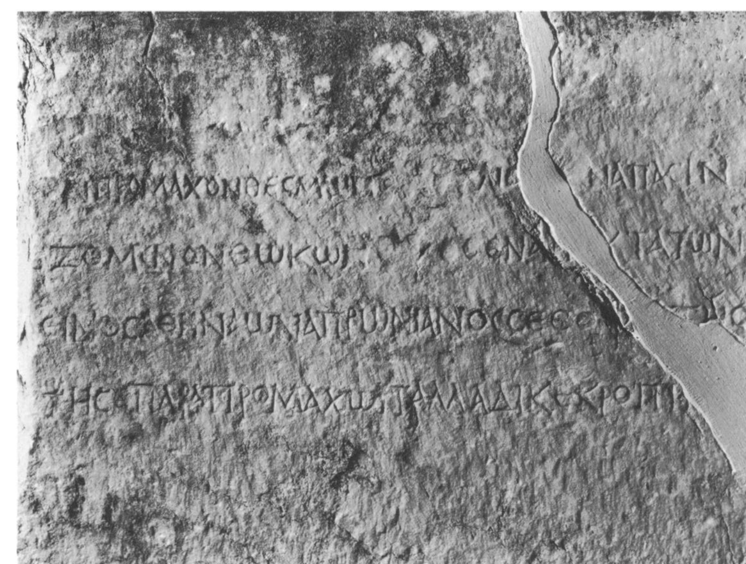
b. *IG* II², 4224



c. *IG* II², 5184

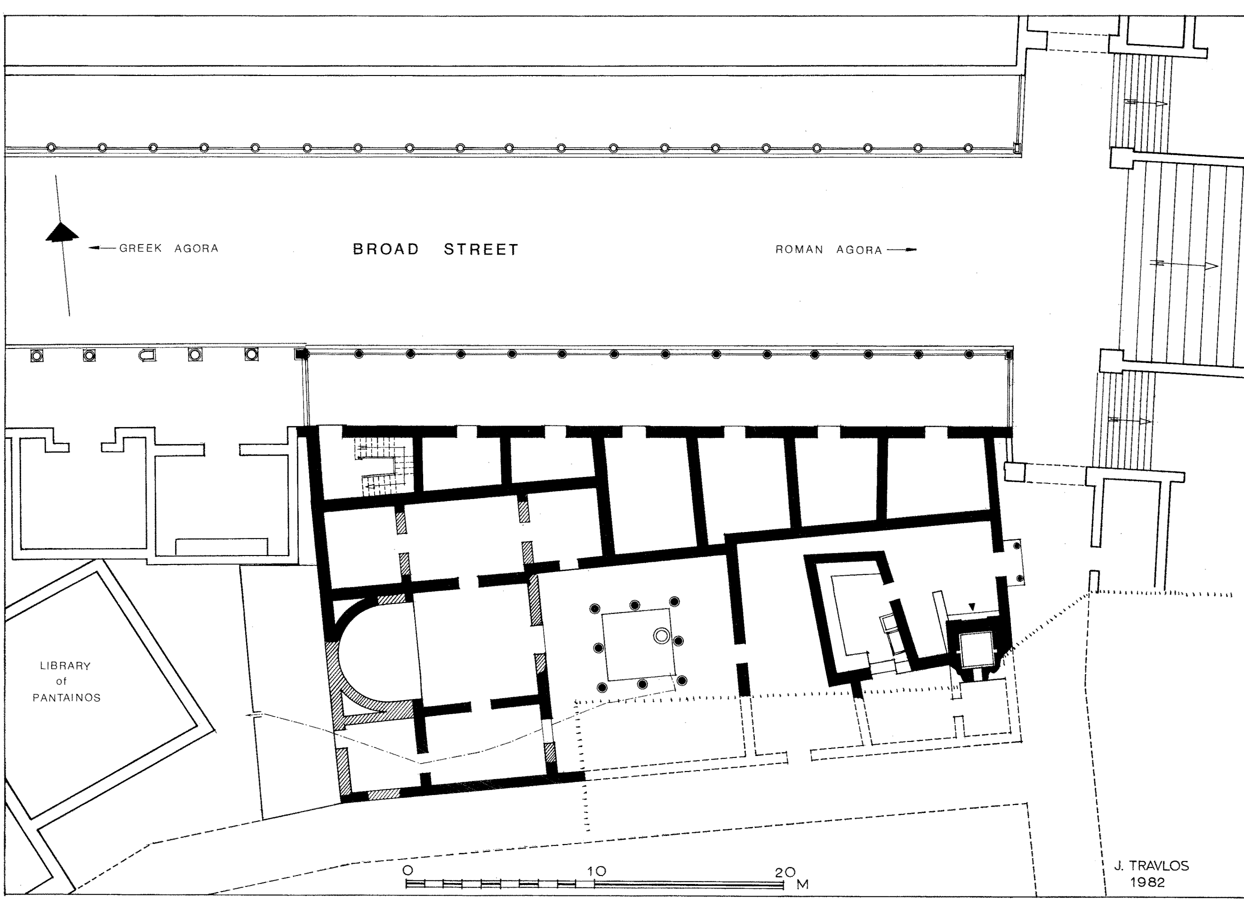
d. *IG* II², 3692

e. *IG* II², 3818

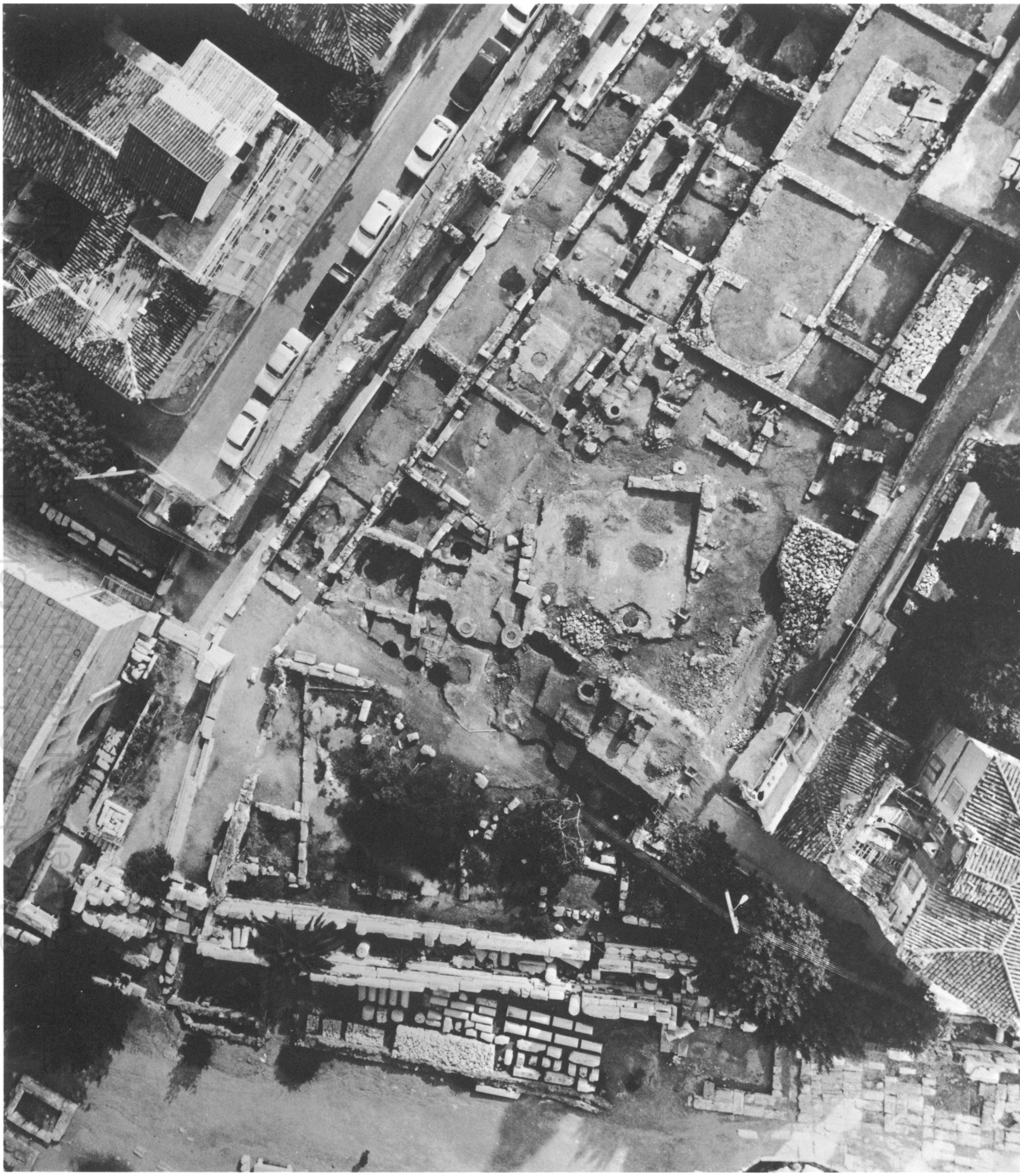


f. *IG* II², 4225

a. Building east of Stoa of Attalos

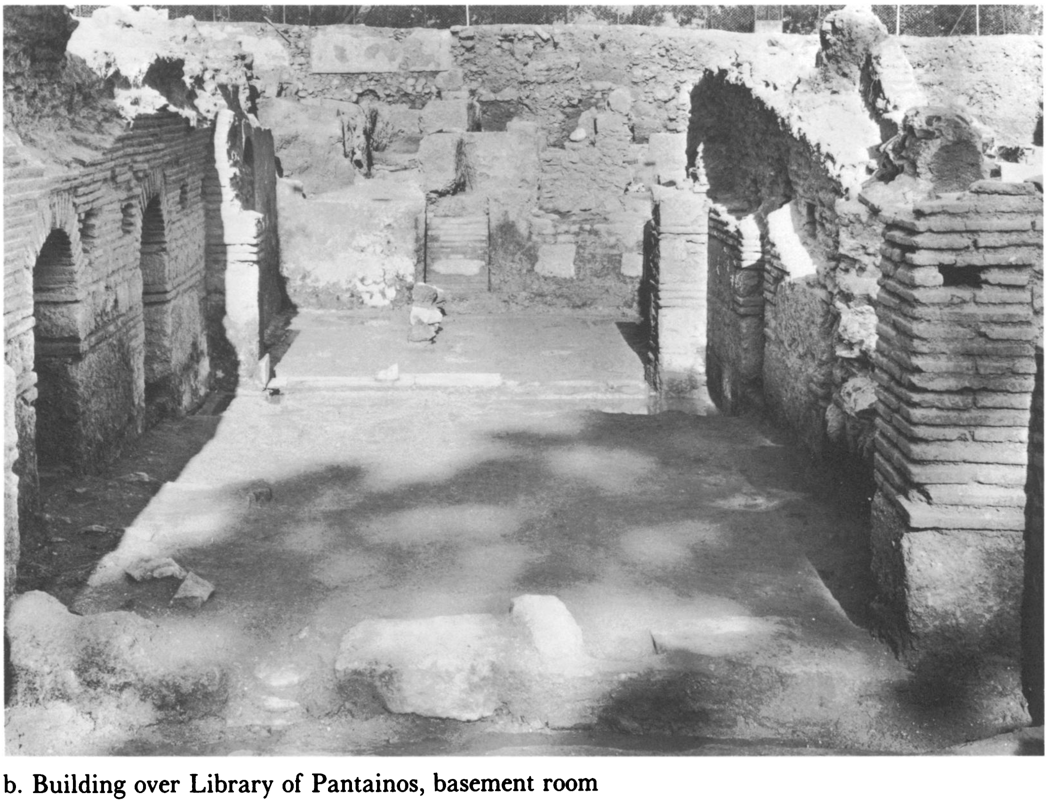


b. Broad Street and building over Library of Pantainos



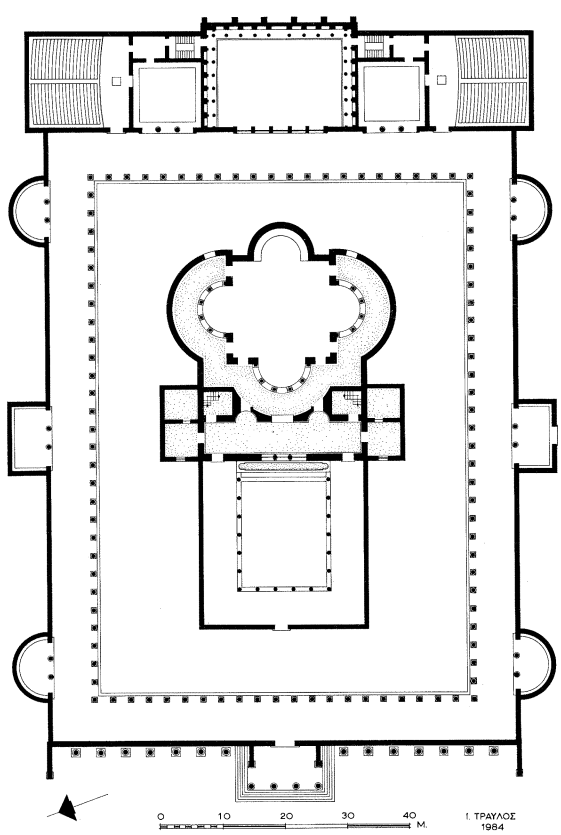
Colonnade of the Broad Street and the building over the Library of Pantainos. Air view

a. Colonnade of Broad Street

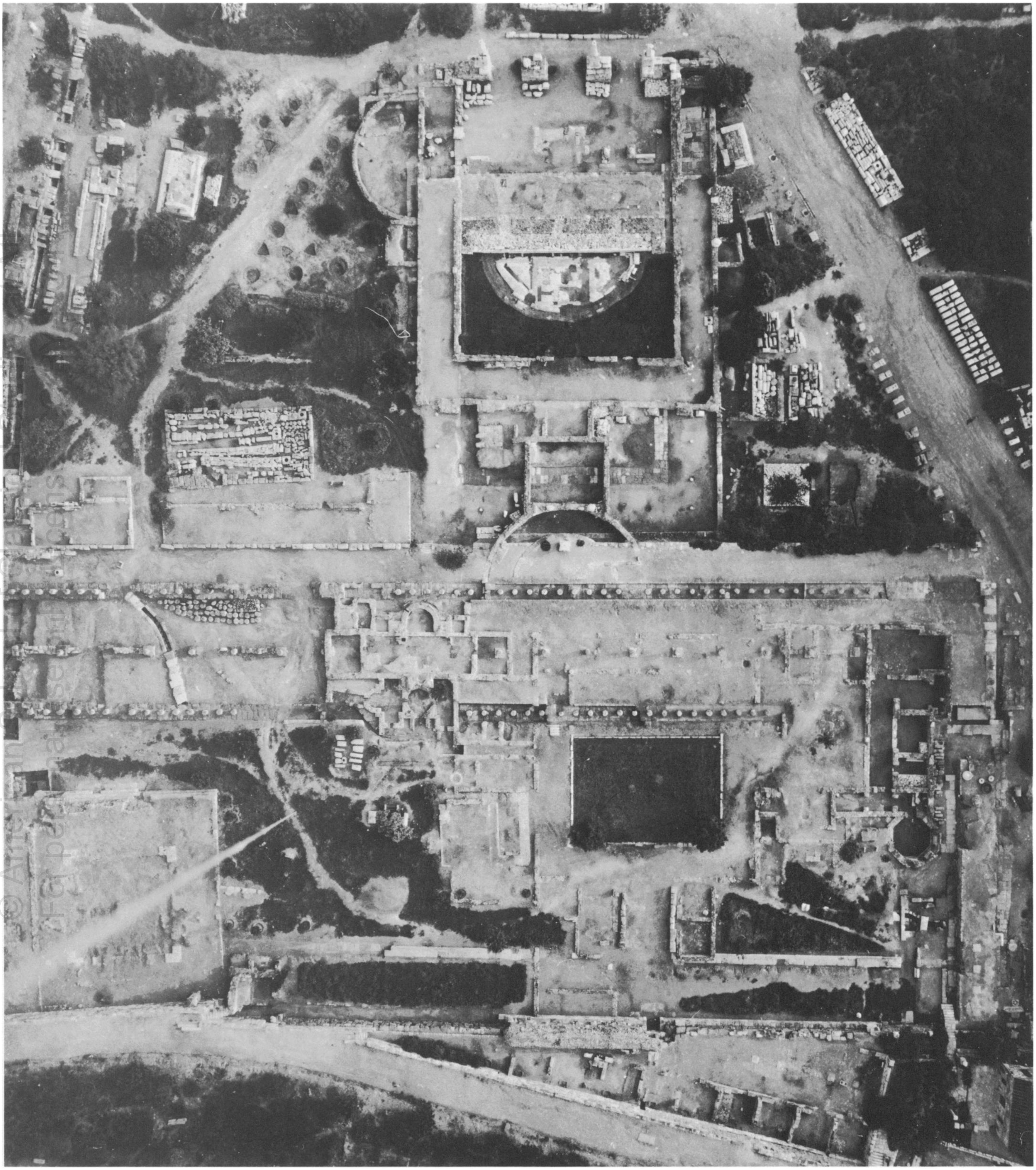


b. Building over Library of Pantainos, basement room

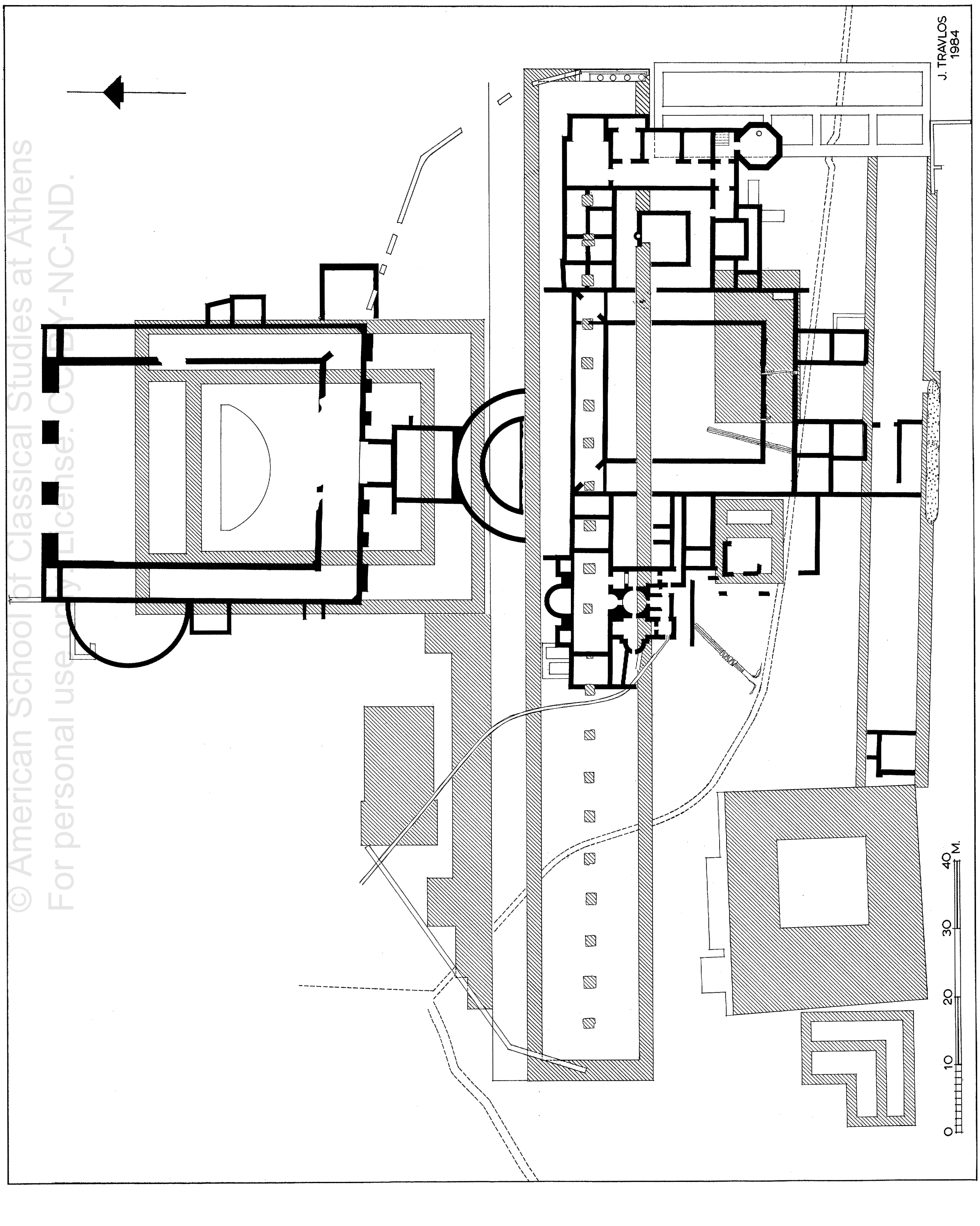
a. Tetraconch in Library of Hadrian from east



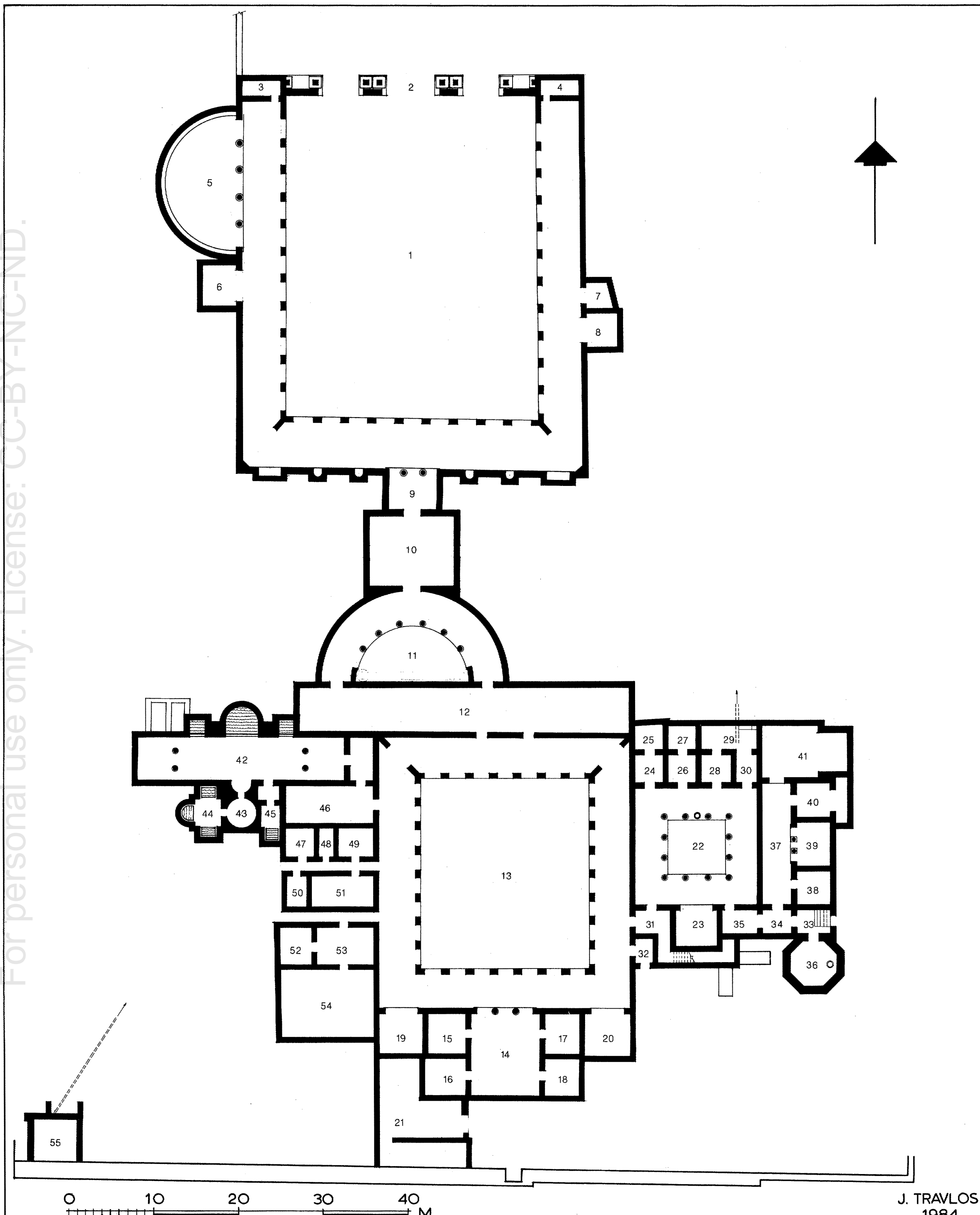
b. Library of Hadrian with tetraconch



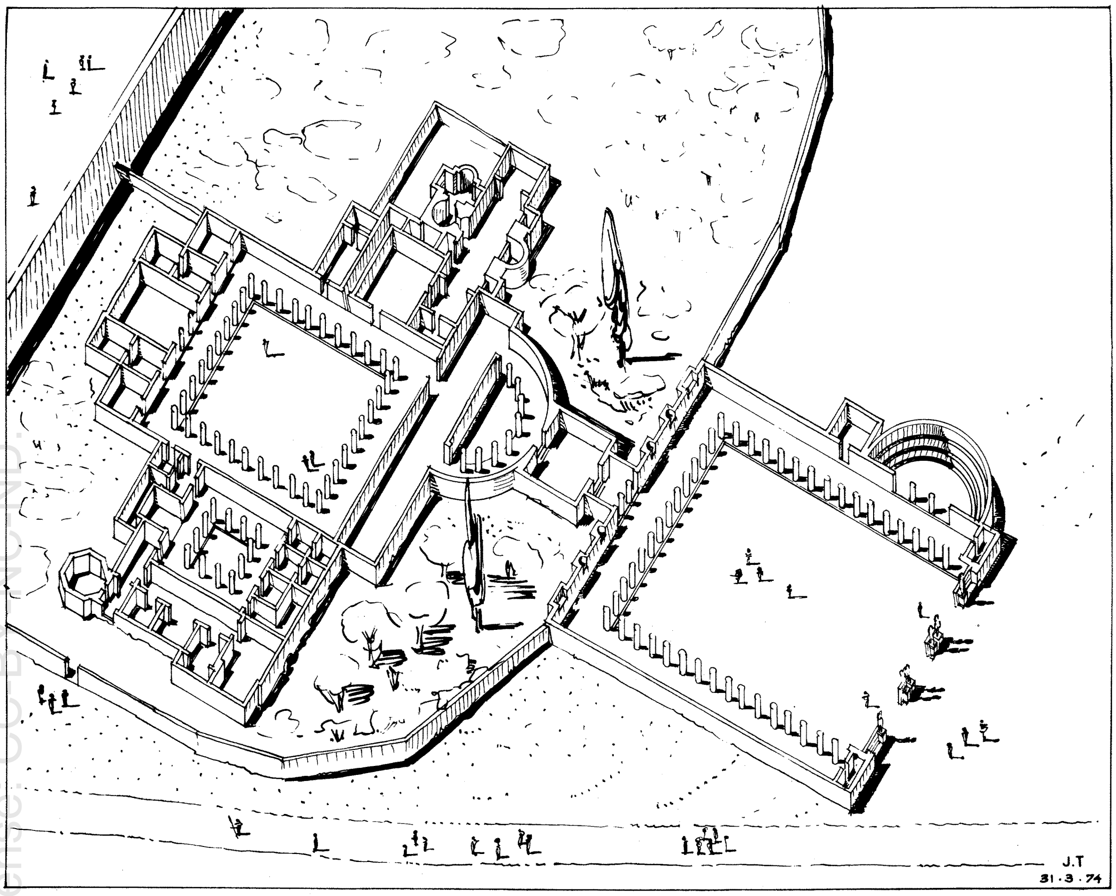
The Palace of the Giants. Air view, May 1975



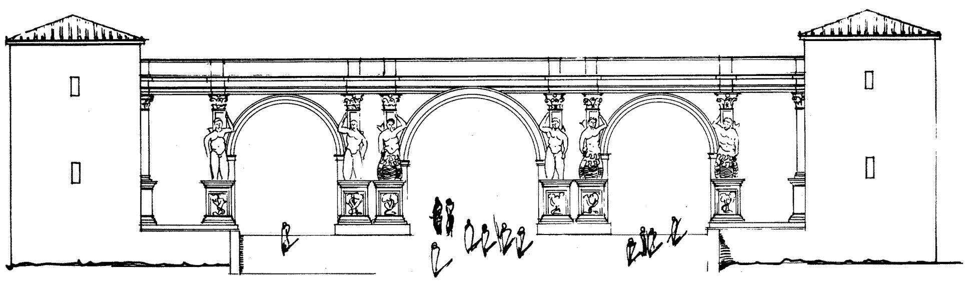
The Palace of the Giants. Actual-state plan showing earlier structures



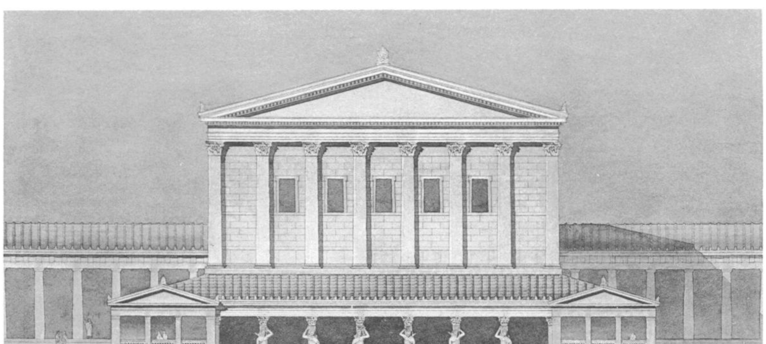
The Palace of the Giants. Restored plan



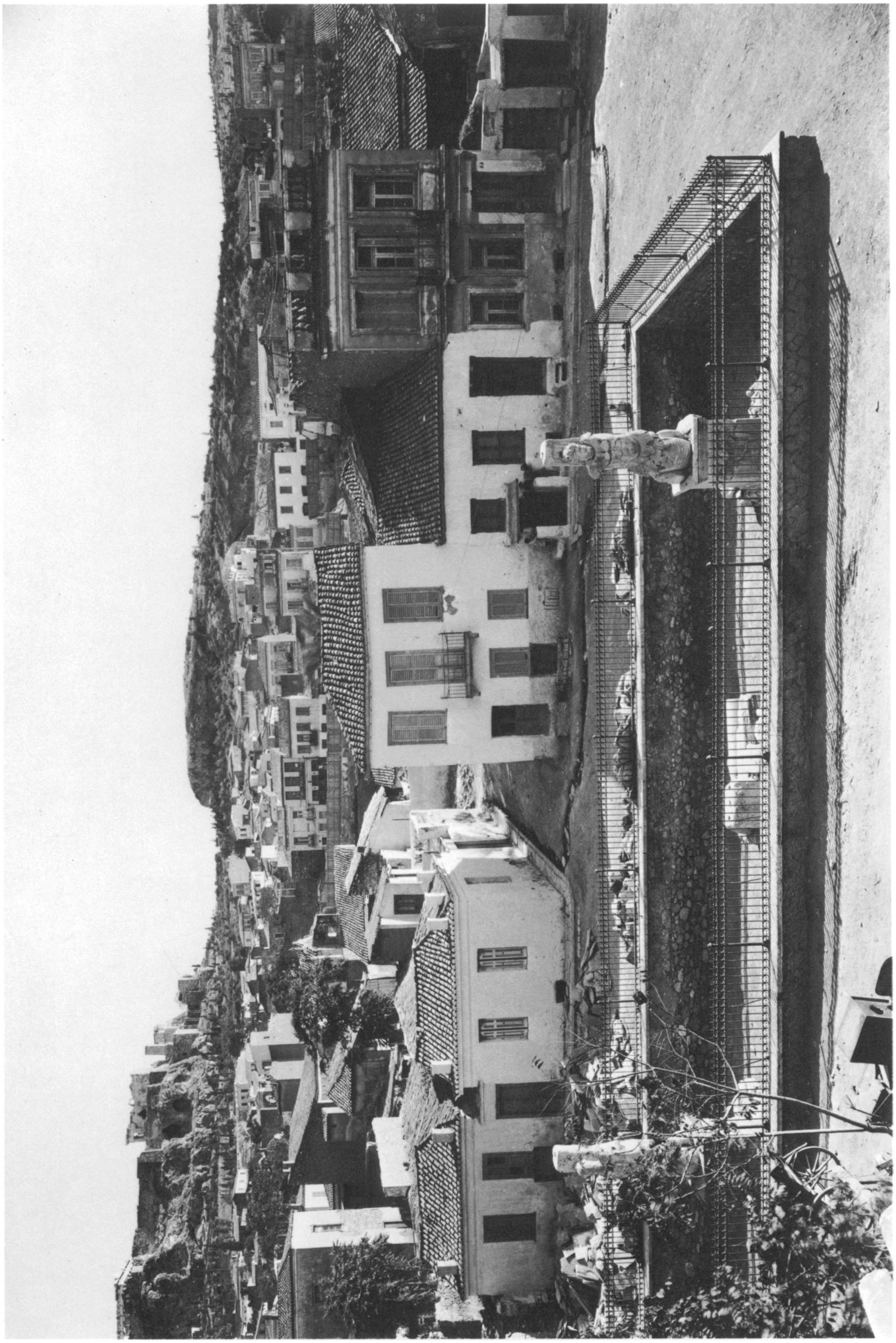
a. Palace of the Giants. Perspective restoration, Panathenaic Way at bottom



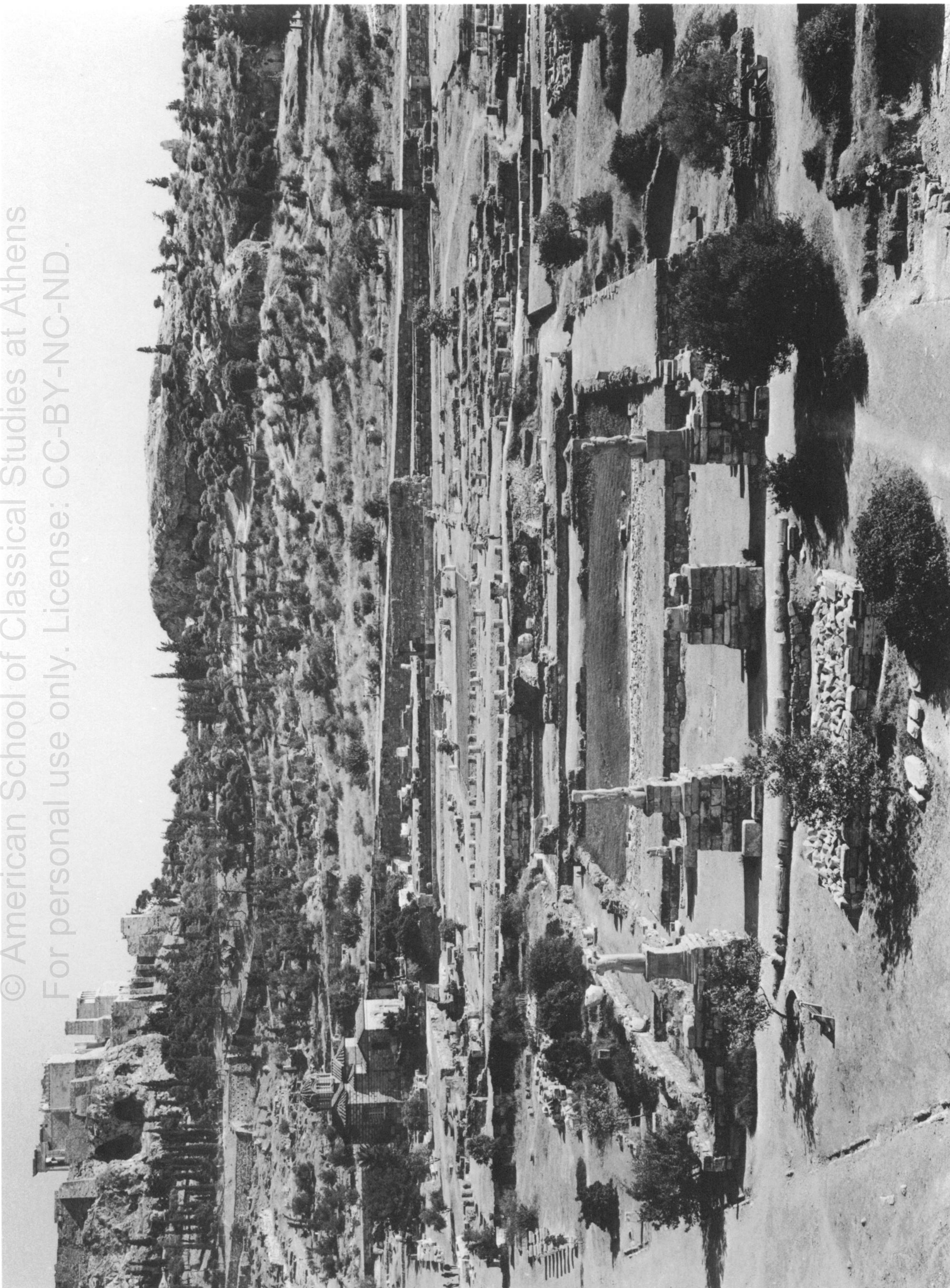
b. Palace of the Giants. Tentative restoration of north façade



c. Odeion of Agrippa, north façade after Antonine remodeling



The area of the Palace of the Giants. View from the north, 1935



The area of the Palace of the Giants. View from the north, 1969

a. Triton, front view

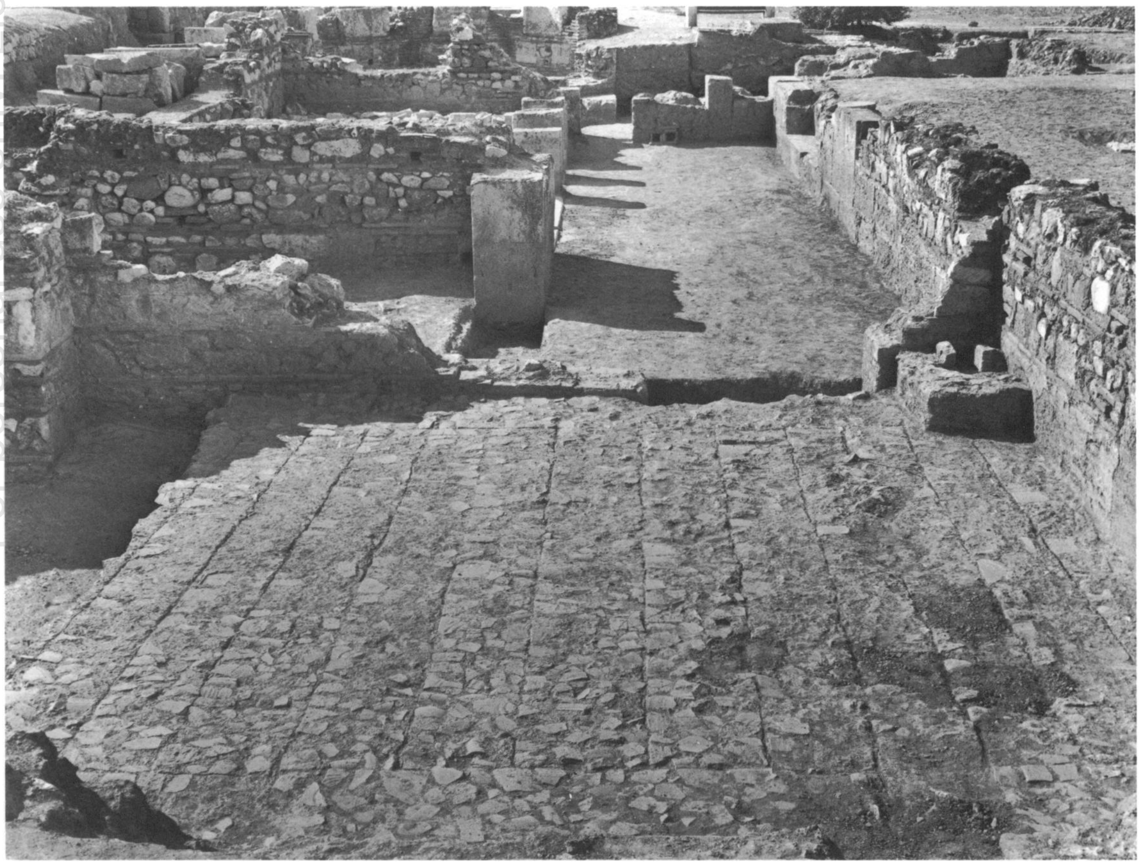
b. Triton, side view

c. Giant, front view

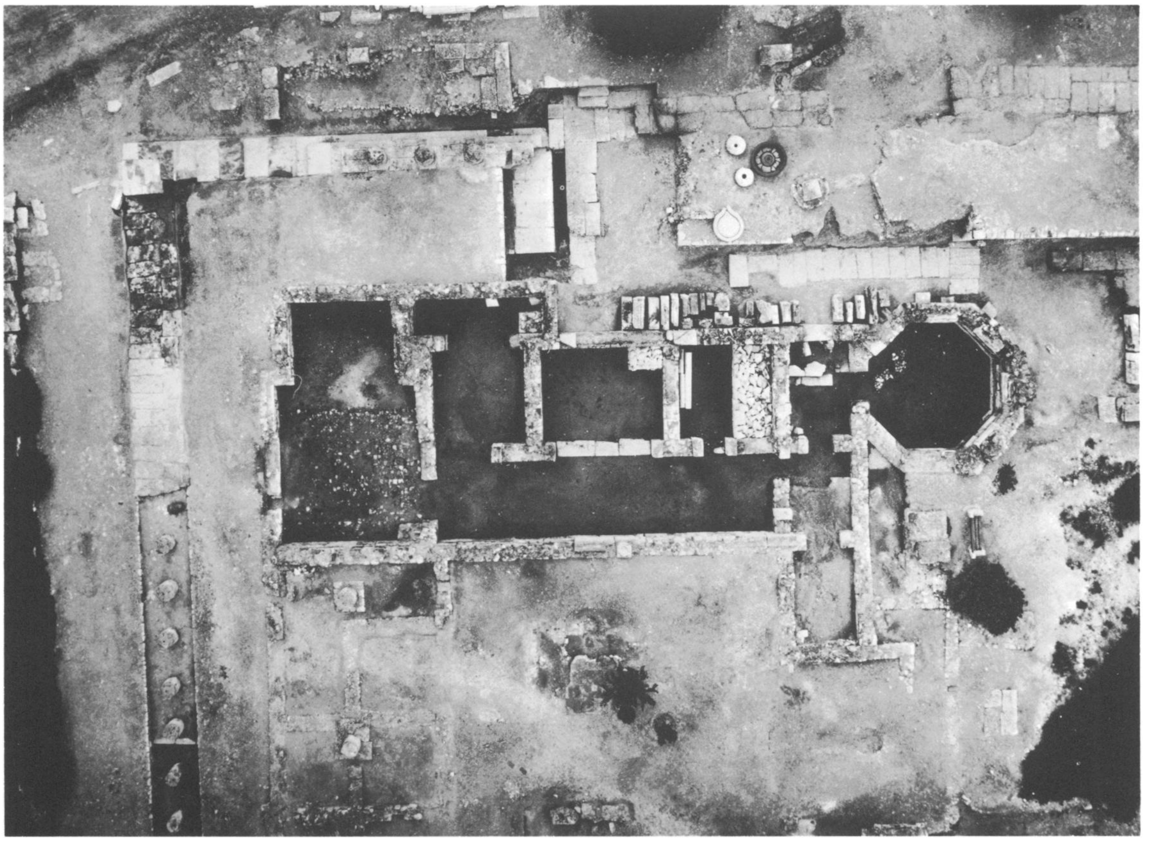
d. Giant, side view

The Palace of the Giants

a. Tile flooring in Rooms 14, 17, and 18, from northwest



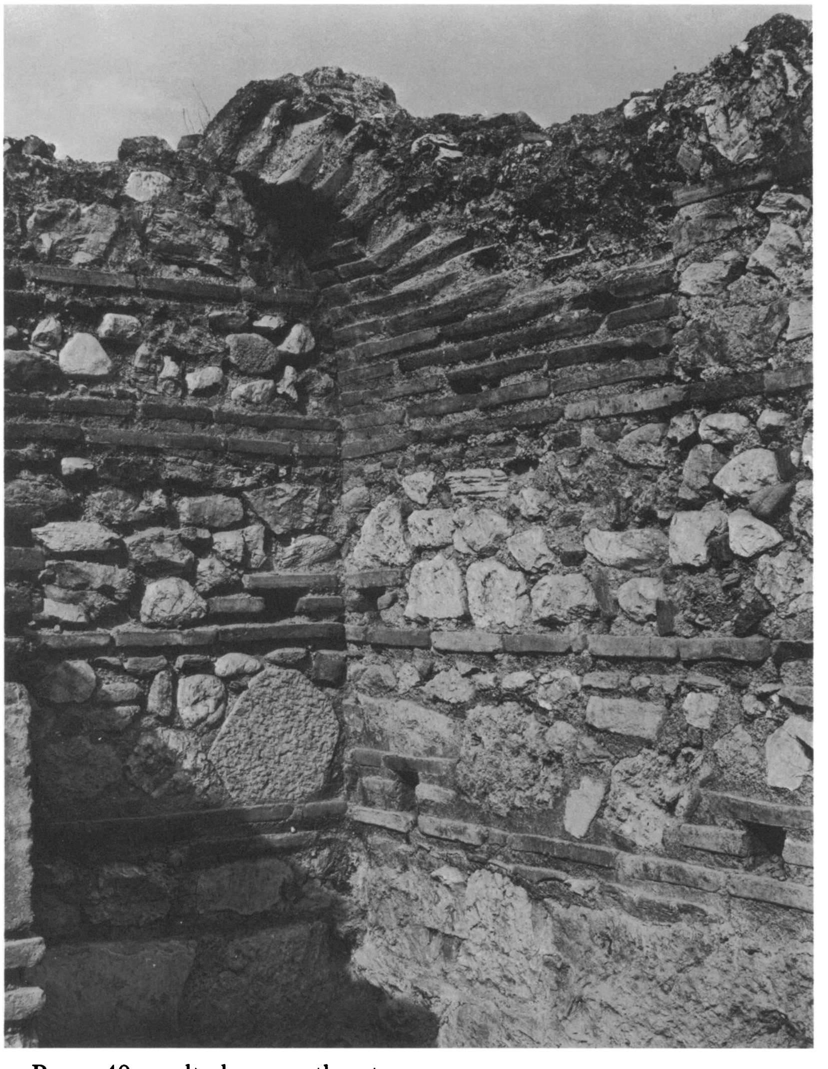
b. Sherd bedding for floor in Room 41, from north



a. Air view, 1975

b. From southeast

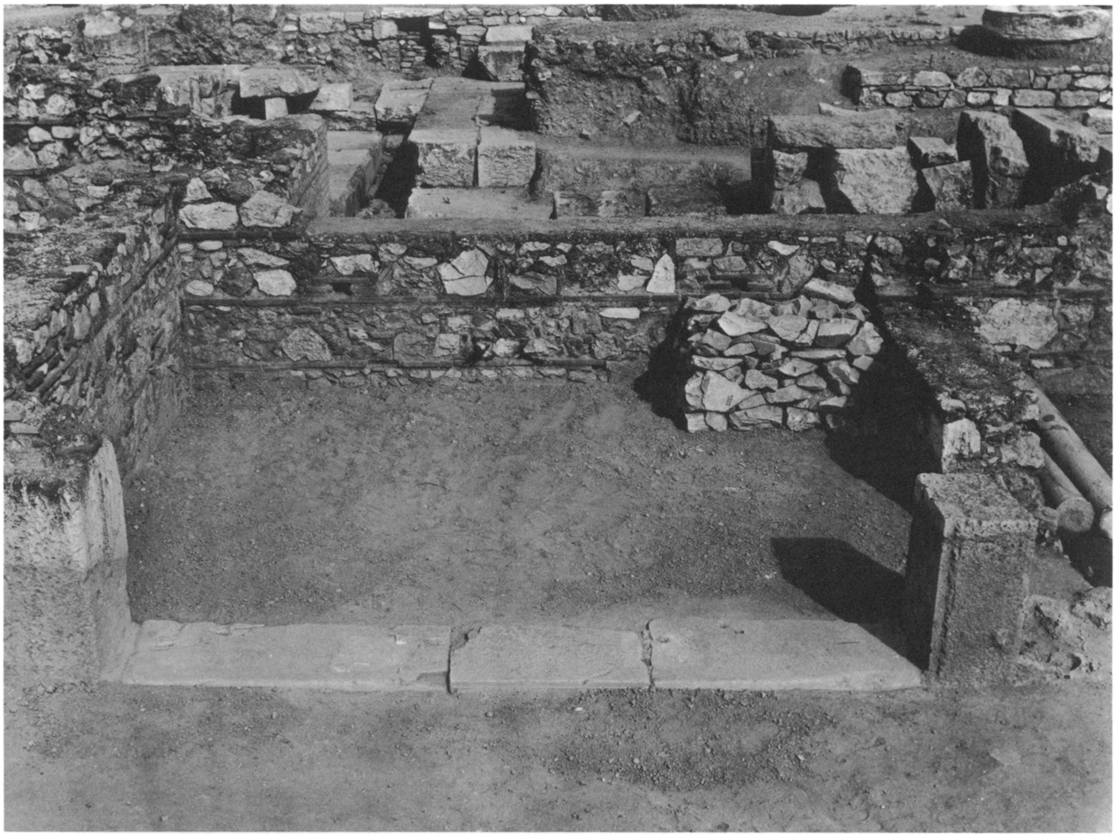
The Palace of the Giants, Southeast Court complex



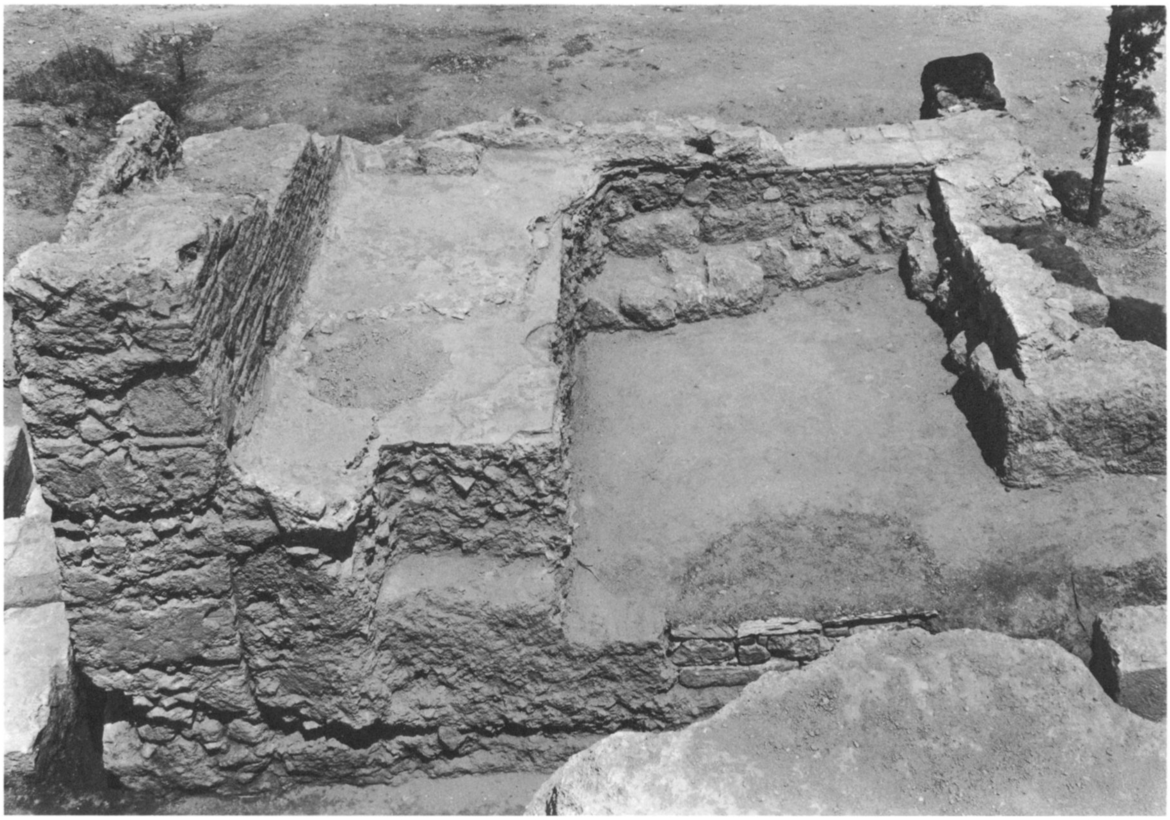
a. Room 40, vault above northeast corner

b. Room 41, masonry at northeast corner

The Palace of the Giants

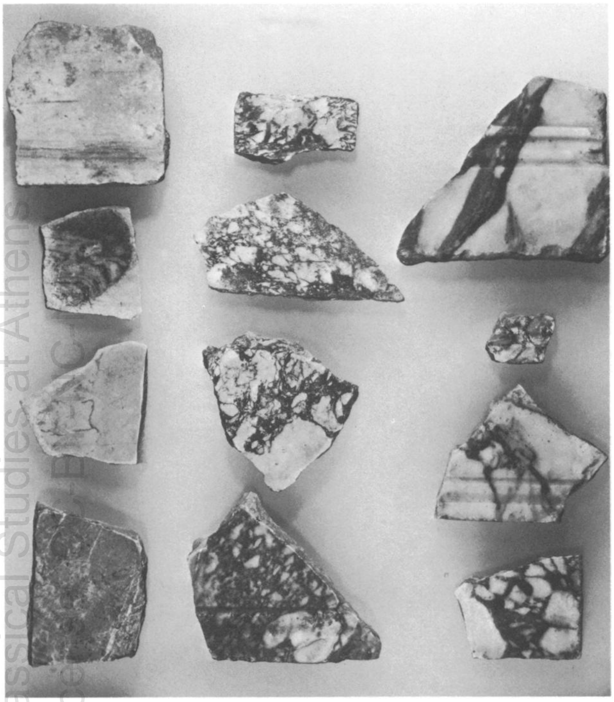


a. Room 39 from west. Traces of column bases on threshold

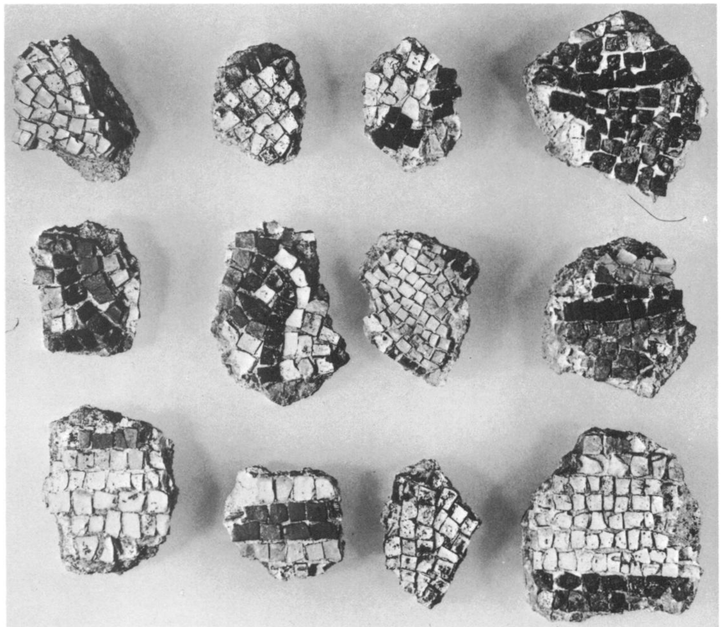


b. Cistern above west end of South Stoa II (Room 55) from south. Outlet hole at north edge of floor

The Palace of the Giants



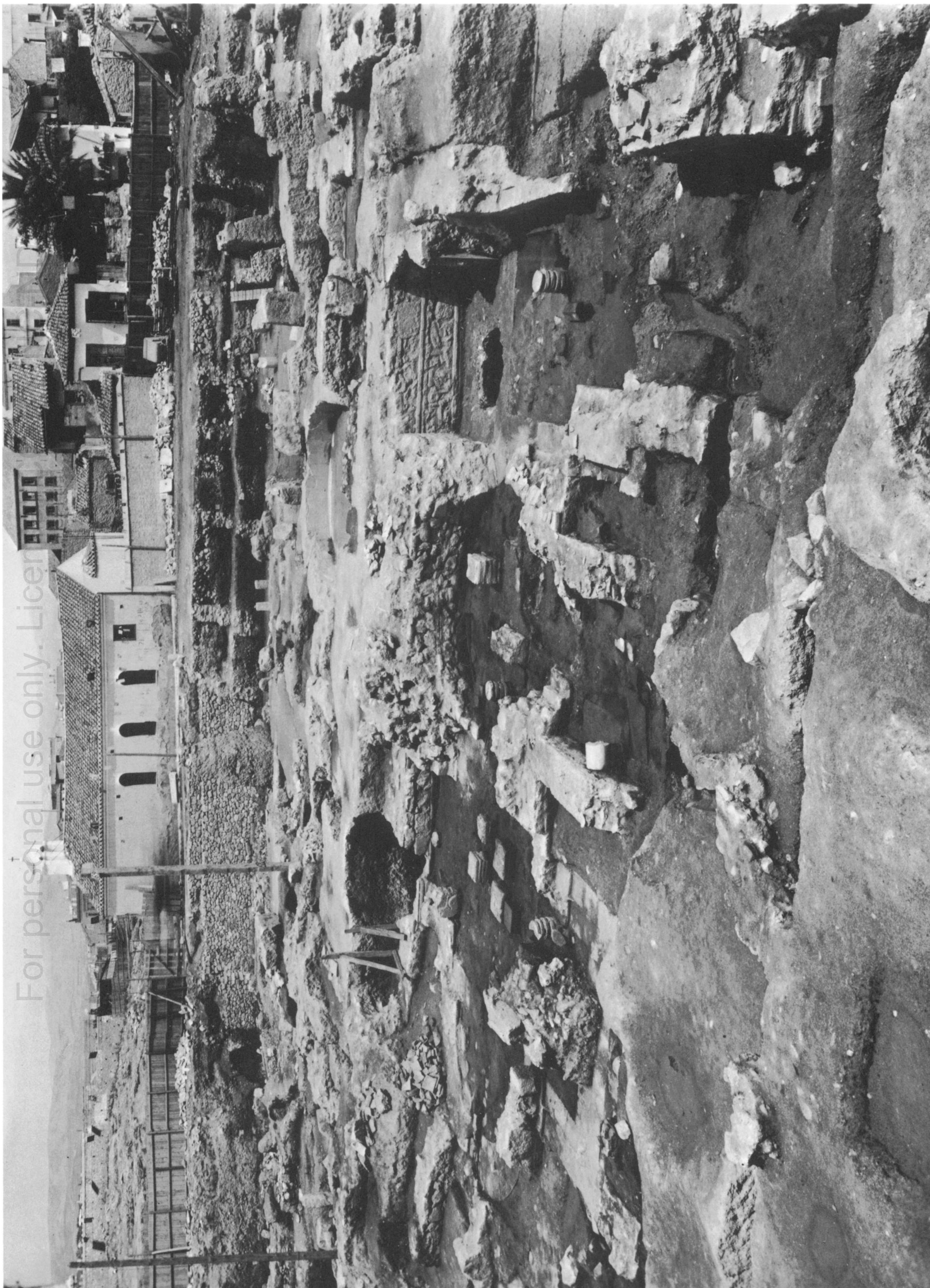
a. Fragments of marble revetment found in Room 39



b. Fragments of mosaic found in Room 39

c. Anta capital, A 2268, found in Room 39

PLATE 64



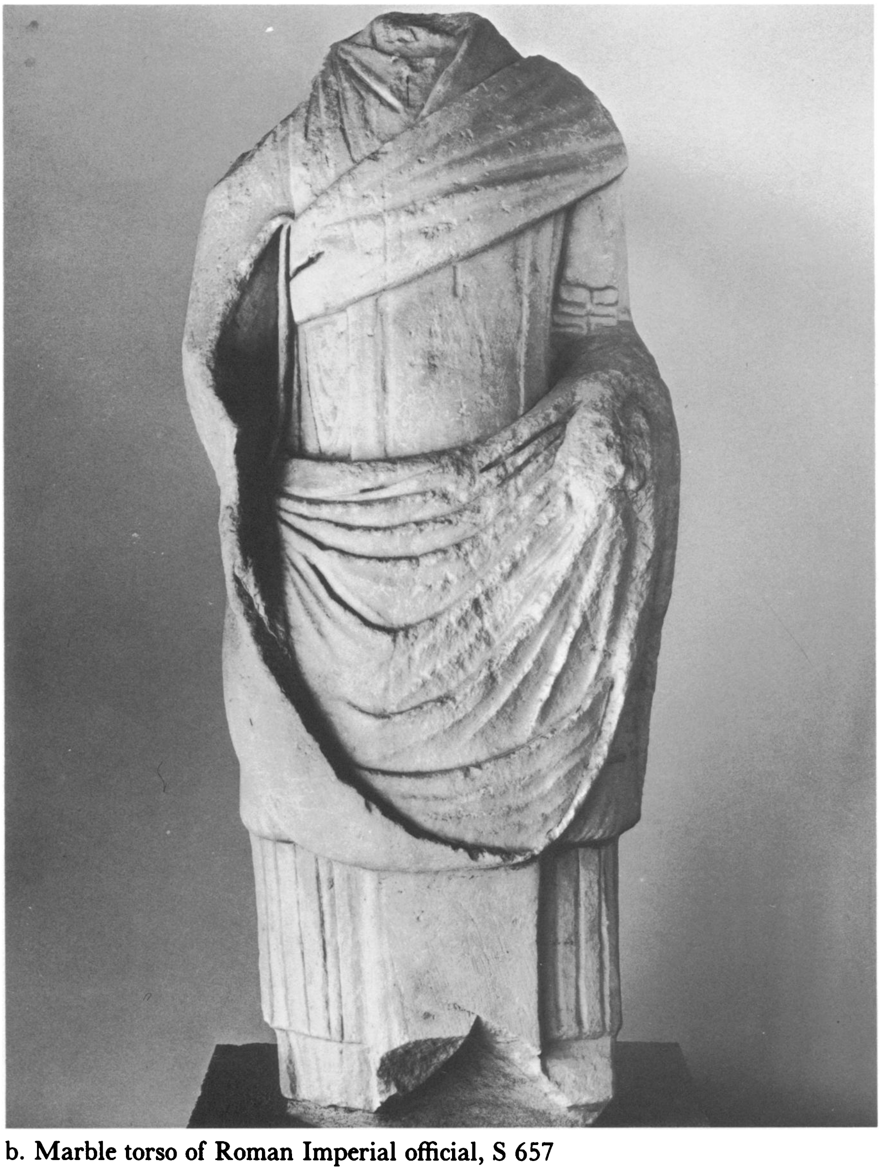
The Palace of the Giants. The Bath soon after excavation, from the south

a. Room 43, remains of hypocaust

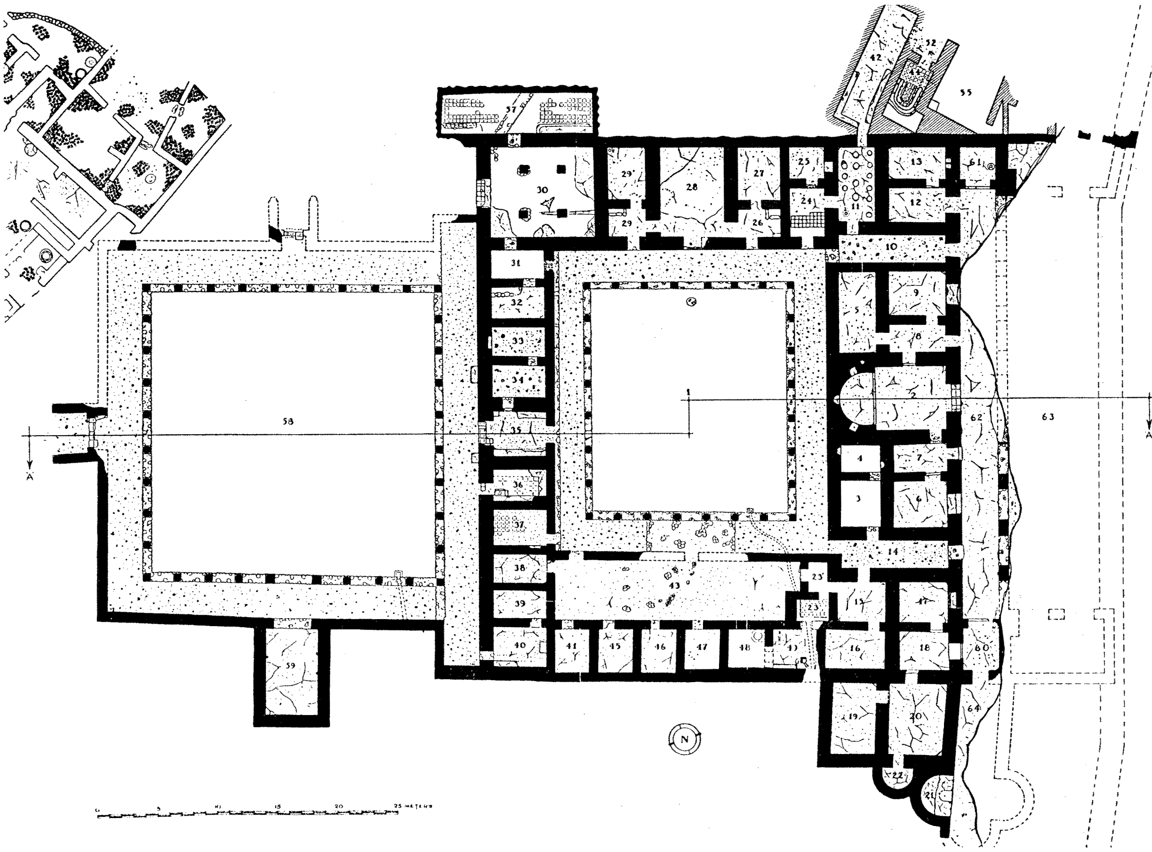
b. Room 42, semicircular basin

The Palace of the Giants. The Bath

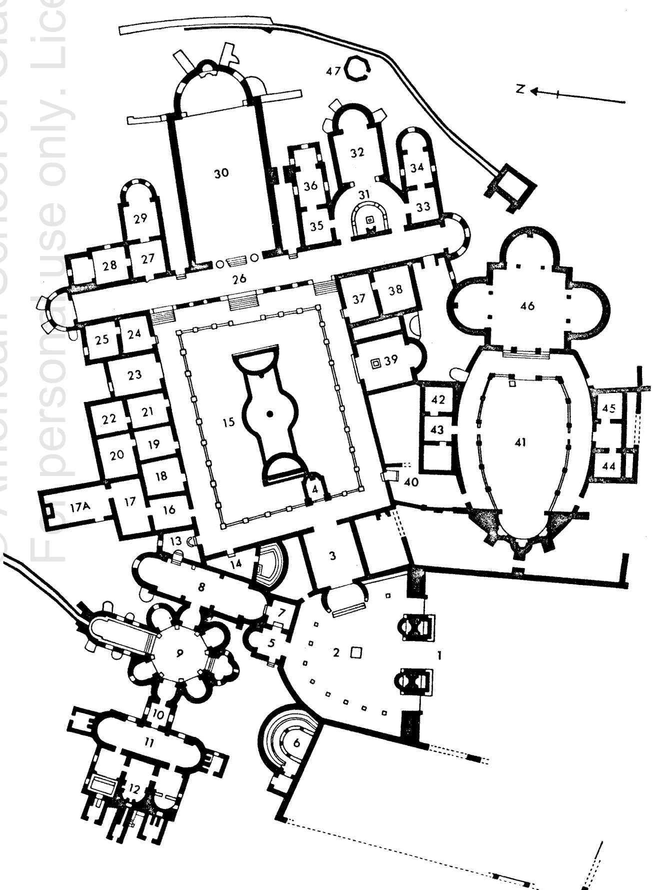
a. Bath, south side of Room 42. Bedding for marble floor and remains of marble wall revetment including door frame (upper left)



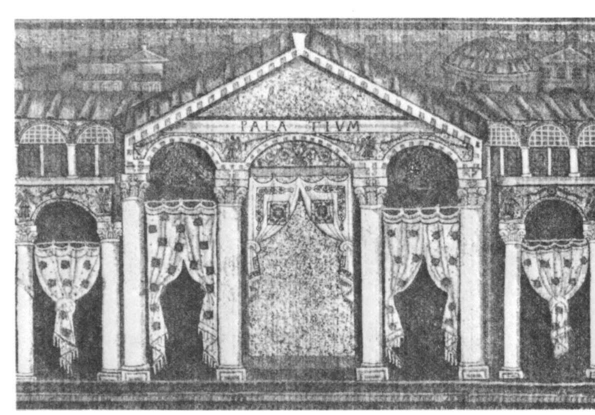
b. Marble torso of Roman Imperial official, S 657



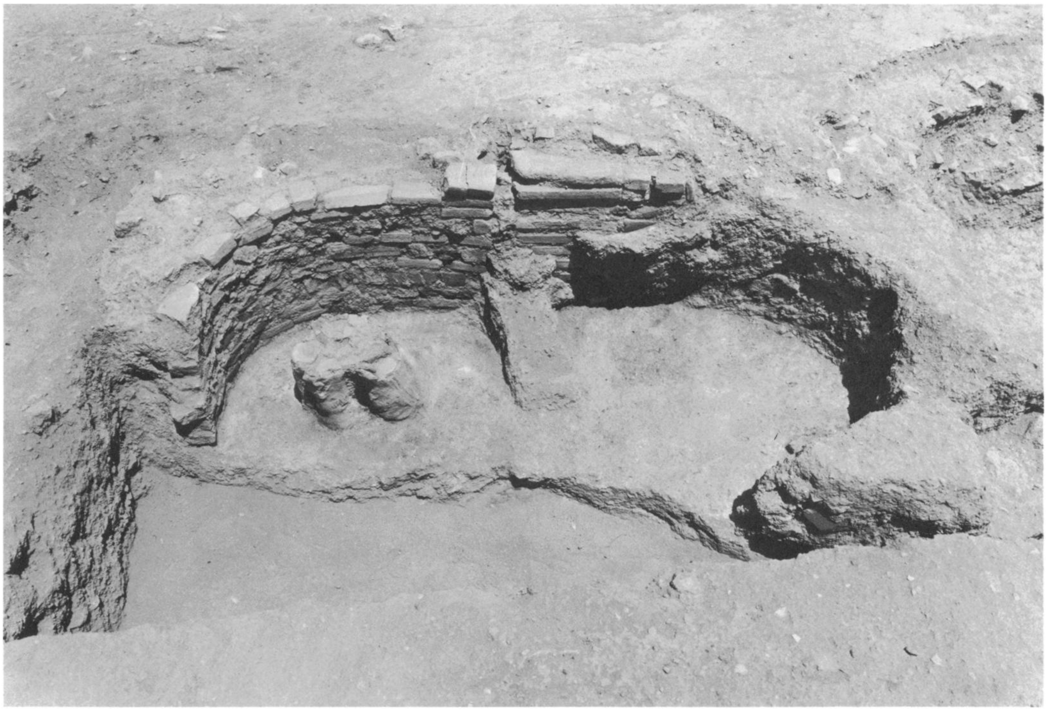
a. Dura-Europos. Palace of the Dux Ripae, before A.D. 256 (*Excavations at Dura-Europos: Ninth Season 1935–1936*, New Haven 1952, fig. 7)



b. Piazza Armerina. Plan of villa, first half of 4th century (R. J. A. Wilson, *Piazza Armerina*, Austin 1983, fig. 1. Courtesy of the author)

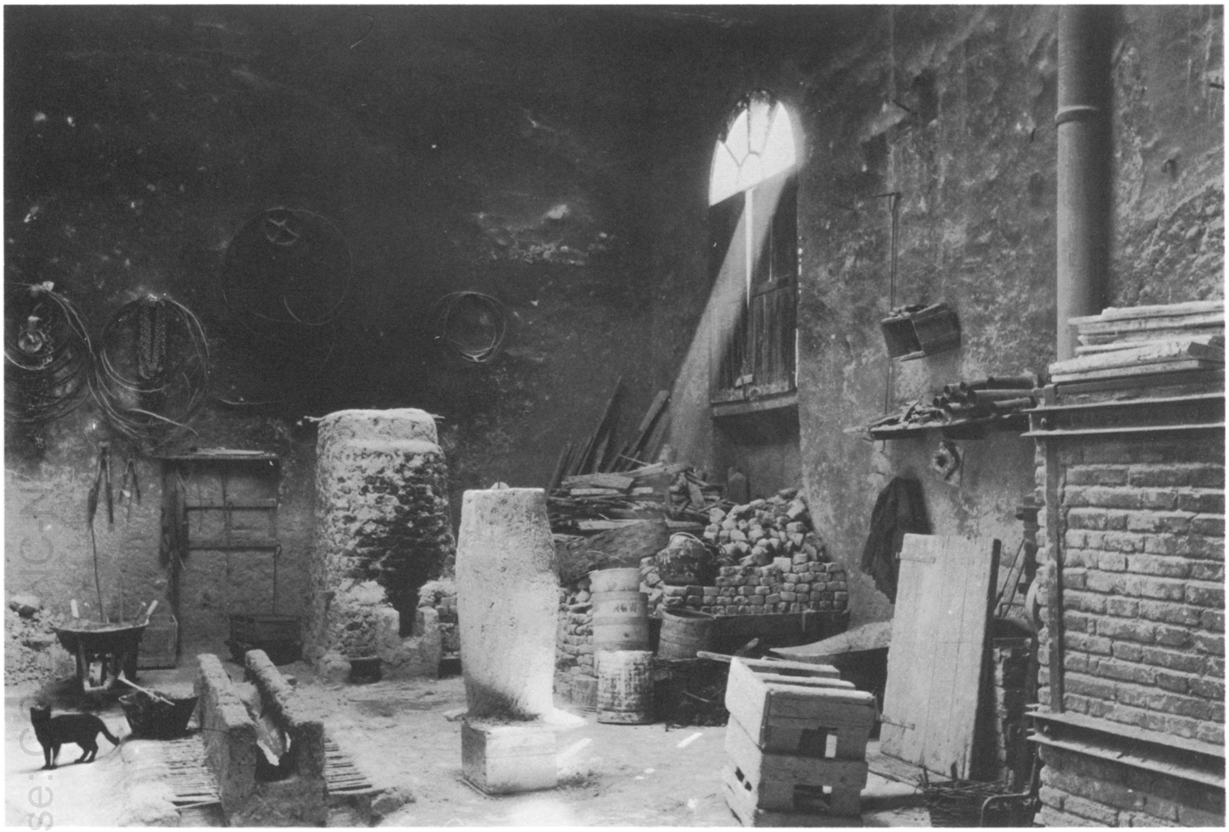


c. Ravenna, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo. Mosaic showing façade of palace, *ca.* A.D. 490 (W. F. Volbach, *Frühchristliche Kunst*, Munich 1958, pl. 152)



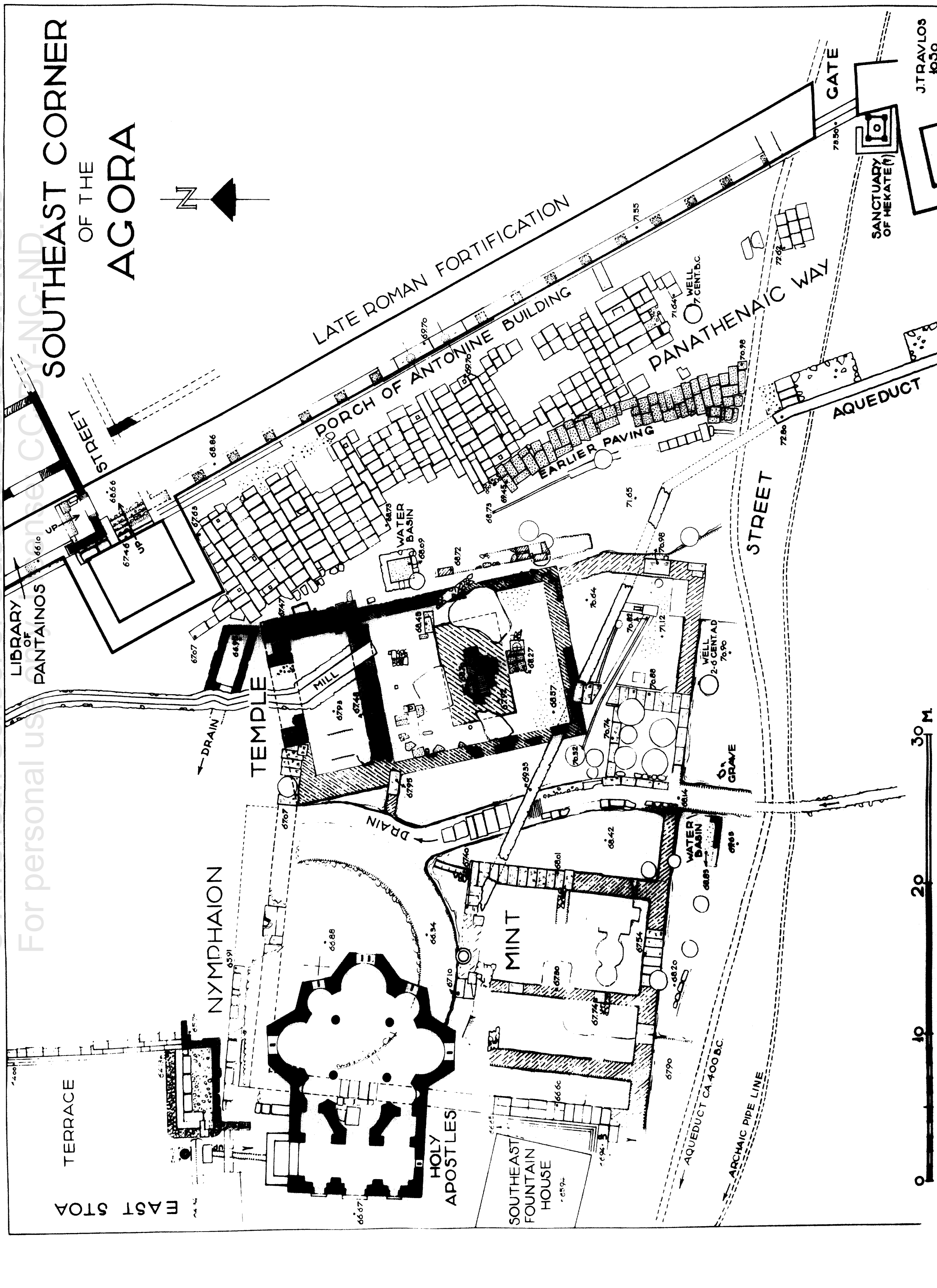
a. Bronze-casting pit near Palace of the Giants (Mattusch M)

b. Bronze-casting pit over Mint (Mattusch N)

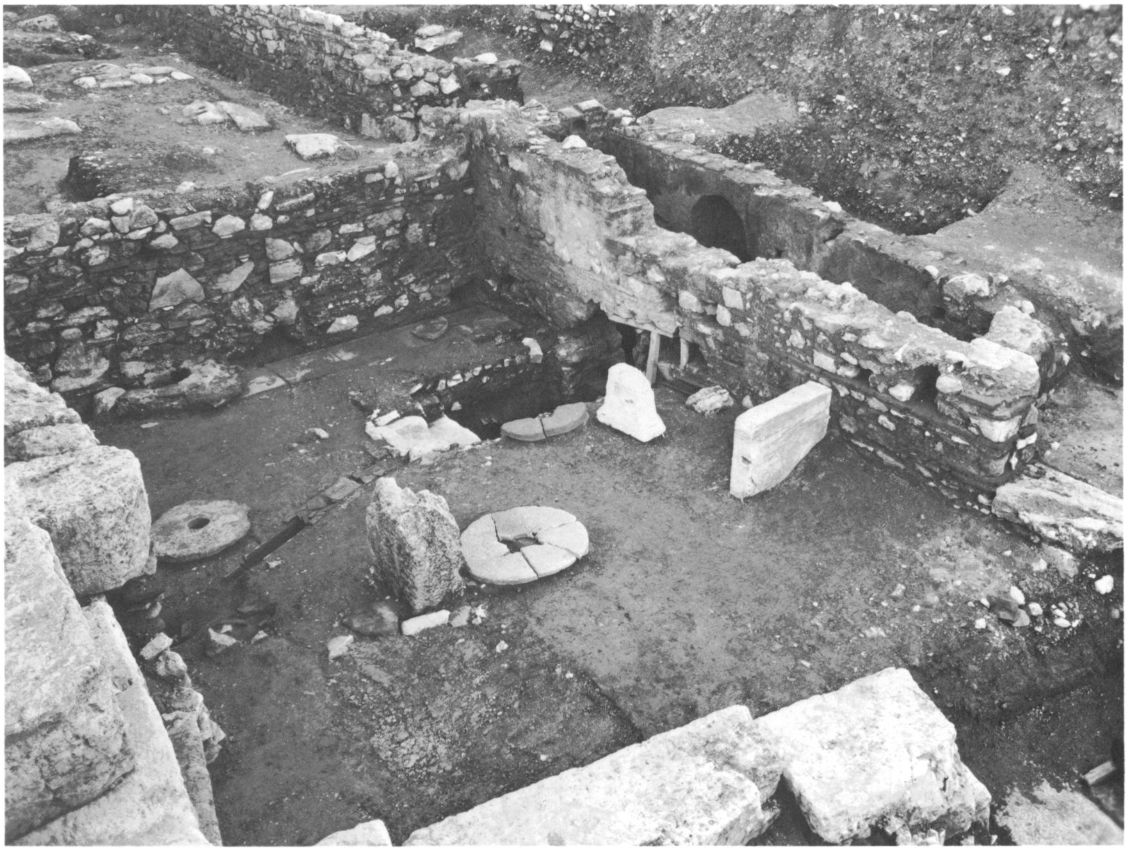


a. Modern bronze foundry in Rome

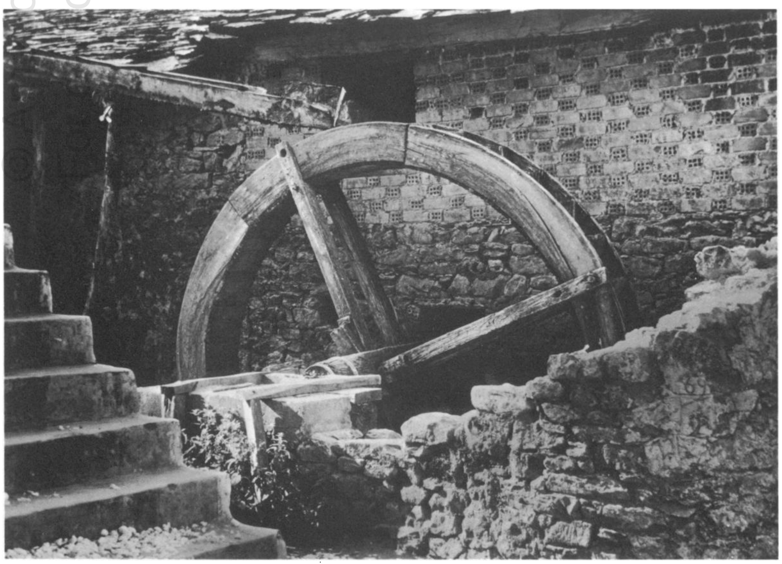
b. Aqueduct and Long Late Roman Wall



Southeast corner of the Athenian Agora. Actual-state plan

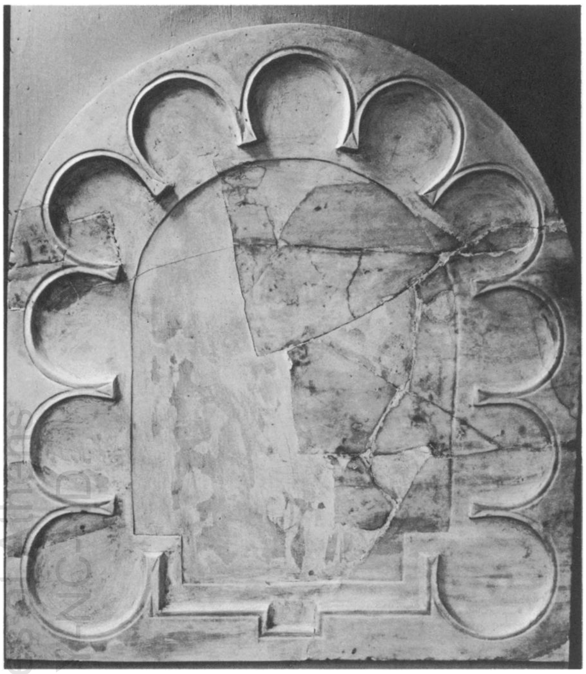


a. Central Mill, mill room

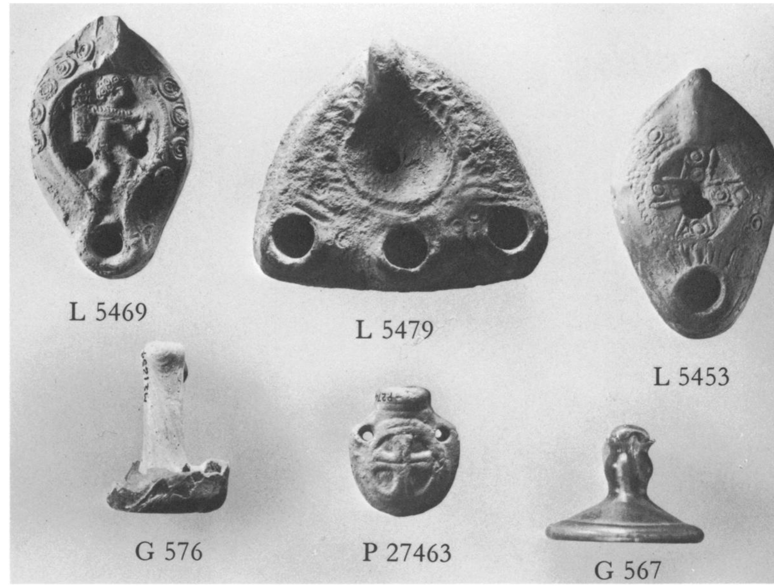


b. Water wheel on Thasos

c. Central Mill, wheel race

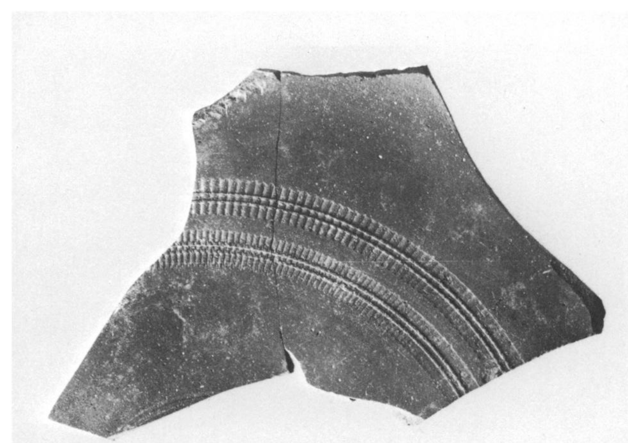


a. Sigma table, A 3869, Areopagus House C, final phase



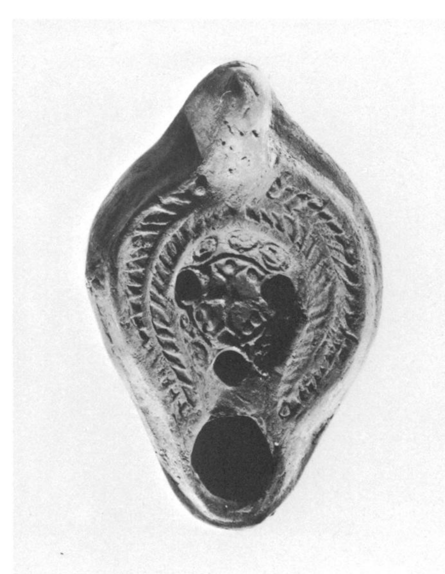
b. Objects from final phase, Palace of the Giants

c. Red stone tray, ST 781, Areopagus House C, final phase



d. Fragment of stamped plate, P 20037, Long Late Roman Wall

e. Lamp, L 5628, Areopagus House C, final phase



f. Lamp, L 5630, Areopagus House C, final phase

a. Areopagus House C. Clearing ashes from floor of triclinium

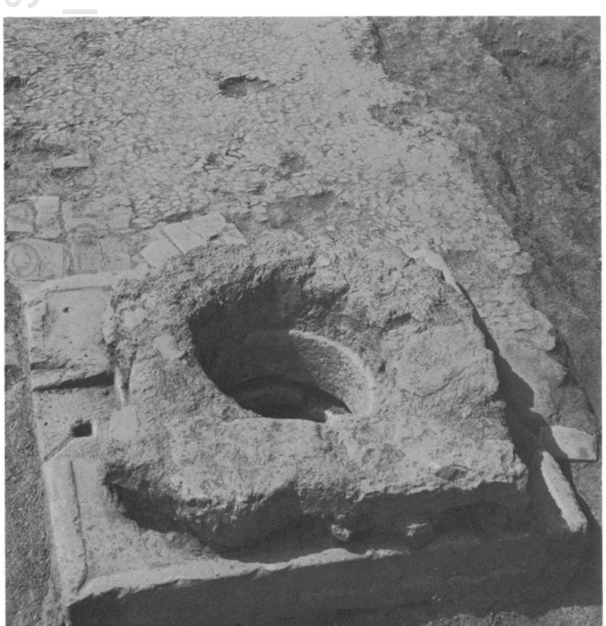
SS 112

SS 4259

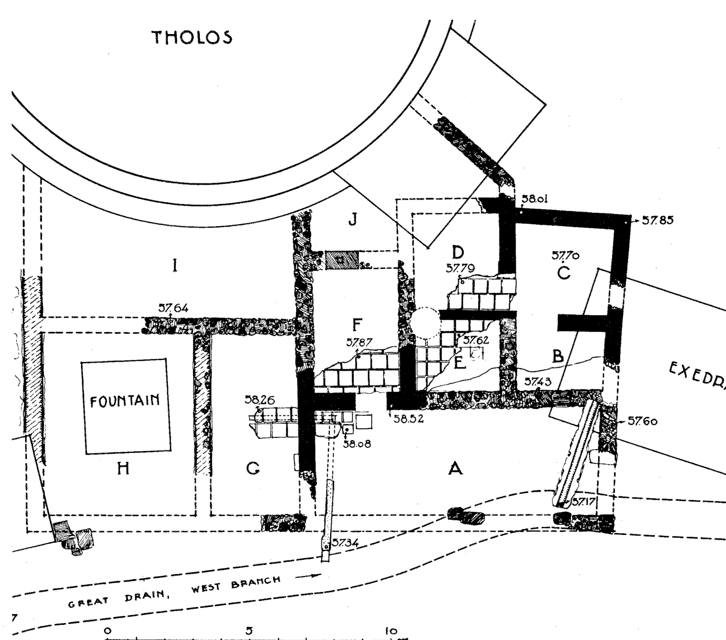
SS 8075

SS 123

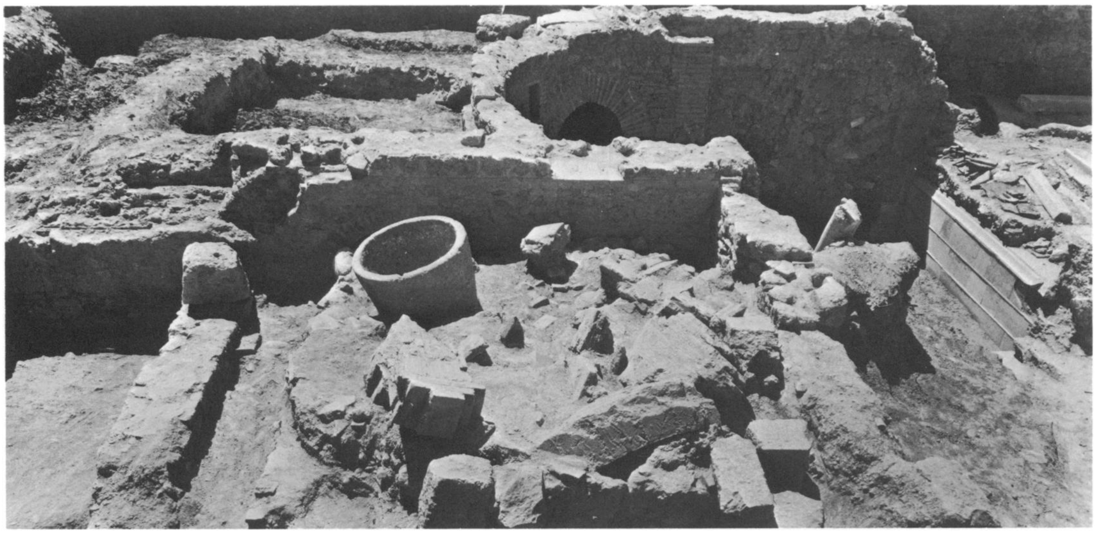
b. Stamps on ampullae from Palace of the Giants



c. Well head in courtyard of Areopagus House C, with 7th-century supplement



d. Late house next to Tholos

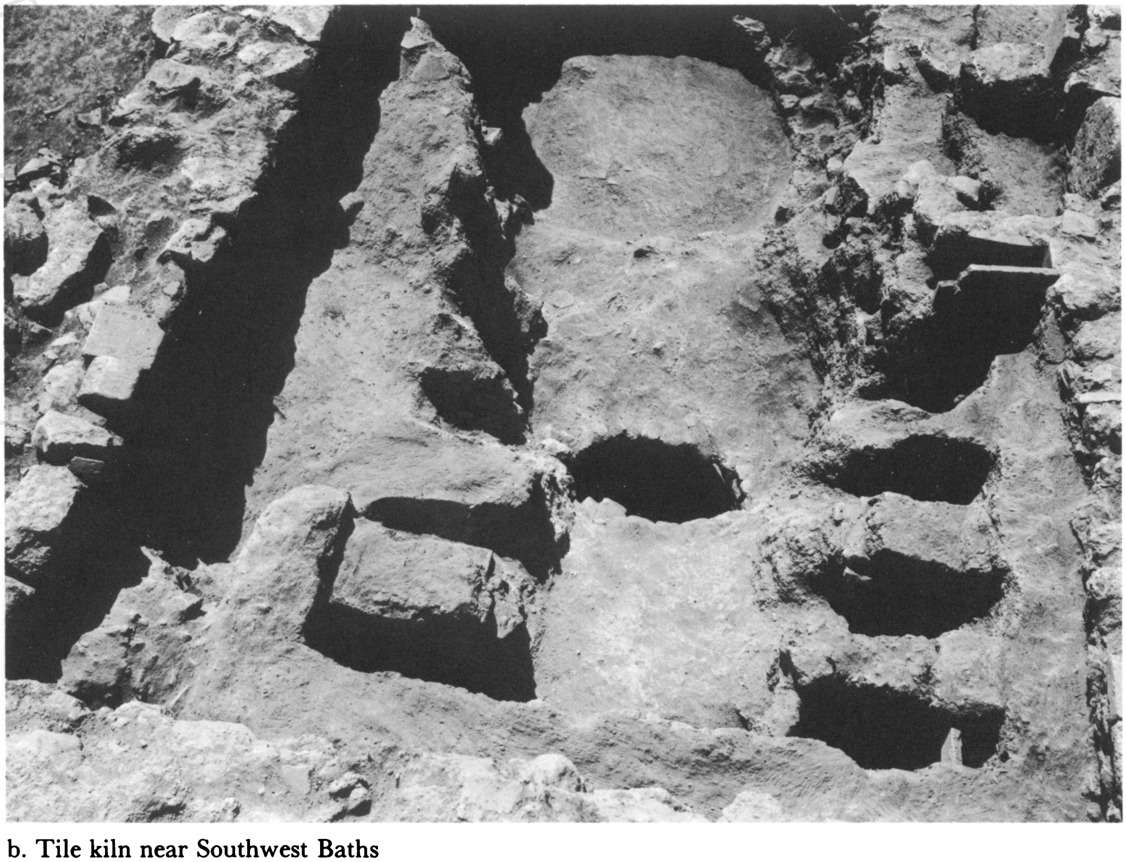


a. Destruction debris over Areopagus House C

b. *IG* II², 3193, referring to fortress (from squeeze)

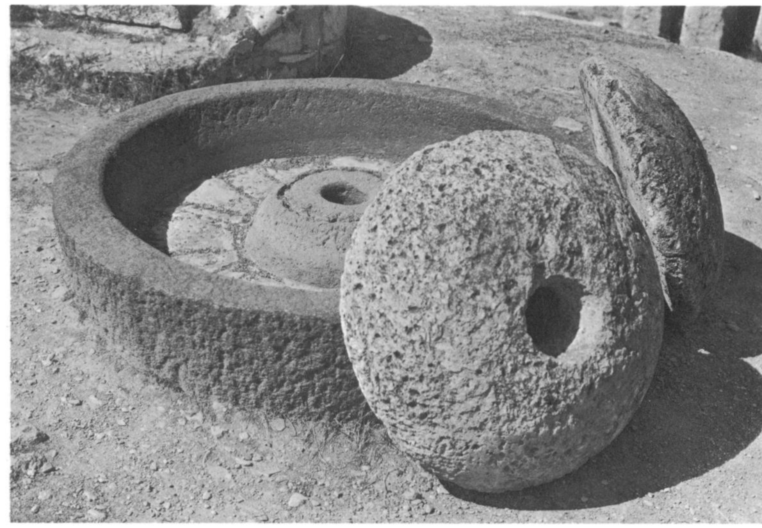
c. Laundry east of Panathenaic Way

a. Seventh-century grave in Palace of the Giants

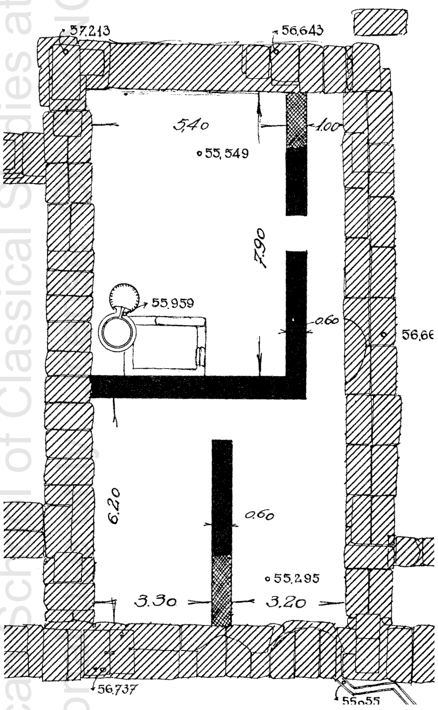


b. Tile kiln near Southwest Baths

a. Marble base for olive press in Palace of the Giants



b. Millstone and foundation for crusher in Agora



c. Oil press in Metröon

d. Olive crusher and press in Olympos, Attica (photograph by V. R. Grace)

e. Olive press in Olympos, Attica (photograph by V. R. Grace)

f. Fragment of plate from destruction of house near Tholos